The discursive construction of Europeanness : a transnational perspective

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THE DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION OF EUROPEANNESS:

A TRANSNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

by

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requirements of Birkbeck, University of London

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I hereby declare that the work presented in this manuscript is my own.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the construction of 'European identity' in the discourses of members of European Alternatives (EA), an association of citizens which characterizes itself as committed to the grassroots construction of a better society 'beyond the nation-state'.

By taking bottom-up and transnational perspectives, this study intends to fill a gap in the field of Critical Discourse Studies that seems to have largely underestimated the value of social action and the need to move away from 'methodological nationalism' in conceiving of how Europeanness is transformed and enacted.

The study applies the Discourse Historical Approach (Wodak 2001) to a corpus of data comprising of four focus groups and nine individual interviews with EA members from 10 different branches across Europe.

The results suggest a complex and very dynamic picture of how European identities are constructed, challenged and transformed by members who, typically, adopted strategies of dismantling of nationhood, and strategies of 'imagining' new communities, spaces and social orders.

Two key linguistic features conspicuously drive the members' discourses of 'belonging to Europe/being European'. One is the metaphorical scenario of *spatial dynamics* that, by and large, makes sense of the 'European space' as unbounded and interconnected with the world and whereby the European society is seen as progression and expansion of an 'imagined' community towards certain cosmopolitan ideals. The second element is the indexicality of transnationalism and Europe, two terms that members invested with a range of meanings including ideals of democracy, diversity, and equality but that were also constructed through the recontextualisation of historical discourses of nationhood.

This thesis thus suggests that, for EA members, the transformation of Europeanness is not a linear process (as for example some theories of the

'Europeanisation' of society would have it) but, rather a dialectic one which relates to one's situatedness within temporal, spatial, and social dimensions and which is achieved via multiple and dynamic identification processes with different communities of relevance.

Word count (exclusive of appendices, list of reference, and bibliography): 77509

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LIST OF ACRONYMS USED IN THIS STUDY

CDA Critical Discourse Analysis

DHA Discourse Historical Approach (to CDA)

EA European Alternatives

EPS European Public Sphere

EU European Union

NGO Non-governmental organisation

TEN Trans Europa Network

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS USED IN THIS STUDY [1]

FZ = Moderator; Interviewer; (RC in the Cluj focus group)

CL5, PR1, BO4,…= Coded respondents

(.) Short pause - up to 3 seconds

(..) Medium pause - up to 5 seconds

(…) Long pause - up to 10 seconds

Remarks in square brackets [ ] indicate tone, or non-verbal behaviour. E.g.: [*high tone*], [*softly spoken*], [*clears throat*], [*laughs*].

Para-verbal features were transcribed by approximating the sound. E.g.: *mmh, erm, aah*

When unable to interpret a sound clearly, the nearest approximate interpretation was provided with a question mark. Example: *"and then (..) and (.) then it is this [new?] idea that we have to go with"*

[*sic*] was used to mark an ungrammatical form. E.g. *"but this don't [sic] work in practice"*

Capitalised words indicate stressed elements of speech. Example: *"I do NOT believe this is the case"*

When dialogues are reproduced in examples, dots in square brackets […] indicate that part of the transcript has been omitted.

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[1] Adapted from the HIAT conventions (Ehlich 2014). See http://www.exmaralda.org/hiat/en_index.html for further details.

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 The case for investigating the emergence of 'new' European identities

From mainly representing a philosophical concern, identity has increasingly been interpreted as a multifaceted social and discursive construct dependent on historic, economic, political and cultural contingencies. Whilst for a long time ethnic and national identities have represented established referents of groupness, in recent years an increasing interest in the exploration of identity construction has emerged in many social disciplines in the wake of major societal changes throughout the period of 'late' or 'post' modernity[2] (Lash 1990, Giddens 1991, Beck *et al.* 1994, Bauman 2000, MacLuhan *et al.* 2005). Processes of globalisation[3] and de-industrialisation, the commodification of life-styles, the merging of public and private spheres, the rise of the 'network society' and the decline of 'grand' narratives[4] (cf., inter alia, Habermas 1987, Lyotard and Benjamin 1989, Castells 1996b) have all had a profound impact on the negotiation of collective and individual identities by making

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[2] The terms *late* or *post* modernity have been used in social sciences and humanities in different ways, however they are broadly used in this study to connote the changes that have occurred in Western societies in the last five decades (as exemplified in the next paragraph and further discussed throughout the thesis).

[3] Globalisation is a multifaceted, complex, and contested phenomenon that has been covered by a wealth of literature (see for example Featherstone 1990, Appadurai 1996, Rosamond 1999, Beck 2000, Giddens 2000, Pittaway 2003b, Robertson and White 2003, Sassen 2007). In broad terms globalisation can be interpreted as "a set of processes rather than [...] a single linear developmental logic" (Held 1999 p. 27). In this sense, transnationalism can be seen as one process contributing to globalisation as well as one of its effects. As transnationalism is central to this thesis, it has been discussed in detail in section 3.5 on p. 46.

[4] Lyotard (1989) argues that, in post modernity, the human condition is better understood as the plurality of small and often competing narratives than as the all-encompassing teleologies of history such as the Enlightenment and Marxism.

them more uncertain and 'fractured' (Hall 1996)[5] and, at the same time, more dynamic and open to new arrangements.

In particular, social processes related, for example, to increasing cross-border interaction, virtual mobility, and the 'glocalisation'[6] of practices have been reflected in a 'spatial turn' in the social sciences (Soja 1989, Urry 2003, Warf and Santa 2009) whereby scholars have focused on the impact that the deterritorialisation of cultural practices has had on the reconfiguration of social spaces, on the consequent (re)definition of community (Appadurai 1995) as well as on the development of a new 'politics of space' (Rumford 2008).

In this context, one of the most active areas of research on identities has focused on the impact of transnational flows and practices on the way we make sense of who we are in the social world (Vertovec 2001, Levitt and Schiller 2004, Vertovec 2007, Beck 2008). Transnational processes have had a major impact on geo-political orders, as well as on established notions of affiliations, belongings and imaginaries of communities, challenging, in particular, social identities constructed around nationhood (Featherstone 1990, Basch 1994, Albert 2001, Sassen 2002) and encouraging more self-reflexive and cosmopolitan views of the world and society (Beck 1994, Beck 2006, Held 2010)[7]. If we follow Robertson's (1992) argument that globalisation is about individual awareness of the processes of global interdependence just as it is about the processes themselves, then globalisation prompts us to (re)position ourselves in relation to the 'oneness of the world' and, likewise, to create new

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[5] Hall (1996) uses the term 'fractured' to refer to the multiple sources of identities available in postmodern societies and the fact that, as a result, individuals no longer have a single and unified idea of their 'self'.

[6] The term 'glocalisation' is commonly attributed to Robertson (1992) who uses it to refer to the impact of global processes at a local level.

[7] The cosmopolitan ideology, which regards all individuals as citizens of the world, has its roots in Greek philosophy where *polis*, the city-state, was the embodiment of a civic community. Cosmopolitan ideals were also key features of the Enlightenment movement (cf. Vertovec 2003, Calhoun 2006, Held 2010). Lately, in the social sciences, there has been a resurgence of interest in the cosmopolitan ideology following the debate on globalisation (see Rumford 2008).

meanings of the relations with the communities to which we understand ourselves belonging (Rumford 2008).

Moreover, such individual perspectives are crucially being brought into, and are reflected in the political arena where they are creating new loci of debate about the politics of belonging and solidarity (Castles and Davidson 2000, Westwood and Phizacklea 2000, Yuval-Davis 2006, Bauböck and Faist 2010). The politics of identity in modern democracies has thus been confronted with new antinomies and tensions between the particularism and universalism of identity and space (Wodak 2010, Pries 2013), the quest for world and local societal orders (Robertson, 1992), and the paradox of recognizing inclusion through the regulation of exclusionary boundaries (Connolly 1991).

In the European context, the changes of 'late' modernity have taken on further connotations in relation to the integration project of the European Union (EU) which has been predicated on post-national [8] narratives and which has manifested itself in economic, social and political fields typified, for example, by the removal of borders and the emergence of supranational forms of governance. Whilst transnationalism has received much attention in migration and cultural studies (especially in relation to diasporas) the impact of transnationalism on European identities has often been explained with the theory of the Europeanisation of society (see page 55) which assumes that social integration and the development of a European *demos* [9] and a common European identity will occur as a functional by-product of the convergence of legal, economic,

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[8] There exist many different terms to refer to the evolution (or demise) of national structures especially in relation to the EU. In this thesis I have chosen to use, as consistently as possible, the term 'post-national' in reference to the ideological transformation of nation-states and the term 'supranational' in reference to the remits of power of EU institutions.

[9] The term *demos* identifies a political community sharing a (non-imposed) common denominator. Whilst in nation-states the perception of a *demos* has often relied on ethno-cultural elements, the lack of the above has sometimes been regarded as a major limitation for the development of a European identity. This issue, associated with low levels of civic participation, and the lack of transparency of the EU political system have often been referred to as 'democratic deficit' (Majone 1998) and have underpinned considerable criticism at the legitimacy of the EU (cf., for example, Cederman 2001, Nicolaïdis 2004, Maas 2007).

and political systems. From such perspectives nationhood has often been assumed a relatively stable key component of European identity that can be recontextualised and accommodated with other loyalties (Herrmann *et al.* 2004, Risse 2010). For most scholars in the field of European politics, however, the question remains whether a European *demos* has been consolidating at a transnational level (Cederman 2001, Eriksen and Fossum 2002, Cerutti 2003), especially in the wake of the global financial crisis precipitated by events in 2007 which has clearly shown the limitations of neoliberal policies driving the integration process and the weakness of the European social project (Delanty 2014).

From these perspectives, and building on Featherstone (2003), Delanty and Rumford (2005) have argued that the process of identification with Europe as a transnational referent has to account for wider dynamics than economic integration and has to be explained/analysed through processes of cultural and territorial reorganisation of communities depending on shifts in "cognition, discourse, and identity" (ibid, p.7) of cross-national networks. According to Delanty and Rumford (ibid) the analysis of the 'Europeanisation' of society is therefore best approached from social constructivist and reflexive perspectives and in the wider context of globalisation, where practices of late modernity can also be understood within the historical context of transition from national to post-national -and arguably cosmopolitan- forms of conceiving the organisation of political communities and social orders (cf. Delanty 1995, Linklater 1998, Held 1999, Habermas 2001, Habermas 2003, Beck 2008, Delanty 2013). Furthermore, as Delanty and Rumford (2005) point out, in a global context, no one single institutional or civic actor is exclusively capable of controlling the process of identification with European referents and, therefore, whilst normative aspects must be taken into account in the construction of Europe(anness), a wider variety of actors has also to be acknowledged. In this vein, an emerging European identity is best interpreted as a dynamic interplay between structural and agentive forces made up of institutions, citizens and global actors, 'reflexive'

processes, and cosmopolitan imaginaries. In an investigation of the recent transformation of European identities Krzyżanowski (2010) concludes by claiming that, at a discursive level,

"identities are increasingly moving away from top-down and often highly-ideological and normative projects and are becoming strongly diversified along context- and actor-specific lines" (p. 201).

One key insight of Krzyżanowski's research is that, in the complexity of late modernity and the diversification of Europe, identities emerge discursively as a combination of the individual, the social, the agentive and the structural dimensions of society and are therefore equally driven by "individual experiences [and] collective visions" (ibid) with no pre-ordained arrangement. From a similar stance, Checkel and Katzenstein (2009) argue that

"European identity construction is occurring at the multiple intersections of elite projects and social processes; at both supranational and national-regional levels; within EU institutions but also outside them, in daily practice and lived experience" (p.226).

Acknowledging that the development of Europeanness occurs at multiple sites thus offers many possible standpoints for its examination. (Delanty 2013) for example suggests that

"[r]ather than look for identity as an underlying structure of meaning or a holistic system or a cultural system, it is best evidenced in specific sites of communication. In the case of European identity one such place to look for it is in debates about Europe." (p. 265)

This study builds on the aforementioned insights, attempting an investigation of Europeanness from bottom-up [10] and transnational perspectives. Although a large body of research exists that has investigated European identities from several angles, the transnational/cosmopolitan and bottom-up perspectives remain

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[10] In this study the terms bottom-up and top-down refer to the two opposing poles of the hierarchical system of decision-making whereby institutional roles (such as Government organs) are represented 'at the top' and 'ordinary' citizens 'at the bottom' (often called the grassroots level). Whilst top-down politics is typically initiated by institutional action, bottom-up initiatives reverse this process by encouraging discussions, consultations, debates campaigns etc. (Kostovicova 2011)

overlooked by mainstream research in Critical Discourse Studies as it will be further argued. It is therefore the aim of this thesis to contribute to the advancement of knowledge on the discursive construction of European identities by offering insights from the specificity of these standpoints.

The data for this study is derived from focus groups and individual interviews conducted with members of a non-governmental organisation (NGO) called European Alternatives (EA) that characterizes itself as a 'transnational' association of citizens. EA's main aim is the promotion of citizens' democratic participation in the debate on 'European' issues with a view to exert influence on European policy-making and thus to "build a Europe of justice, democracy, and solidarity" [11] from bottom-up. One of the original themes of EA's 'mission statement' is the proposition that:

> *"in an increasingly closer Europe understood as a space of exchange, rather than in geographic or ethnic terms [...] [t]he nation-state is no longer the appropriate political form in which to define democratic decision-making and active citizenship"* [12]

and consequently political decisions concerning European citizens must be taken transnationally rather than (inter)nationally[13]. The salience of investigating this particular organisation lies therefore in the fact that, unlike the general public, EA constitutes a community of citizens with a distinct investment in 'Europe' whilst, at the same time, their discourses are likely to offer ideological and social perspectives on European issues that are different from the institutional ones.

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[11] http://www.euroalter.com/who-we-are/our-organisation Accessed 8/2/2012

[12] ibid.

[13] Although in some literature the terms 'international' and 'transnational' are used interchangeably, this thesis treats the two terms as distinct concepts. By internationalism I refer to the organisation of social, political, and economic relations that recognizes nations as the major agents whereas by transnationalism I refer to the links and flows of interaction between people and/or institutions across the borders of nation-states' as further discussed in section 3.4.2 and 3.5.1.1.

1.2 Thesis Aims and Objectives

The main aim of this study is to contribute to the existing body of Critical Linguistic literature on the interaction between language and society in particular by taking forward the work of a group of Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth CDA) scholars that have focused on the transformation of discourses of Europe, most notably Ruth Wodak (Wodak 2003, 2004, 2007, 2010) and Michał Krzyżanowski (Krzyżanowski and Oberhuber 2007, Triandafyllidou *et al.* 2009, Krzyżanowski 2010). This aim is articulated in three objectives: the first is to investigate how transnational perspectives shape the imagination of the European community in relation to local and global 'places' and 'others'; the second objective is to illuminate how Europeanness is (re)produced at a bottom-up level by providing insights into the relation between linguistic devices, social practices/structures and political agency; thirdly this study attempts to formulate a critique of the transformation of nationhood and new forms of European democracy within and limited by the specificity of the data analysed.

The original contribution of this study lies in the specific bottom-up and transnational standpoints it takes in examining processes of identity formation in discourse. Rather than focussing on top-down discourses of European identity, an area which has been extensively researched in many academic fields, this study therefore explores how identities are formed in the discourses of members of a transnational citizens' initiative[14], thus bringing to the fore the dynamic context of (new) social movements and non-governmental sector, as highlighted by much recent social research (for a review of the literature in this field, cf. Benford and Snow 2000, Checkel 2001, Tarrow 2001, Mercer 2002).

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[14] Introduced under the Treaty of Lisbon, the European Citizens' is a legal provision that allows EU citizens to put forward legislation proposals to the European Commission (for details and legal requirements see http://www.citizens-initiative.eu/?page_id=2).

The reason for adopting these angles emerged in relation to the desire to fill two specific gaps found in the literature on European identity (as discussed further in the next chapter). The first gap relates to the underrepresentation of 'active' citizens (that is citizens engaged in the debate on Europe) and their role as social actors in the transformation of Europe. This study, thus, intends to make up for this lack of research, taking up Krzyzanowski's (2010) call for research on discourse and Europeanness to turn to "social action as the main force driving the dynamics of contemporary identities" (p. 201). Secondly, this thesis intends to contribute to the development of a theoretical approach to the study of European identity that departs from 'national' paradigms or 'methodological nationalism' (Wimmer and Schiller Glick 2002), that is treating the development of Europeanness as largely predicated on the reproduction of national elements. Whilst this study does not intend to dismiss the national component altogether, it aims to offer a post-national interpretation of Europeanness that departs from such established interpretative models subscribing to Wodak and Weiss's (2005) view that "the discursive relationship "identity-legitimisation-representation" [is] to be understood beyond the nation-state" (p. 132).

1.2.1   Research Questions

To address the gaps in the literature discussed above, this thesis seeks to answer three main research questions:

- How are national, European and transnational identities (re)produced, challenged and transformed in the discourse of members of European Alternatives?
- How do multiple identities interplay in the discourses of members?

–   Through which linguistic strategies and devices do members realise their (European) identities?

1.3   Structure of the thesis

The Discourse Historical Approach (henceforth DHA) to CDA elaborated by Ruth Wodak and her colleagues within the Vienna School of Discourse Analysis (Wodak 2009) underpins the design of this research. The DHA thus informs theoretical and analytical frameworks as well as the overarching structure of this thesis. Whilst a more comprehensive discussion of the DHA will be provided in Chapter 4.1 and 4.2, I will succinctly outline some principles of the DHA here, detailing how the appropriation of the DHA has informed the structure and the content of this thesis. In particular I will outline the relation between theory and data and the definition of context proposed by Wodak (2009).

The relation between data and theory is illustrated in Figure 1. This model sees empirical research as a circular process in which key concepts and assumptions are drawn from 'grand' and 'middle-range'[15] theoretical perspectives to analyse texts, assist (but not determine) the interpretation, and critically feed back into the theory, helping to formulate a social critique. Furthermore as expounded in the DHA manifesto

> *"[t]he theory as well as the methodology is eclectic; that is theories and methods are integrated which are helpful in understanding and explaining the object under investigation [..] the approach is abductive: a constant movement back and forth between theory and empirical data is necessary" (ibid. p. 69).*

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[15] In sociology grand theories aim to explain the functioning of the whole social world in general and abstract terms whilst middle range theories are aimed at more commensurable and phenomena-specific insights; see, for example, Boudon (1991).
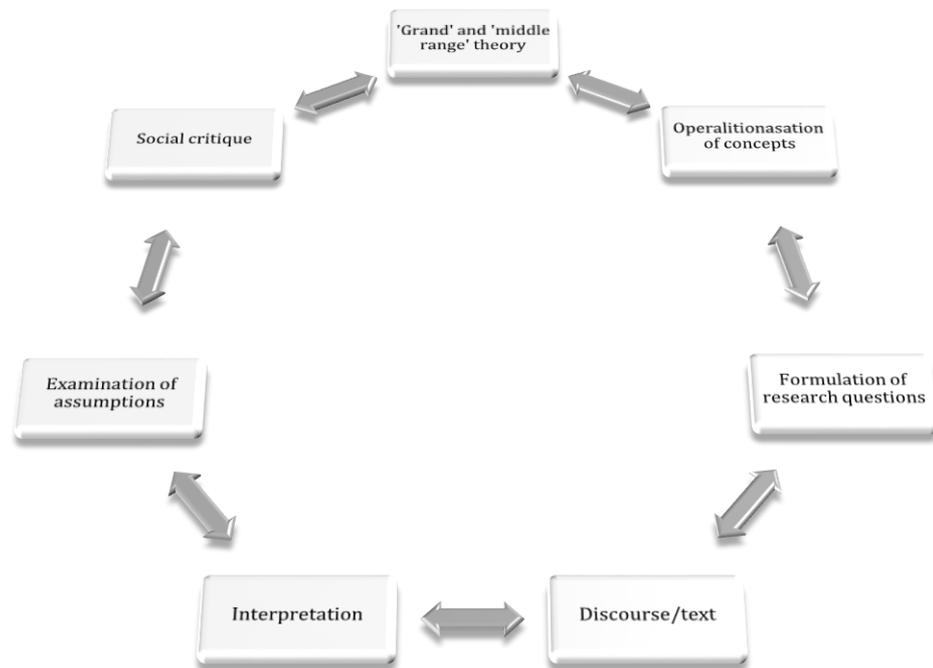
Figure 1. An adaptation of the DHA approach to theory and data as discussed in Wodak (2009)

The structure of this thesis has also been informed by the DHA's multi-level approach to text on macro, meso, and micro dimensions of contextualisation which are seen as distinct but interrelated levels of theory and analysis (see section 4.3 below for details).

I will therefore briefly discuss the notion of context and explain how it has been applied to this study. The DHA builds on the key principle that discourses represent 'texts in context' as they are socially produced and consumed in relation to specific socio-historical conditions. As every text is embedded in a specific context, an appropriate contextualisation is therefore essential to interpret texts and to derive meanings. Notably, DHA advocates for an approach to the contextualisation of texts that includes social, historical and political dimensions. DHA is concerned with

"integrat[ing] systematically all available background information in the analysis and interpretation of the many layers of a written or spoken text" (Fairclough *et al.* 1997 p. 364)

in order to relate *"micro and macro levels with each other, text and context, structure and discourse, insider and outsider perspectives"* (Wodak 2008 no page).

Specifically, in the DHA, the historical dimension refers to both the inclusion of "as much available information as possible on the historical background [...] in which discursive 'events' are embedded" (Wodak *et al.* 2009 p.8-9) and to the study of changes occurring to discourses diachronically. In the DHA, contextualisation is typically operated on distinct but interrelated micro, meso, and macro levels and applied to both theoretical and analytical dimensions as represented in Figure 2. Such a model is largely based on Wodak's (2009) concept of context which operates on four levels (with the first one being only descriptive). These levels take into account:

"a) the immediate, language or text internal co-text;

b) the intertextual and interdiscursive relationship between utterances, texts, genres and discourses;

c) the extra-linguistic social/sociological variables and institutional frames of a specific 'context of situation'; and

d) the broader socio-political and historical contexts, within which the discursive practices are embedded" (Wodak 2009 p. 67).

In this thesis the multi-level approach to text has therefore been applied: a) to the theoretical contextualisation which embeds data into discourse theory and grounds the latter in middle-range and 'grand sociological theory'; and b) in the linguistic analysis through the recognition of different levels at which discourses are treated (Krzyzanowski, 2010. p. 78). Furthermore contextualisation has been used

for triangulation purposes as "discursive phenomena are approached from a variety of methodological and theoretical perspectives taken from various disciplines" (Wodak et al. 2009, p.9).
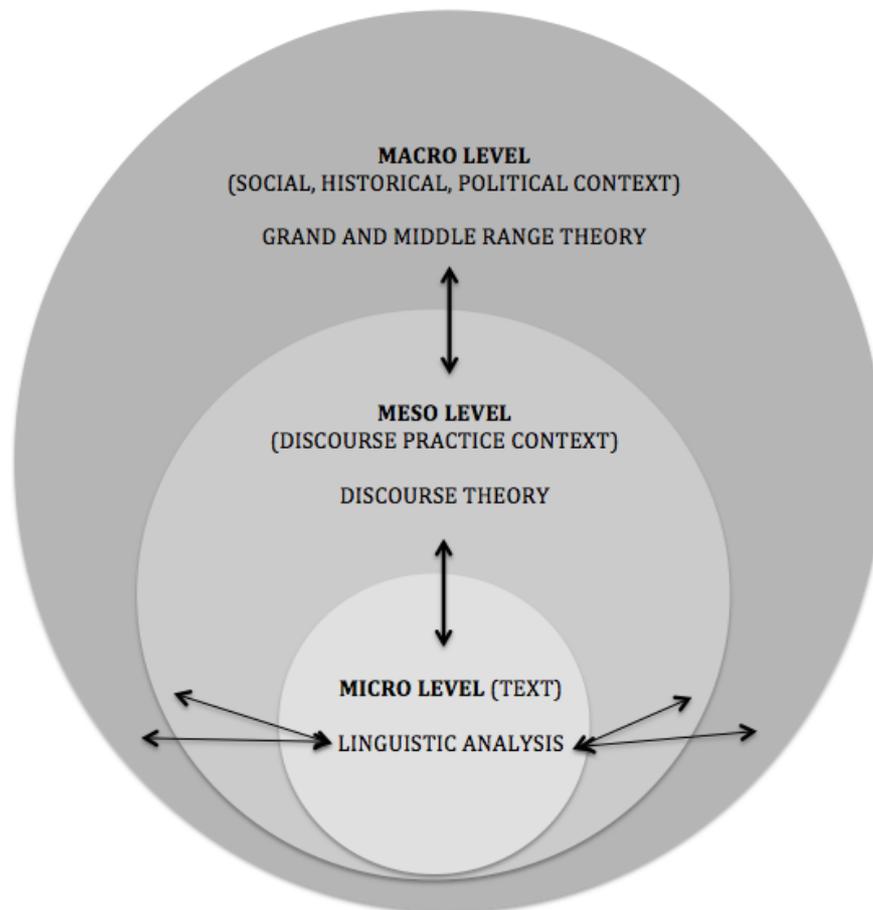
Figure 2: Distinct levels of contextualisation and analysis adopted in this study. Diagram adapted from Wodak (2009) and Koller (2012).

Following the aforementioned considerations, the structure of this study has been configured as follows:

Chapter One makes the case for investigating the emergence of 'new' European identities from transnational and bottom-up perspectives. In keeping with the DHA, it is recognized that the construction of Europeanness must be examined in the context of macro-social, cultural, political, and economic transformations as well as in its local instantiations. To do so, this study taps into (pro)European political

activism as a 'field of action' drawing, in particular, on the discourses of members of a NGO called European Alternatives (EA) whose salience as a European actor in the EPS is discussed in Chapter Two.

Chapter Two provides a detailed background to European Alternatives in two ways. Firstly, an overview is given of the wider social context in which transnational/European civil societies and other civic initiatives have (trans)formed in recent years. Secondly, the emergence of EA, of its activities and of my involvement with the organisation is discussed, thus contextualising the object of this study into the wider frame of the debate on European issues from civic positions.

Chapter Three is extensively dedicated to the exploration of a number of relevant key concepts for this study at 'grand' and 'middle-range' level. The construction of the 'toolbox' is achieved by building on a review of the literature on identity and discourse from sociolinguistic and critical perspectives. The review is then taken to a more specific 'European' level by interpreting Europe as an increasingly salient socio-political construct at the juncture of historical processes of transformation of national structures. The impact of global phenomena, such as transnationalism, on processes of social identification, belonging and the (re)'imagination' of communities is discussed with specific attention to its European implications for civic engagement, cultural citizenship, and solidarity. Equal attention is paid to the role of networks in the construction of transnational political communities. Through the literature review, the European Public Sphere is identified as an interesting point of entry for examining the emergence of new discourses of European identities.

Chapter Four discusses in detail the methodology adopted in this study. This includes an account of the nature and range of data collected via focus groups and individual interviews, as well as providing details on how data was collected and explaining the rationale for choosing these methods. DHA, the analytical framework adopted in this study, is also

discussed thoroughly in this chapter, followed by a few reflections on its limitations.

Chapter Five presents and discusses the findings, providing several examples of the analysis to support the interpretations. The presentation is organised around a taxonomy of strategies, topoi, and linguistic realisations, with the major insights consolidated and summarised in the final section of the chapter.

Finally, Chapter Six concludes the thesis highlighting the contribution of this study, reflecting on its limitations, and introducing ideas for future research.

2   BACKGROUND

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a background to European Alternatives. To achieve this, firstly, an overview is given of the wider social context in which transnational/European civil societies and other civic initiatives have formed in recent years. Secondly, a specific discussion is offered of the emergence of EA, of its activities and of my involvement with the organisation.

2.1   The European civil society

According to the Oxford dictionary (2009), *civil society* is "a community of citizens linked by common interests and collective activity". For Heidbreder (2012) two dominant but distinct academic conceptualisations of the civil society (in terms of its functions and features) are distinguishable in the EU-ropean context[16]. On the one hand, civil society can primarily be interpreted in a governance-related approach and refer to the inclusion of organized groups of interests in policy-making procedures (for example lobbies, interest groups, and pressure groups). On the other hand, civil society can represent a wider sphere of social interaction constitutive of the public sphere (see section 3.6.1.1) that, in a deliberative democracy, represents the counterpart to the institutions and to 'structured politics' (Teets 2008).

For a long time, the role of a European civil society has relied on the procedural inputs of Brussels-based, professionally organized groups into highly institutionalized policy making processes (Heidbreder 2012). However, for the last two decades, the emergence of a European civil

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[16] I use the term EU-rope in line with Krzyżanowski (2010) to suggest the conceptual convergence of the EU and Europe.

society has increasingly been seen as a response or a 'cure' to the democratic deficit of the EU set up and as an essential feature of the EU as a deliberative democracy (Rumford 2003, Steffek *et al.* 2008, Lang 2013).

As the "permissive consensus" granted by citizens to the EU institutions has been waning (Hooghe and Marks 2009), the EU's discourse has increasingly focused on an interpretation of civil society as participatory democracy 'by the people' rather than participatory governance 'for the people' (Scharpf 1999). This conceptual and discursive shift became a prominent item on the EU's political agenda in the new millennium as clearly marked by documents such as the White Paper on European Governance (Commission 2001). It was in particular in the debate about the 'future of Europe' generated by the 2001 European Convention, that citizenship rights and civil society (hitherto representing two separate concepts) emerged as facets of the same discourse (Smismans 2009) fostering the emergence of civil actors in addition to the more traditional Brussels-based NGOs and interest groups and spawning a series of civic initiatives aimed at the bottom-up construction of Europe.

Although some have critically seen forms of civic participation 'activated from above' as ways to integrate grassroots activities in Brussels' 'routine practices' (Pleines 2006), there is a large consensus that such initiatives have, in fact, contributed to enlarging the discursive arenas in which European political actors interact (see, for example, Risse 2010) and that, ultimately, they may contribute to the emergence of a truly transnational European public sphere. In particular, in recent years, much attention has been paid by academics and the media to the increasingly important role played by social movements in EU politics (Fossum and Trenz 2006, Kriesi *et al.* 2007, Koopmans and Statham 2010, Ruzza 2011). Whilst, in some cases, the political mobilisation of grassroots movements has seen the anti-European or Eurosceptic movements consolidating into an 'un-civil society' (Ruzza 2009), a large number of pro-European civic organisations have also developed which, whilst not necessarily aligned with the EU institutions, have entered into a 'dialogue with Brussels' to

shape the future of Europe from bottom-up. The next section will shed more light on the character of EA, an organisation emerged as one of these civic initatives which, as introduced earlier, represents the object of study.

2.2 Background on the organisation

EA describes itself as "a civil society organisation devoted to exploring the potential for transnational politics and culture" [17] and its main aim is the promotion of citizens' democratic participation in the debate on 'European' issues with a view to exert influence on European policy-making and thus to "build a Europe of justice, democracy, and solidarity" (ibid.) from the bottom up. EA is structured as a network of activists across Europe grouped under one transnational umbrella called Trans Europa Network (TEN) (see Figure 3 below). TEN started from an initial base in London and further expanded in France, Italy and Romania with a total of five offices (London, Paris, Rome, Bologna and Cluj) and ten employees. In addition to this structured set up, TEN has relied on a growing number of volunteers/members that have organised themselves in local groups and have regular meetings at local branches[18]. To date there are local groups based in: Brussels, Amsterdam, Berlin, Prague, Lublin, Bratislava, Belgrade, Sofia, Cardiff, Istanbul, and Valencia (see Figure 4 below). EA's activities are themed around specific topics such as migration, civil rights, media pluralism, social justice, unemployment issues, and they are typically organised as: on and offline campaigns; workshops; debates; publications and public forums. TEN has also been actively promoting the European Citizens' Initiative and various activities

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[17] European Alternatives website http://www.euroalter.com/about-us/ Accessed 5/3/2011

[18] Local bases are open to any EU and non-EU citizen. A typical local group like Prague can thus be made up of national citizens of the Czech Republic, France and the U.S. Transnational meetings are held in different locations on a rotational basis.

under the Active citizenship programme[19]. Furthermore, TEN organises the 'Trans Europa Festival', a yearly festival of culture, arts and politics, taking place simultaneously in several different cities all over Europe. This event, aimed at showcasing EA's activities and raising citizenship awareness was awarded the Prize "Translating EU values into action" in 2011 by the European Economic and Social Committee. An overview of EA's activities by 'field of action' and 'genre'[20] of text produced is presented in Figure 5 below.

[copyright image removed]

Figure 3. A diagram of the organisational structure of EA. (Source EA's newsletter December 2011).

[copyright image removed]

Figure 4 A representation of EA's network (source EA's website). Accessed 23/9/2014

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[19] In broad terms, active citizenship refers to a process whereby individuals take responsibility and initiative as members of a civic community. 'Active Citizenship' has been promoted by the EU under the Citizenship Programme 2007-2013 to raise awareness on citizen's rights and to encourage "the involvement of citizens and civil society organisations in the process of European integration" http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/citizenship/programme/about_citizenship_en.php. Accessed 25/8/2012.

[20] CDA sees discourses pertaining to different 'fields of action' (Wodak and Meyer, 2009) that is specific 'segments' of social activities (for example 'fields of action' in politics can be represented by law making procedure, advertising and propaganda, administration, etc.). Each field of action is characterized by specific 'genres' of texts (such as speeches, regulations, press releases, etc.). For Fairclough (1995, 14) a genre is a "socially ratified way of using language in connection with a particular type of social activity" used by 'communities of practice' (Swales 1992) and expected to systematically perform certain social functions.

Figure 5. An overview of EA's activities by 'field of action' and 'genre' of texts produced

EA's 'fields' of 'activities and 'genres' of texts produced

Campaigning and
raising awareness on civic rights
Promoting active citizenship

Promoting
intercultural
exchange

Internal organization

Dialogue with EU institutions

Articles and research
publications

Discussions at local and
transnational meetings

Programmes and plans of action
defining a political agenda

Citizens' manifestos

Public
seminars/ talks /conferences

Artistic projects/exhibitions
(e.g. 'human library')

Constitution/elections

Proposals for the citizens
initiative campaign

TransEuropa Festival

Board meetings

Policy recommendations

Digital publications on social media
(Facebook, Youtube, Twitter)

TransEuropa journal

Newsletters

Institutional feedback

A way to understand EA's 'field of action' is to see their activities originating from the political debate on the democratic future of Europe that followed the failed European Constitution in 2004/5. In the aftermath of the French and Dutch rejections of the Draft Constitution - which had prompted the EU Heads of Government to call for a "period of reflection"[21] on the future of Europe - the Commission launched the so-called 'PLAN D for Democracy, Dialogue and Debate'.

The plan sought to address "the need to listen to citizens' expectations by fostering a debate between the EU institutions and citizens"[22] and wider participation of the civil society on European issues. Recognizing the "widening gulf between the [EU] and the people it serves" [23]and aiming to close the 'communication gap', citizens' organisations and other stakeholders were encouraged to set up forums of debate to improve civic education, connecting citizens with each other and with the institutions. At the same time, such initiatives were regarded by the Commission as a way to reconnect the EU project with its demos and thus to legitimize the EU itself and its institutional goals. EA originated in 2006 from the initiative of a few activists who took advantage of this 'open channel' with the EU and received a few grants available under the Plan D scheme[24].

EA is thus closely engaged in a symbolic (in a Bakhtinian sense) and practical dialogue with EU institutions and the EPS and, in many respects, EA's activities can be located both at the sites of 'production' and 'reception' (Dijk 1985) of discourses of Europe. Whilst, to some extent,

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[21] European Commission website http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries /institutional_affairs/decisionmaking_process/a30000_en.htm). Accessed 14/5/2012

[22] ibid.

[23] White Paper on European Communication Policy 2006. Available from europa.eu/documents/comm/white_papers/pdf/com2006_35_en.pdf. Accessed 12/3/2012

[24] TEN is still in receipt of some EU funding through the "Europe for Citizens" and "Youth in Action" programmes (created by the Education and Culture DG) and a grant from the European Cultural Foundation. To date, however, the organization is mainly reliant on the members' voluntary work and, to a lesser extent, to voluntary membership fees and the support of some private sponsors.

EA's discourses could be expected to reproduce institutional 'voices', one of the original themes of the organisation's 'mission statement' is the proposition that political decisions concerning European citizens must be taken transnationally rather than (inter)nationally.

In this sense, therefore, the self-characterisation of EA as a transnational actor clearly relates to an idea of the European project that differs substantially from mainstream institutional visions i.e. Europe as a 'Union of States' and national interests. The notion of 'dialogue with institutions' that EA stands for is rather informed by a critical approach to the 'system' (also found for example in the organisation's agenda for re-establishing a 'balance' between 'powerful' and 'disempowered'). The use of the word 'alternatives' in the organisation's literature consulted can therefore be interpreted as the search for democratic alternatives to the current system of governance and also alternative visions in the 'imagination' of European society [25].

In this respect the discourses of EA can be considered 'alternative' in at least two ways: in Fairclough's (2004) sense of non-conformist to the dominant 'order of discourse' and in being part of that global civil society that Delanty and Rumford (2005) see distinct from the "EU-as-polity normative vision" (p. 169). The salience of investigating this particular organisation lies therefore in the fact that, unlike the general public, EA constitutes a community of citizens with a distinct investment in 'Europe' whilst, at the same time, their discourses are likely to offer ideological and social perspectives on European issues that are different from the institutional ones.

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[25] See for example the Citizen's Pact (http://www.citizenspact.eu/about/) in which the term 'alternative' is used in the same sense as in Fairclough's (2005) critique of 'TINA' ('There Is No Alternative') discourses in relation to the use of experts in policy making. In other documents the term 'alternative' is reminiscent of the anti-global movement slogan 'Another world is possible' (McNally 2006)

3   EXPLORING THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS AND CONCEPTUAL TOOLS

The aim of this chapter is to outline the key concepts drawn upon in this research. Section 3.1 starts by grounding the exploration in social constructivist and poststructuralist views, explaining how identity has come to be understood as a socially mediated process rather than a fixed entity or an essential quality. Sections 3.2 and 3.3 then explain the pivotal role of language in processes of identification and unpack the notion of discourse to argue for CDA as an approach to the analysis of language in the social construction of identities. Further to this, section 3.4 offers a review of the literature on European identity and of its interplay with other identities treating Europeanness from two specific stances: as a political project and as a historical process. The multifaceted concept of transnationalism is then introduced in detail in section 3.5 as an additional/alternative frame for understanding processes of identification in and with Europe in relation to global changes. In support of this argument, a few examples are provided of the transformation of key meanings of 'community' and of the many ways in which transnational phenomenon have manifested themselves in Europe. Following a review of how the CDA literature has dealt with these 'new' variables and concluding that this has only occurred in tangential ways, the case is argued for filling a gap in the study of European identities by adopting transnational and bottom-up perspectives.

3.1 A 'late modern' approach to identities

Philosophical concerns with knowing who or what we are have long existed in the history of human thought. Whilst throughout the classical and medieval eras identity remained an unquestionable 'given' for most individuals, it is only with the emergence of the Enlightenment that the notion of identity was primarily treated from a humanistic point of view and interpreted in relation to the Cartesian 'thinking self' (Chimisso 2003). Since the Enlightenment emphasised rationality and human agency, identity came to be regarded as a project of 'self-determination' (Benwell and Stokoe 2006) and for many centuries it constituted the dominant view in the 'Western' world. Such a view gradually came to be questioned with the development of psychology in the late 19th and early 20th century. Although the 'self' remained the focus of psychological disciplines, the latter highlighted the importance of socialisation in processes of identity formation, therefore redefining identity as an intersubjective rather than a simply subjective accomplishment. Many theoretical perspectives have thus developed in social psychology that have essentially regarded the 'self' as a socially mediated process (Mead *et al.* 1982). One strand of social psychology has, for example, conceptualised social identities primarily from behavioural perspectives. In this area, one of the best known theories has suggested that social identities derive from the process of 'in' and 'out' group categorisation and that one individual's membership in one particular category can determine his or her perceptions of other individuals and groups (Tajfel and Turner 1979).

From a different angle, the structuralist school of thought (cf. Barthes and Lavers 1972, Levi-Strauss 1979, Lacan and Miller 1988, Althusser and Matheron 2003) emphasised the role of social structures (differently interpreted as practices, norms, institutions instantiated, *inter alia*, in cultural and semiotic representations) in intersubjective dynamics and the

social anchoring of one's self. Consequently, 'subjects' came to be seen by structuralists as formed *vis-à-vis* specific historical, cultural and social structures with, for example, 'social class' identities typically understood in relation to the Marxist 'class struggle'. Meanwhile the work of philosophers of language such as Wittgenstein (1953) was significantly influential in promoting the innovative view that language is an active constructor and not only a 'mirror', or a passive descriptor, of reality. The so-called 'linguistic turn' in social sciences that followed Wittengstein's work was instrumental in a change of ontological perspectives on 'reality' which came to be regarded as socially constructed (Berger and Luckmann 1984). Social constructivism [26] has clearly underscored how, since meanings and knowledge are embedded in processes of socialisation and institutionalisation mediated by language (Vygotskii 1962, Piaget 1970, Searle 1997), the definition of 'social categories' and 'social groups' is not predetermined but emerges from social interaction and it is ultimately predicated "on dynamic normative and epistemic interpretations of the material world" (Adler 2005 p.92).

Whilst to different degrees social constructivism sees the (re)production of values, symbols and practices occurring in discourses as instrumental in maintaining or transforming social structures, such a strict correlation has been challenged by poststructuralists (cf., inter alia, Derrida 1976, Kristeva and Moi 1986, Deleuze and Boundas 1993) for whom structures alone cannot account for social phenomena[27]. Building on the intersubjective nature of reality asserted by social constructivism, the post structuralist current has primarily interpreted identities as social constructs too, emphasizing how they are produced in relation to systems

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[26] For a discussion of different interpretations of 'constructivism' and 'constructionism' see Ackermann (2001).

[27] It is rather problematic defining clear boundaries of social constructivist and poststructuralist schools of thought as the latter developed out of the former and, although poststructuralists have critiqued and rejected certain tenets of structuralism, they also built their work on some of them (cf. Angermuller *et al.* 2014).

of knowledge shaped by specific historical, political, and economic conditions.

The work of Michel Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu have been highly influential in this sense. For Foucault (1984) individuals are constrained to make sense of the world and to position themselves in the world as subjects by what is 'thinkable' or 'sayable' in a society. As for Foucault the 'normalisation' of societies relies on systems of knowledge which are produced by discourses and by the use of power, the self is ultimately a product of discipline and produced under specific historical circumstances. For Foucault understanding 'discourses of the self' (that is identification processes) must therefore occur through the systems of knowledge that have produced them and through the power traceable in discourse. Bourdieu (1991) regards identity as the deterministic processes of reception and reproduction of social structures enacted through *habitus* (i.e. the internalisation of the social order). For Bourdieu culture represents a major system of identity reproduction which embodies social-historical conditions of its production (for example Bourdieu sees national languages emerging from the process of standardisation and reproduced through the education system as the predominance of one dialect over another).

Overall, post-structuralist thinking tends to dismiss identities as grounded in an 'ontological truth' (Connolly 1991), stressing instead the situatedness of subjects and foregrounding the dynamics of power at play in the definition of individual and collective identities. Moreover, post-structuralism tends to dismiss the objectivity of sciences appealing to the 'inescapability' of language in any analysis of phenomena. Thus poststructuralist views treat discursive acts as linguistic instantiations of rational intentions and, in most cases, strategically oriented towards the 'fixing' of meanings. In this light, identities constitute strategic and positional concepts (Hall 1996) whose meaning is constantly negotiated

through 'difference'[28] (Derrida 1976) and which can only partially or temporarily be 'closed'[29] (Laclau and Mouffe 2001). As Hall (2012, p. 17-19) contends:

> *"identities are never unified..[but] increasingly fragmented and fractured; never singular but multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic discourses, practices and positions. They are subject to a radical historicisation, and are constantly in the process of change and transformation. Identities are thus points of temporary attachment to the subject positions which discursive practices construct for us."*

Despite the difference of foci between social constructivism and post-structuralism, both schools of thought have interpreted identities beyond something that exists 'out there'. Instead, they have contributed to shifting the focus of research on identity from treating the latter as a reified essential *product* to identification as the 'unfinished' *process* of (re)production of meanings of 'who we are'. Because it is social and historical contingencies that allow certain identities to be filled with certain meanings it is really the '*hows*' and '*whys*' that should concern us in the study of identities (Mole 2007).

Our understanding of identities has been further influenced by social changes that have occurred over the last few decades and often referred to as 'high', 'late', or 'post' modernity (Habermas 1987, Lash 1990, Giddens 1991). Such a period has been characterised by various phenomena including the globalisation and de-industrialisation of society, the commodification of life-styles, the merging of public and private spheres, and "the erosion of fixed forms and clear boundaries [of groups]" (Brubaker 2003, p.554). As a result, the individual production of identities

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[28] Building on De Saussure's structural linguistics (de Saussure *et al.* 1986) - for which words or signifiers are structured in a system of differences, i.e. they derive their value through their relation with other signs – Derrida and other post structuralists assume that signifieds (or word meanings) are also defined by *difference*, a term that Derrida uses in French to mean both 'difference' and 'differing'.

[29] For Laclau and Mouffe (2001) meanings can only be temporary fixed through 'systemic closure' achieved via hegemony.

through their anchoring in specific social locations has become increasingly complex, differentiated and elusive, resulting in 'fractured' (Hall, 2004) 'liquid' (Bauman, 2004) and hybridised (Bhabha 1994) forms and processes of identification.

Beck *et al.* (1994) characterize the general context in which these processes take place- as well as the understanding of the interplay between their causes and implications - as 'reflexive modernity'. For Beck, Giddens et al. (ibid) 'late modern' individuals (including scientists) are reflexive (i.e. conscious) actors capable of perceiving themselves in-between the duality of structural and agentive dimensions when questioning their identities. For Giddens (1991), although 'late modern' subjects are not the same free agents imagined by the Enlightenment philosophers, they are not entirely determined by structures as they can actively create structural conditions for themselves[30]. Therefore whilst identities may have become more ephemeral, new possibilities for identity redefinition have also opened up through what Giddens (1991) calls 'reflexive' projects of the self. However, as the self still relies on a system for structuring social activities and to derive an 'ontological security' (that is a sense of continuity in one's own life narrative), reflexive projects of the self exist in such duality: on the one hand, they rely on a renewed post-modern narrative of agency and, on the other, as Delanty and Rumford (2005) put it, on "the belief in the self-transformative capacity of modern societies to shape themselves in the projection of their imaginary "(p. 19).

On the back of the premises discussed above, this study treats identities as primarily social constructs produced and negotiated intersubjectively in discourse and emerging at the intersection of personal experiences, macro-social contexts, and the modern politics of belonging

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[30] Giddens emphasizes the conscious and creative action of individuals in the modification of structures, however he does not see this as a straightforward process over which individual have a direct control but rather mediated through a process of 'structuration'. For Giddens (1991), whilst meanings can be accepted and reproduced, they can thus also be negotiated or resisted *vis-à-vis* the very social structures they have created resulting in a further interplay between social structures and individual or collective agency.

(see, for example, Yuval-Davis 2011). In this sense, this study does not dichotomise the social and individual dimensions of identity assuming that: *"[c]ollective identity cannot exist over and above individuals just like individuality [...] cannot exist over and above society"* (Triandafyllidou and Wodak 2003 p. 211). Instead, I assume that integrating social and individual dimensions constitutes a vantage point for the interpretation of identities as it allows for *"equal recognition of the identity-forging potential of both individual experiences and concerns, and of collective visions and ideologies"* (Krzyżanowski 2010 p. 201).

Overall, in this study, identities are approached holistically as a set of processes (re)producing and transforming *"one's sense of who one is, of one's social location, and how (given the first two) one is prepared to act"* (Brubaker and Cooper 2000 p.17). Such self-understanding or "situated subjectivity" (ibid) is understood in this study in its dual interplay with the transformation of social orders, in line with Giddens' (1991) structuration theory. Processes of identification are thus treated in this study as the combination of two facets. On the one hand, identities are understood as 'self-reflexive projects' having an 'ontological depth' (Connolly 1991) insomuch as they provide individuals with a security through 'narrative continuity' (Giddens, 1991). On the other hand, rather than unifying 'truths' (Connolly 1991) processes of identification are interpreted as contingent on historical, political and cultural discourses, as these are capable of interpellating or 'hailing' (Hall 1997) social actors to invest in and negotiate existing identities or claim new ones. Therefore as pointed out by Triandafyllidou and Wodak (2003) "identity is about attributing meaning" a process which is not intrinsic to words but which is socially negotiated and "implies a degree of reflexivity" (p. 206).

3.2 Investigating identities through language

As language represents one of the main ways in which we interact as social beings, it clearly constitutes a major tool for making sense of 'reality' (cf. Searle 1997, Burr 2003). Before the development of social sciences however the relation between language and identity was typically treated in essentialist and deterministic terms, for example regarding languages as 'natural' expressions of a 'common character' shared by all members of a group (*ethno*) (Joseph 2004). Even with the establishment of the disciplines of linguistics, scholars following in the steps of Ferdinand de Saussure (de Saussure *et al.* 1986) were concerned with the study of 'langue' (the language system) rather than 'parole' (the social use of language). Since the development of sociolinguistics as a distinct discipline in the 1960s and 1970s, different perspectives have been brought into the understanding of the interplay between language and identity, in particular, treating language use as the effect of social stratification. Following the seminal work of Labov (1966) variationist sociolinguistics has mainly been concerned with describing linguistic distribution and language variations in relation to a wide range of variables (including geographical and class variables as well as gender and professional status) treating identities as relatively stable entities (at least as predetermined categories of investigation).

In contrast to variationists, another theoretical framework, interactional sociolinguistics – studies the relation between social structure and linguistic structure (cf. Gumperz (1971, 1982), who was instrumental in developing this approach. Interactional sociolinguistics holds that meanings are created in communication and that they are dependent on socio-cultural contexts for their interpretation. In investigating the role of (micro) communication in the production of social identities, Gumperz (1982) argues that parameters like gender, ethnicity

and class cannot be taken for granted "but are communicatively produced" (p.1). In this vein, whilst early variationists tend to see identities as relatively stable entities, interactional sociolinguists have pointed to a more fluid and dynamic understanding of identity. In line with social constructivist perspectives it is now a widespread view in sociolinguistics to consider the relation between language and identity as mutually constitutive: language contributes to constructing one's social identity and one's social identity influences one own's linguistic choices (Meyerhoff 2006). Much research has sought to underscore this view from different standpoints, with studies focusing for example on code-switching (Auer 1984, Myers-Scotton 1998) speech styles, repertoires and codes (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985, Rampton 1995) revealing the diversity and fluidity of performing identity. In general most recent sociolinguistic frameworks have stressed that identity is a process that "yields constellations of identities instead of individual, monolithic constructs" (De Fina *et al.* 2006 p.2) and that, whilst such "repertoires of identities" (Kroskrity 1993 p.222) are generated and enacted in discourse, the salience of individual identities is often context-dependent (see for example Zimmerman 1998, Benwell and Stokoe 2006) making identities "resources used in talk" (Antaki and Widdicombe 1998 p.1) by social actors. Similarly, Bucholtz and Hall (2005) see linguistic interaction as the micro context in which the construction and negotiation of identity - that is "the social positioning of self and other" (ibid, p. 586) - occur. Bucholtz and Hall (2005) thus emphasise the *relationality* of identities, i.e. that "identities are never autonomous or independent but always acquire social meaning in relation to other available identity positions and other social actors" (p. 598).

3.3   Critical approaches: discourse and identity in CDA

A different approach to the study of language and society has been taken by a group of scholars often recognised as Critical Linguists or the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) school (*inter alia* M. Billig, A. Blackledge, N. Fairclough, G. Kress, M. Krzyżanowski, M. Reisigl, T. van Dijk, R. Wodak). Grounded in a common philosophical background (the Critical theory of the Frankfurt School) rather than a strictly defined methodology[31], CDA constitutes an approach to the analysis of language and society that subscribes to the poststructuralist thinking that language is not a simple mirror of reality, but also has an active role in the construction of objects, subjects, and social phenomena (Fairclough and Wodak 1997). CDA assumes that the creation of social reality resides in the intersubjective interpretation and negotiation of meanings mediated by discourse (cf., inter alia, Derrida 1976, Foucault 1980, Berger and Luckmann 1984, Bourdieu *et al.* 1993, Laclau and Mouffe 2001) and that there is *"a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s), which frame it"* (Fairclough and Wodak 1997 p.258). In other words, CDA sees discourses reflecting the specific social-historical and political contexts in which they are produced and reproduced whilst, at the same time, it recognises that discourses are capable of shaping social structures for example by constructing, transforming, deconstructing them or by maintaining their status quo. In this sense, in CDA the term discourse is often referred to as "language in use" (Fairclough 2003 p. 3) or "text in context" (Wodak and Weiss 2005 p. 127) to emphasize the social significance carried by any text[32] or indeed any semiotic practice (Hodge and Kress 1988) and to highlight that, whilst broader discourses may not be entirely 'graspable'

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[31] CDA is often characterised as a denominational umbrella under which different trends exist. See Krzyzanowski (2010, p.69) for details of these.

[32] Text means any portion of written or spoken language.

through individual texts, the latter always carry semiotic 'traces' of the discourse they constitute and for which they are produced and consumed (Fairclough 2001, Fairclough 2003). The linguistic analysis in CDA is therefore aimed at establishing a 'discourse ontology' or "the 'reality' that is entertained or meta-represented by the speaker" (Chilton 2004 p. 54). In this sense, texts represent convenient 'entry points' and major foci for the analysis of social phenomena which must be "read in connection with knowledge of the world [to make sense]" (Wodak 2008 no page). Moreover, CDA views texts and discourses related intertextually and interdiscursively. This means that, although discourses can be framed as semantically coherent units, they are also interpreted as permeable systems in which topics, meanings, and discursive practices can be recontextualised (i.e. reformulated and transformed) by moving across genres and fields (Wodak and Meyer 2009).

Fairclough (2003) distinguishes between the term discourse (that he uses to refer to the generic relation between language and social structure) and a more specific (thematic) use of discourse - for example the 'discourse of globalisation', the 'discourse of new Labour', etc. Furthermore he refers to discourses in the plural not only to signify the heterogeneity of topics available for analysis but also to describe different ideological visions of the same topic (hence 'discourses of globalisation') on the assumption that "different discourses are different ways of representing aspects of the world" (ibid, p.215). Similarly, Paul Gee (1990) differentiates between 'small d' discourses and 'big D' Discourses. For Gee, a 'discourse' is part of a 'Discourse', the latter always being more than just language, as it is constituted by "ways of being in the world [...] certain behaviors (ways of talking, valuing, thinking)" (p.142) which constitute a sort of 'identity kit' enabling individual to validate their membership to the group (for example 'being' an American, a woman, a worker, and so on).

CDA has widely dealt with issues of identity from different theoretical and empirical stances, exploring, *inter alia*, the construction of gender, ethnic, national, institutional and religious identities in organisational, political, educational, and media discourses. In keeping with a poststructuralist grounding that takes into account historical, political and ideological views of the social world and that explicitly deals with power structures, CDA sees identity realised at the micro-discursive level and, at the same time, as an expression of wider discourses carrying specific ideological implications. Critical Linguists have thus paid much attention to the identification process by focusing on the dialectical tension between social structures and individual or collective agency, often choosing a 'constructivist structuralism' approach (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999) more in line with Giddens' structuration theory (see footnote 30 above) and only partially embracing Foucault's account of identities as the structural (re)production of dominant discourses which suggest little or no room for agency of individual 'subjects'. In other words, CDA has highlighted how identification dynamics operate in-between structural and agentive dimensions and through discourses in which actors choose their social location whilst constrained to make sense of the world by positioning or 'subjecting' themselves to the power of existing discourses. From this stance, CDA scholars have highlighted how the definition of identity is inextricably concerned with relations of power and issues of agency; this has resulted in political discourse and identity politics being the focus of much work in CDA (Kendall 2007).

Broadly speaking, this body of work regards identities as discursive constructs by which groups and their interests are defined and their social position in relation to other groups is claimed, challenged and negotiated (van Dijk 1997) so that the construction of identities effectively can be interpreted as the construction of meanings and relationships (Gergen 2001). From this perspective, the 'critical analysis of discourse' therefore has been concerned with how individuals categorize themselves and

others by laying claim over identities as socially shared resources and by constructing meanings sometimes bringing into being new 'categories', new ways of being, i.e. new discourses.

Hence, one major area of interest for Critical Linguists has been the exploration of issues of identity from the perspective of group categorisation, social exclusion and legitimisation processes with particular reference to public discourses, the media, and institutional contexts (see for example Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999, Grad and Rojo 2008, Galasinska and Krzyżanowski 2009, Wodak *et al.* 2009, Krzyżanowski 2010). Similarly, 'identity' has been analysed in relation to the ideological function of language in producing, sustaining and transforming social inequalities by Wodak (1997) and by Van Dijk (1995, 1997) in the context of racist and anti-Semitic discourses. Van Dijk acknowledges the role of cognition as a mediator between discourse and society, and the role of discourses as semiotic mediation between situations, representations, and structures. In this light, he sees discourses as shared forms of knowledge (in a Foucauldian sense), stored in a social 'semantic' memory, that have concrete expressions in texts or utterances through syntactic structures and other linguistic devices such as, for instance, tropes and metaphors.

Focusing on the relation between identity politics and discourse from a 'post-marxist' perspective, Laclau (1994) has examined the emergence and transformation of political identities in contemporary society. Building on Derrida, Laclau (1994) sees the articulation of discursive practices (i.e. their specific social usage) capable of establishing, challenging, and dismantling relations among discursive elements. A discourse, therefore, is interpreted as the temporary fixation of meaning(s) around 'privileged' signs or, put differently, around 'nodal points'. 'Nodal points' can thus constitute sites of discursive and social struggle in which social reality is constructed through attempts to partially fix meanings and concepts in a discursive field and to relate them to

institutionalised structures (such as for example the concept of nation and the functions of the state)[33]. Consequently, Laclau's view is that the definition of identities requires the examination of 'floating signifiers' constructed around the nodal point, that is, for example, meanings associated with in the signifier 'Europe' in their lexical, semantic and discursive web of relations.

The construction of national, linguistic, and cultural identities represents another area where CDA has been actively engaged and it will be dealt with in the next section.

3.3.1 The discursive construction of national identities

Over the last few centuries 'national' referents have provided individuals with a major source of group identification and belonging (Smith 1991, Alter 1994, Hobsbawm 1997, Gellner 2006, Guibernau 2007, Hobsbawm 2010). Whilst Smith (1991) defines a nation drawing on 'ethnosymbolic', cultural, historical and political components suggesting that emotional investment in these elements lies at the basis of community solidarity and fellowship, Gellner (2006) regards nations as a modern construct born out of industrialisation and the need to organise society in structured systems. From similar premises, Anderson (2006) interprets nations primarily as social constructs embedded in the historic context of a shift from a religious-based order of the world to one founded on 'enlightened' notions of reason and progress. Anderson sees this shift coinciding with the development of technology and capitalism and, for example, he suggests that the invention of the printing press was crucial in the spread of 'national' languages which, in turn, was key in processes of

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[33] This constitutes part of a larger theory of hegemony. For Laclau hegemony is discursively achieved through the reduction of possible meanings (or 'closure') within a certain topic.

national unification. For Anderson, therefore the aforementioned historic conditions and the political agendas of newly born nation-states accelerated, sustained, and crystallised the cultural reproduction of national communities and the organisation of political life (for instance in the notion of citizenship) developing 'nationhood' into naturalised referents for one's group identity. Thus Anderson (2006) famously argued that large communities such as nations exist as 'imaginary' entities primarily in the mind of their members who will never get to know their fellow nationals but who will nevertheless feel the communion of belonging to a group. This view has been further corroborated by other scholars who have explained how the imagined component of 'we-ness' in national identities is constantly (re)produced, negotiated and instantiated in tangible symbols, practices, discourses of 'nation', of collective belonging and shared spaces via the definition of 'in' and 'out' groups (cf. Said 1979, Billig 1995, Hall 1997). In particular, narratives of nation-states - articulated through discourses of perceived spatial and social homogeneity of the 'in-group' and its differentiation from 'out-group' - have instrumentally informed the politics of belonging that, in modern democracies, has regulated the attribution of citizenship rights (Dieckhoff 2004).

From a perspective similar to Anderson's, Stuart Hall (1996) interprets national identity primarily as constructed within, not outside, representations in discourse and for the purpose of positioning 'subjects' politically. For Hall (1996)

"national identity is a discourse - a way of constructing meanings which influences and organises both our actions and our conception of ourselves [...]. National cultures construct identities by producing meanings about 'the nation' with which we can identify" (p. 613).

For example one comes to understand one's own 'English identity' "because of the way 'Englishness' has come to be represented, as a set of meanings, by English national culture" (Hall 1992 p.292). Consequently,

the process of 'imagining' oneself as a member of a community is realised discursively in "shared representations of a collective self" (Checkel and Katzenstein 2009 p. 4) and achieved, *inter alia*, via the articulation of discourses of belonging, otherness, cultural, and political values. Drawing on the many insights of constructive perspectives of nation, CDA has also argued that national identities are ultimately a construct of discourse reproducing narratives of 'national culture' and 'imagined communities'. Billig (1995) for example sees the 'banal nationalism' of every-day interaction (embodied for example by the mundane, yet powerful, use of symbols and artefacts such as a flag in a public office) instrumental in the reproduction of national affiliations. Similarly, Billig (ibid) highlights how national categorisation is also effectively achieved in every-day discourses through rhetoric and linguistic devices functionally aimed at constructing 'in' and 'out' groups, for example through positive representations/evaluations of 'us' and the negative representations/evaluation of 'them'.

One of the most notable works on the discursive construction of national identities in CDA is provided by Wodak et al (2009)[34]. Using the DHA, Wodak et al highlight the historic dimension of discourses of nationhood and the role of socio-political contexts in their transformation and recontextualisation. Focusing on the specific case of Austrian national identity and analysing public and semi-private discourses, the authors illustrate how the Austrian national community is discursively constructed in reference to (internal) sameness and (external) differences along a temporal dimension that highlights the narrative continuity of a 'shared past' and a 'common destiny'. Wodak et al (2009) insightfully correlate the use of micro linguistic elements (such as synecdoche, metonymies and metaphors) with general macro-propositions of discourses (such as the debate on Austria's accession to the EU). Such a correlation is carried out via the epistemic function of discursive strategies, such as

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[34] The study was originally published in 1999.

constructive/destructive strategies as well as strategies of perpetration, of justification and of transformation[35]. In the case of Austrian identity, Wodak et al (2009) argue that although the majority of discourses draw on typical topics to construct internal sameness and differences with other national groups (e.g., the 'national character'), discourses are not "distinctive and unified" (p.198) but dependent on the context and the "social macro-function involved" (ibid) resulting in "highly diverse, ambivalent, context-determined discursive identity constructs" (p. 188). In other words for Wodak et al.

"there is no such thing as one national identity in an essentialist sense, but rather [...] different identities are discursively constructed according to context, that is, to the degree of public exposure of a given utterance, the setting, the topic addressed, and so on" (ibid, pp. 186–7).

At the same time, Wodak et al. (2009) highlight the 'circularity' of national discourses suggesting that national identities are constructed and reproduced through the recontextualisation of institutional discourses in everyday discourses by 'ordinary' citizens as 'habitus' (see p. 37).

3.4   European identity: 'national' discourses in transformation?

As discussed so far, the 'imagination' of national communities and their discursive reproduction has permeated the construction of nation-states for over four centuries, representing one of the most powerful ways in which individuals have made sense of their locations, their social relations, and their sense of belonging. This is not to say that the idea of Europe did not exist before the development of nationhood in a modern sense. Indeed Europe as a geographical term has been used as far back as Greek historian Herodotus and, as a cultural term, since Charle Magne (cf.

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[35] See p. 114 for a detailed discussion of discursive strategies

Smith 1997, Pagden 2002). Moreover, the concept of Europeanness has been passionately debated at least since the Enlightenment (Chimisso 2003) and, in many cases, it has played an active role in the discursive constructions of national identities albeit instrumentally appropriated by and recontextualised in the political agendas of nation-states in the making (Malmborg and Strath 2002).

It is, however, in the last 60 years, with the emergence of the European Union (EU), that the idea of Europeanness has increasingly become relevant and debated in public discourses. Although the EU cannot be assumed to be the only embodiment/referent of European identities, institutional discourses have contributed the production of a normative vision of "the kind of identity Europe ought to have" (Delanty 1995 p. 2-3), a view also shared by Laffan, 2004 (summarised in Herrmann *et al.* 2004 p. 255) for whom the EU institutions have achieved "identity hegemony in terms of increasingly defining what it means to belong to Europe" [36]. Much literature has thus suggested that, in modern discourses, the idea of Europe reclaimed by the EU institutions in relation to the project of economic and political integration (Malmborg and Strath 2002) has increasingly been associated with the civic and political dimensions of the EU (Jansen 1999, Bruter 2005, Millar and Wilson 2007, Castiglione 2009) and, at the same time, it has cascaded in many different social fields as an "empty signifier" (Eder 2009) [37].

In the last decades, therefore, there has been a surge of academic interest in the notion of Europe and the 'European community' as socio-political constructs primarily in relation to an increased politicisation of identities, legitimisation processes of the EU institutions, as well as socio-cultural flows and historical perspectives (Diez 1999, Rosamond 1999,

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[36] I here refer to the top-down vision of 'being European' rather than the EU's organisational identity (cf. Wodak (2004), Abeles (2004), and Krzyzanowski (2010) for the latter).

[37] Eder (2009) suggests that, with regards to the formation of collective identities, the term 'Europe' could represent a proxy, or a 'referent object' associated with a variety of 'ideas'.

Kohli 2000, Shore 2000, Cowles *et al.* 2001, Paasi 2001, Ifversen 2002, Balibar 2004, Eriksen and Fossum 2004, Herrmann *et al.* 2004, Wodak 2004, Robyn 2005, Wodak and Weiss 2005, Fligstein 2007, Mole 2007, Oberhuber 2007, Cerutti and Lucarelli 2008, Fligstein 2008, Checkel and Katzenstein 2009, Eder 2009, Galasinska and Krzyżanowski 2009, Recchi and Favell 2009, Ilie 2010, Krzyżanowski 2010, Stråth 2010, Walsh *et al.* 2010, DeBardeleben 2011, Friedman and Thiel 2012)

The fuzzy and contested aspects of Europeanness that emerge from the aforementioned literature are not possible to discuss in depth in this thesis. By and large, however, the literature analysed raises a compelling argument for framing the analysis of European identity in relation to two distinct perspectives that are relevant to this study. Drawing on Checkel and Katzenstein (2009) I will thus discuss specific features of European identity interpreting the latter as: a) a political project and b) a socio-historical process. In relation to the former perspective, Europeanness can be treated as a politicised identity project, whose impact on European society has often been associated, especially in political sciences, with the finality of the EU's institutional project of integration. From the latter perspective the notion of European identity is best approached as a historical process of social transformation of (national) identities that must be situated amid global and transnational scenarios of 'late modernity'. These two dimensions substantially tally with Krzyżanowski's (2010) conceptualisations of European (social) identities which he treats:

> *"(a) on a strictly 'European level (explaining the concrete interconnection between social and political developments taking place in Europe) and (b) on the level of explanation of social processes in a general (and, to an extent, global) way" (p. 62).*

The following section therefore deals with these two aspects focusing, in the first instance, on institutional discourses of European identity and the extent to which they have been reproduced and recontextualised at a citizens' level and, subsequently, focusing on the

interplay between macro or global processes and their impact at an European level.

3.4.1 European identity as a political project

The origin of the EU - in the aftermath of a major world conflict whose causes many have seen as rooted in the extreme nationalistic propaganda of nation-states at the time (Bauman 2004) – was a political attempt to overcome future conflicts by creating a peaceful and cooperative society among the 'peoples of Europe' where a post-national sentiment could emerge or, at least, where national differences could be reconciled. The EU's narratives (at least in the discourses of the Commission and the most 'progressive' part of EU institutions) have largely characterised Europe as a post-war project aimed at the construction of a polity that would supersede the national dimension. A large cross-section of scholars from political sciences and philosophy have thus regarded European institutions investing in the project of unification with a distinct "degree of transnational European sentiment" (Kaye 2009 p. 56). In a similar vein, Habermas (2001) has confidently seen the European project as the most notable example of post-national organisation and one capable of promoting new civic ideals and a 'civic patriotism' that will eventually bring Europeans together in a post-nationalistic spirit. Likewise, for Eder (2009), Europe embodies a post-national ideal of society, albeit institutional narratives have been too heterogeneous and somewhat incompatible with each other to promote distinctive collective (i.e. European) identities.

On the other hand, from a more critical perspective, historians Malmborg and Strath (2002) argue that, since the Enlightenment, the term 'European identity' has been appropriated by many political narratives, in

particular those promoted by the *elites* because of "the interpretive power contained in the concept [of Europe]" (ibid, p.3). Seeing the EU's narratives representing a continuation of such discourses Milward *et al.* (2000) go further claiming that the idea of Europe has been 'exploited' by the unification project to rescue European nation-states and to ensure the continuity of their institutionalisation. In between these very diverse positions there is a wide range of views that tend to largely regard the institutional notion of Europeanness as a polysemic construct dependent on social and political contingencies and whose meanings have shifted in time.

At its beginning, for example, the integration of Europe was mainly driven by functional and economic rationales and identity *per se* was not necessarily one of the original concerns of the political architects of the EU. Even when an 'official' discourse of European identity was introduced with the publication of the 'Declaration on European Identity' in Copenhagen in 1973[38], the document was more concerned with placing Europe as a 'global' player *vis-à-vis* other economic trading blocs than actually engaging with cultural, civic, or, for that matter, philosophical interpretations of the identity of its citizens. In the past few decades, however, the quest to identify the 'Europeans' and their relation with the EU institutions has intensified considerably in relation to issues of legitimacy of the 'European project' (Cerutti and Lucarelli 2008) and the debated question of the EU's 'democratic deficit' (Majone 1998). In particular, in the 1980s - and in relation to a new phase of the EU's integration - narratives of Europeanness primarily occurred in terms of a Western-centric civilisation that existed uninterrupted 'from Plato to Nato' (Niedermüller and Stoklund 2001), thus emphasizing the Latin/Christian 'roots' of Europe in opposition to Muslim and Communist 'others' (Delanty 1995).

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[38] The text is available at: http://www.cvce.eu/content/publication/1999/1/1/02798dc9-9c69-4b7d-b2c9-f03a8db7da32/publishable_en.pdf. Accessed 5/9/2011

A new political phase followed in the early 1990s, which saw the adoption of a social agenda promoting human rights, democracy and diversity in addition to 'free market' policies (Kraus 2011), followed by the lengthy draft of the (failed) Constitution culminating in the Lisbon Treaty [39] and finally, by the EU's biggest enlargement in 2004 which brought into the EU political arena increasingly diversified conceptualisations of Europeanness which were to be (re)negotiated and which shifted the traditional notion of 'the East' as 'Europe's other' (Šarić *et al.* 2010). The 'issue' of European identity thus became central to institutional discourses which shifted from earlier narratives to new ones emphasising internal heterogeneity and universal values of democracy and human rights (encapsulated in the 'unity in diversity' philosophy) resulting in a "move from a cultural definition to a sociological and political construction of a European identity" (Ifversen 2002 p.3).

A vast body of literature has explored the impact of the EU's narratives on social imaginaries and examined if, to what extent, and how the reception/reproduction of Europeanness has occurred at the level of the citizen. From a socio-political perspective, some scholars have suggested that we could conceive of societal changes brought about by the EU in a framework of 'Europeanisation' of society (Cowles *et al.* 2001, Featherstone and Radaelli 2003). Very concisely, the term Europeanisation refers to national structures increasingly being shaped by EU agendas with, for instance, normative, economic and many other fields 'reorienting' towards a European trajectory. In this sense, top-down narratives of European identity have contributed to the circulation and reproduction of discourses of 'being European (citizens)' in public opinion, however they have also been able to penetrate the public opinion insofar as they have accommodated and have been accommodated by local and national narratives (Mole 2007). Typically European identities have thus

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[39] The text is available at: http://europa.eu/lisbon_treaty/full_text/index_en.htm. Accessed 26/1/2012.

emerged in many different forms but substantially they have interplayed with national and other identities in a 'non-zero sum' proposition (that is one does not take away from the other).

A model proposed by Herrmann *et al.* (2004) captures such an interplay between identities using the 'Matruska doll' metaphor. Through such a model identities are seen as nested inside each other in a pecking order of "belonging and loyalties […] so that 'Europe' forms the outer boundary, while one's region or nation-state constitutes the core" (ibid., p. 250). So for example, whilst Bavaria can represent one's 'central' identity, Germany and Europe can still be salient 'external' referents.

A less hierarchical and more fluid representation of multiple identities is however suggested by some other research. For example, according to Triandafyllidou (2008) and Duchesne (2012) a significant proportion of EU citizens have been able to integrate Europeanness as a component of individual self-understanding in a variety of 'reflexive' combinations co-existing with local, regional and national identities. Along these lines, Risse (2010) suggests one could think of European identity as a "marble cake" in which "Europe and the EU become intertwined and amalgamated in the various national identity narratives" (p. 87). For Risse (2010) thus the 'Europeanisation' of identities has mainly been occurring through processes whereby the 'core' understanding of what it means to be French, German, Italian etc. converges towards a European 'reading' of it. For example, the French might refer to the French Revolution, the Germans to war memories, the Italians to the legacy of the Roman Empire all claiming their 'Europeanness' whilst preserving their other belongings. Examining the extent to which narratives of 'post-national' Europeanness (as promoted in normative discourses) are conspicuous at citizens' level Antonsich (2008), however, concludes that whilst post-national identification with EU-rope coexists with 'national' views, the latter are still the most important ways in which "people see themselves and the world" (p. 517). In this sense, Mole (2007) suggests that "national cultures

[...] continuously reproduce European identity" (p.211) in a reified 'mirror image' and Risse (2010, p.10) states that "Europeanised identities still come in national colours and resonate with the various national symbols".

3.4.2 European Identity as a global process and transnationalism as a new variable

The idea of a European identity can also be understood from a 'global' stance, i.e. contextualised within macro (socio, historical, political and economic) changes conveniently captured by terms such as globalisation and transnationalism [40]. In recent years, a significant body of interdisciplinary literature has recognised transnationalism as an important macro phenomenon emerging in relation to the de-territorialisation of cultural, social and economic practices, which are moving away from 'nationally' rooted apparatuses, or which supersede the remit of national institutions (Basch *et al.* 1994, Portes 1997, Smith and Guarnizo 1998, Ong 1999, Portes *et al.* 1999, Vertovec 1999, Vertovec 2001, Levitt and Schiller 2004, Vertovec 2009). The term transnationalism has been used in political theory with regard to practices of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) to highlight the fact that at least one of the actors involved is a non-state entity (Risse-Kappen 1995). In social anthropology (for example social geography, migration and cultural studies), transnationalism has covered a variety of concepts typically related to new forms of social interaction resulting from intensified cross-border mobility (whether related to diaspora or triggered by economic factors). At the same time transnationalism has also been appropriated in social movement studies for example in relation to cross-border political mobilisation (Della Porta and Diani 1999, Della Porta and Tarrow 2005).

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[40] As explained in footnote 3, although the terms globalisation and transnationalism are not synonyms, they encompass a range of overlapping and interdependent processes.

The large majority of research on transnationalism has stressed how cross-border connections, which have of course always existed, have particularly intensified of late and been facilitated by cheaper transportation and increased digital communication, and in general by the globalisation of practices (Castells 1996a). Profound social transformations have been occurring on a global scale as a result of increased flows of people and other 'social remittances' (that is ideas, norms, and practices) across borders (Levitt and Jaworski 2007). The literature on transnationalism has generally recognised that

"large numbers of people now live in social worlds that are stretched between, or dually located in, physical places and communities in two or more nation-states [resulting in] even more complex set of conditions that affect the construction, negotiation and reproduction of social identities" (Vertovec 2001 p. 578).

Vertovec (2009) argues that social transformation relating to transnationalism can be examined from distinct conceptual premises. These include treating transnationalism as: a) a mode of cultural reproduction, b) a site of political engagement, c) the (re) construction of 'place' or locality, d) a type of consciousness, and e) a set of economic transformations. These aspects will be discussed in section 3.5.1.1 below with specific attention to implications for 'social morphology' and issues of identity. However it is important to stress the interdependence of these aspects. For instance the social and cultural dimensions of transnational flows of people are strictly related to political discourses as migration inevitably raises the question of membership of a political community (often symbolised by citizenship rights) and thus it is bound to impact on political engagement and choice of affiliations of individuals. Likewise, the transnationalisation of economies (see below) has clearly had important consequences for income distribution and the ways that people (are forced to) move across borders or how they 'imagine' their solidarity ties.

3.5 Unpacking transnationalism

The previous section has introduced transnationalism as a dynamic and multifaceted phenomenon comprising of interdependent cultural, social, political, and economic dimensions. This section discusses such aspects in relation to processes of (de/re)construction of community and their implications for identification dynamics. A discussion is presented which focuses on the changing constructions of belonging to a (national) community in transnational and cosmopolitan imaginaries. In particular examples will be offered of new meanings of (national) language, citizenship and solidarity, on the role of network in the deterritorialisation of belonging and how new visions of social orders have been brought about by transnational and cosmopolitan discourses.

3.5.1.1 *Identification processes in transnational settings: new meanings of community*

As elaborated in section 3.3.1, the discursive construction and reproduction of national identities has relied, *inter alia*, on cultural and political narratives of nationhood through which citizens have been able to imagine themselves as a 'we-community' (Anderson 2006, Hobsbawm 2010). Building on this model, for the past few centuries, nation-states have been able to establish themselves as socio-political and economic actors relying on a systemic relation of the 'identities-borders-orders' triad (Albert *et al.* 2001). In other words, national identities have been typically anchored to defined territories, crystallised in structured social orders, sustained by political and legal systems, and institutionalised in cultural practices.

The emergence of transnational practices and the exponential growth of transnational ties, however, have increasingly blurred established physical, social, and cultural boundaries of nationhood and community belonging. In the wake of intensified cross-border flows, the structured relation of 'identities-borders-orders' can no longer be taken for granted, as national and other narratives are being displaced across different cultural networks, resulting in a dilution of established meanings of community belonging (see for example Bhabha, 1990, 1994). In Bhabha's view, transnational practices can generate 'third spaces' where individuals can find 'cultural positionality' in reference to a boundless time and space between national territories. This 'in-betweenness' does not reproduce the dominant narrative but rather allows for 'hybridity' which, in some cases, could be interpreted as a "counter-narrative of the nation" (Bhabha 1994, p. 300). To illustrate the point about the impact of transnationalism on processes of social identification I will discuss changes to three key elements traditionally associated with nationhood: language, citizenship, and solidarity.

3.5.1.2 Language

Language[41] has played a key role in the 'imagination' of national communities and the construction of linguistic identities. The distinctiveness of a language can emblematically represent the uniqueness of an entire social group *vis-à-vis* others, whilst, at the same time, sharing a language can provide group members with a reference for their sameness thus reinforcing their sense of in-group belonging in inter-ethnic relations (Giles and Johnson 1987). Such interplay has often been appropriated by political agendas in the construction of national identities and their institutional legitimisation (Hobsbawm 1997, Kroskrity 2000, Wright 2000, Barbour and Carmichael 2002, Anderson 2006, Ricento 2006,

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[41] I here refer to language as "a communication system composed of arbitrary elements which possess an agreed-upon significance within a community" (Edwards 2009 p. 53) and exists in distinct denominational forms (e.g. English, Swahili, Algonquin, etc.).

Shohamy 2006). The construction of linguistic identities through monistic regimes (i.e. one nation, one-state, one-language) have often been at the heart of nation-state building in modern history (albeit monistic ideologies have often been underpinned by opposite conceptualisations of nation)[42].

As a result, whilst "a single unifying language was the best definition and protector of nationhood" (Spolsky 2004 p. 57) as it would ensure the consolidation of the allegiance between the state and its citizens that was needed by the political agendas of newly born nation-states, it also contributed to naturalise a close discursive association between national and linguistic identities. As Chilton (2004, p.9) remarks discussing the institutionalisation of the French language: "[i]f one cannot speak French, one cannot, in the French Republic, be regarded as fully French". In national discourse, therefore, a national language has often represented both a means for institutions to ensure the reproduction of a national identity and an index for citizens to express their group affiliation. To use Pittaway's (2003a) words:

> *"[the] essentially top-down notion, that a state can secure loyalty through the dissemination of a common language among a subject*

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[42] As suggested by much literature, the adoption and standardisation of national languages have often occurred through institutional processes of selection and reproduction of certain language varieties at the expense of others (Bourdieu 1991; Spolsky 2004; Wright 2000) which have been justified by different conceptualisations of 'nation' (see Wodak et al. (2009) for a differentiation between *Kulturnation* and *Staatnation*). In the case of *Kulturnation* - as a virtue of the ties with ethnicity and 'groupness', a common language has often provided a group the ideological basis for claiming legitimacy as a nation (Smith 1991). This is for instance the case of the 18th-century German Romantic movement which led to the constitution of the German state as the expression of a perceived German *volksgeist* (the national spirit) (Edwards, 2009). By contrast, in the case of *Staatnation*, a common language was often introduced and imposed by the central administration on the grounds that it would ensure the civic participation of all citizens and the functioning of the state apparatus (Chilton 2004). This is for example what happened in the 17th-century under Richelieu when French became the unifying language of France (Spolsky 2004) and, in more general terms, in the institutionalisation of administrations that ensued in the creation of nation states in Europe in the last few centuries. This rough distinction between 'constituvist' and 'instrumentalist' (De Schutter 2007) views on the nature of language is consistently found throughout political philosophy literature and has impacted on the implementation of different language policies and on interpretations of linguistic justice (Zappettini and Comănaru 2014).

population, has been complemented by a bottom-up notion of the relationship between language and state" (2003, p. 158)

This relationship, however, has increasingly come under strain in the face of transnational flows. The sociolinguistic diversity, that has always existed within national communities, has seen an exponential growth in recent years with societies in most migrant-receiving countries becoming more (linguistically) heterogeneous or 'super-diverse' than ever (Vertovec 2007, Blommaert and Rampton 2011). One of the consequences of living in a super-diverse society is that, whilst individuals are more likely to engage with a much wider range of semiotic and linguistic resources, patterns of social interaction and identification processes pegged to national features (for instance the notion of 'native speaker') have largely lost their predictability and some of their social significance as identity markers (Blommaert 2013) [43].

At the same time, along with the increased variety of linguistic identities within national communities, at a transnational level, there has been a conspicuously growing convergence of practices towards the use of a few global languages (primarily English), especially in communication associated with global patterns of trade and commerce.[44] For House (2003) these phenomena have resulted in a *diglossic* societal scenario where a pragmatic distinction can be made between languages that are used for "non-private communication" (such as English as a lingua franca) and languages used for affective or "identificatory purposes" (p. 226). Cheshire (2002) corroborates House's view suggesting that English is increasingly representing a marker of global youth identity exactly through the speakers' distinct perceptions of allegiance and belonging to a

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[43] By the same token, some of the institutional and populist responses to such scenario have resulted in a reaffirmation of essentialist interpretations of identities and national languages (see for example Mar-Molinero and Stevenson 2009, Ruzza 2014)

[44] In relation to English as a lingua franca there has been a complex debate on issues of linguistic justice, which is not possible to discuss in detail in this thesis (see, inter alia, Ammon 2001, Gubbins and Holt 2002, Maurais 2003, Phillipson 2003, Mar-Molinero and Stevenson 2009, Van Parijs 2011)

community on the one hand, and of worldwide communicative expertise on the other.

Heller (2003, 2012) highlights further implications on identities brought about by the transnationalisation of economies (see below). In the context of a study of the bilingual Canadian workforce in the tourism industry and the larger context of 'new economy' practices, Heller (2003) contends that there has been

> *"a shift from understanding language as being primarily a marker of ethnonational identity, to understanding language as being a marketable commodity on its own, distinct from identity [so that] ethnonational consciousness [...] now serves as a basis for economic mobilisation [in a process amid] the tension between local solidarities and transnational affiliations" ((ibid, p.489).*

3.5.1.3 Citizenship

Citizenship is another notable example of the changes occurring to once fixed systems of (re)producing national identities. For a long time, citizenship was functionally seen as a tool for stabilizing and strengthening the state apparatus (Marshall 1950). Typically, in nation-states, the attribution of citizenship has determined the boundaries of participation in the public democratic debate (through granting the right to vote, freedom of movement, etc.) whilst, by the same token, social cohesion, allegiance to the 'imagined' national community, and the reproduction of the state apparatus have been ensured through individuals performing their national identities as 'fellow citizens' (Hobsbawm 1997). The consolidation of transnational links, however, has had profound repercussions on the imagination of the political community one is part of. For example, transnational connections (resulting from migratory movements) have consolidated in multiple loyalties which straddle across territorially bounded jurisdictions and which call into question the single allegiance to the 'national' community expected from formal citizenship (Bauböck and Faist 2010). Meanwhile, new ways of

understanding citizenship have increasingly emerged and entered public discourses and policies which are crucially redefining the notion of cultural, ethnic, and civic belonging and membership in contemporary polities (Westwood 2000, Stevenson 2003). An increasing recognition of 'cultural identity' as a criteria for modern citizenship (Kymlicka 1990) based on the inclusion of cultural rights and the recognition of differences advocated, for example, by multiculturalism (Parekh 2000) have resulted in some governments extending and/or loosening the traditional principles upon which they grant citizenship rights, allowing for more cases of dual and multiple citizenships.[45]

3.5.1.4 Solidarity

The transnationalisation of society has not only been reflected in changes to how membership of a political community is formally attributed by states. If we refer to citizenship as one's active engagement with one's civic duties, transnationalism has contributed to an overall redefinition of practices and meanings of civic membership, political activism, and solidarity in most modern democracies (Sassen 2002, Kastoryano 2003, Sigona 2013). The micro-solidarity that the nation-state narratives have historically 'scaled up' from household to national levels (Malesevic 2013) is increasingly recognizable in the life of modern political communities through the reorganisation of local civic activism along global contingencies. Globalisation, for example, has brought to the fore that certain issues - such as environmental risk, migratory flows, and organised crime, which obviously do not stop at borders – can affect the wider community and, therefore, can be more effectively debated in a

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[45] Traditionally, nation states have granted citizenship to either any individual born in the territory of the state (*jus soli* or right of soil) or by line of descendants (*jus sanguini* or right of blood). In recent years, however, several states have changed their policies. For example, since 1999, Germany has made it easier for individuals born in Germany to foreign parents to acquire German citizenship, thus opening up the restrictive *jus sanguini* principle that for many years did not recognize a large immigrant population of *Gastarbeiter*. Since 2006 Italy has allowed for descendants of Italian immigrants (who can prove a relation with their ancestors) to claim Italian citizenship whilst keeping the citizenship acquired at birth (e.g. U.S.) thus extending the *jus sanguini* outside the national territory.

trans-border arena. As Beck (1996) argues there is "a new dialectic of global and local questions which do not fit into national politics" (p. 226) and which can only be "properly posed, debated and resolved" (ibid) in a transnational framework. Networks of communication that can span across borders and that can organise themselves around different interests and solidarities therefore constitute an appealing tool for collective political action and group agency beyond national constraints. From an ideological perspective, thus, transnational activism is not only capable of projecting nationalism across borders (as, for instance, in the case of diaspora of stateless peoples) but also to transcend national borders to recreate the reference framework for social and political membership at different and wider levels (Bauböck and Faist 2010).

Alongside this interpretation of transnational political engagement, a further important aspect of solidarity relates to the transnationalisation of economies. Put succinctly, the last few decades have seen the spreading of neoliberal policies (encouraging a deregulation of trade, wage competition, privatisation, and a reduced public expenditure) and an ever-growing focus on market interests with multinational corporations accruing their influence on social dynamics (Sparke 2013). The effects of such policies have been highly debated. Whilst the transnationalisation of markets has increased economic output and intensified cross world trade, for many (cf. for example Robinson 2004) such growth has primarily benefitted vested interests, enabling some big corporations' GDP (and influence) to grow to the level of small national governments[46] and to compete with them by eroding some of the traditional functions of nation-states (for example welfare and social protection). Furthermore, the global financial crises which started in 2007 has added to the loss of job security of a large strata of the world's population, widening the gap between the 'haves' and 'have nots' in most societies.

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[46] http://www.businessinsider.com/25-corporations-bigger-tan-countries-2011-6?op=1

In the wake of these changes, there has been a polarisation of solidarity towards common themes of 'resistance' to globalisation perceived as a potential threat (Castells 1997) whereby most individuals, who tend to identify as 'disempowered' and losing out from transnational economies, have been brought together by different transnational interests rather than by national camaraderie. Grassroots movements such as the 'Anti-globalisation' Movement started in Seattle, 1999 and, more recently, 'Los Indignados' in Spain (2012) have shown the ability to harness the potential of transnational connections for purposes of solidarity and common action to counterbalance the "excesses of capitalist globalisation"(Cheah 2006)[47]. In this sense, transnationalism has also been conceptualised as a powerful form of 'globalisation from below' (Portes 1997 p. 296) because the 'social capital' of transnational networks can easily and democratically be appropriated by participants for shared objectives of cooperation or even for more radical and counterhegemonic action in which the transnational element is imagined as the 'transversal' and 'transgressive' 'trespassing' of ideological borders of regulated logics of state and capitalism (DeBardeleben 2011).

3.5.2   The role of networks in transnational and cosmopolitan imaginaries

In the social sciences, the metaphor of network has been extensively used to describe different phenomena.[48] The use of the network metaphor has become especially widespread in recent years in the theorisation of

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[47] At the same time there exist many examples of how the financial crisis and the negative effect of global capitalism have fueled populist discourses promoting a resurgence of nationalism (Wodak and Richardson 2013, Angouri and Wodak 2014, Ruzza 2014).

[48] For example, from sociolinguistic perspectives, the work of Milroy (1987) has relied on the concept of network to explain language variation as a function of interpersonal relationships and the enactment of social and linguistics norms within a social group. Wenger (1998) refers to network from social psychological and anthropological perspectives to describe the dynamic interaction occurring within communities of practice where membership is enacted through mutual engagement and shared objectives.

social interaction (e.g. communicative practices) enabled and mediated by new technology and the formation of systemic structures in relation to such practices (cf., inter alia, Latour 2005, Dijk 2006, Cavanagh 2007) Terms such as 'social network' have thus been used to describe a group of people connected by shared interests or beliefs as well as the social, organisational, cultural and technological infrastructures underpinning the group interaction. Much academic literature has analysed and discussed the role of transnational networks in the interaction of political and social actors in globalised contexts (see, for instance, Smith *et al.* 1997, Della Porta and Diani 1999, Della Porta and Tarrow 2005, Tarrow 2005, MacDonald 2006). In these studies, the conceptualisation of network has been especially significant in the spatial representation of communities for its 'open' and flexible structure. Social interaction within and across the network can typically be imagined via the expansion of new 'nodes' in a flexible, horizontal (i.e. non-hierarchical) process which can virtually be limitless as it is not contained physically (Castells 1996b, Castells 1997, Castells 2001). For Castells (2000 p. 14) transnational connections, are "social practices without geographical contiguity" which have changed the way we think about space. He underscores how, in transnational societies, the meaning of space is no longer anchored in territory and 'places' but instead, it has shifted to the dynamics of 'connections' and 'flows' conceived along the logic of networks.   Furthermore, as pointed out by Castells and Cardoso (2005p. 15), because "[b]y definition, a network has no centre" the logic of 'core' and 'periphery' (that is physical locations and social distances) is downplayed and made less relevant. In this way, individuals tend to experience their location in a social network as a point-to-point dynamic relation and their social interaction as the flows and ties between points/nodes. Significantly, therefore, for Castells (1996b) the power of communication through networks is an effective way of reconstructing social spaces, redrawing the imagery of communities and hierarchies and an opportunity for individuals to re-position themselves in this changed topography.

In a similar vein to Castells, Appadurai (1995, 1996) sees social connections and flows of cultural resources as no longer constrained by physical bounds but relying on 'linked up' local and global dimensions with the opportunity to be enacted via new 'technoscapes'. For Appadurai this can help us reframe social interaction in a new 'relationality' where 'place' is best understood as embedded in a network of connections and in relation to other 'scapes' that make up the network. Appadurai thus sees the redefinition of 'place' opening up social and individual opportunities for negotiating and redefining identities. Whilst he highlights the complexity of 'relating or producing locality' for individuals immersed in transnational networks, he also suggests that they are able to 're-imagine' themselves across borders from new 'translocalities' and in new forms. However, as argued by Hanquinet and Savage (2013) summarizing Appadurai's argument

"global flows do not lead to the homogenisation of location or the erosion of local cultures, but rather they allow a proliferation of spatial signifiers" (p.6).

Such reconfiguration of signifiers can take place along a local-global continuum whereby experiencing transnationalism may involve several layers of 'glocalisation' and may result in different degrees of attachment to cultures, locales and regions (Roudometof 2005). Therefore whilst transnationalism has raised a new type of consciousness about our connections, places, and communities, such consciousness is reflected differently in how actors choose to engage with it, how they organize themselves politically and economically, and in how they "think about and position themselves in society both here-and-there"(Vertovec 2009 p. 24). The next section will outline different theorisations of 'world views' and of 'social orders' brought about by transnationalism and cosmopolitanism.

3.5.3   Transnational and cosmopolitan views of the world

Levitt and Schiller (2004) suggest that it is possible for individuals in transnational fields to engage in a simultaneity of connections spanning from routines and daily activities, to the production of (cultural) identities that reflect their multiple locations.   From this perspective Levitt and Glick-Schiller (ibid), define *ways of being* in social fields as opposed to *ways of belonging.* They claim that:

> *"[w]ays of being refers to the actual social relations and practices that individuals engage in rather than to the identities associated with their actions" (p. 1010)*

therefore suggesting that whilst individuals embedded in a social field have the potential to identify with any label associated with that field not all choose to do so. By contrast,

> *"ways of belonging refers to practices that signal or enact an identity which demonstrates a conscious connection to a particular group [...] ways of belonging combine action and an awareness of the kind of identity that action signifies" (ibid).*

Whilst for Levitt and Glick-Schiller local and transnational connections can occur simultaneously, *ways of being* and *ways of belonging* are often dependent on the specific context upon which they are enacted. In their words:

> *"If individuals engage in social relations and practices that cross borders as a regular feature of everyday life, then they exhibit a transnational way of being. When people explicitly recognize this and highlight the transnational elements of who they are, then they are also expressing a transnational way of belonging" (p. 1011).*

The element of awareness and reflexivity that differentiate 'being' from 'belonging' in Levitt and Glick-Schiller's argument is also discussed by Beck (2000, 2008) for whom transnational activities and global practices of interconnectedness can be seen as empirical factors in the

process of a reflexive cosmopolitanisation of society [49]. In broad terms, the cosmopolitan perspective discussed in much literature (see, inter alia, Hannerz 1990, Calhoun 2002, Vertovec and Cohen 2003, Beck and Cronin 2006, Beck and Grande 2006, Calhoun 2006, Held 2010) recognises the embeddedness of our space into the wider world and it celebrates the plurality and diversity of humans as one community regardless of ethnicity or nationality. In this sense Beck, and other sociologists, see the potential in modern society for the realisation of humans as beings living in the Aristotelian 'cosmopolis'. A cosmopolitan view of society therefore would see all individuals as 'citizens of the world' (Heater 2004) and treat transnational connections as opportunities for social progress through intercultural exchange. For Stevenson (2003) cosmopolitan attitudes transcend culture-centric views and *"see no necessary contradiction between feelings of loyalty and commitment to particular cultures and an openness towards difference and otherness" (p. 57).* For these individuals, notions of group and solidarity are much less territorially bound and may result in different understanding of civic communities beyond national ties. For Delanty (2000), more than in the formation of 'global' identities, this understanding of cosmopolitanism can be found, for example, in reflexive attempts to no longer construct national identities in relation to the 'other'. In this vein Beck (2008) suggests that in a cosmopolitan framework identities "become plural and relate in a plural way" (p.92) to different national, ethnic, and cultural elements. Consequently, identities become a specific combination of a 'creative achievement' of individuality and integration in the global society. They "are invented, tested and developed" (p. 100), reflexively 'weighted', 'tried out', 'chosen' 'overlapped' and 'rearranged' in a variety of combinations and one "lives on the strength of the combination" (p. 92).

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[49] Beck (2002) interprets cosmopolitanisation as 'glocalisation' or 'internal globalisation' (p. 17) arguing a "positive correlation between transnationalisation and cosmopolitan attitudes" (Roudometof, 2008, p.117).

Another theorisation of the different understandings of the world and the different identitarian positionings that individuals can enact *vis-à-vis* their 'global' awareness is offered by Robertson (1992) whom is often accredited with the coinage of the term globalisation. Building on sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies' (1952) distinction between *Gemeinschaft* ('community') and *Gesellschaft* ('society'), Robertson (1992) suggests four different 'images of global order' which might describe how individuals make sense of their relations in a globalised world (and/or how the world 'ought to be'). Robertson refers to 'Global Gemeinschaft 1' to define an understanding of the world as a series of "relatively closed societal communities" (p. 78) which he juxtaposes with 'Global Gesellschaft 1', a frame whereby the world is perceived "as a series of open societies, with considerable socio-cultural exchange between them" (p. 79). By contrast, Robertson refers to 'Global Gemeinschaft 2' and 'Global Gesellschaft 2' to characterize the perception of the world as a "fully globewide community'" (or, in common parlance, the 'global village') and as a "formal, planned […] organisation" (or a 'strong world government') respectively.

The main difference between the two sets of 'world views' outlined above hinges on the fact that the former set focuses on the diversity of the world (although entailing opposed degrees of 'closeness/openness') whilst the latter set supports a vision of a tightly integrated world. As discussed by Hannerz (1992) these different ideologies have different implications for social action taken *vis-à-vis* the 'global'. For example a "Global Gemeinschaft 1" would be consistent with the politics of ethnic revivals, whilst 'Global Gesellschaft 1' "can lead to collaboration, harmonisation of differences, but also 'liberal nationalism' or a "hegemonic arrangement among states" (Rumford 2008p. 143). By the same token, the remits of some religious, peace, and environmental movements resonate with the ideals of the 'Global Gemeinschaft 2' whereas 'Global Gesellschaft 2' can be seen (in an optimistic sense) as a consensual and systematic form of democratic world governance whilst

(in the more pessimistic accounts) it has been characterised as a 'centralised' version of identity politics or a global system of reproducing inequalities (Hobsbawm 2007) . Thus, as argued by Robertson and White (2003), in modern society there is imaginary scope for individuals to reshape their relation with their national collectivites *vis-à-vis* the world 'others' by associating with and dissociating from a particular world order, that is by taking a particular stance of globalisation. As Rumford (2008) suggests:

> *"Globalisation has resulted in a circumstance in which we have all come to see ourselves, albeit in many different ways, as existing in some relation the global. What the 'global' is will differ from account to account; we do not all see global in the same way [but] globality, gives meaning to our existence in [the world], and helps us understand the perspectives, struggles, and community attachments which sustain others. The oneness of the world is not incommensurate with our different understandings of it; rather it is a precondition for such a multiplicity of perspectives." (p. 144-5)*

3.6   The transnationalisation of the European field

The previous section has outlined a scenario of radical changes occurring at global level in social, economic and cultural fields having significant repercussions on the imagination of community. Taking into account this scenario, this section will discuss the specificity of transnationalism in the European context.

As Fligstein (2007) suggests, two parallel dynamics can be distinguished (at least conceptually) in the transnationalisation of the European field[50] . The first set of phenomena at play can primarily be seen as a consequence of the operationalisation of the EU project whilst the

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[50] Fligstein (2007) uses the term 'European field' to suggest a wider notion of Europe to include social actors and processes involved in the integration project.

second set relates to wider transnational dynamics. The operationalisation of the EU project of integration has involved, for example, the introduction of policies aimed at removing customs and tax barriers and harmonising trade within the 'single market' which have enabled free movement of goods, capital, services, and people across Member States. This has resulted in converging and intensified patterns of economic and social intra-state activities as well as the definitions of new 'spaces' (e.g. Schengen area, Euro area) where borders are no longer in place, have shifted or overlapped (Rumford 2006) and where the 'desirable' trans-state mobility of EU citizens may have contributed to the formation of some transnational social and civic ties (Munch 2001). Furthermore, at the political level, the EU system of multi-level governance has institutionalised 'European' organs (such as the European Commission) that are legitimised to take decisions supranationally thus by-passing national sovereignty in a number of areas. This experimental and innovative governance order has contributed to the convergence of legal, financial, and political systems towards what is seen by many as a unique form of post-national polity (Ruggie 1993, Eriksen 2005).

However, despite these notable achievements, a truly democratic transnationalisation of the European civil society remains, at best, an open process as mobility and the exercise of civic rights is still constrained by national logics. For example, despite the formal introduction of European citizenship [51], the latter still represents a 'weak' provision because it is not granted by any EU institution and it is subordinate to being a national of one of the Member States in the first place (Dower and Williams 2002). Furthermore the rights of movement of certain nationals (e.g. Bulgarians and Romanians) into other EU states have been variously restricted and reinstated in time by different states [52] whereas intra- EU mobility

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[51] European citizenship introduced in 1992 under the Treaty of Maastricht is a formal recognition of the right of movement, voting rights and other civic rights.

[52] See http://www.euromove.org.uk/index.php?id=20539 and . http://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?catId=470 for details

restrictions apply to non EU citizens whose free movement in the EU is dependent on their status as a family member of a EU national[53]. All of these restrictions add to the incoherent immigration policies of member states and their supranational handling of increasing extra-EU migration into the EU of recent years. In 'We, the people of Europe?' (2004) Etienne Balibar has criticised the system of border patrols and detention centres of 'Fortress Europe' as new forms of 'apartheid', advancing the radical interpretation of Europe as a 'borderland' in which the transnationalisation of the internal space has been counter posed by the strengthening of physical and ideological external borders (cf. also Balibar 2009).

These issues relate, in large part, to the second set of phenomena concerning the transnationalisation of the European field, namely the impact of global patterns of economic, social and cultural mobility, the emergence of cosmopolitan perspectives, the redefinition of political agency and solidarity, (as outlined in the previous section) at a European level. As suggested by Delanty and Rumford (2005) global and local/European processes may or may not overlap - synergically coexist and/or antithetically compete - thus intensifying convergence as well as divergence of social, economic and cultural patterns of transnationalisation. The European instantiation of global phenomena has thus been compounded, possibly accelerated but, in some cases, also reversed by the EU's integration process. This interplay has resulted in a highly stratified society in which different transnational elements have filtered down the individual consciousness as ideological components of belonging in different ways (Hanquinet and Savage 2013). In this light Hanquinet and Savage (2013 p.7) claim that

> *"[t]he European case can simultaneously be held out as the most striking example in the world of the emergence of transnational*

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[53] http://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?catId=470).

institutions and identities, and as the most potent instance of the persistence of nationalism and the limits to cosmopolitanism".

From a similar stance, Delanty and Rumford (2005) argue that European identities can represent post-modern and reflexive forms of 'social self-understanding' and of understanding the transformation of society. These views may encompass forms of cosmopolitan awareness (Beck and Grande 2006) that tend to recognize Europe in its relation with the world (Biebuyck and Rumford 2011). However, Delanty and Rumford (2005) also draw attention to transnationalism as a phenomenon that goes beyond Europe and that involves European and 'non-European' social actors. Transnationalism can thus be interpreted as a subjective perspective or a 'lens' that may reconcile the global and local dimensions into new forms of 'glocalities' contributing to "a holistic and world-systemic view in which local events are read locally as well as translocally" (Blommaert 2003 p.612). As suggested by Wodak and Weiss (2005), the availability of collective discourses, social imaginaries, and transnational perspectives and dynamics that may potentially drive the process of identification of social actors with Europe and as Europeans[54] must assume the multiplicity "different constructions and images of Europe" (p. 128) and different 'ideological dilemmas' (Billig 1988) about Europe. Moreover, by treating the discursive construction of Europeanness on a scale from local to global, one has to recognize the complexity of phenomena at play, taking into account the inevitable emergence of antinomies between the two dimensions (i.e. universality vs. particularity of rights; language preservation vs. lingua franca; etc.) (Wodak 2007).

Forms of identification with Europe and as Europeans can therefore coexist and interplay with narratives of transformation of nationhood and

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[54] In line with Brubaker and Cooper (2000) and their conceptualisation of 'identity', a distinction is taken into account by this framework between processes of 'identification with' and 'identification as'. The former focus on personal dimension in which 'target' identities are primarily seen as ideal models that one strives to achieve whilst the latter essentially involve processes of social categorisation although lacking the formal recognition aspect of membership - see also Cram (2010).

national identities as a political project. In this sense, Europeanness can be instantiated in forms of 'active citizenship' and in the emergence of grassroots European social agency driven by post-national social imaginaries. In relation to this aspect, discourses of Europe(anness) can be driven by the political debate about national vs. supranational interests as a key 'nodal point'. By the same token, the different experiences of the 'desirable' mobility of the EU citizens on the one hand, and the experience of extra-EU migrants vis-à-vis 'Fortress Europe' on the other, may result in very different personal experiences of (non)belonging to Europe (Jones and Krzyżanowski 2008). Finally, European identities can be seen as driven by the recontextualisation of global neo-liberal discourses that impact negatively on some citizens whilst benefitting others (Krzyżanowski 2003). In this sense, individuals that have to (re)position their identities vis-à-vis global contingencies may construct and strengthen their local and cultural identities in opposition to global threats or may interpret transnational practices as 'ways of being' with little impact on their 'belonging'.

Building on the aforementioned spate of dynamics, the different degrees to which citizens have incorporated transnational and cosmopolitan elements in their interpretations of Europeanness can conveniently be accounted for by notions of 'thick' and 'thin' identities[55]. A 'thick' understanding of European identity is typically oriented towards a particularist approach to cultures and communities that relies on a strong investment in the definition of belonging. In this case, transnational practices tend to be 'situational' (Roudometof 2005) and instantiated primarily in 'glocal' forms of consumption (Hanquinet and Savage 2013) rather than holistic attitudes and beliefs. Processes of identification as European tend to involve the construction of a relationship with the 'Other' in which 'otherness' is recognised 'outside' Europe and is used to

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[55] These two terms have been used widely in sociology and political studies to refer to different social attitudes to world interaction (see for example Hannerz 1990, 1996, Linklater 1998, Held 1999, Dobson 2006, Held 2010).

demarcate the boundaries of one's European identity (Stråth 2010). A 'thin' European identity, by contrast, is underpinned by an investment in civic values, in the universality of rights and obligations, and it is more consistent with cosmopolitan attitudes 'detached' from specific notions of cultures and belonging. In this case, the 'Other' can still exist but it is recognised and negotiated through inclusion. In this sense, Delanty (2009 p. 77) contends that, from a cosmopolitan perspective, Europeanness can be seen as "a growing reflexivity within existing identities". Transposed into the political arena, 'thick' Europeanness tends to perceive European integration as a Eurocentric and bounded phenomenon whilst 'thin' cosmopolitan perspectives are more closely associated with a post-national understanding of Europe relevant to 'world governance' projects and new social orders. Moreover 'thin' European identities are more likely to inform projects of political agency beyond the national level (Habermas 2003).

Although these different dimensions have been discussed here in rather dichotomous terms they have been analysed in more detail by an important strand of interdisciplinary literature at the intersection of political, cultural and critical studies (cf. Lacroix 2002, Delanty and Rumford 2005, Priban 2007, DeBardeleben and Hurrelmann 2011, Calhoun 2012, Friedman and Thiel 2012) with specific interest focusing on the debate about whether 'thin' or 'thick' identities are necessary or desirable for the success of the European project (see for example Davidson 2008). In this respect, one of the most influential views in understanding Europeanness in post-national and cosmopolitan terms has been that of Habermas (2001, 2003, 2009). Habermas' contention is that European identities should be built on a 'thin' conceptual foundation of Europe (i.e. based on civic rather than cultural values) and gradually 'thickened' (i.e. consolidated) through 'constitutional patriotism', a process that Habermas sees taking place through communication in the public sphere and which he regards as essential for the democratic debate

and the success of the European project. The concept of the European Public Sphere (EPS) will therefore be further elaborated in the next section.

3.6.1.1   The European Public Sphere (EPS)

The notion of a 'public sphere' was originally introduced by Habermas (1989) who saw the historical emergence of the bourgeoisie in 18th and 19th century developing a forum

> *"in which private people, come together to form a public, readied themselves to compel public authority to legitimate itself before public opinion".*

In modern discourses the public sphere represents "a network for communicating information and points of view" (Habermas and Rehg 1998 p. 360) and more generally a site for citizens participation in the democratic dialogue and the formation of public opinion (Wodak and Koller 2008) [56]. For Habermas (1989) the public sphere is characterised by the following key elements: openness to participation; challenges to public authority to legitimize decisions; and ideal of rational-critical discourse[57].

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[56] As Calhoun (1997) warns, much literature on the subject tends to use the terms 'public sphere' and 'civil society' as equivalent concepts whilst for Calhoun the latter is a component of the former. A further distinction is raised by Triandafyllidou *et al.* (2009) between 'soft' and 'hard' dimensions of the public sphere. For Triandafyllidou *et al.* (2009) the 'strong' dimension is politically institutionalized whereas the 'soft' dimension applies to "civil society communication, arenas of debate and the circulation of meaning-making representations, processes of semiosis in cultural systems, identity-based group and other arenas of communication in society" (p. 133). For clarity, in this study, I generally interpret the EPS as the political debate about democracy and 'European affairs' in which the civil society (made up of movements and various organisations of citizens) engage. I thus interpret the civil society in line with Ruzza and Sala (2007) as one intermediate and (relatively) informal level of the Public Sphere (along with the State, politics, and the social).

[57] For Habermas actors in the public sphere are expected to respect certain 'ethical' rules of discourse (e.g. openness of expression and truthfulness of their assertions) that comply with an 'ideal speech situation'. In other words, they are supposed to make rational use of arguments to achieve consensus. Habermas argues that, although an argument comes from within the self, it is the strength of individual arguments (that is their persuasiveness) and their intersubjective validity

In this vein Habermas (1997) contends that, for the EU to be a democratic polity, a European public sphere must exist "which enables citizens to take positions at the same time on the same topics of the same relevance" (p. 306). Crucially, however, the EPS is not only a site of political deliberation and a democratic 'yardstick', but it also constitutes a discursive arena where identities can be created and negotiated. As contended by (Triandafyllidou *et al.* 2009)

> *"the construction and functions of an EPS involve a continuous interaction and intertwining between different (nationally and transnationally incepted) ideas/viewpoints and various ethical notions, that are central to the negotiation and legitimisation of different forms of (collective) identities" (p. 5).*

Furthermore, the public sphere is seen by many as a precondition for 'claiming' or 'realising' a wider set of identities (Soysal 1997) [58] including one's Europeanness. For example, for Eder (discussed in Salvatore et al. 2013) the public sphere may provide social bonds beyond the family, 'bridging' the fragmentation of modern society with a democratically and solidarity-oriented social organisation. Highlighting

> *"the creativity of social actors and groups, and ultimately of society itself,in renewing social bonds and inventing new practices, rituals, or narratives of social cohesion" (p. 6)*

Salvatore et al. (ibid) argue that one of the key features of a modern public sphere is

> *"the reflexive character of the communicative process [through which] [...] [m]embers of the public are speakers who debate and deliberate by reflecting not only on their own interests and values but also on their own identity as autonomous agents" (ibid. p. 2).*

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that allow members of a civic community to reach consensus and deliberation (the final objectives of democratic participation). The view that actors, being given equal opportunity to have a voice in the political debate, are free from external influence of power remains a rather idealized notion as Habermas himself recognized and, as many have critiqued (see for example Kompridis (2006)).

[58] However see also Calhoun (1997) for whom some identities are already consolidated before entering the public sphere

In line with Habermas (2003), Salvatore *et al*. (ibid) regard the public sphere as the social milieu where a European constitutional patriotism should develop which would eventually replace the ethnic bonds of European peoples currently tied to nationhood. Notwithstanding such optimistic views, the extent to which a transnationalised EPS exists remains a contested issue. Some, for instance, see it as just an aggregation of single national spheres (Closa 2001) or primarily conducted from national 'filters' (Triandafyllidou *et al.* 2009). Other views suggest the EPS is limited to educated and professional elites (Fligstein 2007), 'weak 'and 'semi-imposed' by the EU (Splichal 2006) or exclusively reliant on networks of actors or social movements (Eriksen and Fossum 2002). It has however been recognised that "transnationalisation has the potential to alter structures and processes in the public sphere in a quite radical sense" (Salvatore et al. 2013, p. 3) challenging in particular the logic of democratic deliberations organised around national clusters (Fraser 2007, Fraser and Nash 2014). In this vein, Risse (2010) argues that, even with the shortcomings of being unevenly developed and fragmented, the EPS is contributing to the creation of a transnational 'community of communication' among Europeans where new 'European' identities can emerge. Therefore if one is to find new insights on the meaning and imaginaries of post-national Europe one should be looking at the emergent transnational EPS as an interesting site of debate.

A number of different actors operate in the EPS including the media, political parties, interest groups, and non-governmental organisations. Several civil society organisations have also emerged which are organised in local and regional initiatives as well as in transnational networks and which focus on different interests and activities (e.g. human rights, democratisation processes, environmental sustainability)[59]. In the next

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[59] For detailed discussions of transnational networking activities in Europe see, for example: Kaiser et al. (2010) for networks of regionalist movements; Montoya (2008) and Kollman (2009) for gender-related recognition of civil rights. Moreover, for citizens initiatives, see http://european-citizens-network.eu; http://www.citizensforeurope.eu; http://www.ceecn.net/; http://www.activecitizenship.net; http://www.neac2.eu/ (All accessed 3 July 2014).

section I will thus examine how CDA has dealt with different aspects of transnationalism and identities in the EPS and more generally in the European context.

3.6.2   Transnationalism in Europe from CDA perspectives

A significant body of CDA scholars (including sociolinguists and political linguists) have engaged with topics of transnationalism in the larger European field with a considerable amount of research focusing on the development of identities. Furthermore, CDA approaches (and the application of social constructivist and poststructuralist paradigms) have also increasingly cross-fertilised the fields of International Relations and (European) Political studies [60]

A group of scholars has explored how European identities are represented in and by the media. For example Bayley and Williams (2012) have examined how Europeanness has been linguistically constructed in the news of Italy, France, and the UK offering empirical insights into the different semantic interpretations of 'citizenship'. In another study, Krzyżanowski (2003) analyses how supranational and European identities are constructed in TV talk shows suggesting that European identities can represent an 'adjustment' that "national, social and cultural groups need to undertake [in response to] new macro-social conditions" (p. 184). The media discourse has also provided a major lens for examining the construction of 'peripheral' European identities in the press coverage of the Lisbon Treaty (Sowinska 2009) and the role of national discourses in the construction of multilingual European identities in national newspapers at the time of the 2004 EU enlargement (Krzyżanowski 2010).

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[60] See, for example, Issue 6(4) of the Journal of European Public Policy (1999) dedicated to a social constructivist approach to Europe.

Moreover, the role of the media was the focus of a longitudinal study conducted by Triandafyllidou *et al.* (2009) who analysed the extent of transnationalisation of the EPS in reporting international crises in post-war Europe in eight national contexts. Triandafyllidou *et al.* (2009) conclude by highlighting the importance of national filters in creating different conceptualisations of Europe as a geographical entity, as an economic space, or a cluster of values, which is typically invoked to warrant individual national interests. Furthermore Triandafyllidou *et al.* (2009) argue that different media constructions are reflected in processes of spatio-temporal representations of Europe as either a 'global' or a 'regional' intermediary between East and West whilst "the EU as a transnational European actor […] did not play any salient role in unifying the European space" (p. 263).

Another strand of CDA has focused on the construction of European identities primarily (albeit not exclusively) from cultural perspectives. In this area Meinhof (2001), Meinhof and Galasinski (2007) have offered insights on the impact of shifting European borders (especially between East and West) on the formation of Europeanness within communities overlapping such boundaries. Furthermore, examining cultural policies against emerging transnational dynamics in European cities, Meinhof and Triandafyllidou (2006) critically questioned the limitations of national frameworks which often assume static relationships between immigration, cultural diversity, and cultural policies.

Additionally, the CDA community has extensively dealt with the negotiation of identities in educational, institutional, and economic settings *vis-à-vis* multilingual and globalised societies (including Europe) highlighting the complexity, antinomies, and power dynamics involved in the production of linguistic and transnational identities (see, inter alia, Heller 1995, Blommaert 1999, Wright 2000, Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004, Spotti 2007, Blackledge and Creese 2010, Gal 2010b, a, Duchêne *et al.* 2013). Focusing on (extra- EU) migrants and examining the EU's

multilingual policies and 'national' language requirements, for instance, Wodak (2010, 2012), has suggested how these regulatory provisions effectively impact on processes of exclusion of transnational migrants from 'Fortress Europe'. From the perspective of migrant 'voices', Jones and Krzyżanowski (2008) too have provided insights into patterns of transnational identification, suggesting that in many cases migrants make use of multiple 'modes of belonging' to construct individual rather than collective identities where Europe represents a remote (if not absent) 'imagined space' in their narratives.

In particular, Jones and Krzyżanowski (2008) have suggested a framework that distinguishes between the salience of 'attachments', 'belonging', and 'membership' as interrelated dimensions of the process of identification (see also Krzyżanowski and Wodak (2008), Krzyżanowski (2010)). For Krzyżanowski and Wodak (2008)

"the discursive construction of modes of belonging necessarily includes: (a) tentative and random attachments; (b) a range of 'feelings' of belonging; and (c) legal forms of membership" (p. 102).

Attachment is thus conceptualised as a broad category of emotional 'anchors' (such as physical places and cultural practices) that individuals can potentially draw upon to fully develop into meaningful feelings of belonging in their search for an (ideal) identity position. On the other hand, membership is seen as a socio-political and institutional attribution which involves external recognition (as for example in the case of citizenship) and which this framework sees typically negotiated in the public sphere and subject to an increasingly debated politics of belonging.

Another strand of CDA has examined the formation of transnational identities within European politics. At the institutional level, Wodak (2003, 2004), for example, has analysed the formation of 'multiple identities' of members of the European Parliament showing how transnational

elements of Europeanness (which in this case she equates by and large with 'supranational schemas') are enacted by informants along with their different gender and national identifications/affiliations. Similarly, Krzyżanowski (2010) carried out an investigation of Europeanness among the politicians involved in the 2002/3 European Convention finding that most informants discursively construct a variety of personal and institutional European (post-national) identities through the convergence and divergence of the notions of EU and Europe.

In addition to the investigation of how institutional European/transnational identities are formed, a number of studies have dealt with the formation of Europeanness from bottom-up stances. Among these, for instance, Millar and Wilson (2007) investigate discourses of a cross-section of 'ordinary' citizens focusing on the micro level of every-day talk to gain insights of what it means to be European. Covering, *inter alia*, issues of identity, local politics, borders, and minority languages the authors corroborate other views suggesting that the construction of Europeanness in discourse involves the enactment of multiple affective dimensions of belonging as well as elements of 'pragmatic utility'.

Alongside the many areas of research discussed above, there have been efforts to examine EU-rope and its demos in the context of wider transnational and bottom-up perspectives. For example Morin and Carta (2014) have merged different theoretical and analytical framework (with CDA being the most prominent one) to examine EU-rope in its external relations with the wider world (namely in the articulation of foreign policies). Another example is found in Doerr (2010) who, from a critical stance, examines the discourses of members of the European Social Forum as an emergent form of transnational public sphere and, also, as a 'laboratory' for the discursive construction of 'another Europe'.

However, in spite of the many notable examples of work on Europeanness and transnationalism illustrated so far in this and in the

previous sections, to date there is a paucity of research within the CDA community on the discursive construction of European identities at grassroots level. The lack of insights on how some 'active' citizens conceive of and discursively enact 'being European'/'doing Europe' from bottom-up and 'beyond-the-national' perspectives fails to grasp some the on-going transformation of modern Europe, since, as noted earlier in the discussion, the emergence of a transnational civil society and the development of a post-national sentiment are essential elements for the success of the European project. This research therefore intends to contribute to the advancement of the field of Critical Linguistics with insights on the evolution of European identities particularly in the light of transnational narratives brought about by civic actors.

3.7   Summary

This chapter has outlined the key concepts underpinning this research. It started by positioning the ontological understanding of identity in line with social constructivist and poststructuralist views explaining the function of language in discourses of identity. The chapter then focused on a review of the literature on European identity and its interplay with other identities, treating Europeanness from two specific stances: as a political project and as a historical process. Key concepts relating to transnationalism have also been introduced as an additional/alternative frame for understanding processes of identification in and with Europe in relation to global changes. In this context, further literature has been reviewed discussing how the interplay of transnationalism in Europe has been accounted for in CDA. The review has concluded that, despite much work in this regard, transnational and bottom-up perspectives (of 'active citizens' in particular) have largely been overlooked in researching processes of European identity formation.

4 METHODOLOGY

This chapter discusses the methodology adopted in this study. Section 4.1 provides a rationale for the choice of interviews and focus groups; it describes how data was collected and further methodological issues including interview design, data coding and practical arrangements. In section 4.2 specific details are given for each group and individual interview conducted including a set of socio-demographic data about the participants.

The analytical framework used in this study, which is largely based on the DHA originally proposed by Wodak (2001) and further elaborated by Wodak (2009) and Krzyżanowski (2010), is discussed in detail in section 4.3. This is followed by some reflections on the limitations of adopting the DHA for the analysis.

4.1 Discussion of methods used in this study

The data for this study was collected from EA members between 2011 and 2013 via four moderated focus groups and nine individual interviews. This was further corroborated by some ethnographic work which I was able to conduct as a member of EA's London group. I joined the London group in 2010 following a personal interest in the debate over Europe. At that time the group consisted of approximately 15 members, of which, between five and eight would meet regularly every month. It was after a few meetings and after having acquired a few insights into the organisation that I came to the decision to investigate EA for my research. This decision was primarily based on the reason that, as explained earlier, EA characterizes itself as a grassroots European actor and it perceives the remit of its activities in the larger transnational sphere; two dimensions

that, as argued in section 3.6.2, have been underexplored by CDA research on European identities. Furthermore, as a member I could benefit from access to gatekeepers of other branches.

Although I acknowledge the potential conflict between my roles as a member and as a researcher, I believe that the benefits of being an 'insider' and taking an 'emic' perspective (Denzin and Lincoln 1998) (especially in assisting the data interpretation) have outweighed the potential pitfalls. I tried to minimize any potential bias in this sense by making sure that I had not had any previous contact with the members who agreed to participate in individual or group interviews as this could influence their responses. This was not possible for the two participants in the pilot studies (LO2, London focus group and RO1, Rome individual interview) with whom I had had brief discussions at EA meetings before the interview. I must emphasize that I approached the ethnographic work in this study as part of an integrated research perspective (Gobo 2008). My participant observation in the field, therefore, was especially concerned with 'situating' linguistic and communicative practices within social dynamics and organisational contexts in which discourses where produced. These ethnographic insights were also particularly helpful in structuring interviewing, guiding their interpretation, and triangulating the results (Krzyżanowski 2011).

The choice of combining focus groups and individual interviews was primarily motivated by the synergy of 'breadth' and 'depth' of data that the two methods can provide and by the different foci on collective and personal dynamics and narratives they allow. On balance the combination of focus groups and individual interviews was therefore aimed at illuminating the many facets of European and transnational identities 'in-between' social and personal levels.

The use of focus groups in social sciences has increasingly been regarded as a valuable method of data collection "whenever one is

exploring shared (collective) or individual opinions [... and] beliefs" (Bloor 2001). Focus groups can thus provide an effective tool for gaining insights on the construction and negotiation of 'meanings' in a variety of social contexts on account of the interaction between participants that the group discussion can bring about (Kitzinger and Barbour 1999, Litosseliti 2003). Focus groups were thus considered particularly suited to this study as they could best reproduce the genre of discussions normally occurring at local meetings thus providing a familiar and 'natural' context for members.

In addition to focus groups, data was also collected via individual interviews. The rationale for this choice was that one-to-one discussions generally allow for a setting where members do not feel the pressure to conform to group opinions or 'dominant' participants and have greater scope to illustrate their points with personal narratives and anecdotes which, in turn, can enable the interviewer to penetrate better the 'private world of human experience' of the interviewees (Silverman 1993). In this sense individual interviews were regarded in this study as an important method of investigation that could significantly integrate and corroborate data from focus groups with insights on the individual dimension.

To operationalize the methods discussed above a set of 'primary' [61] topics was identified (via preparatory work, see below). These topics were subsequently discussed at the pilot focus group in London and the pilot individual interview in Rome (see below)

4.1.1   Preparation work

The framing of questions introduced in the pilot group and individual interviews was primarily driven by the research objectives, (i.e.

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[61] In line with Krzyzanowski (2008), I refer to 'primary' topics as the main subjects of discussion that were broadly introduced by the moderators at the focus groups. Secondary topics constitute salient themes developed by participants either embedded in or independent of the general primary themes and they will equally be the concern of the analysis.

defining how 'European identities' are constructed from a transnational perspective). Lead questions asked in the pilot studies (summarised in table 2) were therefore broadly based on the literature on transnationalism discussed in the previous chapter. However, in defining lead questions, I also took into account any ethnographic insights I acquired from within the organisation, (for instance by attending local meetings and socializing with members) as this gave me a better way to "understand the social meanings and activities of people in a given 'field' or 'setting' (Brewer 2000 p. 11) and more generally to equip me with a broad heuristic tool to understand the 'common sense of the world' (Silverman, 1993) held by respondents. I thus built on these insights to introduce questions from practical rather than conceptual perspectives, for example, by referring to the transnational significance of specific projects, events, practices, etc. in which members were involved. Further preparatory familiarisation work in this sense was also done by examining the NGO's literature. This included material which was publicly available from the NGO website such as articles, a forum, a blog, an 'event' page, RSS 'feeds', Twitter accounts and links to the NGO's Facebook pages. I also examined material that was circulated electronically to members such as newsletters, pamphlets relating to the launch of specific campaigns and a publication called the 'Trans Europa Journal'[62]. In addition I examined a series of videos that the organisation posted on YouTube[63]. Overall, such work enabled me to put forward critical questions such as 'What is wrong with nation-states?' by paraphrasing provocative propositions found in the literature (e.g. 'The nation-state is not the appropriate political form to

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[62] All material examined was available in English, except for the website and the Trans Europa Journal which were available in English, Italian, French and Romanian. In this case the English and Italian versions were consulted.

[63] http://www.euroalter.com/2011/being-european/ and
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_AuiLYa2Wss&feature=player_embedded

http://www.youtube.com/user/euroalter voices

Some videos feature interviews in different languages for which English subtitles are provided.

promote a responsible politics'[64]). A list of lead questions asked at focus groups is presented in Table 1.

MACRO TOPICS	LEAD QUESTIONS ASKED
(INTRODUCTION)	Would you like to briefly introduce yourself?
TRANSNATIONALISM	Can you explain what transnationalism/being transnational means to you? What is 'wrong' with nation-states?
EA'S ACTIVITIES AND SCOPE	Can you explain your motives for joining EA and what your role is in the organisation? What do you think the organisation's/your own contribution to Europe could be?
EUROPEAN IDENTITY	Would you define yourself as European? What would you say makes you European? How do you see your Europeanness in relation to other identities e.g. national?
EU-ROPE AS A SOCIAL AND A POLITICAL PROJECT	How you would define Europe? Do you see Europe as an equal and democratic society? To what extent (if at all) do you think your idea of Europe is represented by the EU? Do you have an ideal political scenario in mind for the Europe of the future?
CULTURAL ASPECTS OF EU-ROPE	Do you see any tensions in reconciling European diversity with the integration project? How do you see language(s) and culture(s) related, if at all, to European identity? Do you think a common language important in the definition of Europe and the EPS?
(CONCLUSION)	Would you like to add anything to what we have said so far?

4.1.2 The role of moderators

I conducted all interviews and moderated all focus groups except the Cluj focus group, which was moderated by a fellow PhD student and Romanian speaker Ruxandra Comănaru (RC). RC had previous experience of conducting focus groups and interviews and she is very familiar with issues of 'European identity' as this is a subject of her own research (Comănaru 2014). She was fully briefed about the purpose of the interview, how to manage the discussion, and the general protocol to follow. In conducting focus groups both RC and I, however, made sure the lead questions were used as inductive 'entry' or 'anchoring' points to structure the general flow of conversation rather than rigidly determine a protocol of interaction. That means that not all questions were asked in the same order and exactly with the same wording as, in some cases, answers emerged spontaneously during the conversation. Typically, topics were introduced 'loosely' by moderators (e.g. 'do you want to tell me a bit about transnationalism') as that was enough to elicit adequate answers. If, in certain instances, it was felt that answers were too vague or general, further clarification was solicited; for example if a question on transnationalism produced a reply that was interpreted as a simple 'technical' or a lexical definition, then the prompt "is that what it means to you?" was further asked.

Overall moderators strived to ensure their role was one of 'critical facilitators' and that they adhered to the key recommendations found in the literature on conducting focus groups which had been examined prior to the data collection (Morgan 1988, Krueger 1994, Litosseliti 2003). Moderators were thus concerned with making participants feel comfortable by providing a clear explanation of the purpose of the discussion at the beginning and by clarifying that there were no expectations of 'right' or 'wrong' answers. In addition, moderators

explained to participants they were free to disagree or not to respond should they wish to. Moderators ensured that a well-balanced and informed discussion took place by 'readjusting' the focus when the conversation was drifting or had reached a minor conclusion. Moderators were careful to ask 'open' rather than 'closed' questions, for instance by formulating wh- questions (who/what/when/where/why). Moderators also ensured that they did not favour particular participants or express personal opinions.

4.2 DATA COLLECTION

4.2.1 Data collected via focus groups

4.2.1.1 London focus group (pilot test)

Having obtained the ethical approval from the Department of Applied Linguistics and Communication at Birkbeck and having informed the NGO's directors of my research interests, a focus group - that would serve as a pilot study for subsequent interviews - was agreed with members of the London EA branch through personal contact with the coordinator. This took place on 6 April 2011 at the NGO premises, lasted 36 minutes, and was attended by two male members, a lower number of participants than were originally invited due to logistics and organisational issues. After obtaining informed consent the discussion was recorded using a Sony ICD-PX820 digital voice recorder - a second recorder was also used as a back-up measure - taking care to place the devices unobtrusively. The discussion provided a good sweep of data as one of the participants was a senior member with a wealth of experience of organisational practices and discourses and, overall, the interaction between participants generated a reasonably natural flow of exchange although, on a couple of occasions, I had to probe the junior member for

more detailed answers. Notes were taken during the discussion to pick up significant non-verbal language (e.g. nodding or moving hands) and further notes reflecting on the experience were taken as soon as possible after the discussion. At the end of the discussion a questionnaire was distributed to participants to collect some socio-demographic data (see Appendix 9.3 for detail).

Importantly the pilot test gave me the opportunity to gauge the topics discussed and provided me with important insights on how to conduct the subsequent focus groups and improve the quality of the format, for example by ensuring that all questions would be asked in an open-ended way so to elicit as much data as possible. The organisation of the pilot test was also an important opportunity to learn about practical arrangements (such as choosing the most convenient time for participants), about coordinating communication effectively between participants in preparation for the discussion and about the challenges of having a sufficient number of participants attending the discussion.

Table 2 Summary of socio-demographic data collected through questionnaires at focus group in London (pilot)

Focus Group	LONDON (PILOT)	
Participant Code	LO1	LO2
Age Group	18-24	25-34
Male/Female	M	M
Occupation	Researcher	Employee
Nationality	Italian	British
Current Country Of Residence	UK	UK
Lived Abroad Y=years ; M=months	Ireland 1 m	France 1 y
	France 4 m	Spain 6 m
	USA 5 m	Lebanon 1 y
First Language (Mother Tongue)	Italian	English
Other Languages Known Self-Reported Proficiency (1=low; 5=high)	English 3	German 5
	French 3	French 4
I consider myself:*	5=Transnational	5=Transnational
* Multiple options available 1 = A National Of My Country Only; 2 = European Only; 3 = Primarily National Then European; 4 = Primarily European Then National; 5 = Transnational; 6 = Other (Please Specify)		

Subsequent to the London pilot test I approached several local group coordinators in order to extend the study. Local coordinators (who are effectively the gatekeepers of the branch) were contacted by email and through them a call was sent out for volunteers to participate in focus groups and interviews organised locally. My call generated a number of positive responses from members of different branches and, by liaising and negotiating practicalities with the local coordinators, I was able to agree three focus groups within the following branches: Bologna in Italy, Cluj-Napoca in Romania, and Cardiff in the UK.

Whilst these branches represent a self-selecting sample of members, they offer an interesting cross-sectional view of the NGO for a number of reasons. Bologna and Cluj (as well as London) represent EA's longest established branches with the highest number of active members. By contrast, members of the Cardiff branch came together more recently to work around specific projects such as "The Human Library" (see below). Age is another important variable as members of the London and Bologna groups tended to be (on average) older than the other three branches (personal information collected from the local coordinators). Furthermore, from my ethnographic observation at the London meetings and from my discussions with local coordinators I was also able to establish that the London branch has a faster turnover of members than all other branches. Finally, the branches interviewed represented different 'national' make-ups. Although all branches are open to members of any nationality, the Italian and Romanian groups are mainly (but not exclusively) made up of local/ national citizens whereas the UK groups show a much more nationally heterogeneous composition with the Cardiff group in particular being primarily made up of international students.

The issue of the language in which focus groups should be conducted was given careful consideration. As the focus groups were intended to recreate the 'genre' of local group meetings the decision was taken to conduct focus groups in the language of the local meetings (e.g. Italian in Bologna, Romanian in Cluj and English in Cardiff). Due to the nature of the linguistic variety/composition of local groups this meant that for some participants the language of discussion was not their first language however this did not impede contributions to the discussion, since participants were working/studying in the local language in the respective settings.

A brief account of each discussion and details of participants in all focus groups are given below and also summarised in tables 3, 4, and 5. Obtaining consent, taking notes, administering post-discussion

questionnaires, and audio recording for these three focus groups and for individual interviews followed the same procedures described for the London pilot group.

4.2.1.2   Bologna (Italy) focus group

A call for participants was put out to members of the Bologna branch by sending an email to the local coordinator (see Appendix 9.1). Six people (two males and four females including the coordinator) agreed to take part in the focus group which was conducted on 21 April 2011 at the local office of EA, after obtaining informed consent from participants. The discussion, which I personally moderated, lasted one hour and 10 minutes. Some of the participants had known each other for some time as they had been engaged in specific projects, activities, or campaigns. All discussants were aged between 25 and 34 years, four were employed and two were students. Four were Italian nationals, one had a dual Italian and French citizenship, and one was originally Russian but had been living in Italy on a German passport for a few years. Most participants had experiences of living abroad. For most of them English was the best known second language followed by French, Spanish, and German. In the questionnaire one participant described herself as "Primarily National Then European", two as "Primarily European Then National", two as "transnational" and the Italian/French citizen provided the self-description "Primarily Italian Then French Then European". The discussion was conducted in Italian which did not prove a problem for the Russian/German participant as her command of Italian was excellent. After some initial 'warming up' by the moderator, the discussion took off easily with lively exchanges. Overall contributions were animated although well-balanced in terms of the time taken up by each discussant and I intervened once to refocus the discussion. A full summary of data collected via the questionnaire is given in Table 3.

Table 3 Summary of socio-demographic data collected through questionnaires at the focus group in Bologna

Focus Group	BOLOGNA					
Participant Code	BO1	BO2	BO3	BO4	BO5	BO6
Age group	25-34	25-34	25-34	25-34	25-34	25-34
Male/Female	F	F	M	F	F	M
Occupation	Journalist	Researcher	Student	Student	Employee	Employee
Nationality	Italian	Italian	Italian	German/Russian	Italian	Italian/French
Current Country Of Residence	Italy	Italy	Italy	Germany	Italy	Italy
Lived Abroad y= years m= months	France 9 m	Spain 1 y	Germany 1 m	Russia 13 y	France 6 m	UK 4 m
	Tanzania 3 m	Belgium 9 m		Spain 2 y		Ireland 4 m
		UK 6 m		Italy 1 y		France 9 m
				Slovakia 1 m		
First Language	Italian	Italian	Italian	Russian	Italian	Italian

Focus Group	BOLOGNA					
Participant Code	BO1	BO2	BO3	BO4	BO5	BO6
Other Languages Known Self-Reported Proficiency 1=Basic; 5=Fluent	English 4	English 5	English 5	German 5	English 4	French 5
	French 3	French 3	German 1	Spanish 4	French 4.5	English 3
		Spanish 4	French 1	Italian 4	Spanish 3	
				English 3		
				French 2		
				Portuguese 1		
I Consider Myself: *	4	5	3	5	4	**
* (Multiple Options Available) 1 = A National Of My Country Only; 2 = European Only; 3 = Primarily National Then European; 4 = Primarily European Then National; 5 = Transnational; 6 = Other (Please Specify)						
** Primarily Italian Then French Then European						

4.2.1.3   Cluj-Napoca (Romania) focus group

Initial contact was made by email with the local coordinator of the Cluj-Napoca branch following the same procedure used for the Bologna group (see above). Six members agreed to participate. Having obtained informed consent from participants, the focus group took place in Cluj on 14th September 2011 and was moderated by RC. I observed the session via video conference and ensured that RC facilitated the discussion in a balanced and focused manner (there was a break half-way through the discussion during which RC and I liaised and assessed the progress of the talk). The group was attended by three males and three females, all aged between 18 and 24 and lasted one hour and 24 minutes. Two were students, one was unemployed, and the others were in regular employment. All participants were Romanian nationals except one who was Hungarian by birth but had been living in Romania for most of his life. Four participants had been members since the group started whilst two had only recently joined the team. The discussion occurred in a friendly and jovial atmosphere with many exchanges between participants. A few telephone calls occurred during the discussion, however these did not disrupt the general flow of the conversation. Contributions were fairly equally shared in terms of turn taking, with possibly two of the males (CL2 and CL5) more willing to initiate the discussion. Like the Bologna group most discussants had had experience of living abroad. Overall French and English were the best known second languages among this cohort followed by Italian, German, Spanish, Greek and Russian. Three members defined themselves as Transnational, two as 'primarily national then European' and one as "First citizen of my own town then European then transnational".

Table 4 Summary of socio-demographic data collected through questionnaires at the focus group in Cluj

Focus Group	CLUJ-NAPOCA					
Participant Code	CL1	CL2	CL3	CL4	CL5	CL6
Age Group	18-24	18-24	18-24	18-24	18-24	18-24
Male/Female	F	M	M	F	M	F
Occupation	Student	Unemployed	Employee	Student	Ngo Coordinato	Youth Worker/Student
Nationality	Romanian	Hungarian	Romanian	Romanian	Romanian	Romanian
Current Country of Residence	Romania	Romania	Romania	Romania	Romania	Romania
Lived Abroad y=years m=months	Belgium 7 m	Germany 3 m	Italy 8 m	France 4 m		
	Greece 3 m	Netherlands 1 m		Austria 1 m		
First Language	Romanian	Hungarian	Romanian	Romanian	Romanian	Romanian
Other Languages Known	French - 5	German 5	English 3	English 5	French 5	English 4
	English - 4	Romanian 5	Italian 3	French 5	English 5	French 2
	German - 2.5	English 4		Italian 4	Italian 4	Spanish 1

Focus Group	CLUJ-NAPOCA					
Participant Code	CL1	CL2	CL3	CL4	CL5	CL6
Self-Reported Proficiency 1=basic; 5=Fluent	Greek - 2			German 2	Spanish 3	
	Italian 1			Spanish 2	Russian 2	
				Hungarian 1	Greek 2	
I consider myself *	5	5	3	Other **	5	3
* (Multiple Options Available) 1 = A National Of My Country Only; 2 = European Only; 3 = Primarily National Then European; 4 = Primarily European Then National; 5 = Transnational; 6 = Other (Please Specify)						
** First Citizen Of My Own Town Then European Then Transnational						

4.2.1.4 Cardiff (UK) focus group

Cardiff represents a newer and smaller branch compared to the other TEN branches involved in the study. Members of this branch first convened in 2011 to work on a specific cultural project for the Trans Europa Festival called "The human library" [65]. The project consisted of a representation of 'living books' (voiced by actors) which took place at the European School of European Languages, Translation and Politics at the University of Cardiff. Members of the group are primarily students of the School and have met fairly regularly since starting the project. Contact was made with the coordinator as per the previous groups and informed consent was similarly obtained in advance of the discussion. Three members participated in the focus group which I conducted on 22 April 2012 in a room of the Students' Union building at the University of Cardiff. The session lasted 65 minutes. The discussants were three female students, aged between 18 and 24 years. One was a British national, one was Romanian and one was Turkish. All members had lived abroad before and had good knowledge of French (CA1, CA3) and Swedish (CA2). In the discussion, the Romanian member often took the lead and overall she tended to dominate the discussion. On a few occasions I tried to rebalance this dynamic by involving other participants (e.g. by explicitly asking them whether they agreed with her views in order to initiate their responses). The themes emerging from this focus group were clearly influenced by the interests of the participants in terms of culture and language although political issues were also gradually covered more extensively towards the end of the discussion. Whilst in the questionnaire the Romanian member defined herself as 'Transnational' and the British member as "Primarily

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[65] The Human Library is a worldwide project where people volunteer to talk about specific subjects (such as "being a Muslim") to other people. It is seen as a way to promote dialogue, understanding prejudices and ultimately to stop violence. Since 2003, it has been one of the activities supported by the Council of Europe. For more information see http://humanlibrary.org/index.html. Accessed 30/3/2013

national then European", the Turkish member chose three options as detailed in the table below.

Table 5 Summary of socio-demographic data collected through questionnaires at the focus group in Cardiff

Focus Group	CARDIFF		
Participant Code	CA1	CA2	CA3
Age group	18-24	18-24	18-24
Male/Female	F	F	F
Occupation	Student	Student	Student
Nationality	Turkish	Romanian	British
Current Country Of Residence	UK	Wales	Wales
Lived Abroad y=years m=months	Cyprus (Turkish part) 4 y	Sweden 6 m	France 9 m
	UK 2 y		
First Language	Turkish	Romanian	English
Other Languages Known Self-Reported Proficiency 1=Basic; 5=Fluent	English 5	English 5	French 5
	French 3	Swedish 4	
		French 1	
I Consider Myself:*	1/3/5	5	3
* (Multiple Options Available) 1 = A National Of My Country Only; 2 = European Only; 3 = Primarily National Then European; 4 = Primarily European Then National; 5 = Transnational; 6 = Other (Please Specify)			

4.2.2   Data collected via individual interviews

A pilot interview was agreed through personal contact with the local coordinator of the Rome branch and conducted in the organisation's office in Italy on 20 April 2011. The interviewee (coded RO1) was a 28-year old male, originally born in Italy but educated in Canada and the UK. As an Italian/English bilingual speaker he was given the choice of which language he would prefer to use in the interview. He chose English although some code-switching to Italian occurred during the interview. The discussion with RO1 was initially conducted as a semi-structured interview based, by and large, on the same questions originally designed to elicit the main topics in the focus groups (see Table 1). RO1 however was very willing to discuss such topics at length and in several cases he took the opportunity to introduce secondary topics too, thus adding to the flow of the conversation. He, for example, wove a general discussion about European identity and transnationalism into specific themes related to the civil rights campaigns he coordinates within the organisation (such as a project called People Power Participation and one for the equal recognition of LGBT rights across EU member states). Moreover, in many instances the interviewee took the opportunity to answer questions by introducing personal narratives and giving examples from his own life experiences. The interview format yielded a wealth of data and proved particularly apt to delve deeper on themes of interest that would have not been possible to discuss in the focus group. This format was therefore used for the subsequent individual interviews with a slight adjustment to questions so that the discussion could last ideally between 45 minutes and one hour.

After the initial collection of data via the focus groups and the pilot individual interview I reflected on the development of my study. One of the aims of the study that I had originally envisaged was to explore the

discursive construction of European identity in relation to multilingualism (that is the negotiation of multilingual ideologies among members combined with an ethnographic investigation of the organisation's multilingual practices). By late 2012, however, it had become apparent to me that this investigation would not be possible as originally envisaged due to a series of logistical constraints including the difficulty of gaining access to the organisation's transnational meetings. Furthermore, in light of the data already collected, I realised that I would gain better insights from exploring the interplay of members' identities building on their transnational ideological 'location'. In agreement with my supervisor and the Department, I therefore decided to re-focus my research in this direction and to open up the investigation to aspects besides multilingualism. This means that, whilst for methodological consistency the same lead questions adopted for focus groups were also used for individual interviews, the latter were not driven by the focus on 'language issues' as much as by different aspects of identification processes as transnational/European citizens. Although such readjustment of focus might potentially impact on the results, this study is not specifically aimed at comparing group and individual discourses. Furthermore the analysis was careful to reflect this change. For example, a debate on the use of English as a separate cultural/functional language at the Bologna focus group, provided useful insights on members' argumentation strategies aimed at the construction of a (civic) community (see section 5.3.5.8).

I conducted individual interviews between January and February 2013. 18 local coordinators and ordinary members were approached by email through contact details obtained through the organisation. A total of eight members agreed to be interviewed (in addition to RO1 who took part in the pilot study). Details of these are provided in Table 6.

All the interviews were conducted over Skype, except the London member who was interviewed in a public location in central London. For all interviews the general ethical procedure required by the College was

followed with the only difference that a written signature for 'informed consent' was obtained by email. Skype interviews were recorded from screen amounting to a total of six hours and 55 minutes. The sound quality was good overall so that that the remote interaction did not impinge on the flow of the discussion. The language of the interviews was negotiated in advance with my informants. Whenever possible – that is whenever more than one common language was shared between me and the interviewee - the latter was offered the choice. All interviews were thus conducted in English except the interview with one of the two Berlin members which took place in Italian. I offered to interview the Coordinator of the Valencia (Spain) branch, who is a Spanish native speaker, in Spanish. However after some initial negotiation she chose to use English although during the interview some code-switching occurred on both sides. During and at the end of each interview notes were taken. At the end of each interview some socio-demographic data was collected using the same questionnaire used in the focus groups (see above). These results are reported in Table 7.

Table 6 Details of Individual interviews

CODE	DATE	(1)	MEMBER's AFFILIATION	ROLE	LANGUAGE	(2)
RO1	20/4/10	F	Rome (pilot) - Italy	Group Coordinator	English *	36'
AM1	9/02/13	S	Amsterdam – The Netherlands	Group joint coordinator	English	80'
BE1	16/2/13	S	Berlin - Germany	Group coordinator	English	52'
BE2	8/2/13	S	Berlin - Germany	Artistic coordinator	Italian	41'
LO3	18/1/13	F	London - UK	Member	English	45'
PR1	24/1/13	S	Prague - Czech Republic	Group Coordinator	English	65'
PR2	27/1/13	S	Prague - Czech Republic	Member	English	42'
SO1	21/1/13	S	Sofia - Bulgaria	Group coordinator	English	61'
VA1	24/1/13	S	Valencia - Spain	Group coordinator	English *	56'

* instances of code-switching occurred
(1) F = Interview conducted face to face; S = Interview conducted over Skype
(2) Duration in minutes

Table 7 Summary of socio-demographic data collected through questionnaires at individual interviews

Interview Location	Rome - Italy	Berlin - Germany	Berlin - Germany	London - UK	Prague- Czech Republic	Prague - Czech Republic	Sofia - Bulgaria	Valencia - Spain	Amsterdam - The Netherlands
Participant Code	**RO1**	**BE1**	**BE2**	**LO3**	**PR1**	**PR2**	**SO1**	**VA1**	**AM1**
Age Group	25-34	25-34	35+	25-34	25-34	25-34	25-34	25-34	25-34
Male/Female	F	F	M	F	F	F	M	F	F
Occupation	Ngo Worker	Unemployed	Cultural Manager	Student	Human Right officer	Admin/education sector	PhD Student	Journalist	Temp clerk
Nationality	Italian	German	Italian	British	French	American	Bulgarian	Spanish	Dutch
Current Country of Residence	Italy/UK	Germany	Germany	UK	Czech Republic	Czech Republic	Slovenia	Spain	The Netherlands
Lived Abroad M=months Y=years	Canada 2y	Italy 9 m	Spain 6 m	No	Germany 3 y	Czech R. 5 y	Croatia 3 m	Netherlands 2 y	Sweden 1 y
	UK 8y		Austria 3 y		UK 1		Malta 6 m	Hungary 1 m	Australia 2 m
	Spain 1y		Germany 7y		Romania 8 m		Macedonia 3 y	Russia 1m	
					Czech R. 2 y			Finland 1m	
First Language	Italian	German	Italian	English	French	English	Bulgarian	Spanish	Dutch

Interview Location	Rome - Italy	Berlin - Germany	Berlin - Germany	London - UK	Prague- Czech Republic	Prague - Czech Republic	Sofia - Bulgaria	Valencia - Spain	Amsterdam - The Netherlands
Participant Code	**RO1**	**BE1**	**BE2**	**LO3**	**PR1**	**PR2**	**SO1**	**VA1**	**AM1**
Other Languages Known Self-Reported Proficiency (1=Basic; 5= Fluent)	English 5	English 4	English 4	German 2	English 5	Spanish 3	English 5	English 3	English 5
	Spanish 5	Italian 3	German 3	French 1	German 5	Czech 3	Macedonian 5	Italian 1	German 4
	Portuguese 2	French 2	Spanish 2	Spanish 1	Romanian 3		Serbo-Croatian 4	Catalan 5	French 2
		Spanish 1			Italian 3		Russian 3		Spanish 1
		Turkish 1			Czech 2				
I Consider Myself: *	4	5	5	4	2/5	1/5	5	5	3/5
(Multiple Options Available) 1 = A National Of My Country Only; 2 = European Only; 3 = Primarily National Then European; 4 = Primarily European Then National; 5 = Transnational; 6 = Other (Please Specify)									

4.2.3   Data entextualisation

All focus groups and interviews were transcribed using a transcription system loosely based on the HIAT conventions as explained on p. 12. All contributions were anonymised by using codes for speakers (as indicated in tables 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 above). All discussions and interviews conducted in languages other than English (that is in Italian and Romanian) were first transcribed in the original language and then translated into English. I provided the translation from Italian whilst RC provided the translation from Romanian. RC was also consulted to verify socio-pragmatic and cultural aspects of the text. The full body of transcripts is provided in Appendix 9.

4.3   ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

Although the linguistic analysis within the DHA has been applied in slightly different ways (see for example Wodak et al. 1999, Wodak, 2003, 2009, Krzyzanowski, 2010)[66] by and large it consists of: a) a thematic (or entry-level) analysis concerned with the content, or discursive topics and b) an in-depth analysis aiming to investigate i) discursive strategies, ii) topoi and iii) their means and forms of realisation[67]. This model is summarised in Table 8 and will be explained below.

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[66] Wodak et al (2009) conduct an analysis of contents, strategies and means of realisations whilst Krzyzanowski (2010) proposes a 'thematic' analysis and an 'in depth' analysis of argumentation and linguistic features. Although they both make use of strategies and topoi as analytical tools, Wodak et al. (op. cit.) foreground the former whilst in Krzyzanowski (2010) the analysis is guided by the latter. The linguistic analysis carried out in this study has been based on a model that combines the two as further explained in this section.

[67] In keeping with Wodak et al. (2009) I use the term realisation in the meaning of linguistically enacted.

Table 8 Levels of linguistic analysis. Adapted from Wodak et al (2009) and Krzyzanowski (2010)

THEMATIC ANALYSIS	Identification of discourse topics, macro semantic propositions, and interdiscursive/ intertextual relations; identification of keywords and frequent clusters, their collocation and concordance via corpus analysis
IN-DEPTH ANALYSIS	Identification of main argumentative strategies
	Topoi used to support strategy
	Identification of means of linguistic realisation including: Deictic positioning, metaphor, synecdoche, metonymy, trope, membership categorisation devices, passivisation, other lexical/syntactic and para-verbal elements

4.3.1   Thematic analysis

A thematic analysis or entry-level examination of the data was initially run to map out the content of all transcripts. Firstly, transcripts were read several times to enter the so-called 'hermeneutic circle' (Ezzy 2013). Secondly, transcripts were coded to achieve a taxonomy of themes and 'nodes' by using Hyper Research software. The main purpose of this analysis was to ascribe topics to categories of discourse and to conflate macro-propositions, themes and sub-themes (Krzyzanowski 2010). Moreover the thematic analysis was used to demarcate the 'boundaries' of

discourses and to subsequently help identify 'nodes' as interdiscursive and intertextual relationships (Fairclough 2003). The definition of key discursive topics was achieved both inductively and deductively. Topics were thus organised taking into consideration the 'primary' themes introduced at the focus groups and individual interviews (which in turn were partly based on the literature reviewed, the specific EA organisational literature and the pilot studies conducted). At the same time, topic categories were derived from specific 'secondary' topics brought into the discussion by members and related to discourses specific to the branch or individual(s) interviewed. Results of this topics analysis are presented in Figure 7 and Figure 8 in chapter 5 (see below), as they are discussed in relation to two distinct dimensions of production.

Furthermore, in combination with the above examination of topics, a basic analysis of all transcripts[68] was conducted via AntConc software (Anthony 2012) to obtain some statistical data on the frequency and use of lexical patterns and linguistic items that could help develop further qualitative insights. Although Corpus Linguistics and CDA are informed by distinct theoretical frameworks, the synergic benefits of combining the two have been explored and encouraged by a large literature; see for example Mautner (2007), Baker *et al.* (2008). In agreement with this body of work, this study has integrated the DHA analytical framework (which in fact is open to mixed analytical approaches) with corpus analysis to compensate some of the potential limitations associated with CDA, primarily the issue of the researcher's subjectivity (see discussion in section 4.4 below). It must be emphasised, however, that the results from the corpus analysis were used to supplement and not to substitute the discursive analytical approach advocated by the DHA. The quantitative findings therefore have always been interpreted taking into account different levels of contextualisation, (as discussed on p. 23), especially the socio-historical background.

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[68] For transcripts not in English, the translated English version was analysed.

In particular, the corpus analysis consisted of a statistical search to identify the most frequent lemmas or clusters of words in the transcripts, their concordance and collocation (Sinclair 1991, Stubbs 1996). The concordance tool 'KWIC' was used to determine the occurrence of keywords in a context of ten words (five occurring on the left and five on the right) and to identify their semantic and pragmatic use. The collocation tool was used to identify the most frequent left and right collocates of the keywords. Results from this search were used to supplement the qualitative analysis in two main ways. They helped focus on the use of certain keywords (such as the noun *Europe* and the adjective *European*) which were used as 'entry points' to guide the subsequent 'in-depth' analysis (for example orienting the investigation towards how members articulated their definition of Europe as a social/political space and a community and how they attributed Europeanness). Moreover results were used in the 'in-depth' analysis for triangulation purposes to support the data interpretations (see for example section 6.1.3 in chapter 5 below for the role of spatial deictics in the definition of the metaphorical scenario of *spatial dynamics*). To reflect this flexible use, results of the corpus analysis have been presented throughout the analysis of strategies and linguistic realisations (see pp. 132, 134, and 256) rather than a stand-alone section.

4.3.2 'In-depth' analysis

The 'in-depth' (or argumentation-oriented) analysis of the data evaluated members' statements as logical propositions, in relation to the enunciative positioning and orientation of the speakers and in their intertextual relation with other topics. Moreover the analysis was aimed at investigating the discursive strategies deployed by the speakers. In line with Wodak and Meyer (2009) the analysis treated discursive strategies as "a more or less intentional plan of practices ... adopted to achieve a

particular social, political, psychological or linguistic goal" (p. 94) [69]. For example Wodak et al. (2009 p.33) regard constructive strategies as

> *"attempt[s] to construct and establish a certain national identity by promoting unification, identification and solidarity, as well as differentiation"*

achieved, for instance, through arguments of comparison. As Wodak et al. (ibid) suggest, however, the use of strategies is often context-dependent and

> *"[a]lthough analytically distinguishable from one another, [...] strategies occur more or less simultaneously and are interwoven in concrete discursive acts".*

Consequently, in this study, a taxonomy of strategies was not assumed *a priori* but approached critically, allowing for specific (sub)categories to emerge. As a general principle, however, the analysis of strategies has been oriented towards the heuristic objectives of defining how social actors, objects, phenomena, events, processes and actions were constructed, represented, qualified, and positioned in discourse as these were identified as key conceptual aspects as discussed in the theoretical framework (see above). The analysis of strategies therefore was specifically interested in qualities and features that members attributed to Europe/Europeans, from what stances members expressed their arguments, how they articulated and negotiated their different affiliations, attachments, belongings and membership, and finally how political agency was constructed and political actors represented. In this respect, therefore, the analysis has followed the general approach of DHA framework,

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[69] By and large, Wodak et al. (2009) treat linguistic strategies as the realisation of both social practices and social action, assuming that, in their discourses, the speakers realise both their agency and their habitus, or to paraphrase Barthes and Sontag (1982) they are both the 'masters and the slaves' of language. The analysis of strategies, therefore, adopts a heuristic approach which takes into account a 'soft' determinism in communicative structures (i.e. the reproduction of some habitus), but also, in the light of the specific nature of the informants, it assumes a large degree of conscious intentionality in their discourses.

although adapting it to the specific nature of the data and in the light of the literature revised.

Furthermore, adhering to Wodak et al.'s (2009) model, the analysis of strategies was guided by *topoi*, i.e. standardised argumentation schemes usually deployed to support strategies, to validate claims and to discursively connect an argument to another to eventually justify a finality. In classical rhetoric [70] *topoi* (Latin *loci*, or 'common places') operate as warrants or implicit premises to the validity of an argument[71]. For example, the statement "the last Prime Minister made a mess of our economy, we cannot afford to let him run the country again" relies on the topos of analogy/likelihood that assumes that a person is likely to do more of the same in a similar situation. In accordance with Krzyzanowski (2010), as well as universal topics (in the Aristotelian sense) the analysis was also concerned with identifying context-dependent and genre-dependent topoi [72]. The unpacking of this specific "discourse-pragmatic aspect" (Krzyzanowski 2010, p. 85) of topoi was achieved by interpretive work and via multi-level contextualisation (see above) for example referring to socially or historically shared cognitive frames invoked indexically by participants and/or in relation to the NGO activities. Similar to strategies, a taxonomy of topoi was not predefined, but it was allowed to emerge from the analysis of argumentation schemes. This is reflected in the presentation of results where examples were chosen for their representativeness of one or more strategies or topoi.

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[70] See for example Encyclopedia (1997) p. 80 for a definition of Aristotle's distinction between general arguments (*koinoi*) and special arguments (*idioi*).

[71] I treat all warrants in argumentation schemes as *topoi* including those which infringe or violate rationality rules and which Wodak et al. (2009) refer to as *fallacies.*

[72] This use of topoi in DHA has been criticized by Zagar (2010) for its departure from classical argumentation theory, however it has widely been used in pragmatics (cf. Kienpointner and Kindt 1997).

Finally, at the micro linguistic level the analysis identified those linguistic elements which linked utterances with *topoi* and functionally supported strategies. These can include a variety of figurative language and rhetorical tropes (such as metaphors, synecdoche, and metonymies); syntactic structures, such as transitive/intransitive, active/passive forms (as these allow for the foregrounding/back grounding of agency); deictic features; and other para-verbal features.

With regard to the specific linguistic features studied: figurative language is the use of language whereby one word (or phrase) stands in for another to imply a relationship of similarity. Metonymy refers to the substitution of a word by one of its attributes ('the crown' to refer to a 'monarch'), whilst synecdoche substitutes a part for the whole ('wheels' for a 'car'). Another type of metonymic substitution is objectification, in which a person is substituted with a place or organisation with which they are associated (Van Leeuwen 1996) (e.g. 'Brussels' for the EU organs), whereas by the process of anthropomorphisation an object is given human features as in the expression 'the voice of America'. In the interpretation of socially functional aspects of metaphorical expressions, the analysis has relied on the main tenets of cognitive semantics (cf. Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Fauconnier and Turner 2003; Charteris-Black 2004) for example on the notions of 'mapping' of 'target' and 'source' domains whereby actors and events are conceptualised and explained in terms of familiar physical and psychological experiences (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). In this light, for example, a common cognitive metaphor of EUROPE IS A HOUSE (see for example Chilton and Lakoff, 1995) entails an understanding of Europe as a 'construction' that is a physical entity characterised by walls, doors, etc. as well as cognitive social implications of sharing with family, dealing with neighbours, and so on. Moreover the analysis has also drawn on Musolff's (2004) concept of 'scenarios' or metaphorical mini-narratives characterised by

"a set of assumptions made by competent members of a discourse community about 'typical' aspects of a source-situation [and the roles of their participants]" p. 28

As Musolff has pointed out specific narratives may become common currency in the way we speak about certain subjects and in how we understand certain affairs or processes. Moreover, from a critical perspective, narratives reproduce the selective representations of reality entailed by the source domains, so that for example, discussing immigration in terms of 'flooding' is likely to reflect (and influence) a negative ideological stance on the subject of people's mobility for its associations with 'destruction', 'catastrophe', etc.

In this context, for instance, one could recognize different narratives of the European expansion and integration circulated and reproduced in the media and in public discourse over the last two decades. Notably these have included the 'project' and the 'construction' of a 'European house' which sustained discussions of the EU enlargement as 'opening the door to new members' or, in the case of Turkey's application for membership as 'knocking at the EU's door' (Musolff, 2012)[73]. From a pragmatic perspective, therefore, metaphorical expressions such as the one illustrated above, can act as warrants in 'argumentation schemes' (van Eemeren and Grootendorst, 1992) and in some cases they can drive the whole discourse of European integration. Thus, crucially, semantic shifts, can give us insights into related social and political changes.

Deictic words or indexical expressions represent another important linguistic device that was taken into account in the analysis. Indexicality refers to the property of certain elements of language (called deictics) of 'pointing' to meanings like we would physically point our finger to objects (as index is in fact the Latin word for finger). Deictics, more than other words, encode "the relation between objects and contexts" (Hanks 1999

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[73] Cf. also the shift from the metaphor of Europe as a Christian-rooted 'family' to that of a mosaic and the 'Russian Doll' and 'Marble cake' conceptual models (all discussed in Section 3.4.1).

p.124) as they can only be interpreted in relation to specific referents or situations. In a narrow sense, pronouns such as *I, she,* demonstratives such as *this, that,* and adverbs such as *here,* and *now*, always exist in dual indexical forms (Kaplan 1979) or, in other words, as 'types' with semantic meaning and 'tokens' with denotational meaning. Such deictic terms can only be endowed with meanings if interpreted in relation to specific situations. Interpretation of deictics must therefore be processed on contextual clues which, in turn, can rely on the physical context or draw on social and cultural frames encoded in the hearer's interpretation (Gumperz and Levinson 1996). In broader terms, therefore, indexicality can be interpreted as "the pervasive context-dependency of natural language utterances" (Hanks 1999 p.124) and it can be realised in discourse through different other means. Whilst for example a regional accent can index a speaker's identity (Johnstone 2013), this can generate different orders of indexicalities (Silverstein 2003) if an ideological evaluation is associated with a social connotation (i.e. if the regional accent is associated with a specific social practice which then comes to be regarded as an index of 'authenticity'). Furthermore, indexicality can be realised, through specific perspectivisation of a message (Renkema 2004), by means of labels, implicatures and epistemic orientations (Bucholtz and Hall 2005) which can reveal the speaker's stance towards 'objects' (e.g. a topic, a person or a relationship).

Chilton (2004) highlights how positioning and indexical anchoring is typically realised along temporal, spatial, personal, and ideological dimensions. For Chilton through deictic expressions speakers can metaphorically construct a 'deictic centre' that defines their ontological orientation to the world and their relationship with society. Indexical anchoring and positioning vis-à-vis the 'deictic centre' can ultimately be interpreted as the speaker's representation of their social identity through time, space and personal relations, i.e. their 'situatedness' (as represented in Figure 6 below). For example, as noted earlier, the use of personal

pronouns *we, us* and the possessive adjective *our* can signal (dis)alignment with one particular group identity. At the same time, as they index inclusion/exclusion, personal deictics can point to a cognitive frame that encodes a "conventional shared understandings about the structure of society, groups and relations with other societies" (ibid p. 56). Likewise, temporal deictic expressions such as 'after the fall of the Berlin Wall' can be understood in terms of a particular historical frame involving wider ideologies beyond the temporal event itself, such as the change of Communist regimes in Eastern Europe. Similar considerations apply to spatial representations where, for example, the adverb "here" and the demonstrative "this country" can symbolically embody a frame entertained by the speaker about geo-political relations rather than simply proximity. For Chilton (2004), therefore, deictic expressions are salient elements of language that can be instrumentally deployed in political language in the construction of, *inter alia*, group boundaries and geopolitical spaces

Building on the above considerations the analysis of deictics has been concerned with: a) identifying and interpreting indexical expressions that could point to different frames of how members conceived social spaces; and b) developing insights on how such conceptualisations contributed to members' identification as European. Decoding the indexical 'value' of certain utterances and linguistic items was achieved via contextual cues and operationalised at different levels of context as proposed by Wodak (2009) and explained in detail on p. 23. For example the analysis has interpreted the indexicality of *now* in expressions such as 'let's have a break now', 'now, this is the issue!' or 'it's difficult to get a job anywhere in Europe now' on different contextual cues and it has consequently derived different insights into the temporal positioning of the speaker.

Drawing from social psychological (Potter *et al.* 1987, Harré and van Lagenhove 1999, Davies and Harré 2001) and socio-cultural perspectives

(Bucholtz and Hall 2005) of language use, this framework therefore appropriates the convenient notion of positioning as an ideological location adopted by speakers in discourse. It thus assumes that discourses and narratives enable the speaker to position themselves (reflective positioning) and the others (interactive positioning) within the social space. As expounded by Davies and Harre´ (2001 p. 262):

"[t]he words the speaker chooses inevitably contain images and metaphors which both assume and invoke the ways of being that the participants take themselves to be involved [...] Once having taken up a particular position as one's own, a person inevitably sees the world from the vantage point of that position and in terms of the particular images, metaphors, storylines and concepts which are made relevant within the particular discursive practice in which they are positioned".
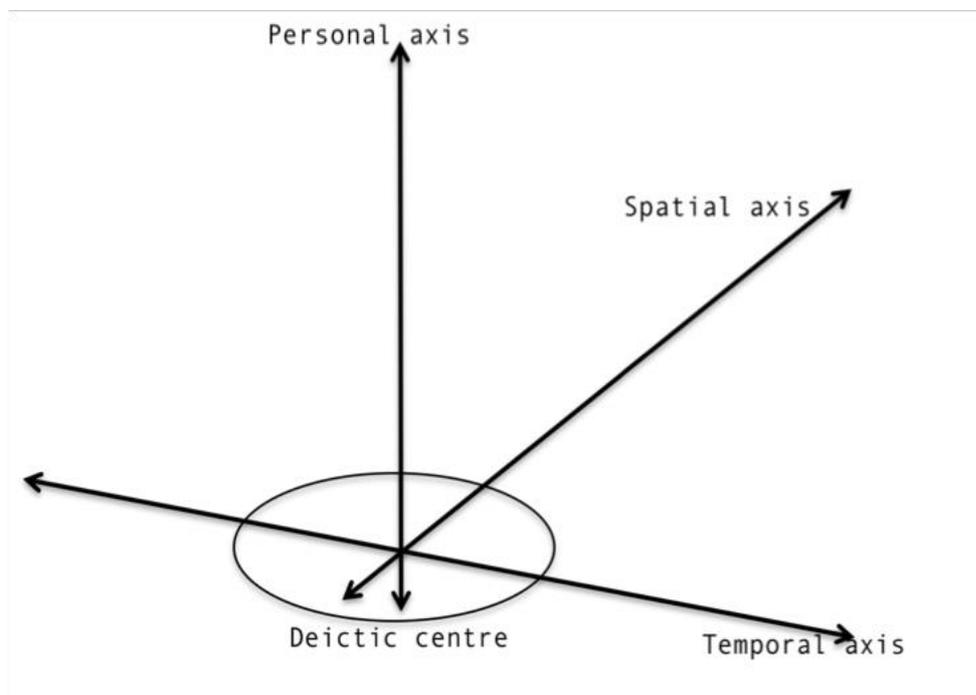
Figure 6 A representations of spatial, temporal and personal dimensions constructing a deictic centre (Adapted from Chilton, 2004 p. 58)

4.4 Reflections on the analytical framework

It is recognised that the main potential limitation of the analytical framework adopted in this study is the general issue of subjectivity associated with interpretivism. In CDA approaches, as analytical work is highly dependent on the hermeneutic work of the analyst (especially that of reconciling macro with micro dimensions) impartiality may be impinged upon by what some critics of CDA see as an overt political agenda for social change or methodological weaknesses/inconsistencies (Widdowson 1995, Toolan 2002, Jones 2007, Breeze 2011). Such an issue has been addressed as accurately as possible through triangulation with different theoretical approaches and multi-level contextualisation, however this analytical framework subscribes to the poststructuralist view that humans cannot escape structures in order to analyse them (Laclau and Mouffe, 2006) and that "the right interpretation does not exist" (Wodak and Ludwig 1999) because it is mediated by and depends on the background knowledge of speakers and hearers. Consequently, on the basis that "[CDA] does not pretend to be able to assume an objective, socially neutral analytical stance" (Wodak et al. 2009 p. 8), this study makes no claim that findings are generalizable nor entirely free from analyst bias and the limitations of academic discourse as a particular form of social reality which is co-constructed by the researcher.

4.5 Summary

This chapter has discussed the methodology adopted in this study. Details have been given of how data was collected via focus groups and individual interviews, of the preparation work, and a rationale for the lead questions that were asked. A specific breakdown of participants in each group and individual interviews including socio-demographic details

collected via the questionnaire was also provided. The analytical framework used in this study was also extensively discussed, followed by a some reflections on the limitations of adopting the DHA for the analysis. The next chapter will use these tools to analyse the empirical data collected for this research.

5 RESULTS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses the results following the DHA multi-level format used for the analysis (see Table 8). The 'thematic analysis' (section 5.2) offers an overview of key topics, it outlines the boundaries of members' discourses and discusses interdiscursive relations between identity, transnationalism and Europe as they emerged in focus groups and individual interviews. The 'in-depth' analysis (section 5.3) discusses macro and micro-strategies, patterns of argumentation and topoi as well as the use of linguistic devices and other linguistic features in representations and constructions of Europeanness. Consistent with the methodological approach that seeks to distance itself from taken-for-granted 'national' categorisations, the results of the data analysis in the next sections are presented at a transnational level rather than by group or branch. This means that whilst the nationality of participants and the geographical location of interview(ee)s have been taken into account as one of the contextual variables through which discourses were produced (as per model discussed in Figure 2), the interplay of nationhood is discussed together with other socio-demographic and contextual variables across 'thematic' and 'in-depth' analyses. Finally, in section 6 results are consolidated and further discussed in the light of the research aims and to address the research questions.

5.2 THEMATIC ANALYSIS

5.2.1 Preliminary overview of topics and interdiscursive dimensions of European identities

A large number of topics emerged from the content analysis which will be introduced in this section and further discussed in the next section in relation to strategies, topoi and specific linguistic realisations. Prior to the examination of such topics, however, two main discursive dimensions or contexts through which members produced Europeanness during the discussion will be outlined in this section. The first dimension (illustrated in Figure 7) refers to members' discussion of 'primary' topics, that is, topics directly related to (European) identity. In this dimension, some members engaged in meta-discussions of identity, they (de)constructed and negotiated meanings, contents and processes of identifications and, by and large, their discourses were concerned with their *identification as Europeans*. The second dimension of 'production' of Europeanness refers to discursive contexts in which, although not invoked directly, meanings of 'being European' were constructed, transformed and challenged by members in relation to a wider variety of 'secondary' topics related to Europe and transnationalism as 'nodal points' (see Figure 8). This dimension primarily relates to members' *identification with Europe or with European referents*.

5.2.1.1 *First dimension of production of Europeanness*

Typically, although not exclusively, the discussion of 'identity' topics occurred in response to the prompt 'do you feel/describe/think of yourself as European' and resulted in members orienting towards two main strategic directions. On the one hand, a significant number of members engaged with meta-definitions of identity, problematizing and critically deconstructing the notion of (European) identity(ies) as will be discussed in the next sections. On the other hand, members were generally concerned with constructing/recognising themselves as Europeans via explicit claims of belonging, and feelings of connection. This positioning

was primarily enacted from personal stances and achieved through accounts and narratives aimed at highlighting either contents or processes of their Europeanness, that is either European elements/traits to justify their positioning or ways in which they felt Europeans. In most cases, members realised their constructions of Europeanness via the invocation of *topoi of interactional experiences*; via historical, family, and cultural connections to European referents; and/or through the articulation of *relationality* (see p. 42 above) of their Europeanness *vis-à-vis* 'other' identities (see below). Most often therefore this involved a further negotiation of Europeanness with multiple belongings such as one's city, region, and nationhood, as it will be further discussed in the 'in-depth' analysis.
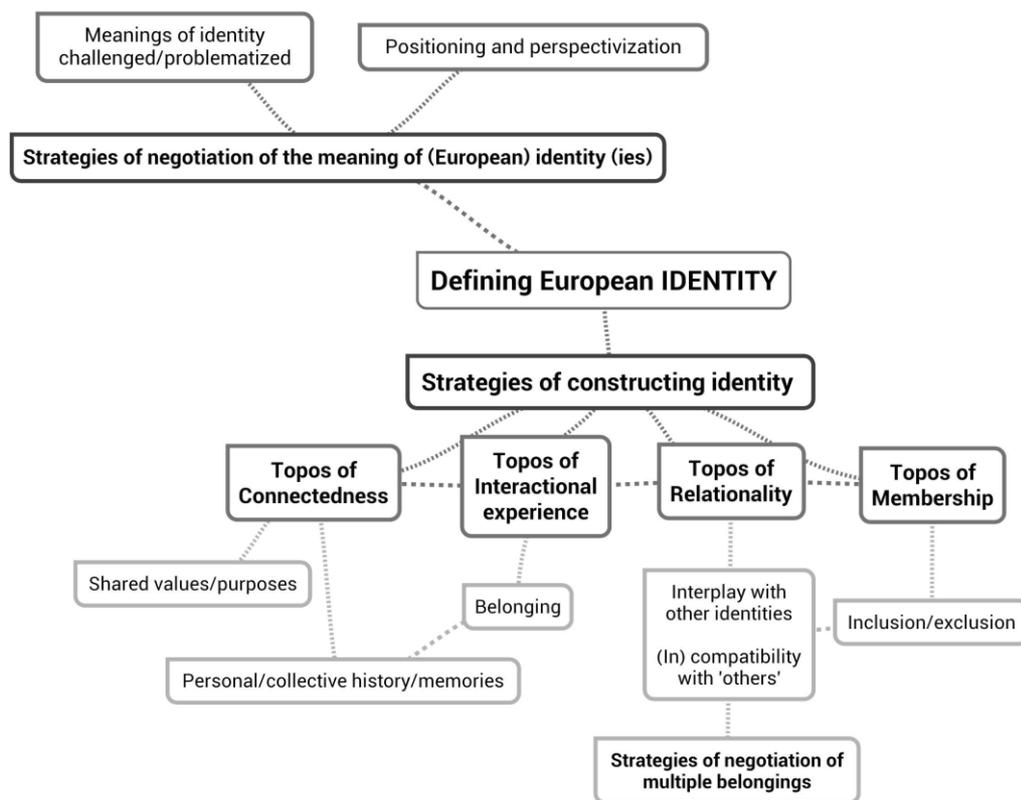
Figure 7 A representation of the construction of Europeanness in relation to identity topics.

As mentioned above, a second dimension of production of Europeanness emerged from the data in which meanings of 'being European' were constructed, transformed and challenged by members in relation to a variety of topics that have been collapsed into the nodal point 'Europe'. Such topics have been summarised in Figure 8 in relation to their pertinence to distinct organisational, geographic, cultural, social, economic, and political dimensions of transnationalism (as outlined in the theoretical discussion in sections 3.4 and 3.6). In many instances however topics straddled across different discursive domains; for example the topic of migration emerged frequently in discourses of global economic flows, cultural encounters, intra-EU mobility, citizenship rights, civic participation as well as social inclusion and exclusion. In these cases, such multiple relations have been represented in the diagram by 'connecting lines'. Within this second dimension of production of Europeanness two strategic orientations were also noticeable: one aimed at the dismantling of nationhood, and the other aimed at the discursive construction of European/transnational communities, spaces and social orders.

In both orientations, transnationalism – interpreted as both a *de facto* system of cross-border social practices and as an *ideal* socio-cultural scenario - represented an overarching frame for members' discussion of European themes without necessarily being claimed as an identity *per se* (other than being chosen as a self-ascription option in the questionnaire, see below). Through the discussion of 'nodal' themes, members generally tended to represent Europe as a social and political transnational project of the civil society and an open space of intercultural and political debate. Hence, civic frames (e.g. citizenship, solidarity) as well as cultural and historical ones - for example (re)defining the role of Europe in a changed 'global' topography - clearly represented salient referents for members in

their definition of being part of a wider European and transnational community. Most interviewees, thus, achieved representations of their Europeanness as members of an 'expanded' community through meta-narratives of *spatiality* and *progress* (as will be discussed further throughout the analysis). Similarly, in the dismantling of nationhood, transnationalism represented an overarching frame for member's understanding of their activities in a larger remit of global interaction and social transformation against which they generally problematised and deconstructed the meanings of 'national' structures. In these cases, transnationalism was, for example, constructed in discourse as the antithesis of internationalism and intergovernmentalism which were, instead, portrayed as typical top-down and 'mass' understandings of society as 'contained' in and regulated between nations. In most instances European identity was thus indexed to ideal scenarios of reconfigured social orders some of which related to cosmopolitan and 'global democracy' as it is further explained in the 'in-depth' analysis section below.
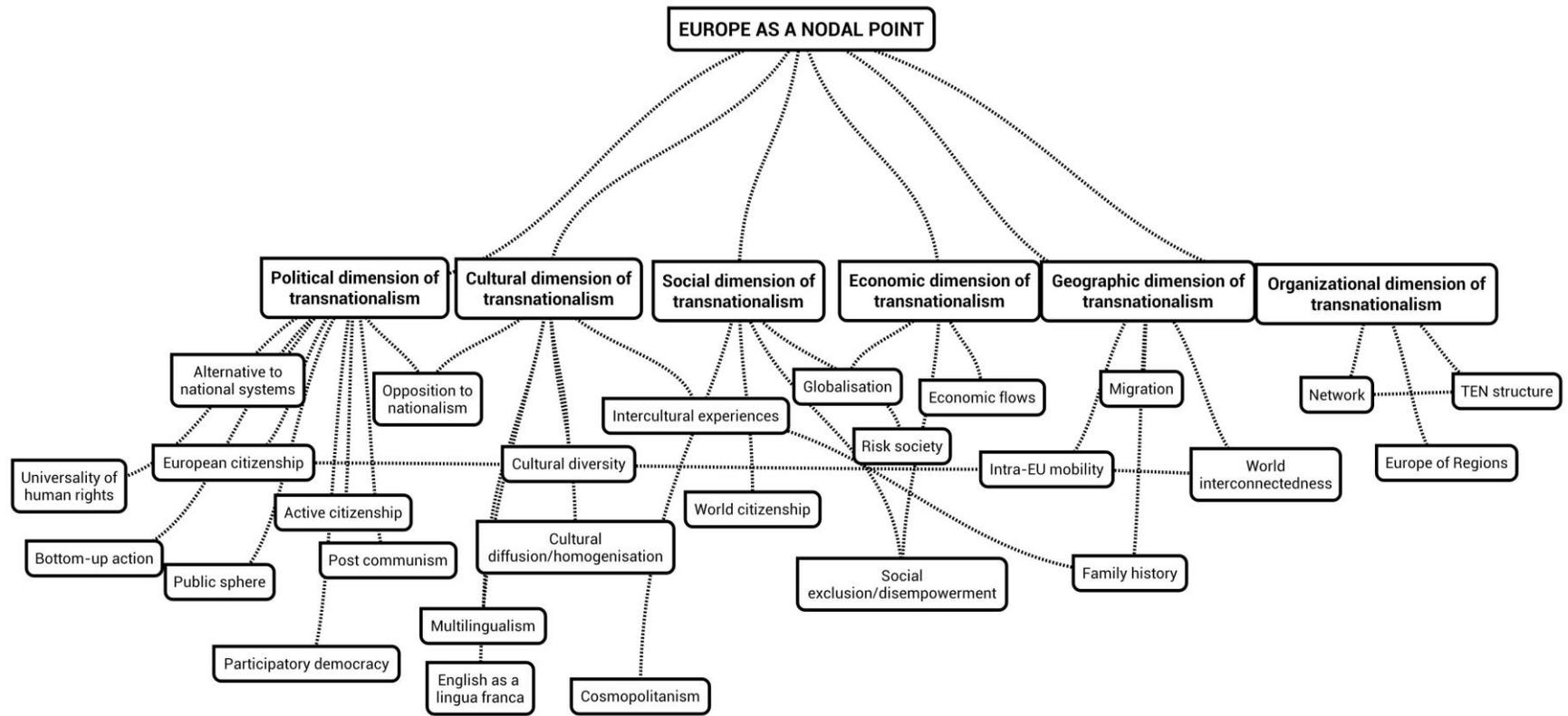
Figure 8 'Secondary' topics and their orientation to transnationalism

5.2.1.3   Attribution of Europeanness: usage of the term European

The two dimensions of production discussed above were also characterised by distinctive patterns of the usage of the term European, which, from the corpus analysis conducted, emerged as the second most frequently occurring lemma in the corpus (see Table 9). Investigation carried out on the distribution, collocation, and concordance of 'European' (see Table 10) showed that the first dimension of production was characterised by members using the term 'European' as a predicate or as a nominal adjective. As a predicate, European was typically self-attributed as a feeling, a condition and a cognitive process and realised through statements such as "I feel/am/consider myself European". In addition, the term 'European' was also used in the attributive form as a nominal adjective as, for example, in the expression "Europeans have learnt from their history".

In the second dimension of production the adjective European, was typically, but not exclusively used by members in denominal forms (that is derived from or defining the term Europe) and differently attributed to various aspects/elements of an ideal socio-political system (e.g. "build a European space of democracy" or "decisions taken at a European level"). In this second dimension the term European appeared frequently in the noun phrases 'European Alternatives', 'European Union', and 'European Movement' [74] as well as a qualifier of 'citizens' and 'countries'. To a lesser degree, the adjective 'European', was also used by members as a hypernymic qualifier to collectively refer to different varieties of 'languages' and 'cultures' in the continent of Europe. The different patterns

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[74] The noun 'European Movement' was exclusively used by LO3 to discuss her membership in the 'European Federalist Movement'.

of usage of the term European across the two dimensions will be elaborated further below in relation to the analysis of strategies and topoi.

Table 9 Most frequent lexical items in the corpus by main grammatical categories. Total types analysed: 4083 Total tokens analysed: 74852 (Minimum occurrence = 50) [75].

I (1)	ADJECTIVES	I	NOUNS (2)	I	VERBS (2)	I	DEICTICS (3)
382	European	455	people	2866	be	3118	I
206	English	291	Europe	748	know	1656	it
166	different	277	thing	705	have	1363	you
101	high	154	idea	664	think	703	this
98	national	152	way	439	can	580	we
96	French	148	kind	359	do	500	they
76	Italian	148	language	331	will	231	my
74	common	109	country	237	say	213	me
74	good	104	example	215	mean	121	these
67	first	93	identity	158	go	116	your
62	political	91	nation	143	see	111	them
61	transnational	89	sort	133	get	108	their
57	important	88	level	130	work	101	here
57	Romanian	85	EU	125	speak	82	he
54	interesting	84	country	121	want	70	our
50	cultural	70	world	107	feel	54	us
		69	sense	91	shall		
		69	term	85	learn		

[75] Lexical items *the, and, to, of, a, in*, which featured as the second, third, fourth, seventh, eight, and ninth most frequent items (respectively) were excluded from the table.

I (1)	ADJECTIVES	I	NOUNS (2)	I	VERBS (2)	I	DEICTICS (3)
		65	point	67	make		
		64	culture	62	need		
		64	problem	62	understand		
		63	question	58	come		
		61	time	52	talk		
		57	state	51	live		
		53	transnationalism	50	find		
		52	year	50	let		
(1) I indicates the number of instances the term occurred in the text (2) By lemma (3) Deictics include possessive adjectives, personal and demonstrative pronouns and adverbs.							

Table 10 A list of the most frequent left and right collocates of the term European

Most frequent right collocates occurring with 'European'		Most frequent left collocates occurring with 'European'	
48	European Alternatives	17	feel European
32	European Union	12	as European
16	European identity	8	be European
16	European Movement	7	being European
16	European citizen(s)	6	are European
11	European institution(s)	5	all European
10	European countries	4	is European
9	European Parliament	4	more European
9	European culture(s)	4	very European
5	European Commission	3	Eastern European
8	European language(s)	3	not European
7	European people(s)	3	some Europeans
4	European level	3	what European
4	European policy	3	young European
3	European discourse	3	the Europeans
3	European festival	3	am European
3	European history	2	called European
3	European issues	2	pro-European
3	European thing	2	yourself European
2	European anthem	1	absolutely European
2	European border	1	both European
2	European elections	1	Central European
2	European project	1	classic European
		1	common European

5.3 IN-DEPTH ANALYSIS

5.3.1 Strategies, topoi, and linguistic realisations

As discussed in the previous section, members appeared generally oriented towards the following *macro-discursive strategies*:

1) **the definition of (European)identity**, which in turn was articulated via micro-strategies of:
   - negotiation and problematisation of the 'meaning' of (European) identity,
   - construction of 'contents' of Europeanness and representation of 'processes' of identification with Europe (i.e. which elements make one European and how those elements are recognised),
   - negotiation of Europeanness *vis-à-vis* other identities (e.g. local, national, etc.);

2) **the dismantling of nationhood**, articulated via micro-strategies of:
   - deconstruction,
   - problematisation,
   - delegitimisation of national structures;

3) **the construction and transformation of communities**, articulated via micro-strategies of:
   - deterritorialisation,
   - 'scaling up' of solidarity,
   - transportability of civic engagement,
   - decoupling of linguistic and civic identities.

A table summarizing macro- and micro-strategies, topoi, and linguistic realisations has been provided (see Table 11 below). It must be stressed, however, that different topoi were sometimes used by members across dimensions to achieve different strategies. For example the *topos of connectedness* was used by several members to achieve representations of a linked community through tropes of bonding and ties (see below) whilst, at the same time, representations of the open and unbounded nature of modern societies represented a warrant for problematizing and delegitimizing nationhood and national structures. Consequently, at a macro-level, members were often able to dismantle existing spaces whilst reconstructing new ones and to position themselves in such new spaces redefining their relationality *vis-à-vis* (new) 'others'. For this reason, although presented separately as convenient categories, distinct dimensions, strategies, and topoi should be interpreted in their dynamic interplay as mutually constitutive components of an overall discursive process of transnationalisation (as illustrated by Figure 9).
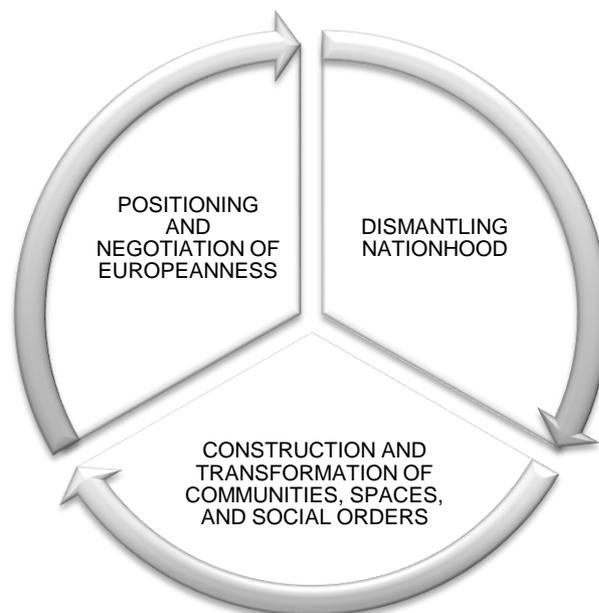
Figure 9. A model of how European identity is discursively constructed and transformed from a transnational perspective.

5.3.1.1 On the distribution of strategies and topoi

By and large, strategies and topoi were equally distributed across individual interviews although most discourses were clearly driven by the specificity of certain narratives related, for instance, to members' personal experiences of mobility or to their involvement with specific organisational projects. These aspects have been highlighted in the in-depth analysis of strategies and topoi discussed below. A few notable patterns also emerged in the group discussions. Members of the Romanian group, for example, conspicuously realised more strategies of legitimisation than other members in the construction of their Europeanness, and themes of emancipation and marginalisation drove a large part of the Cluj discussion. By contrast, members of the Bologna group appeared oriented towards deploying more cultural and historical topoi than others in their definition of community. The UK focus groups showed mixed patterns as both the London and the Cardiff discussions appeared focused, on the one hand, on specific branch-related projects and campaigns whilst, on the other hand, different strategies of construction, deconstruction and transformation were primarily achieved through personal narratives. These idiosyncratic realisations are discussed in the analysis and further interpretive considerations have been made in the discussion (section 6).

Table 11 A summary of macro/micro-strategies, topoi and linguistic realisations.

MACRO STRATEGIES OF DEFINING EUROPEAN IDENTITY		
1.a Strategies of negotiating the meaning of (European) identity(ies)		
Micro-strategies	**Topoi**	**Linguistic realisations**
Problematizing/dismissing the meaning of identity(ies); avoiding 'fixed' meanings	Topos of non-categorisation Topos of 'thinking European' vs. 'being European'	Dismissive interjections (e.g. Italian *boh)* Hedging ('I don't know; 'I'm not sure'), mitigating particles (perhaps) Periphrasis; vagueness; deferral; reversing questions
Perspectivisation	Topos of transnational perspective	Verbs and nouns semantically related to vision and location (to see, point of view, perspective, etc.) Spatial metaphor (inside/outside)
Deconstructing/Relativising the meaning of European identity	Topos of multiple signified/signifiers Topos of Western/Eastern relationality (exclusion/inclusion) Topos of the economic rationales for EU membership	Use of the term 'European' as a predicate and as a denominal adjective Anadiplosis of negative labels Metaphor of the EU as an organic body

1.b Strategies of representing identity 'contents' and 'processes'		
Strategies of assimilation/dissimilation	Topos of difference	Spatial adverbs to indicate cultural proximity/affinity
	Topos of interactional experience	Listing differences and similarities
		Trope of the 'old world'; metaphor of decline
	Topos of empathy	Interpersonal deictics
	Topos of culture and history	Trope of 'common ground' and 'heritage'
	Topos of democracy	Metaphor of 'lessons from history'
Strategies of representing identity formation as an open process	Topos of interactional experience	Arguments of causality
	Topos of relationality	Counterfactual conditional statements
Strategies of representing (inter)connectedness	Topos of family history	Metaphor of historical journey ('where one comes from')
	Topos of network	Para-verbal features showing emotional involvement;
	Topos of cross-border experiences'	Tropes of ties, links, nodes, and connections
		Metaphor of mapping
Strategies of representing 'in-betweenness'	Topoi of attachment and belonging	Temporal and spatial deictics
		Expression of uncertainty

Strategies of legitimisation	Topos of membership Topos of equality	Metaphor of slavery for emancipation from Communism Temporal deictics
1.c Strategies of negotiating multiple affiliations		
Strategies of representing mutual compatibility between diverse belongings	Topos of expansion of community Topos of (positive) in-betweenness Topos of multiculturalism Topos of context dependency	Hypernymic/hyponymic implicatures Multilevel representations Arguments of analogy
Strategies of representing difficult or conflictual European/national identities	Topos of insularity/'Britain on the edge' Topos of Turkey straddling across continents Topos of transformation of identities	Inconsistent use of interpersonal deictics Simultaneous inclusiveness/exclusiveness Lexical choices ('alternative')
Strategies of 'otherising' nationality and by-passing national identification	Topos of history Topos of supranational allegiance	Exclusive/ antagonistic deictics

Strategies of rearranging hierarchy and relativizing 'core/periphery'	Topos of network and 'interconnectedness'	Metaphor of mapping and 'direct' connections

MACRO STRATEGIES OF DISMANTLING NATIONHOOD		
Micro strategies	**Topoi**	**Linguistic realisations**
Deconstructing the reproduction of nationality	Topos of historical nationalism Topos of honesty	Agentivisation and personification of nations as negative actors; statements of rejection ('I can't do it')
Problematizing/deconstructing national structures	Topos of artificiality Topos of 'natural process of disintegration' Topos of world citizenship Topos of (transnational) flows	Metonymy of border for state hegemony Biological metaphors (life, evolution, decay) Metaphor of container -Trope of 'box' – spatial representations of inside/outside Trope of 'obstacles'
Delegitimising 'national' responses	Topos of global risk/action Topos of inadequacy	Agentivisation and antagonisation of states and 'global' actors

MACRO STRATEGIES OF CONSTRUCTION AND TRANSFORMATION OF COMMUNITIES, SPACES, AND SOCIAL ORDERS		
Micro strategies	**Topoi**	**Linguistic realisations**
Strategies of unification and enlargement of community	Topos of network Topos of imagination Topos of shared ideas	Spatial and temporal representations of 'connection' and 'expansion' Agentivisation and personification of NGO Botanical metaphor of 'rhizome' Metaphor of mapping – tropes of *schaal* and 'new frontier'
Strategies of 'deterritorialisation' of Europe and of 'transportability' of civic engagement	Topos of Utopia Topos of (transnational) active citizenship Topos of 'constitutional patriotism'	Metaphor of 'journey to Utopia' Metaphorisation of the term 'European space' Use of rhetorical terms such as 'patriotism' and phrases e.g. 'my own country/people' [possessive forms]
Strategy of constructing new forms of democratic community	Topos of experiment Topos of democratic dialogue Topos of values/ideals Topos of diversity Topos of solidarity	Metaphor: Europe as a 'lab' Metonymy of 'voice' for citizens Analogy Inclusive deictics/Historical 'we' Trope of 'newspeak'

	Topos of history Topos of danger	
Strategies of decoupling European identity from linguistic/national identities Strategies of pragmatic legitimisation of English	Topos of Europe as a semi-diglossic society Topos of 'languages for communication' and 'languages for identification'	Neologisms ('globish', 'Euro-English') Metaphor of the universality of English

5.3.2 Macro strategies of defining European identity

5.3.2.1 Strategies of negotiating the meaning of (European) identities

In most cases the question "do you consider/define/describe yourself (as) European" represented the typical 'entry point' to the discussion on identity and the trigger for further elaborations. Whilst most members used this entry point for claiming their identities, the initial concern of some members was to raise issues on the problematic meaning of identities or, in general, to distance themselves from a simplified use of 'being/feeling' European. In some cases, strategies of problematisation and avoidance were signalled by the frequent use of hedging ('I don't know', 'I don't think') and periphrasis in response to the prompt. This is illustrated in the following extract from an interview conducted with BE2, an Italian national based in Berlin, who had been supervising all EA's cultural events:

> *Extract 1*
>
> *FZ: e tu quindi ti consideri europeo?*
>
> *BE2: Io ho un grande problema con questo tipo di definizione (.) non lo so (..) non lo so cosa vuol dire (.) forse è un modo di pensare, boh, non è neanche nell'essere europeo [...] ho un problema di fondo con l'idea di identità e credo che il concetto di european identity [sic] sia molto problematico perché' [...] l'idea di identità mi da questo messaggio di qualcosa di statico di immobile, di definizione definita no? (.) di qualcosa che è un identità (.) quindi è chiusa, è fissa nel tempo, e questo non credo che sia un concetto applicabile all'idea di Europa, che per forza di cose deve essere qualcosa in movimento in (.) .e semplicemente non credo che esista non credo che sia possibile creare un contenitore identitario per l'Europa credo che sia un approccio [...] un po' forzato non credo che sia l'approccio giusto per pensare l'Europa ... non lo so ma non penso che l'identità europea sia l'idea giusta per l'Europa*
>
> *FZ: and therefore do you consider yourself European?*

BE2: I have a big problem with this type of definition (.) I don't know (..) I don't know what it means (.) maybe it's a way of thinking, dunno, perhaps it's not even about being European [...] I have a basic problem with the idea of identity I think that the concept of European identity is very problematic because [...] the idea of identity gives me this message of something static and immobile, of definition (..) something defined isn't it? Something closed and fixed in time, and I do not think this is a concept applicable to the idea of Europe that inevitably must be something in movement .... and I simply believe that , I do not think it is possible to create an identitarian container for Europe I think it is a wrong approach, well a little bit forced anyway, no I don't think that's the right approach to think about Europe .....I don't know but I do not think European identity is the right idea for Europe

In this extract BE2 problematised the term European as a meaningful category for his identification appearing wary of accepting an implicit definition of what (European) identity stands for. The member signalled his sceptical stance on the definition of identities through the proposition 'I don't know what it means' and reinforced this stance through the Italian interjection *boh. Boh* - which can be loosely translated as *'dunno'* or *'who knows?'* - is a colloquialism used in Italian to convey confusion, doubt, indifference, unwillingness to discuss a subject or to provide a clear answer, depending on the context. In this case, BE2 used the interjection *boh* to signal uncertainty and difficulty in positioning himself as 'being European', an identity category that he appeared to dismiss in favour of 'thinking' European, an aspect that he regarded linked more to the wider transnational movement he had been discussing earlier. All the same, the speaker hedged such a proposition with 'maybe', thus avoiding 'fixing' a meaning to the quality of 'thinking' European and, overall, indicating a general difficulty to embrace stable or unreserved definitions of identities. Such a strategy of problematisation of identity as a category was realised through the *topos of movement* and via the trope of *container*, a recurrent metaphor that is discussed further in this chapter in relation to other members' realisations. Through the *topos of movement* (i.e. Europe is an evolving idea/moving object), the speaker constructed European identity as a dynamic feature of the 'idea of Europe' rather than an essential

individual quality. As European therefore BE2 suggested one can only 'think' of Europe but not fix it in a static definition.

A similar view emerged in the individual interview conducted with BE1, the coordinator of the Berlin branch. The prompt on 'being European' generated an initial problematisation of the term identity, an argument which the speaker supported with some reflexive elaborations on the relational nature of identity and its implications of inclusion and exclusion:

Extract 2

BE1: mmh (..) I have a problem with with this identity thi(::)ng (...) mmh (.)[laughs] because identity always means inclusion and exclusion in a way and so (...) mmh and of course if you ask me yes I'll say I am European but I am so much more mmh in the same way

FZ: in what way?

BE1: er (..) I mean the question is (.) is (..) is important for you that you are Italian or (.) or you don't mind about or is it just about the others this is the question (..) you know what I mean [hesitates]?

FZ: yes I think I know what you mean and (..) and my answer would probably be it depends on the context, sometimes I have to call myself Italian and sometimes I choose to and ...

BE1: yes yes I'm sure yes (..) I have difficulties with this identity thing but(:::), mmh [...] could you ask me again and I'll think about it [laughs]

Although BE2 accepted the term European as a category to describe herself, she relativised the importance of such definition with what she saw as the multiplicity of identities that she can claim (a micro strategy that she realised through the statement 'I am so much more'). Moreover she questioned the meaning of identity as derived from external attributions even dismissing its importance to her by reversing the question ('does it matter to you?'). Like BE2, BE1's strategy appeared conspicuously oriented towards problematizing the universal significance

of identity and avoiding 'fixing' meaning to the term; a strategy that she realised by deferring a definitive answer ('ask me again') and employing para-verbal features (the repetition of the filler *mmh* suggesting uncertainty).

In some other cases, although members did not directly question the meaning of the term identity, they constructed different 'layers' of meaningfulness and relevance of 'being European' through different arguments. For example, in the following extract, whilst LO2 (London pilot focus group) provided more than one justification for his Europeanness he also negotiated different personal meanings associated with Europe:

Extract 3

FZ: ...right , and so would you call yourself European?

LO2: I do think of myself as being European, ehm, but that's simply a way of, I think avoiding having to decide whether I'm British, English or German (.) so it's far simpler for me to simply say that I am European than to sort of say I am half English eh.. whatever [laughs] and in terms of what it means I don't (..) I don't think that I have it (..) that I give it a lot of meaning, actually, to be European (...) I just think that I was born in the continent of Europe, to parents who were born in the continent of Europe, you know, and whose own family was born in the continent of Europe, and that's just about as much meaning as I can give it and I am quite aware that you don't have to go very far back in history to have quite tyrannical and despotic Europe, and and I don't know (.) ehm (..) ehm I don't think necessarily that Europe (..) I mean it could slip back into tyranny and then it could still be Europe, so yeah I'm not sure that I'd give it a huge amount of significance just a little word (..) it's funny [laughter]

In the above abstract LO2 offers different possible interpretations of his Europeanness based on the *topos of the distinction of Europe as a signifier and discrete signifieds*. At first he refers to his Europeanness as merely a convenient label that sums up his mixed background (he was born in London to a German mother and an English father). In LO2's view, 'being European' can thus be an effective way of communicating the combination of different cultural heritages. In this case, LO2 appeared to

reproduce his Europeanness at a denominational level as the hierarchical (i.e. multilevel) and non-mutually exclusive relations of national identities, justifying his self-ascription as European on a seemingly practical basis.

Subsequently, the member provided further justifications for his Europeanness, drawing on historical and geographical arguments of the continuity of his family line. In this case he constructed his Europeanness through an interpersonal dimension that drew on the *topos of kinship*, although he appeared concerned with downplaying the salience of this aspect as a 'simple fact'. Notably, LO2 also constructed a further layer of meaning that appealed to social, historical and ideational dimensions in addition to geographical and interpersonal dimensions. In this case LO2 related the 'signifier' Europe to the signified of a democratic and equal society by portraying the Europeans on a historical journey of progress towards better forms of participatory democracy (a topos that the member deployed a few times in the focus group and that will be discussed in relation to strategies of constructing Europe as 'experimental', see p. 217 below) realised for example by implicitly contrasting past tyranny with present democracy, intimated through the action verb 'slip back'.

Overall, therefore, LO2's argument appeared aimed at deconstructing the relation between the 'empty' signifier Europe and the signified meanings carried by the former. Whilst relativising the signified as a 'funny' and 'little' word, he duly explored a range of possible meanings. In this sense, the negotiation of meanings/'signifieds' of Europeanness was linguistically realised by the speaker on the one hand, through his use of the term 'European' as a predicate adjective by analogy with 'being' British, German, etc. – and, on the other, through the argument that the term 'European' can represent a denominal form of Europe, itself a term available to ampler inferences including, for example, that of a democratic and diverse society.

Other members negotiated the meaning(s) of identities via strategies of perspectivisation, i.e. they emphasised their 'perspectives' or their 'way of seeing things' as a premise to make sense of their own and other identities. Some of these arguments were realised through the frequent use of verbs and nouns semantically related to vision and location (such as in English, *to see, point of view, perspective* etc. and equivalent expressions in other languages). Most often members were able to represent their outlook and to realize their European/transnational positioning via spatial metaphors. For example BO2 (Bologna focus group) pointed out how she could only give meaning to identities through her transnational orientation:

Extract 4

BO2: mah (…) dal mio punto di vista è proprio una prospettiva (..) cioè è il modo in cui la vedo io, è un modo di vedere i problemi le questioni superando quelli che sono le nostre normali (..) gli usuali modi di categorizzare (…) uscendo dal locale ma anche dall'idea dell'internazionale, insomma tagliando attraverso quindi, è una prospettiva

BO2: well (…) from my point of view it really is a perspective (..) I mean it is the way I see it, it is a way of seeing problems and issues overcoming our normal (..) usual ways of categorizing (…) coming out of the local but also out of the idea of international, cutting through, so it is a perspective

The speaker constructed a metaphorical location for herself from which she is able to see (a metaphorical substitution for interpreting and make sense of) the meaning(s) of identities from a transversal/transnational perspective (that she represented as 'cutting through' local and international categories). This premise allows BO2 to construct her European identity through the different 'nodes' of her network (i.e. her different global ties) a strategy that will be discussed under the *topos of connectedness* (see section 5.3.3.2 below).

Another representation of transnational positioning as a precondition for making sense of European identity was argued by BO3 as illustrated in the following extract:

Extract 5

BO3: secondo me, rispetto alle culture fuori dall'Europa, quelle europee hanno delle caratteristiche comuni, in qualche modo (..) cioè se potessero essere spiegate, cioè decostruite, alla fine credo che le persone riconoscerebbero questi aspetti di di similitudine [...] cioè, almeno vedendo...cer ..cercando di vedere l'Europa dell'esterno penso che vedrei questo ...non so, per cercare di capire l'Europa, devo cercare di vederla dall'esterno e penso che alla fine potrei vedere questo

BO3: In my opinion, compared to cultures outside Europe, European cultures have some common features, in some ways (..) I mean, if they [cultures] could be explained, that is deconstructed, in the end I believe people would recognize these aspects of of similarity [...] I mean, at least seeing ...try...trying to see Europe from the outside I think this is what I would see...I don't know, trying to understand Europe, I've got to see it from the outside and I think that in the end I could see this.

In his argument the speaker relied on a critical perspectivisation of Europe to define the common features of its cultures (in BO3's view a salient element of identity). Adopting the metaphor of spatiality and locating himself 'outside' Europe, the member was able to represent his distancing from a Eurocentric perspective as a reflexive attempt to deconstruct cultures. Unlike BO2 in Extract 4, however, BO3 constructed an imaginary 'boundedness' of Europe (implied by the definition of inside/outside). The speaker's use of the adjective 'European' acted thus as a circular warrant for his argument since it enabled him to construct the in/out space and, at the same time, to realise strategies of assimilation (of the inside) and dissimilation (of the outside). In other words, whilst adopting a transnational outlook, BO3 constructed the meaning of being European as dependent on being 'within Europe'.

5.3.3 Strategies of constructing European identity

5.3.3.1 Topoi of interactional experience and relationality

Most accounts suggested the construction of Europeanness occurred through the articulation of its 'relationality' with other elements and other identities. Several members cited experiences of mobility (for study, work, tourism) and subsequent exposure to cultural and social diversity as fundamental factors in shaping and changing their views of society, the way they understood identity and their own identification with Europe. For example PR1 (Prague individual interview) argued:

> *Extract 6*
>
> *PR1: Yeah, yeah, quite definitely, yeah I am [European]. But again, I was also thinking erm that because I I had never travelled outside Europe and I have never been outside Europe so I was thinking that perhaps, the fact that I feel European for me has definitely to do with the fact that I travel and live abroad - erm it definitely shaped (..) shaped my (..) my European identity. But I was thinking that perhaps if I (..) if I spend some time outside Europe perhaps I will change my identity and consider myself as a world citizen [laughter] and I don't know.*

In this case the member positioned herself as European through the *topoi of social interaction and mobility* by constructing an argument of causality which represented her European feelings clearly emerging out of her experience of visiting and living in different places in Europe. By the same token, she represented her process of identification as European as malleable and context-dependant, by offering the counterargument that her feelings would potentially change as a result of experiencing different places – although mitigated by modals or expressions of doubt such as 'maybe' and 'I don't know'. Whilst she portrayed such a process as open to different possible outcomes, her representation of Europe with defined 'inside' and 'outside' suggests her interpretation of the world as divided up

in continents, a conceptualisation which would explain why experiences 'outside of Europe' would help her develop feelings of world citizenship.

The majority of members represented identity as a rather 'open' (i.e. non-predetermined) process developing out of transnational experiences (the causality illustrated in the extract above). However, a couple of respondents represented such experiences almost as 'catalysts' capable of activating elements of Europeanness that, to some extent, were already part of their identity. The next two extracts exemplify the use of *strategies of assimilation and dissimilation* that were deployed by LO1 and RO1 who, when asked to define their European identity, primarily emphasised in-group similarities among the 'Europeans' and out-group differences *vis-à-vis* the 'Americans' through the *topos of interactional experience*.

LO1 (London focus group) is an Italian national who, at the time of the discussion, had been in London on an internship with an organisation in the field of human rights. He claimed that his interest in European Alternatives was primarily related to 'European issues' and the "juridical aspects of what we [Europeans] are". His orientation was clearly towards a discursive convergence of Europe and the EU which he described as "something special in the history of the world". His alignment with institutional discourses and narratives of the European project was, for example, inferable from expressions such as "we have created this political organisation after the second world war to create a new world of peace, of human rights culture" in which the pronoun *we* was used in its historical inference to index the institutional project[76]. This stance also emerged in the extract below:

> *Extract 7*

> *FZ: and do you define yourself as European?*

LO1: I define myself as a European and (..) we share different cultures but also a common ground of some cultural elements [...] on some aspects we have the same points of view (...) I didn't understand this difference before my exchange with this experience in the US but before I was thinking that the Europeans of different nations have, (..) are (.) were very different but it's not that way we have some (..) common aspects like the respect for human rights but also of of some (..) eh aspects of the social welfare that maybe the Americans don't have okay there are differences between Scandinavia and I don't know, Spain, but there is a common ground...

LO1's orientation was towards an interpretation of (European) identity as group distinctiveness. His argument therefore seemed strategically aimed at maximizing intra-group similarities and inter-group dissimilarities drawing on the *topos of difference*. On the one hand, the *topos of difference* was used by LO1 to portray the European group as positively diverse ('sharing differences' is possibly echoing the institutional representation of Europe 'united in diversity') whilst constructing common denominators - human rights and welfare systems. On the other hand, these very same internal differences were relativised on a global scale to dissimilate the Europeans *vis-à-vis* the American out-group signalled by the mitigatory "*Okay....but*". LO1 attributed the 'recognition' of differences to his experience outside Europe thus suggesting that the unfamiliar cultural environment expanded his perspective and resulted in his reshifting the focus of difference (which nevertheless seemed to represent his overall understanding of identities).

RO1 (Rome individual interview) offered a relatively similar account in which he constructed his experience abroad as a crucial catalyst in the formation/recognition of his Europeanness:

Extract 8

RO1: I think European identity is very much about the mind frame, about the way we think,, the way that history plays a bigger role on how we would think, how we behave, what mistakes we've made [...] I think that ironically the easy (...) well (..) first of all yes, I feel very much European, maybe as much as I feel Italian, or possibly even more

and ironically I did (...) the European identity developed when I moved to Canada, and when you're like in a third country outside of Europe, it's a lot easier to see what you have in common with fellow Europeans that were also in Canada, so we would (.) I was in an international college, with people from all over the world, but it was obvious to me there that I had something in common with people from Finland or Bulgaria, although we had no shared languages or food habits, and I thought that culture is about that, but there is something about finding the same things and, strange peculiar [things?] about America, for example, and I think identity comes from... I mean it is also understood through shared experiences and shared emotions and shared reactions, so we have very much the same historical cultural background without really knowing it, and then I moved to Britain, which is a very Eurosceptic country, where people are very European but they don't think they are, and people call you European and when I say to people I go to Europe they don't include themselves, and that even if somehow they are a lot closer to Europe than they would like to think, but that also helped develop an identity of (..) and you know again if you met a Spanish person, or French, whatever in London, he would be someone closer to the way you think, to your identity and then, meanwhile, the development of a European policy also helped because they became, you know, places you can go to work and places that have your own currency and so on, places that have increasingly the same laws, so that identity goes hand-in-hand with social and political developments

Similar to the two previous extracts, RO1 referred to his different experiences abroad to explain his process of identification as European spawning from them. The member's strategic orientation was distinctly towards representing identity as emergent from cognitive and emotive processes of recognition of similarities and differences. RO1 thus engaged in different arguments in which he constructed the 'Europeans' as an in-group by acknowledging familiar and unfamiliar traits ('*same and strange things*') *vis-à-vis* other groups often linguistically relying on the metaphor of SPACE – for cultural proximity - whereby a European is 'someone closer to the way you think'. Like LO1, RO1 thus also invoked the *topoi of cultural background and difference* to construct intra-group commonalities and inter-group differences. Unlike LO1, the speaker elaborated further on the notion of a European common cultural background and, through the

metaphorisation of 'history as a teacher' (invoked via the *topos of history as magistra vitae)* he portrayed young Europeans as 'having learnt their lessons'.

In this sense, his argument on 'recognizing' himself as European through shared elements resonates with what Van Dijk (1995) calls 'social (or semantic) memory' that is a socio-cognitive system of storing knowledge about the past and cultural narratives through the reproduction of discourses and identities. It could thus be argued that for RO1 the process of identification with Europe relies on becoming aware - at a cognitive and emotional level - of such a collective memory and deriving a sense of group connection from sharing these with other Europeans[77]. LO1 constructed his argument through a personal narrative in which the 'alien' context of Canada (which he referred to as a third country[78]) and the European/Eurosceptic context of Britain represented 'reflexive' [79] contexts which helped reveal his own Europeanness. RO1's representation of his process of identification seems thus to point to a mutually constitutive dynamic between elements which are both 'brought along' and 'brought about' by the interactional experience [80]. On the one hand RO1 vaguely suggested the notion of identity as an almost pre-existing (albeit dormant) disposition that would be activated by the context. On the other hand, the fact that the speaker clearly foregrounded places and interaction as key factors in the emergence of Europeanness

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[77] See for example Eder and Spohn (2005) for a discussion of narratives of Europe as a 'community of memories'.

[78] The expression 'third country' is commonly used in European studies to refer to non-EU countries however it does not imply a third world country.

[79] I use the word reflexive both in the metaphorical meaning of mirrors through which one recognizes her self-image (Cooley, 1902) and thinking about oneself in society and time (Giddens, 1992).

[80] I borrow these terms from Auer (1992) and other sociolinguistic literature, for example, Baynham (2011). In general such literature have emphasized how the enactment of identities in discourse can be accounted for by elements that are generated or 'brought about' by the narrative itself as well as more stable features that are 'brought along' in the narration. Whilst the latter could thus constitute the more 'essentialist' dimensions of identity, the former emerge from the co-constructive process of discursive interaction. (This note has been reproduced in Zappettini, 2014 p. 400).

and the linguistic choice of 'development' would suggest a less deterministic stance. Overall the representation of such an interplay appeared to be reconciled in RO1's argument on the 'Europeanisation of places' which, he suggested, could facilitate the process of recognizing similarities/differences and thus of becoming European, a correlation that he linguistically realised through the idiomatic expression 'hand-in-hand'.

The *topos of interactional experience* was also invoked by two Romanian members (Cluj focus group) as the context in which they had to negotiate their Europeanness. In this case, however, the speakers used this topos to represent the relationality of their identities as a difficult process of inclusion and exclusion occurring *vis-à-vis* other Europeans as illustrated in Extract 9:

Extract 9

CL5: Mi-a cam pierit din optimismul pe care îl aveam când eram mai mic. Ca e frumos aşa ca sunt european, ca călătoresc, si am o cultura europeana in spate, ca vorbesc o limba care e înrudita si cu italiana si cu franceza si ca sunt influente vestice in cultura romana, dar când chiar interacţionezi cu majoritatea oamenilor din vest, a fi european nici pentru ei nu înseamnă mare lucru.

CL4: Chiar asta a fost principalul meu soc atunci când am ajuns sa locuiesc mai mult timp in Occident, mai precis in Paris, faptul ca de mica fusesem obişnuita cu aceasta credinţa într-o cultura europeana, fusesem crescuta într-o familie de intelectuali care se axau foarte mult pe prietenia pe lunga istorie de schimburi culturale intre Romania si Franţa, dar când am ajuns acolo am văzut ca nu aveau nici o importanta nici cunoştinţele mele, nici credinţele mele despre aceasta cultura si despre ce se presupune a fi o cultura europeana clasica. Singurul lucru care conta era eticheta de roman, de roman prost privit, de roman privit ca rom, de rom privit ca hot si aşa mai departe [...] Era un lung sir de clişee care pana la urma m-au pus sa chestionez foarte profund si clişeele pe car ele aveam eu despre aceasta istorie a prieteniei romano-franceze. Este doar un exemplu, poate ar fi greu de generalizat, dar am presimţit profund acest lucru. Sa înveţi ca eşti european si apoi sa ti se arunce in fata ca nu eşti.

CL5: I lost the optimism I had when I was small because it's beautiful that I am a European, that I can travel, and I have a European culture

to support me, that I speak a language closely related with Italian and French and that there are Western influences in the Romanian culture, but when you actually interact with most people in the West, being European does not mean a big deal for them.

CL4: That was really my main shock when I came to live longer in the West, specifically in Paris that I had been raised to believe in such a European culture, I had been raised in a family of intellectuals who put a heavy emphasis on a long history friendship, of cultural exchanges between Romania and France, but when I got there I saw that my beliefs or my knowledge about this culture, or about classic European culture didn't matter. The only thing that mattered was the Romanian label, a Romanian badly seen, a Romanian seen as a Roma, a Roma regarded as a thief and so on. It was a long string of clichés that eventually forced me to question very deeply my clichés about the history of a Romanian-French friendship. It is just one example, it might be hard to generalize, but I felt it very deeply. To learn that you are European and then to have it thrown in your face that you are not.

Through the *topos of interactional experience* (in the specificity of relations between 'Eastern' and 'Western' Europeans) both members realised and juxtaposed different constructions of Europeanness. CL5 initially construed 'being European' as the awareness of cultural proximity between the Romanian culture and other Western cultures. The ability to claim his Europeanness on these premises however was clearly devalued by CL5 as an idealisation (through the ironical 'it's beautiful') against his personal experience of being denied the validation of such identity by the 'Western' counterpart.

In a similar way, CL4 represented her Europeanness as being rejected by the 'West' through the vivid non-finite clause 'to have it thrown in your face that you are not [European]'. Furthermore, she represented the process of external devaluation of her Europeanness through a 'downward' chain of negatively associated labels (realised via the anadiplosis[81] 'European-Romanian-Roma-thief'). Such processes of exclusion were represented by members in negative terms (for example

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[81] Anadiplosis is the use of a final word in a clause, which is subsequently repeated at the beginning of the following clause.

CL4 described it as a 'shock') and this appeared to result in a general scepticism by the two speakers of their personal investment in Europeanness as a cultural construction learned in their earlier childhood. Whilst the above examples of (de)constructing Europeanness show the relationality of processes in which both elements of internal investment and external attribution must be negotiated, they also suggest that, in some cases, the 'East' can still represent 'Europe's other' and that Europeanness can be constructed through the articulation of such dichotomisation.

5.3.3.2   Topos of (inter)connectedness

For a considerable number of members the construction of European identity and the articulation of its relationality were achieved via *topoi of connections*, the latter differently understood as feelings, links and ties related to European referents. In most cases such connections were claimed by representing Europe embedded in a worldwide network of social relations with, in some instances, links being accounted for through European heritage.

A few members invoked the *topoi of family history and culture* as initial warrants for claiming a European identity. For example, LO3 (London, individual interview) referred to her transnational upbringing and socialisation as the main reason for her European identification as illustrated in the following extract:

Extract 10

LO3: I, I do (...) erm (...) I do feel European although I am limited [slowly] by my lack of (...) I have - I don't have much er foreign language [high tone] so I've got sort of a bit of German and a tiny bit of French, like my - a terrible lack of other languages so although I feel European [laughs] I also feel like I couldn't just travel, like whenever I

meet fellow (…) Trans Europa people or European Movement[82] people from around Europe I always notice about how English I am [high tone] [laughs] by my lack of language so, that's purely something that's fixable, but in terms of identity, yeah, I, I feel European I think. The fact that I have so many relatives who live in different parts of the country, in different parts of Europe, erm, that it's just how I was brought up I think (…) to feel European and sort of linked with the history that doesn't necessarily come from the UK, and yeah [softly]

FZ: So, is that what makes you European, erm?

LO3: Partly [high tone] I'm sure it's an aspect of not wanting to just feel British [laughs] So a slight, a slight kind of feeling of wanting to be other than being British [softly] I'm sure that's part of it, yeah

LO3's representations of her own Europeanness were primarily predicated on the warrants of her European family history and her upbringing. The speaker referred to her process of identification as European in affective terms (through the verb 'feel') and through the trope of 'links with history'. The *topos of connectedness* was therefore invoked from temporal and spatial dimensions drawing on the metaphorical representations of movement of one's heritage (cf. the expression '*linked* with the history that doesn't necessarily *come* from the UK').

In addition to these representations, the member constructed her European identity through different representations of her Englishness/Britishness. On the one hand, her national identity was construed as an element of distinctiveness in comparison to other members of the NGO. Moreover by indexing 'being English' to her lack of languages (and constructing this as an acquirable skill) the speaker also mitigated what she pre-empted as a 'limited' Europeanness. On the other hand, her British identity was clearly invoked in a strategy of constructing her 'alterity', that is of defining who she is by emphasizing who she is not (cf. Delanty, 2000). In this respect, it was thus possible to recognize the

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[82] LO3 is also an active member of the Young European Movement.

speaker's agentive role in the process of self-definition ('I want to be') that involved the partial otherisation of the national referent.

The *topos of family history* was also called upon by AM1 (Amsterdam, individual interview) and realised through the metaphorical narrative of JOURNEY of her family and her own as illustrated by the example below. AM1's account was conspicuous for a general pattern of broken sentences and certain paralinguistic features (in particular her intonation and hesitation) which, along with the use of fillers such as 'oh my God', suggest high emotional involvement in her representations.

Extract 11

FZ: Erm okay, do you consider yourself European?

AM1:   Erm, yes.

FZ: Okay, and, and, and what, what does it mean to you?

AM1:   Erm [laughs] to me it erm, what it means to me? [Confused]

FZ: Hmm.

AM1:   Erm (…..) I think for me it's also got to do like in the same way of feeling Dutch or feeling (…) Amsterdammer or, or, something erm I, I think it's got to do with, with my personal history as well [high tone].

FZ: Would you like to tell me about that?

AM1:   Erm that my father is Austrian and his parents were from Latvia and erm Czech Republic, Erm and I, I was always, yeah, fascinated by that. I mean I never really got to know my family but then I found out, yeah, I'd say that I started to travel myself and (…) erm and so that already kind of (…) er, it feels er, it (…) it feels a bit random [high tone] that you're born in one country because [laughs] - erm, God, God I'm, I'm making a lot of hand movements here because I don't really know [high tone] [laughs] how to say it but (…)

FZ: That's fine, it's fine (.) take your time […]

[She gives an account of her father telling a story about his 'family journey' through Europe to an audience.]

AM1: … so I think that where you're coming from, your own history is really important [...and what it] means for me is erm that my family history is in Europe so (…) I feel European and maybe if I, if that wasn't (…) the case, erm, I, I wouldn't have felt that, I don't know, erm

The speaker initially made sense of 'feeling European' by highlighting the familiarity of different spaces, a strategy which she achieved through the analogy of feeling just European as much as Amsterdammer or Dutch. In her account, she also emphasised the continuity of her European ties along temporal, spatial and affective/intrapersonal dimensions. For example, in a similar way to LO3, AM1 deployed the metaphor of HISTORICAL JOURNEY OF FAMILY (realised through the statement 'where you're coming from [...] is really important') to construct her connections with Europe.

Furthermore, Europe was represented by AM1 as a meta-space that could make unitary sense of her identity narrative by making up for not having known her forefathers and by reconciling the uncertainties of feeling 'randomly' located (clearly still a sensitive issue for the speaker which was reflected in her para-verbal language). Her proposition 'my family history is in Europe, so I feel European' therefore seemed to functionally connect intangible aspects of memories within a physically defined European space and ultimately to anchor such space to a fuller identity, providing her with a firmer narrative continuity (Erikson 1980). Despite highlighting the salience of her European connections, AM1's representations of Europeanness appeared nevertheless oriented towards a non-essentialist interpretation of identities. Similarly to other members (see for example in Extract 10 on p. 158 below) AM1 recognised that her European identification is predicated on her background, stressing that her claim to Europeanness would be otherwise through the counterfactual

conditional statement 'if that wasn't the case ...I wouldn't have felt that', (see also PR1 in Extract 6 on p. 151 for a similar conclusion).

In the last two examples the transnational background of their families is arguably a core variable in the members' accounts. *Topoi of connections and ties* however also emerged as a powerful referent in processes of identification with members who have had direct experience of mobility but not necessarily a transnational family background[83]. For these members, the discussion of mobility and transnational experiences was instrumental in their definition of identity. However, above all, it was the definitions of links and bonds related to their experiences that were highlighted and deemed essential in defining Europeanness. These arguments were typically realised through the *topos of network* [84] as illustrated in the following extracts (Bologna, focus group):

Extract 12

BO2: 'per quanto mi riguarda ho sempre avuto qualche difficoltà a definirmi legata a qualche identità eh.. sicuramente il legame nazionale proprio e una cosa che non ho mai sentito forte anche forse per una formazione familiare ... non l'ho mai sentito verso l'Italia quindi il passo successivo potrebbe essere quello di sentirsi parte di qualcosa di più grande come l'Europa ...questa e una cosa su cui sto riflettendo di più adesso che faccio parte un'associazione di questo tipo riflettendo su che cosa sia l'Europa e su come l'Europa non sia definita necessariamente da questi confini geografici allora pensandola in questo modo mi posso definire europea ...se definirsi europea significa semplicemente essere parte di questo sistema allora mi interessa poco sento molto più forti i legami con con tutto il resto del mondo e ho esperienze in passato di progetti con l'Africa piccole esperienze di collaborazione internazionale, connessioni più ampie ... però se l'Europa la guardiamo come un modo per ampliare la propria località

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[83] Although it was not possible to ascertain each member's individual circumstances, in most cases this information was partly derived from the questionnaire or emerged in the discussion, or through personal communication.

[84] The *topos of network* was invoked several times and used in different contexts by members. In this section I have illustrated examples of members implicitly or explicitly referring to a 'network' of positive experiences to construct their identities and position themselves. On the other hand, the topos of 'network' in reference to EA's the organisational structure and a transnational form of political activism will be discussed later in the analysis as it primarily relates to strategies of constructing a civic community. For a discussion on the metaphor of network in the social sciences see McEntee-Atalianis and Zappettini (2014).

e soprattutto di connettersi anche con il mondo allora forse mi sento europea'

BO2: 'as far as I'm concerned I have always had difficulties in defining myself tied to an identity eh.. certainly the national bond that is really something that I've never felt strongly also because of my family background… never felt for Italy therefore the next step could be feeling part of something bigger like Europe .. this is something I've been reflecting on since I joined this kind of association, reflecting on what Europe is and how Europe is not necessarily defined by these geographical boundaries. If I think of it that way, then I can define myself as European … if defining oneself as European simply means being part of this system then I'm not much interested in it, in that case then I feel stronger ties with the rest of the world as in the past I have worked on projects in Africa, I have minor experiences of international cooperation, wider connections … however if we look at Europe as a way to expand one's own locality and above all of connecting oneself with the world, then perhaps I feel European'[85]

BO2 referred to the identification process as a 'bond' or a 'tie' (Italian *legame*) arguing that she lacked any strong connections with her Italian identity (through personal communication I learnt that she was born in Northern Italy from Southern Italian migrants). Whilst such lack of bonding with the nation was logically constructed as her main motivation for turning to Europe as a source of identity (through the adverb 'therefore'), she also represented her identity quest as an outward journey ('the next step'). As I have argued in the analysis of the above extract in McEntee-Atalianis and Zappettini (2014 p.406):

"[a]cknowledging the multiple meanings of Europe and rejecting the simple geographical or institutional definitions, BO2s overall cognitive scenario appears therefore concerned with imagining Europeanness as a 'translocality', a salient anchoring in the process of connecting her with the wider world. Thus, whilst Europe offers a potential source of identification or a positive tie for the speaker, it does not seem to

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[85] Extract 12, Extract 13, Extract 26, and Extract 33 have been reproduced and discussed in McEntee-Atalianis and Zappettini (2014). As McEntee-Atalianis and Zappettini (2014) draws on the data of this PhD, part of the analysis related to these extracts builds on some of the insights presented in the paper.

constitute a fixed identity, but rather it seems to represents a 'node' that connects her with the world in a network of multiple belongings and possible loyalties. In her account, BO2 constructs identity as a reflexive and dynamic process, metaphorically represented as a JOURNEY (PATH) that relies on the imaginary of a networked society to provide multiple connections with different communities. Therefore, whilst one could recognize in BO2s representation the same process of outward motion to the next 'doll'/identity suggested for example by the 'Russian Doll' model (see page 56 above), her realisation of Europeanness is clearly not contained by or filtered through nationality but rather achieved by dismissing or skipping the 'national level' altogether. Furthermore, as nationality is not significantly invoked by the speaker (other than to be dismissed/rejected), BO2's account does not seem to tally either with the marble cake model. Notably in her argument BO2 appears to use the network metaphor to antagonise the 'system' by rejecting institutionalised notions of Europeanness which instead she constructs as 'proxy' for her transnational vision."

PR1 (Prague, individual interview) too represented her process of identification as European/with Europe as connecting with salient anchors, an argument that she realised through the spatial metaphor of MAPPING as illustrated by the following extract:

Extract 13

PR1: Well, I don't identify as a European, as erm…as Europe as a nation, you know, this is the difference [laughter]. No, no, I don't consider it as a country, you know […] not a country, not a fixed thing. It's it's a mixture of other things and and this is why I I identify so much with Europe because erm having lived in different countries and travelled and met people from different countries I take a lot of things or I see a lot of things with which I personally identified and agree or support or you know, like positively identify , I identify as European because there are values things in European cultures and societies which I identify with, but in a way it's more erm in a way maybe it's more erm erm this combination of erm erm of the local level because, for instance, erm I identify with things which which I saw here in

Prague, locally but put together as erm an and rise to a more European level

I: So –it's basically- I don't know if you can call it the combination of these different erm micro environments….'

PR1: Yeah.

I: and still you see them linked together somehow?

PR1: Yes, exactly. Maybe, …. erm maybe it is something which is easier to draw on a map rather than to talk you know […] perhaps if I draw a map I could put erm erm …a lot of points which would be the places where I lived and the people which I met in this or that place. And then you can link it up together and this is ….this is Europe and this is my identity.

The member initially rejected her identification with 'formal' Europeanness (that is derived from an institutional definition of Europe), an argument that she realised by analogy with the problematisation of nationhood that she had been discussing earlier in the interview (see Extract 23 below for her argument on the 'fixity' of nations). Instead, she constructed her identification as an 'open' process including referents such as places, people, values, and experiences. Whilst these elements were treated distinctly at a local level, they were also used by the member to construct her own individual notion of Europe.

The representation of such process was realised by PR1 through the geographical entailment of map/charting within the JOURNEY metaphor. The expression 'drawing a map' appeared thus used by the speaker for a cognitive rearrangement of the European space whereby representations of her European links and ties - symbolised by lines or roads she had travelled in her lifetime- were consolidated into one. This representation of Europe(anness) highlights a construction of European identity as expanded and interconnected localities (conveyed by the expression 'rise to a more European level') and one in which the agency of the speaker allows for a more   personal arrangement of space than that formally

defined by borders and hierarchy. In this case Europe is not explicitly contained but rather constructed as a polycentric ideological referent with the emphasis on flows (the lines/roads) rather than on boundaries (see also McEntee-Atalianis and Zappettini 2014 for a similar analysis of PR1's realisation of 'mapping').

The construction of Europeanness in relation to the *topos of connections* was also noticeable in the identity narrative of VA1 (individual interview, Valencia), a Spanish national who described herself as transnational in the questionnaire. However, unlike BO1 and AM1's extracts discussed above, VA1's representations of ties and connections as underdeveloped attachments contributed to an overall representation of more 'fragmented' and 'weak' belongings. The topic of identity was raised spontaneously by the member early in the talk when, discussing her one-year work experience in the Netherlands, she elaborated on the relation between Europe and transnationalism as illustrated below:

Extract 14

VA1: for me I mean this is (..) for me this is a question of identity (.) I mean I was born in Spain and maybe I don't feel Spanish you know (..) the feeling of belonging for me doesn't depend on citizenship or where you live or if you're travelling […] but for me belonging means not only a place you know (.) it's also belonging to a society belonging to a certain group of people that have similar values to yours (..) I mean I could say yeah I am Spanish and of course if I compare myself to (.) if I compare my habits with other cultures or kind of customs if you want to call it like that and other people people from all over the countries of course I am different (.) there is [sic] differences (.) but this but this doesn't mean I belong to Spain (..) I don't know if I want to to to grow my roots or something like that (..) I don't know if I want to stay here you know I don't know I don't know if I want to be in South America or in the north of Europe it's not only the city or the buildings but is also the people is what you give to this society with what you contribute you know (.) I don't know where I belong (...) if you ask me now I belong to my family at the moment and no at the moment I'm not independent yet (.) I don't have a job I don't have my own house and now I don't have more options than belonging here so I don't know the international experience I had living abroad I didn't feel belonging to that countries [sic] either ...myself I don't know where I belong it's a

kind of feeling I suppose I will build I will take a little bit from each experience in my life of course I will (..) I belong to my place where I was born and you know I am a musician I like playing drums so I also belong to my band"

Through her narrative, VA1 reflexively positioned herself 'in-between' stages of the process of identification, highlighting how her different sources of attachments had yet to fully develop into firmer feelings of belonging and groupness. VA1 represented thus identity as a process of connecting reference 'objects' and consolidating experiences through the metaphorical realisation of 'rooting' oneself in a wider social space. However, she controversially depicted her desire for rooting and her process of belonging as disrupted/interrupted and somehow caught in-between personal choices and external constraints - her difficulty in positioning herself was signalled by several repetitions of the utterance 'I don't know' and a general pattern of broken sentences.

VA1's discourses appeared oriented towards the representation of a hiatus in the process of building her identities, or, in other words, she represented herself 'trapped' in the progression from 'attachment' to 'belonging' (Jones and Krzyżanowski 2008)(see p.83). VA1 constructed her difficulty to locate herself in relation to a meta-space comprising of different dimensions: a geographical dimension (specific world locations such as South America/North Europe, or objects such buildings); an affective dimension (family) and a social dimension of groupness (defined by the sharing of values and the moral obligation to give to society). By contrast, she rejected the significance of citizenship as a formalised recognition of membership and, through the disclaimer on 'being Spanish', she downplayed the significance of cultural differences enacted through national identities.

Amid this scenario, the member discursively marked her social location via the spatial deictic 'here' and the temporal clause 'at the moment' - two expressions which point to the specific difficult social-

economic conjuncture of Spain (and more generally of Europe), - a topic that VA1 discussed repeatedly in the interview and which clearly echoed wider discourses of 'social precariousness'[86]. It was thus inferable that for VA1 the contingencies of 'here' and 'now' (i.e. the lack of certainty about the future) were preventing her from emancipation and a full realisation of meaningful social identities through firm ties undermining the 'ontological security' (Giddens, 1991) of her identity. The gap between an ideal sense of belonging and the social and economic constraints was realised through the comparative *"I don't have more options than belonging here"* which presents her current choice of belongings in negative terms.

Whilst the majority of members realised their representations of (inter)connectedness as outward expansion - which in some cases would reach out of the European continent - BO6's (Bologna focus group) construction of Europeanness stood out among the others as he invoked the topos of connection to represent a dwindling European society as illustrated below:

Extract 15

BO6: si volevo dire una cosa forse un po' controcorrente però io forse oggi mi sento molto europeo perché condivido con molti ragazzi europei la sensazione di declino ….che ha…che sta vivendo il nostro continente e noi forse lo sentiamo più degli altri e ah… è una cosa che riscontro …proprio un elemento comune che ..che secondo me caratterizza anche rispetto ad altri ragazzi parlo della mia generazione ovviamente che vengono da altre parti del mondo

FZ: OK, puoi spiegare un po' meglio.. il declino?

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[86] In the last few years there have been different movements in Spain which have campaigned in support of the right to affordable housing (VdeVivienda) and against the lack of certainty (*precariedad*) in employment and social welfare (Precarios en movimiento); cf. also *Juventud Sin Futuro* (Youth without a Future) which have campaigned under the slogan 'no house, no job, no pension, no fear'. In general the deregulation of the job markets in the 1990s and 2000s has resulted in more temporary jobs being available at the expense of long-term and fixed jobs and the emergence as the 'Precariat' as a new social class (Standing 2011). European Alternatives has run a number of campaigns to demand radical changes to the current job situation and VA1 has been actively involved in these activities.

BO6: il declino rispetto alle aspettative di progresso che ah…. che fondano un pochino sia la costruzione dell'Europa come istituzione, come assetto istituzionale sia come corpo sociale diciamo

BO1: ma io non mi caratterizzo nel declino….(tutti ridono)

BO6: No, ma cioè….

BO1: ….vecchio e decadente (in tono ironico)..

BO6: si, vecchio e arteriosclerotico [….] ed effettivamente sento la comunione sociale perché' la storia millenaria [degli Europei] è stato questo perché erano ….diciamo la comunità dominate nel mondo e quello che succedeva qui in Europa influiva su tutto il resto del mondo e non sempre viceversa

BO6:I just wanted to say something perhaps a bit against the mainstream but maybe today I feel very European because I share with many European youngsters the feeling of decline …. that has… that our continent is living through and perhaps we feel it more than others and ah … it's something that I am finding…really a common element .. which in my opinion characterizes [Europeans] compared to other kids coming from other parts of the world I speak of course of my generation

FZ: OK, can you explain a bit better .. the decline?

BO6: the decline compared to expectations of progress that ah …. that are a little the foundations in the construction of Europe as an institution, as both institutional setup and as a social body , let's say

BO1: but I do not characterize myself with this decline …. (everyone laughs)

BO6: No, but I mean….

BO1:… old and decadent (in an ironical tone)….

BO6: yes old and arteriosclerotic [….] and actually I feel the social communion because [the Europeans'] ancient history was just this …. let's say the world's 'dominant' community and what was happening here in Europe influenced the rest of the world and not always vice versa.

In this exchange BO6 constructed his identity in relation to his awareness of Europe's decline which he claimed to mutually share with other Europeans of his generation. He realised this strategy through the utterance 'I feel the social communion', not a commonly used expression in Italian, but nevertheless reminiscent of Anderson's (2006) idea of 'imagined' communities. Moreover, the member engaged in a strategy of representation of the decline of Europe(ans) through the personification of Europe as a living entity going through the life-cycle by drawing on the trope '*il vecchio continente'* (literally 'the old continent' and equivalent to English 'old world' which is commonly used in Italian to refer to Europe and the history of its civilisations). BO6, thus, portrayed Europe as an ageing individual that has passed his/her 'prime' supporting this imagery further with the depiction of the European continent as '*arteriosclerotico*' (a medical term associated with senile deterioration but colloquially used in Italian as English 'barmy').

Through this strategy the speaker arguably aimed at creating empathy and emotional appeal for the waning role of European culture which he regarded as having lost its influence in the world arena and lacking any aspiration of progress. It must be noted, however, that BO6's strategy aimed at representing an empathic connection with the history of the European group was challenged by all other members particularly in relation to the notion of a 'dominant' and homogenous European culture. For example, in the extract above BO1 ironically mimicked BO6's proposition to disalign herself from it. Nevertheless BO6's discourse suggested that his identification process as European was clearly embedded in major historical and social dynamics. The ageing of Europe depicted by the speaker appears to index the centre of world's demographic and economic interests now shifting to other blocks and, similarly, his unattended expectations of progress in Europe could be interpreted as the gradual abandoning of welfare social models in favour of liberal market as a macro process of the 'new economy' in the last few

decades (Jessop 2010). These changes, resulting in a reconfiguration of world 'core' and 'periphery', appear therefore reflected in the speaker's discursive constructions of the de-centralisation of Europe ultimately indicating his investment in narratives of decline.

5.3.3.3 Topos of membership

As illustrated so far, the salience of identity as membership or formal categorisation was generally downplayed by members for example through arguments that dismissed it as an external ascription (see Extract 2 and Extract 14). SO1 (Sofia, individual interview) also relativised the significance of Europeanness as formal membership, although his argument was principally constructed from an economic perspective and based on the *topos of the rationales for the EU membership* of Bulgaria as exemplified by the extract below:

Extract 16

FZ: I would like to ask you if you erm, if you um, identify yourself as, as European, erm and er and if so what erm, what that means to you?

SO1: Ah look ah okay, erm, (..) erm, I'm, er I (...) I do identify as European at one level on another level I do identify as a Balkan, ah you know, as somebody from the Balkans, er and that's kind of important for me and it's important er perhaps because I don't feel the, I don't feel the Eastern leg of the European Union is very much integrated in, in what it is supposed to be integrated, erm so yeah, yeah I do feel yes European with that note in mind.

FZ: Okay can, can (..) can you expand on that erm idea of integration?

SO1: Well [...], the big thing of being in, part of ah, er in the EU as such erm, that is a Bulgarian in my case is that that yeah it's all quotas and identification that, that, that's why I very much questioned before the actual membership (...) er, this is one thing erm, so we talk this anyway willy nilly, erm, as soon as it gets, as soon as you're a member, well you

know, travel is easier and how they move on, you know another one on borders and da, da, da, it's one thing. On the other, er, you know, er very few people in my country of origin erm, doubt the, the membership of, of, of okay it was anything different from just you know, it being done for a political process you know, for economic purposes basically. Erm, er, this is why, yes that's returning on the economy thing again, erm, this is why I said that I, I question the integration of, of Bulgaria for example in, in the EU as such erm, ahm, on, on everyday level I think there is a sense of identification in me and other people in general, er which is pretty much er okay these days for our, on, on the market level I think there is um, I wouldn't call it even disappointment, I think it's some sort of er, you know just sort of realisation of, of it's why countries such as Bulgaria and Romania are in the EU. So I think, I think while Bulgaria and Romania are part of the EU because of, you know of conjuncture reasons et cetera et cetera and dare I say economic reasons, you know people benefit in some sort of um coincident, er accidentally you know, within it, whether you know, the, the, the idea of European identification that I do follow, I develop it, you know sort of like because of erm, you know it's just there, it's just optional because Bulgaria is in the EU, you know and I'm like, why not, of course I will develop this identification focus.

SO1 constructed his argument on the *topos of rationales for the EU membership* of Bulgaria discerning distinct social and economic purposes of the EU integration in general. This decoupling gave SO1 the warrant for constructing his European identity through his (dis)alignment with these different aspects. As he explained when asked to elaborate on 'integration', he argued that economic rationales were the main reason for Bulgaria to join the EU. Consequently, for the speaker, European identity (that is the formal entitlement to claim Europeanness derived from the status of Bulgarian citizenship) ultimately represents a by-product of market logics and it has been primarily reproduced by Bulgarians from this perspective, in other words, as an optional, commodified, 'add-on' identity. The speaker dissociated himself from this identification option through representations of 'banal' mobility and the dismissive expression 'da da da'. Whilst the member distanced himself from a formalised validation of 'being European' he claimed his Europeanness in relation to Europe as a project of social integration. However, he highlighted the discrepancy between ideal and factual dimensions ('it is not what it is supposed to be')

an argument that he linguistically realised through the metaphor of the EU as an organic (i.e. properly functioning) body whose 'Eastern leg' is not 'much integrated'. This premise enabled him to take a position as 'someone from the Balkans' an identity that, in this context, appears to supplement a 'weak' European identity deriving from economic rationales and bridges the gap between ideal and factual European communities.

In contrast to most views, members of the Cluj focus group discussed membership (in the specific instantiation of citizenship[87]) as a significant referent for their identification as Europeans. In general, the Cluj members placed much emphasis on topics of mobility as the expression of a newly acquired status of freedom following Romania's accession to the EU in 2007 as illustrated by the extract below:

Extract 17

RC: Voi va considerați europeni si v-ați autodefini ca europeni si daca ați putea sa îmi spuneți ce înseamnă asta pentru voi, pentru fiecare fără jena....

CL3i: Singurul drept care îl avem, nu știu, mă rog, părerea mea, ca putem calatori mai liber acum, ca oarecum ni s-au dat mai multe drepturi sa facem ce vrem noi, sa facem ce ne place sau ce credem noi ca ne poate ajuta personal in dezvoltare, ne-am îndepărtat puțin de ceva legat, nu mai suntem legați de un lucru, nu mai putem visa greu la un lucru cum era înainte, acuma poți învață mai ușor, poți ca fii cu oameni mai ușor, poți interacționa cu alți străini mai ușor, e mai .. e mai ok ca înainte

CL6: Vroiam sa zic într-adevăr odată cu 2007 parca simți mai bine ca ești european, nu doar ca poți sa călătorești mai mult ceea ce e foarte important si sa intri in contact cu alte culturi si toate cele, dar intri in contact cu si cu legislație si tot ce presupune domeniul birocratic [...]

RC: nu toată lumea se simt european pentru că avem aceeași birocrație?

CL2: Da eu unul mă simt de multe ori egal cu ceilalți din Franța, Italia de oriunde si atunci asta iți da un pic de încredere ... încredere in forțele tale ca om, nu ca român ca european ca sa zicem

RC: [...] would you define yourselves as Europeans? and if you could tell me what this means to each one of you?

CL3: The right we have now, I don't know, well, I think, that we can travel more freely now, and somehow we were given more rights to do what we want, to do what we like [...] we took some distance from something that bound us, we are not bound anymore, it isn't hard to dream of something anymore, like it used to be, now you can learn more easily, as you can be with people more easily, you can interact with strangers more easily, it's more (..) it's more ok than before.

CL6: I wanted to say that since 2007, you can really feel better that you are European, not just that you can travel more, which is indeed really important, and get in contact with other cultures and all, but you come into contact with the legislation and all the bureaucratic fields, so to say, and ... a. .. [...]

RC: does everyone else feel European because we have the same bureaucracy?

CL2: Yes I often feel equal to others in France, Italy from anywhere and then it gives you a little more confidence ... confidence in yourself as a person, not as a Romanian, as a European so to speak

In this case, the three members constructed their Europeanness through the *topos of European citizenship* as a consequence of Romania's accession to the EU in 2007. Significantly, the formal recognition of Romania as a EU member (and of Romanians as European citizens) represented the culmination of a process of political changes occurred in the wake of the collapse of the Communist system in Eastern Europe. The discursive frame constructed around membership therefore carries specific implications for this key transition and for the affirmation of Romanians as Europeans. This was clearly signalled by the temporal deictics *now* and *before* in CL3's discourse, which he used to juxtapose his current status of European citizen ('now') with what it used to be in the past ('before'). In the CL3's representations, therefore, EU membership

indexes Romania's emancipation from the Communist regime and from the severe travel restrictions that applied to Romanian citizens[88]. From this perspective, the speaker saw his new status of European citizen as an opportunity to overcome the constraints of the past communist regime that limited his civil rights. His claim of a European identity through the formal recognition of membership/citizenship appeared therefore driven by a strategy of legitimisation.

Notably, from a semiotic perspective CL3 realised his argument through a vivid representation of 'boundness' that drew on the imagery of slavery and likened pre-EU Romania to past societies where slaves were disenfranchised citizens (for example the ancient Roman and Greek societies). CL3 represented becoming a European citizen as the emancipation from such a condition of slavery ('we are not bound anymore') and the acquisition of new rights to participate to the civic life of the European community. In this sense, for CL3, Europe seemed to represent a new salient referent for renegotiating his civic affiliation away from national institutions and closer to the EU institutions which one could arguably interpret as the 'freeing agent' in the passive construction 'we were given rights'.

The temporal dimension deployed by CL3 was taken up further by CL6 (through the marker 'since 2007') to represent her Europeanness enhanced by Romania's membership of the EU. In this case the speaker constructed the experience of dealing with the EU institutions (in the form of legislation and bureaucracy) as a positive example of her EU citizen status and, at the same time, a validation of her Europeanness through the implicit inference that the EU legislation applies equally to all EU citizens. The warrant that all citizens are equal before the law also enabled CL2 to

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[88] Under the Romanian Communist regime, (1947-1989) visas were subject to government approval and citizens who wanted to travel abroad had their passports held by the police. Furthermore, citizens who applied to emigrate had their civic and economic rights revoked and they were systematically disparaged by authorities. The relevance of being able to travel freely therefore must be interpreted in the light of such political and historical contingencies.

achieve a strategy of legitimisation for himself by affirming his Europeanness *vis-à-vis* other nationals in France, Italy, etc. In this case, the member saw the EU legislation (which, in most cases, applies supranationally) as a 'playing field leveller' because it should grant the same rights and same opportunities to all individuals regardless of their nationality. By anchoring the validation of his dignity as human being and his confidence in a supranational rather than a national legal system, CL2 appeared therefore to invest more positively in his identification as a European citizen , crucially bypassing the national level.

5.3.3.4   *Strategies of negotiation between European and other identities*

As illustrated in many of the previous extracts, the vast majority of members made sense of their experiences and their feelings of belonging by locating (or striving to locate) themselves in an 'expanded' physical and social world. Discourses and narratives of identification discussed so far have generally pointed to the fact that members deployed different strategies aimed at constructing the 'meaning' of identities and their own positioning which clearly entailed the negotiation of a relationality of Europeanness with other referents/identities.

For example, some members constructed their Europeanness in opposition to 'other' cultures of social systems as, for example, embodied by the American 'way of life' or 'non-European' welfare systems (see LO1 in Extract 7 and RO1 in Extract 8). In other cases, certain members claimed their European identity (partly) by 'otherizing' a national referent (see LO3 in Extract 10) or, by contrast, by constructing local, national and supranational identities as equally salient and mutually compatible (as exemplified by AM1 in Extract 11). European identity therefore often acquired meaning in the context of its relation with different

identities/affiliations and how members negotiated such interplay was crucial to the realisation of strategies of claiming Europeanness. This section will discuss such aspects in detail starting with some quantitative data on different affiliations derived from the questionnaire.

In the questionnaire the majority of respondents (16 out of 26) chose to describe themselves as 'transnational'. Whilst for 12 of them this represented a straightforward choice, four respondents chose 'transnational' together with the following other options (multiple categories were available): 'national only' and 'national then European' (CA1); 'national only' (PR2); 'European only' (PR1); 'primarily national then European' (AM1). The ten respondents who did not choose 'transnational' were equally divided between the 'national first and European' and the 'European first then national' options. Furthermore, two respondents specified a definition other than those available: CL4 defined herself as "first a citizen of my town, then European, then transnational" whilst BO6 described himself as "primarily Italian, then French, then European" (see Appendix for a full report). Whilst these results have been cautiously treated at 'face value' (as I am aware of the limitations of constructing and 'fixing' categories) they are taken here as an initial insight into the participants' positioning(s) and have been interpreted in the light of the discursive data.

In a large number of instances, identity categories chosen by members in the questionnaire appeared aligned/consistent with their discursive positioning. For example a large proportion of members who chose the European/national combination in the questionnaire tended to achieve linguistic realisations that accommodated multiple identities in mutually compatible propositions. For instance, some members derived their Europeanness from the hypernymic implicature of being national (i.e. 'I am Italian/Spanish/etc. and, therefore/consequently, European') or through hyponymic implicatures of being world citizens as in the

following extract (Cluj focus group) in which the speaker constructs Europeans as 'tokens' of the human 'type':

Extract 18

CL5: ar trebui să [...] sa nu mai vadă faptul ca tu eşti din tara X, si eşti cetăţeanul tarii X, si doar atât ...pur si simplu aşa cum noi suntem romani si ceilalţi francezi, toţi suntem europeni ca venim pe de acelaşi pământ

CL5: you should [...] not see yourself only as being from country X, and as a citizen of country X, and just that ... just as we are Romanian and the other French, we are all European because we come from the same earth.

Whilst, in broad terms, members represented identities as multilevel affiliations - although showing different degrees of accommodation and not always reproducing them in a linear hierarchical logic - a few members made reference to a more complicated and conflictual interplay between national and European identities. For example, the seemingly contradictory combination of 'transnational' and 'national only' which was chosen by CA1 (Cardiff focus group) and PR2 (Prague individual interview) appeared reproduced to some extent in their accounts, albeit realised within different arguments and through opposing representations of European and national identities. Whilst both members positioned themselves 'in-between' these two identities, for PR2 this location seemed to constitute an 'advantage' whereas for CA1 the construction of her location appeared to represent a conflict. The following two extracts illustrate this.

Extract 19

FZ: *I'd like to know [...] if you see yourself as a, as an American and how do you, how does this interplay with your er, er commitment to Europe erm?*

PR2: *I have to say that erm, I only really feel American when people are telling me I'm American, aha it's not necessarily this very strong being a, you know it's like they say, being outside of Europe, you know, your homeland you feel a lot more attached to it. I mean it's not necessarily the case, like [...] like I don't necessarily feel, strongly American in the sense of what*

people understand is American ehr at the same time I also feel that I don't quite feel European either, I feel like it's somewhere, like I feel like I'm very lucky to have like both perspectives and to have experience both and kind of take a lot out of that [...] I don't know, [...], as much as I feel engaged in erm, Europe, (...) I don't think it's also this idea that you give up your national identity to become European...I think that people have many identities, the idea is to really make sure, erm, that European is one of them if you're, if, if you're here, erm because really, I mean I don't think, ah, (...) I don't think that's really ideal especially in the importance of kind of sharing and also keeping different cultures If you want people to er, if you want it to be an interesting rich society of people from different ideas, different views you need to have them keep their, their, their (...) many identities, not just this idea of a flat kind of European. I mean the idea of European in general it's kind of this idea that it's not flat, right? it's like people from all over from, from different places are coming together. So I don't see that as something where like er, your national identity is necessarily inhibiting that European identity, I think er, first some people that's maybe the case but I think the idea is to kind of reach out to people and have this more of a dialogue where people understand that, that it is possible to have both.

PR2's overall strategic orientation was towards the representation of identities as multiple and mutually compatible experiences that are neither exclusively 'transportable' nor necessarily 'activated' by a specific location. Moreover, by underscoring the 'feeling' rather than the 'being' component of identities, she highlighted the transient and non-essential aspect of identity. PR2's initial argument on the interplay between American and European referents of her identity was constructed through a spatial dimension which allowed her to position herself *'somewhere'* in-between *'both perspectives'*. The *topos of in-betweenness* -which in much transnational literature describes ambivalence about settlement and attachment (see for example Baubock and Faist 2010) - appears positively invoked by the speaker who called herself *lucky* to be able to experience that situation[89].

Her second argument, that a diverse (as opposed to 'flat') European identity will develop from people interacting and sharing was warranted

[89] By contrast cf. Extract 14 for a negative representation of in-betweenness.

by the *topos of multiculturalism* ('if you want a rich society') which regards identities as *resources* and their coexistence as *wealth.* The scenario of 'coming together' clearly echoes narratives of Europe as a 'mosaic of people/cultures' (see Kraus 2008) promoted by late institutional discourses. PR1 thus saw her position 'in-between cultures' as a strength rather than a weakness as this enabled her to switch to multiple identification referents without foregoing any of them. Like a few other members, therefore, through her argument the speaker accommodated her European identity with other identities in a 'non-zero sum' equation (one does not take away from the other) representing different identities as compatible and non-antagonist. PR2's identification with multiple referents can arguably be related to her status as a non-EU national and this can possibly account for how she semi-integrated European and national referents in a parallel (albeit non-convergent) coexistence.

A remarkably different stance was enacted instead by CA1 a Turkish national who had lived in Cyprus for 4 years before moving to the UK.

Extract 20

CA1: I'm not a part of Europe because I'm from Turkey [rising tone] (.) actually it's both part of Europe and at the same time (..) it still isn't in the European Union and (..) yes, I've always been keen on studying about Europe because of its diversity there's a lot of cultures a lot of languages (…)

FZ: But is it geographical or cultural or what is it about Europe? I mean what is it that makes one European in your view?

CA1: I think the common point is history, European history, European tradition, […] and I think this is the point that makes us European, they share the same history

In this exchange CA1 initially drew on the *topos of Turkey straddling across continents/cultures* to position herself as a non-European as a consequence of her Turkish identity. The speaker realised her 'outsider' identity through a particularising synecdoche (*pars pro toto*) which

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replaces the country (Turkey) for the individual (herself). However she mitigated her initial statement with a further elaboration on the geo-political boundaries of Europe and, in the following passage, the speaker ambivalently positioned herself *vis-à-vis* the European group by simultaneously affiliating with and dissociating from it through the conflictual use of the pronouns *us* and *they* contextually referring to the Europeans. Whilst CA1's extract highlights the possibility of overlapping constructions of European and national identities (as also suggested by PR2 in the previous extract), it also reflects crucial tensions. In CA1's torn positioning in and out of the European space one can recognize wider discourses of inclusion and exclusion surrounding the long-debated Turkish membership of the EU and more generally of Turkish identity as Europe's historical 'other' (Rumford 2011). These tensions appear to shape and constrain CA1's discourse and to be internalised by the speaker in an almost 'schizophrenic' pattern of binary belongings and shifting inclusiveness/exclusiveness. In this case, rather than 'running along parallel tracks' as suggested by PR2's 'in-betweenness' (see Extract 19 above), European and national identities were represented as intersecting whilst also functioning as antagonists.

A conflictual representation of European and national identities was similarly achieved by CA3, a British national, who in the questionnaire described herself as 'primarily national and then European'. Whilst CA3 characterised Europeanness in relation to mobility and intercultural encounters, her positive evaluation of these aspects was primarily enacted from a national stance. At the same time she constructed a divided representation of British society, a warrant through which she ambivalently called herself in and out of Europe as exemplified by the following extract:

Extract 21

RC: I was wondering if you would call yourself European (..) or perhaps trans-European, I mean how would you describe yourself (.)

CA3: I like to think of Europe as...ehm ...yeah the experience of living in Europe as being transnational because I think it's very easy to move about and to exchange culture. I think living in the UK our experience is slightly different obviously being an island we are that much further away from it but I think by studying languages that, ehm that sort of distance is bridged because you spend a year abroad and obviously by speaking a foreign language you can sort of go and live in that country, and I think it becomes a lot easier [...] I think yeah certainly like the way the UK is concerned people that only speak English I think... there is definitely a distance that they don't feel European or even maybe they don't speak a foreign language but if they are sort of really interested in European cultures ....it's probably as well a political thing some people are very sort of anti-Europe I think it is based on you know the fact that we are separate and people are very keen to guard that whereas other people are much more open to integrating ourselves into Europe and I think in Europe we are also viewed differently [...] I think that the UK is in quite a unique position as being part of Europe I think.

In this extract the speaker constructed Europe as a space of free movement and, from a student's perspective, she emphasised positively the 'experience of living abroad'. In this context CA3 appealed to transnationalism mainly as the opportunity to engage in social practices of cultural exchange and language learning. Significantly, though, whilst CA3 valued European mobility positively, her belonging appeared indexed more to national than European referents and was discursively enacted from a British-centric perspective. Such a stance was signalled throughout her talk by CA3 use of personal pronouns ('we/ourselves') and possessive adjectives ('our experience') that clearly suggest her main group affiliation as British. Similarly, expressions such as 'a year abroad', 'a foreign language', and 'go and live in that country' would equally imply the speaker's nation–centric stance. Furthermore through the *topos of the UK insularity* CA3's represented the UK and (mainland) Europe as 'distant' and 'separate' entities emphasizing the geo-cultural 'uniqueness' of Britain

and constructing a marginality of its relationship with Europe [90]. Such a strategy of dissimilation was initially achieved through the simple geographical argument of the UK being an island and therefore physically separated from mainland Europe.

However, CA3 also related the UK's separation to the distinctiveness of its culture through the argument that the UK is "that much further away from [Europe]" (not necessarily a geographical fact) and that such a gap can be bridged by languages therefore, inferring more than geographical distance and relying on a scenario of 'contained' national cultures. The *topos of insularity* was further used by the speaker as a warrant for her representation of views of the European project in the British society split between what have often been characterised as 'Eurosceptic' and 'Europhile' attitudes[91]. Although CA3 offered a neutral representation of these two sides through the lexical choice of 'people', she consistently aligned her group membership with the British referent and its distinctiveness (her in-group positioning for example supported by the expression 'we are viewed differently'). At the same time, in the final proposition of Extract 21, the member discursively placed the UK within Europe albeit through the disclaimer on its 'uniqueness', a representation that, in relation to the extract seems to reinforce a metaphorically peripheral positioning of Britain in relation to Europe and the speaker's own ambivalent location 'on the edge' of European identification.

PR1 offered another example of a conflictual interplay between national and European identities albeit from a very different positioning than illustrated in the previous examples. PR1 is a French national, who, at the time of the interview, had been living and working in Prague, having previously lived in the UK and Romania. When the member (who chose

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[90] Cf. 'the myth of Anglo-Saxon exceptionalism' (Marcussen and Roscher 2010).

[91] The ideological polarisation between these views has become a prominent topic of recent political discourses in Britain resulting in the Prime Minister, David Cameron, pledging to call a referendum on the UK 'repatriating' sovereignty or indeed exiting the EU (http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2013/jan/23/david-camerons-europe-speech-points).

'European only' and 'transnational' in the questionnaire) was asked directly about her European identity she replied:

Extract 22

PR1: I definitely feel European (.) erm I and I would identify myself as European erm

FZ: Would you define yourself as European only?

PR1: [Laughter] Well if it's the type of the context, of course, but it's true, for example I had recently this this kind of struggle (..) in the summer I took part in a summer school in Budapest [on the integration of Roma] and erm so of course at at the beginning, the first lesson, the first class everybody introduces himself or herself - So everybody says "Yeah, hello I'm blah, blah, blah. I come from this or that country." And erm I don't know I maybe it's because [...] I didn't feel comfortable saying I'm from France; so I said I come from the Czech Republic. Because actually I am currently living there and this is the country where I have just come from. So I felt very (...) and the and the other side I am a French citizen and I grew up in France so it's the country where I spent most...most of my lifetime [laughter] so I cannot I cannot deny it either. But I realised okay why why do we have always to introduce ourselves with a country of origin? Why...what is it the first thing we say "Hi, I'm [name] I'm from France."? You know it's erm why that? So I still haven't come a solution [laughter]. And it's true that most of the time when I introduce myself if...if I have to say erm if it is related to...to nationality, yeah I would say probably I'm from France. But erm I I am still I fight through that in saying it. Then if I have to define myself I would say I I feel a European citizen. But of course, if I meet some other [laughter]...I'm hoping to say "Hi I'm [name], I'm from Europe" I don't know it's a bit ridiculous I think [laughter]

In the above extract, through a personal narrative, PR1 constructed multiple identity options for herself (a European citizen; a French citizen/someone from France; and someone from the Czech Republic). Whilst she acknowledged the context dependency of their relevance she also represented the enactment of different identities in terms of a *struggle* highlighting thus the tensions between free choice, external constraints and the relationality of the 'other' (Jenkins 2008) in her

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process of identification as European and the negotiation of European with other identities.

On one level, PR1 constructed her struggle as the dilemma between her ideal aspiration of claiming herself to be European and being called upon to claim an identity based on national referents. Therefore, although the speaker suggested that she would choose the European identification to best describe her feelings, contextual and interactional constraints forced her to claim a national identity as a convenient label to introduce herself. On another level, in defining her national identity, PR1 also referred to the struggle between, on the one hand, those conventional elements that would make her French (citizenship, culture, etc.) and, on the other, her problematic acceptance of 'being French'. Whilst the member discussed this topic a few other times in the interview through the *topos of honesty* (see strategies of dismantling nationhood in section 5.3.4 for details of 'the moral dilemma of calling herself French') in this case the perceived negative meaning associated with claiming a French identity is specifically inferable in relation to the controversial decision adopted by the French government in 2010 to shut down a number of Roma settlements and expel the residents [92].

Although the member did not explicitly elaborate on this aspect, it would be reasonable to assume this was the most likely reason for PR1 to distance herself from being associated with France given the specific relational setting in which she had to call herself French, viz. a seminar on Roma integration. The Czech demonym was thus used by the speaker as a 'resource identity' which enabled her to resolve the impasse of wanting to

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[92] As a consequence of this action most Roma living in France (who were Romanian and Bulgarian citizens) were repatriated to their countries thus leaving France in infringement of the freedom of movement of European citizens. See http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-11020429 for further details. In relation to this event European Alternatives ran a campaign condemning the expulsions of Roma from France and presented a petition to the European Commission denouncing the French government for violations of fundamental rights and the principle of non-discrimination. PR1 was actively involved in the organisation of this campaign from the Prague office.

dissociate herself from the negative French nationality on the one hand, whilst having to take up a national identity for her interlocutors on the other. PR1 realised the strategy of claiming a Czech identity through the pragmatic implications of the construction 'to come/be from' which can refer to both one's birthplace and residency. In PR1's discourse therefore the specific enunciates 'to feel European', 'to be French', and 'to come from France' appear to index different degrees of salience of identities (from an ideal aspiration of belonging to an 'imagined' European community to the formal attribution of French citizenship) and different degrees of agency and external contingencies that allow for the negotiation of multiple identities. By the same token, PR1's representations suggest the dynamic and tense interplay that European and national identities can embody and the general context dependency of identities.

BE1 (Berlin individual interview) was another member that, negotiating her different belongings, overtly questioned and rejected the national identification (in this case as a German) because of its negative connotation; this is exemplified by the extract below:

Extract 22

BE1: yes I think for me I don't really identify as being German no not at all but this is also because of the German this is also because the German history they really don't have many good things to talk about but I identify with the really really small 300 people village I come from so this is quite easy to identify with the village I come from and then I identify as a Berliner now because I'm living in the city and I identify more [with Berlin] which is quite strange because it so much bigger as being European than being German but I think this is really more to do with my work with European alternatives

FZ: this is really interesting because basically you're saying yes you are local and then you sort of bypass this national identity

BE1: yeah, but I think this is really just because of the German identity (..) for example I was so often in Italy before for longer times, and also thought it would be so nice to be an Italian woman, which is strange because it's another nation, but for me they really have [unclear] more

positive than the German nationality, for example, (..) I think I just have a problem with the German in a way, due to history, which is quite strange because now, in the crisis it happens quite often that if you are German people say 'come on, but you're in Germany, and you've got money, and you can find a good job, so come on' but really, I can't be proud of it because I see the crisis from outside more than inside

FZ: Am I correct in thinking that perhaps being European is also a way for you to make up for the bad image of being German

BE1: no, no, I never had such a good feeling about being German

FZ: okay

BE1: so, so, no, it's not (..) is not because I feel so strongly European, no it is (..) no (.) I don't know (.) I can't (.)no(..)

As BE1 negotiated her multilevel affiliations it became apparent that she rejected a German identity as a negative referent. Initially, BE1 engaged in a strategy of delegitimisation of the German identity through the *topos of history* realised in this case through the propositions "they don't have many things to talk about" and "I can't be proud of it". Through the moral evaluation of a past which, in her view, marred the attractiveness of 'being German', the speaker clearly dissociated and excluded herself from the German community through the use of the pronoun *they*. Moreover the uneasiness of being German was also made discursively relevant by the speaker through the context of the current economic crisis. In this case, although she could potentially identify with a positively connoted German referent, PR1 indicated again her rejection of Germanness. The speaker realised such a strategy though her metaphorical external positioning (inferable from the expression 'I see the crises from the outside') through which she empathised, from a non-German stance, with other Europeans who have been affected by the crisis.

Despite the delegitimisation of Germanness, the member indicated her desire to belong to an expanded community and she thus constructed

her identification referents in a motion of spatial progression from the local to the supranational level. In her argument the speaker indicated that, although she is able to 'imagine' national communities (for example she could imagine 'being' Italian), her process of expansion rejected the national level on account of the specific negative indexicality of being German (a negative attribution that, however, she did not apply to her village or to Berlin). Whilst BE1 did not make explicit the cause of her 'shame' associated with Germany (inferable from lack of 'pride'), it would be reasonable to attribute it to the Nazi past war crimes. This, however, was not taken further in the interview as she adopted a strategy of avoidance which was signalled by the broken phrases 'I can't, no..' suggesting she was dealing with a sensitive issue.

5.3.4 Macro strategies of dismantling nationhood

Dismantling nationhood was achieved by members through discursive strategies aimed at deconstructing, problematizing, challenging and delegitimising cultural and political meanings associated with the 'signifier' nation. The negative framing of nationhood was typically achieved by members in reference to the structure of 'nation-states' and their crystallisation in 'national' elements (such as borders) or established social representations of national groups and nationalities (the idea of being French, German, and so on). Members predicated the negative representations of nations as artificial constructs on two main argumentative schemes: one based on a critical revisionism of nation-states as cultural hegemonic projects and the other exposing the current inadequacy/unresponsiveness of national structures (such as governments) *vis-à-vis* global flows. These strategies emerged explicitly especially when members were asked to elaborate on their understanding of transnationalism and in some cases it was elicited through the prompt

'what's wrong with nation (states)?' on the back of general negative stances on nationhood as illustrated further in Extract 23, Extract 24, and Extract 25 below.

5.3.4.1   Topos of nationalism

Several members realised strategies of dismantling nationhood through the *topos of nationalism* which challenged the general attachment to national referents. For example PR1 referred to nationalism in the wider meaning of a dangerous ideology as well as of its 'banal' forms of reproduction:

> *Extract 23*
>
> *FZ : ...and erm and I would like you to perhaps explain to me a little bit what what you think erm transnationalism is?*
>
> *PR1: Yes. Erm so that's a bit tricky [laughter]. Erm well first of all I, I really cannot identify with the idea of of nation and nationalism - not only nationalism as a negative ideology but nationalism as such; whatever definition you give it. Erm I I don't really, personally, I don't really acknowledge the fact that there are nations and they correspond to some kind of criteria. For me it's something which is quite abstract - and I agree it exists as a kind of erm let's say [unclear] use it for erm some research or to analyse something but in the everyday life I cannot actually identify with this concept.   So that's why actually transnationalism even though it contains the word nationalism [laughter] -- is closer to how I identify myself. Because it's ... it's exactly this transcending this idea of, this very restrictive idea of nations ...*
>
> *FZ: What's wrong with nations?*
>
> *PR1: Erm (pause) what's wrong with nations [surprised/high pitch + laughter]? I don't know what nations are for ... I think the problem with nations and especially the way they have been constructed, you know there are different ways they have been constructed but the results are exactly the same to me, - is that they force you to live in this*

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...to identify with this very unique category which is why...they force [you] to identify with the same criteria ... and also to act as the person who identifies with this criteria ... you know the language and the religion or erm also to identifying with your homeland, you know [...]

FZ: would you then identify more with a local or regional community?

PR1: Well, for sure it is less dishonest. Because I think national identities is...are really dishonest. If I say I...I am French; in a way I am lying because...well I am because, as a matter of fact I am [French I] because I grew up etcetera, etcetera, but I...I mean it means that I identify and that I embrace the French nation. And I...I am sorry, but I do not [laughter]. So maybe I embrace part of it, but not all of it and maybe some...I don't know...maybe not at all you, you know [...] so I think at least this more...this more local identification through your city or...or your village or...or both or region; at least it is more honest. [...] you know last time I was having a lunch with a Czech erm partner in Embassy - and...and we talked about this actually and I told him how is it possible to identify with such a big country with sixty million inhabitants, you know as in this idea of imagined community; yes, okay, but how completely can I do it? It's not honest, I cannot do it.

PR1's strategies of dismantling nationhood were primarily predicated on the *topos of the reproduction of nationality.* PR1 assumed that 'nationality' (as an essentialist identity) is (re)produced through what she calls 'nationalism as such' (that she regards separate from the ideology of national supremacy). For PR1 'nationalism as such' constitutes a structured system of cultural and social rules where 'nation' represents the main anchor/referent of group identity which one is expected to validate in discourse (a perspective similar to critical views discussed in section 3.3.1).

The speaker's strategies of dismantling nationhood appeared thus aimed, on the one hand, at characterizing nations as meaningless/negative referents of community and, on the other, at rejecting the personal reproduction of nationality through 'banal' self-categorisation (i.e. the reproduction of discourses of nationality as a defined social category). Referring to transnationalism in opposition to nationalism she signalled her 'distancing' from the idea of nation and her 'closeness' to that of

transnationalism representing such cognitive and affective orientations through the spatial metaphor IDEAS ARE PLACES, which represents the degree of relevance ('meaningful/meaningless') in terms of proximity ('near/far').

The speaker's rejection of nationality emerged more clearly in my request to unpack her argument of dismissal of nation (which caused her some surprise and hilarity or nervousness). In this case her strategy - initially aimed at characterizing nations as artificial and purposeless constructs and realised by the speaker as her rejection of the 'fact' that there are nations as tangible entities - went on to depict nations as negative agents as they constrain individuals to forcibly fit the category of 'nationals'. In the speaker's view, therefore reproduction of nationality is an artificial process of (self-)ascription of externally pre-determined elements rather than developed out of a free choice. The main discursive tool used by PR1 to achieve the negative representation of nations in this process was through their agentivisation, that is, their characterisation as actors capable of determining, or at least influencing, one's behaviour and constraining one's choices, thus implying an asymmetric power relation between individuals and hegemonic structures.

In this context, the agentivisation of nations rely on their interpretation as cultural and social structures (instantiated for instance in linguistic and religious practices etc. transmitted by family, schooling, state institutions) through which the reproduction of national identity occurs. This characterisation and a critical appreciation of the process of (re)producing nationality seemed to warrant PR1's rejection of nationality as a 'constraining uniform' and to question her allegiance with the national community.

Such a positioning/stance was reinstated by the speaker when asked if local/regional communities would be more appropriate categories that she could identify with. In this case, the speaker constructed her argument

around the 'moral dilemma' of defining herself as French. In other words, she questions to what degree the term 'being a French person' captures her 'true' bonding with the French nation, rather than being a convenient label. Through the *topos of honesty,* PR1 seemed to suggest that all identity categories are available to individuals on a 'honest/dishonest or real/artificial continuum' i.e. a moral evaluation of how they reflect one's feelings of groupness/membership and which appears directly related to physical proximity - a representation consistent with the 'near/far' metaphor of spatiality adopted earlier [93].

Premised on the *topos of honesty,* the reproduction of Frenchness was perceived by PR1 as a forceful expectation to claim herself as something untrue. As in her earlier argument, the speaker is here implying awareness of the process of identification as the reproduction of belonging to the 'imagined community' clearly echoing Anderson's argument that a large community of strangers will feel a nation because they can imagine so (as discussed throughout section 1 and 2). Whilst PR1 recognises (through the pragmatic implications of 'I'm sorry') that there are social expectations of calling herself French (i.e. reproducing the socio-cultural structures she was born and raised within, or in other words, 'being a French person'), her investment in these narratives is nevertheless not enough to reproduce her Frenchness as this would make her an 'impostor', something that on 'moral' basis, she 'cannot do'.

Such a 'moral dilemma' was further represented by PR1 through the trope of personification of nation (i.e. the imaginary of nations as living entities), a rhetorical device that has been often adopted in many national and nationalistic discourses[94]. PR1 deploys the metaphor of 'embracing

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[93] Although this would appear to contradict the proposition that Europe (and the world) represent a 'closer' (i.e. more relevant) communiy, the speaker (and other members) constructed these referents just as relevant as local communities through frames of mobility and interconnectedness as discussed in detail under the topos of 'interconnectedness' (see 5.3.3.2 above).

[94] See for example Grosby (2005) for the use of 'motherland/fatherland'.

the nation' to construct a conflictual relation with her fellow citizens (the French imagined community) and, through some 'hedging', mitigating and conflictual propositions, she ultimately seems to (partly) reject the expectations of 'imagining herself French'. Through her 'moral' critique of 'nationality' the speaker thus not only challenges the historically established system of imagining oneself as part of a community described by Anderson (2006), but significantly she ultimately challenges the cultural system of reproducing nationality in discourse (what Hall (1996) regards as fundamental in the continuity of nations).

The critical deconstruction of nationality was also achieved by LO3 (London individual interview) through a negative characterisation of nation-states. When asked to clarify her stance, she argued along similar lines to PR1:

Extract 24

FZ: Can I ask you what is wrong with nation-states?

LO3: [Sighs] What's wrong with nation-states? It's a very good question. I think that erm (…) it's, it's the rigidity of them. It's the fact that there's this, this border that, that's been decided that that's, that's what your identity is erm and (…) and that it's pitting different nation-states against each other and, and suggesting that there's a, there's an interest for people within it that is, that is opposed to people's, er the interests of people outside it erm …and, and it is arbitrary

LO3 delegitimised nation-states through the conflation of different arguments and topoi. The *topos of artificiality* was used by LO3 to critically portray nations as closed and hegemonic systems of power, a representation which she supported with the trope of 'border' as a symbolic negative referent of containment and coerciveness. The term 'border' was employed synecdochically for the exercise of public power in nation-states and it was given syntactic prominence as the agent/cause in a series of propositions in which, through historical inferences, nations were delegitimised on moral grounds for their dominance over people (i.e.

for instrumentally constructing groups and fomenting their rivalry, imposing divides and ascribing identities). In LO3's argument 'borders' were thus used as the grammatical agent in a series of representations of negative actions (cf. 'it's pitting', 'it's opposed'). Unlike PR1 in Extract 23 who problematised nationhood as her moral difficulty of reproducing habitus, LO3 achieved a strategy of delegitimisation of nation-states relying, *inter alia*, on the *topos of container* (inferable, for instance, from the binaries 'people within/outside). This topos is discussed further in the next section below as it was invoked by several other interviewees in synergy with the *topos of flow*.

5.3.4.2 Topoi of flow and container

Several strategies aimed at the dismantling of national constructs were achieved by members through specific realisations of the generic *topos of flow* that represented the movement of society, ideas, etc. For example, BE2 (Berlin individual interview) drew on the imagery of the natural flow of historical events to dismantle nationhood primarily in reference to the 'inevitable' process of state disintegration. This is exemplified by the following extract:

Extract 25

FZ: mi chiedo, cosi come domanda provocatoria, che cosa c'è che non va nello stato nazione

BE2: credo che, vabbè, i confini siano una costruzione, questo non sono io a dirlo, però sono una costruzione che però ormai esiste, ben radicata, è diventata da una costruzione geografica e politica è diventata anche una costruzione culturale e, quindi, credo che ormai oggi sia difficile andare oltre questa idea ed abbattere lo stato nazione e credo che non sia neanche necessario....succederà' sarà un processo naturale, cioè la disintegrazione dello stato nazione sta avvenendo comunque, e avverrà perché' è un processo biologico quasi [...] credo

*che lo stato nazione stia diventando sempre più obsoleto ma appunto
per un processo naturale, fondamentalmente credo più in un network
di città che in un agglomerato di stati nazione*

*FZ: I wonder, just as a provocative question, what's wrong with the
nation-state*

*BE2: Oh well I think boundaries are a construct, this is not me who says
it, they are a construct, but a well-established construct, that, from a
physical and political construct, has also become a cultural construct,
so I think it is now difficult to go beyond this idea, and to take down the
nation-state, and I think that it is not even necessary [...] it will happen,
it will be a natural process, I mean the disintegration of the nation-
state is happening anyway, and it will happen because it is almost a
biological process. I believe that the nation-state is becoming more and
more obsolete but exactly for a natural process, fundamentally,
occurring more in a network of cities than in a cluster of nation-states*

BE2 responded to the prompt 'what's wrong with a nation-state'
with an argument that problematised nation-states as artificially bounded
units relying, like PR1, on a critical interpretation of nation as a historical
and socio-political construct which has been reproduced culturally
(although he supported this claim with a non-specific external source - 'it's
not me who said it'). The speaker proposition that 'it is not necessary to go
beyond the nation-states' would at first appear to contradict the premise
on the artificiality of nations and even more the NGO's support for a
transnational organisation of society. However the speaker's main
strategy here was to represent the dismantling of nation-states
characterizing it as a natural process occurring within an 'ecology' of
society.

To construct his argument, BE2 relied on the *topos of flow* through
which he represented the world as naturally interconnected. Furthermore
he deployed the metaphor of THE WORLD IS A LIVING ENTITY to
represent social phenomena in terms of natural processes. Depicting the
world as a living body with its own biology, therefore, for BE2 social

structures are liable to decay with the passing of time just like any living entity, this imagery evoked clearly by the verb 'disintegrate'. At the same time, through his discourse BE2 depicted the degradation occurring to social structures as if they were part of a biological process of 'evolution' whereby changes have functional purposes[95]. The use of the word 'obsolete' is therefore to be interpreted not only in reference to the meaning of 'inadequate for the times' but also as 'no longer functional for the organism'[96]. Through this frame the speaker was thus able to contextualise the 'natural' demise of nation-states due to their functional inadequacy along an evolutionary line of progress and transformation (signalled by the progressive/future verbal forms 'is happening/ will happen'). This frame, highlighting the naturalness of the process, allowed the speaker to construct the NGO and its activities as somewhat involved in the process of dismantling but not necessarily the main agents. Later in the interview this representation was discursively reinstated by BE2 who referred to the organisation activity as 'experimental' thus building/capitalizing on the conditions brought about by the disintegration of the nation-state (see Extract 33 below).

Further strategies of dismantling nationhood were also achieved via the *topos of container* which members deployed to represent nation-states as units contained by artificial boundaries[97]. For example, CA2 used the trope of 'box' to explain her idea of transnationalism and to represent/negotiate her identities in these terms:

Extract 26

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[95] In BE2's argument, interdiscursive references to Marxist theory were inferable. One of the stages envisaged in the Socialist revolution is the demise of the State once the proletariat has overcome the power of the bourgeoisie - cf. Engels' famous quote "The state is not 'abolished'. It dies out." (Engels and Aveling 2008 p. 70).

[96] The Oxford dictionary defines 'obsolete' (meaning 2 Biology) as "(of a part or characteristic of an organism) less developed than formerly or in a related species; rudimentary; vestigial".

[97] Cf., inter alia, Chilton and Lakoff (1995) for discussion of public representations of states as 'containers', Drulak (2004) for representations of Europe as an 'equilibrium of containers', and Charteris-Black (2006) for representations of 'Britain as a container' in relation to discourses of immigration.

CA2: [...] I guess I can call myself a transnational but obviously we also impose our own limits, our own boundaries, so...

FZ: In what way, can you clarify?

CA2: "...ah ... that ...this thing that I am Romanian....OK so we were doing this exercise yesterday, picking a book title for our books in the human library [a cultural event that the Cardiff office had been organizing] and ... and we were supposed to talk about our identity, and I was saying, okay, I am Romanian, but I don't like to think of myself as only Romanian, and to limit myself ..and to put myself in a box, within the boundaries of Romania, within the boundaries of Bucharest, and I like to consider myself as a world citizen actually not necessarily a European citizen.... so I guess this is transnationalism [...] we don't have to... we shouldn't at least from my point of view stick to only one box the Bucharest box or the Romanian box and then we should like distance ourselves and see the world from a more general perspective from the bird's eye view perspective...."

In her argument, the member constructed her multiple identities through the frame of the 'world citizen' and the cosmopolitan ideology of the world as 'one whole' where no division between humankind should exist on the basis of social and geographical borders. As discussed in McEntee-Atalianis and Zappettini (2014 p. 407):

"CA2's identification as a world citizen represents a 'way of belonging' in the world community which emphasises the interconnectedness of individuals and in which the taxonomy of identity based on geo-political boundaries is seen as artificially constructed and imposed upon individuals."

The speaker therefore appeared to use the CONTAINER metaphor (in the specific form of the 'box') to challenge the idea of a social order tied to locality and defined by clear-cut in/out dimensions. By deconstructing the 'boxes' (and their pre-constituted order) the speaker effectively deconstructed the salience of denominational communities such as nations. As suggested in McEntee-Atalianis and Zappettini (2014 p.407):

"In this sense, it appears clear that the metaphor of spatiality deployed by CA1 draws on Beck's (2008) critique of nation-states as 'containers' of societies, that is, as defined and bounded spaces of social interaction and where the boundaries have negatively come to represent the limits of new possibilities of extended interaction. Moreover the metaphor of 'containment' appears to drive her whole argument about 'identity politics' that is the self-imposed limits of self-categorisation. By deconstructing the boxes not only does the speaker deconstruct the salience of locality but she also rejects the 'container theory of society' […] and appears to refuse 'ticking the box'."

Moreover, CA2 appeared to challenge Herrmann et al.'s (2004) Russian Doll Model of European identities as discussed above (p.56) that regards identities hierarchically 'stacked' and embedded. Instead, in CA1's invocation of the 'bird's eye view', one can recognise a spatial positioning that suggests her distancing 'above' and 'outside' the world 'boxes'. In this sense, the narrative of transnationalism arguably gives the speaker a reflexive opportunity to see the 'bigger picture' and to position herself in relation to it.

The 'container theory of society' was also challenged by RO1 (Rome individual interview) who (as in the previous two examples) drew on the trope of containers and the *topos of flow* to realise strategies of delegitimisation of national structures aimed at showing the inadequacy of states *vis-à-vis* global flows, as illustrated below:

Extract 27

RO1: Yeah, transnational is just (..) .a move beyond the idea that you know nations are the sort of units of everything in which life happens and that, at best there are relationships between nations (.) but the idea that life moves across nations both my sort of work life and personal life ehm is a representation of that ….[he goes on to discuss travelling in many different countries for work in the last few weeks] ….so this is what transnational life is about so it's not any more seeing going abroad as you know travelling to another country you know and

discovering something new but it's seeing the normalisation of life in its every stage love, work, leisure happening across borders with erm obviously the complication that the world is not ready for that the world is still very much based on national institutions and to give an example of that from my life I can get married to my partner in London but I can't get married to my partner here [in Italy] and if I get married to my partner in London I cannot come back and live in Italy with my partner because marriage is not accepted and he's not a European citizen, so he would not have a permit to stay so it's very much the example of transnational life being there but nation-states putting obstacles towards this transnational life flowing…

RO1 was engaged in an overall strategy of negative representation of nation-states for which he used the *topos of movement* to juxtapose the 'flow of life' with the rigidity of national barriers. By contrasting the 'natural' flow of transnational life on the one hand with the institutional organisation of the world as defined by 'artificial' national structures on the other, the speaker's goal was to show the inadequacy of the latter and, ultimately, to delegitimise them.

From a linguistic perspective the speaker realised this representation through the metaphor of LIFE IS MOVEMENT in which citizens interacting through increased cross-border mobility are metonymically referred to as 'life' itself ('life moves across nations') and, therefore, positively connoted. Through his argument, the speaker also normalised practices of border crossing as naturalised 'ways of being' – that is, ordinary everyday life experiences encompassing different fields (love, work, etc.) and devoid of any 'exotic' association. Against this backdrop of positive representations of 'vital' and 'natural' movement of society the speaker was able to characterise nation-states as negative agents which regulate the 'natural' free motion of life by applying artificial barriers to control movement (that is by enforcing border 'compartmentalisation'). RO1, thus, drew on the metaphorical concept of NATIONS/STATES ARE CONTAINERS ('units in which life happens') to criticise a purely inter-governmental notion of a world system (that is the idea that "at best there are relationships between nations") that hasn't

caught up with 'real life', his argument resonating with critiques of 'the container theory of society' (Beck 2008).

In his argument, RO1 interpreted transnationalism not only as trans-border mobility of people and exchange of cultures, but also as the organisation/regulation of such societal interaction as operated through institutional structures. RO1's discourse represented these dimensions in a tense relation of movement. Whilst people and life were represented 'on the move', institutions were characterised by their inability or unwillingness to 'catch up' with the former. This crucially allowed RO1 not only to portray nations as backward institutions but also as negative actors interfering with the flow by 'containing' and regulating it. This depiction of borders as obstacles seems to challenge a typical representation of borders as necessary tools to regulate the 'flow/flooding' of migrants as found in many national public discourses (see for example (van Dijk 2000, Gabrielatos and Baker 2008)). Furthermore by highlighting the tension between the 'free flow' of life and the 'regulated order' of society, RO1 raised the complexity of negotiating institutional and personal identities such as same-sex spouses, a matter in which (inter)national and supranational remits of legislation overlap conflictually [98].

5.3.4.3 Topos of inadequacy and global risk

Another set of strategies aimed at challenging nationhood was predicated on the *topos of inadequacy of national structures* and the *topos of global risk/action*. In general, these topoi were deployed by members to

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[98] Under the Italian legislation, non-national spouses of Italian citizens acquire citizenship status as effect of marriage. However, as the Italian state does not recognize same-sex unions, it has so far rejected all applications of citizenship based on same-sex unions recognized abroad. In some cases, appeals have been brought to the European Court of Justice that has recognized the Italian refusal as discriminatory. See certidiritti.it for updates.

contextualize national initiatives against a 'global' background, a premise which often enabled them to realize strategies of delegitimisation aimed at discrediting nation-states as no longer capable of performing their traditional functions of providing security and prosperity for their citizens[99]. For example, LO3 (London individual interview) referred to the *topos of global challenges* to represent nation-states as non-credible actors or indeed 'non-actors' as shown in the following extract:

> *Extract 28*
>
> *LO3: I find as er (…) you have increased erm cross-border markets and environmental concerns, er, I think that […] I think the argument clearly isn't that nation-states are getting less powerful but I do think there's a lack of … there's a, a reduced legitimacy of nation-states - given the fact that you have transnational corporations, you have global climate change, you have all these issues that are being avoided by nation-states because they can say, they can kind of claim powerlessness and claim that it's not in their interest to do something, because if they do something and no one else does then obviously that [unclear] competitiveness.*

LO3 delegitimised nation-states by embedding the sovereignty of their decisions into a 'global' scenario made up of major actors and contingencies (generically nominalised as 'markets', 'corporations', and 'climate change'), a warrant that she constructed as a factual notion ('the fact that you have'). LO3 achieved her strategy of delegitimisation through the argument that nation-states do not constitute simply ineffective actors but also wilful non-actors whilst retaining their power. LO3 realised her argument through the passive continuous construction 'are being avoided' which, in this case did not appear to be aimed at obfuscating the agent (nation-states) as much as at foregrounding their non-action as well as the highlighting the sense of urgency.

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[99] Much literature on transnationalism has contended that, in a globalized society, sovereign states are increasingly unable to protect their citizens from the impact of decisions made by other actors leaving individuals aware of their interdependence in the face of global issues affecting local communities (for example global warming, job relocation, transnational crime, nuclear risk) and upon which they have no direct control (cf. Beck, 2000).

Strategies that challenged and delegitimised 'national' solutions also emerged prominently in the discussion conducted with the Romanian group where a few members invoked the *topos of global risk/action* (i.e. 'there is the need for globally concerted action vis-à-vis global problems'). As illustrated in the example below, CL5 (Cluj focus group) brought to the fore the issue of transnational organised crime whilst discussing the activities of the Cluj branch:

Extract 29

CL5: Plus, ca noi credem ca ce se poate rezolva in cazul problemelor, din ziua de azi, se poate acționa la nivel transnațional mult mai bine decât național (..) tocmai am avut ieri un eveniment despre mafie (.) cum stopezi mafia la nivel național, ca mafia e transnaționala? lucrează, spală banii in diverse tari, dintr-un cont din Italia, intr-un cont din Romania, aduce gunoaie din Italia in Romania si atunci daca guvernele nu colaborează transnațional fiecare rămâne cu problemele la nivelul lui, dar mafia rămâne transnațional, supranaționala

CL5: Moreover, we believe that, nowadays, problems can be solved better at a transnational than national level (..) we just had an event yesterday about the mafia (.) how can you stop the mafia at the national level when the mafia is transnational? It launders money in various countries from an account in Italy to an account in Romania, it brings garbage from Romania to Italy and then if governments don't collaborate they each stay with their problems while the mafia remains transnational, supranational.

As LO3, in this case the speaker referred to global challenges (in the specific instantiation of transnational mafia links) to construct the inadequacy of national apparatuses. In this case, rather than through a straight proposition, the delegitimisation of nations was achieved by CL5 through the pragmatic implication contained in his rhetorical question "how can you stop the mafia …?". Against this scenario, CL5 supported instead a response at the transnational level that he specifically saw instantiated in the concerted action of his (and other) NGOs, national authorities and the EU institutions. Like in Extract 24 (see above), CL5's proposition relied on the representations of opposing good and bad

agents: on one side the mafia was personified as a cross-border actor (through the expressions 'it launders/it brings garbage') and, on the other side, a broad and hybrid 'us' group made up of the larger transnational civil society referenced through emphasis on the pronoun *noi* (we) (which is normally omitted in Romanian as such information is already carried by the verb declination[100]) and that must thus be interpreted as highlighting the transnational agency of the group.

5.3.5 The construction and transformation of communities, spaces, and social orders

Members realised a number of strategies aimed at the construction and transformation of feeling part of a collectivity. By using different arguments that emphasised different organisational, political and cultural aspects of groupness, members represented multiple communities of relevance[101] and associated with one or more of them. Discourses of mutual engagement and sharedness contributed, on the one hand, to representations of EA as a community of practice, of interest, and of action, whilst on the other hand most members clearly indexed their activities to wider social, political, and cultural ideals thus constructing their belonging to wider 'imagined' European/ transnational/world communities. In most cases, thus members constructed their European identities between social and organisational dimensions through topoi of network, values, democratic dialogue, and solidarity, which will be discussed further below.

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[100] Cf. Camacho (2013) for properties of null-subject languages.

[101] I borrow the term from Schegloff (1999) who defines 'communities of relevance' as "academic, disciplinary, political, aesthetic, etc., communities, whose members share an orientation to inquiry about the world or action in it, an orientation which imparts relevance to certain lines of inquiry, with associated observations, rhetorics, etc." (p.579). Whilst Schegloff (1999) uses the term 'communities of relevance' primarily in relation to academic investigation, I interpret the term more loosely to suggest that members often made meaning of their social locations by projecting the Andersonian imagination of community onto salient interests, values, referents, etc. as further discussed in this section.

The topos of network was used by members to represent the interconnectedness of their activities and to achieve strategies of unification and expansion of community. In some instances these strategies were achieved primarily from an organisational perspective as exemplified in the following extract (Cluj focus group):

Extract 30

CL2: avem colegi in Italia, Anglia, Franța cu care vorbesc zi de zi şi [...] vom face activități împreună (.) festivalul este transnațional, în sensul că anumite evenimente se întâmpla în mai multe oraşe din [...] de la Cluj, si la Londra în acelaşi timp, şi [...] e transnațional, pentru că există o cooperare strânsă între tinerii din diverse țări şi nu e cumva nu vine de undeva de sus o idee, dă un ordin sau ceva [...], ci e un schimb continuu de idei şi posibilități de acțiune [...] chiar nu există granițe in activitatea noastră, [...] nu exista niciodată nici o problemă de călătorit (.),in afara de bani, sigur, dar in rest , pe internetul ne e la dispoziție oricând şi putem comunica, transmite oricând..

CL2: we have colleagues in Italy, England, France that I talk to every day, and [...] we do activities together (.) the festival is transnational in the sense that certain events are happening in several cities [...] in Cluj, London at the same time, and [...] it is transnational, because there is a close cooperation between young people from various countries and not because somebody above gives an order or something [...], but it is a continuous exchange of ideas and possibilities for action [...] there really are no borders in our work, [...] there is never any problem traveling (.) except for money, of course, but otherwise, the Internet is available anytime and we can communicate, transmit anytime..

CL2 highlighted certain practical aspects of community interaction representing events occurring seamlessly across time and space (for example he highlighted the simultaneity of communication inside the organisation and the fact that the Trans Europa festival takes place simultaneously in different cities). Whilst these aspects were discussed

primarily in relation to work practices (suggested for example by the term 'colleagues') he also stressed the NGO's non-hierarchical structure ('nobody gives us orders') and the agency of individuals engaged in a common purpose of cooperation, suggesting thus that for EA members the salience of being networked is more than being a community of practice (Wenger, 1998). The aspects of engagement and connectivity underscored by CL2 represented the main drivers for most members' representations of feeling part of a 'node' on the network and, above all, of their ability to participate in the creation and the expansion of the network itself as conveyed by these two extracts (Valencia and Prague individual interviews):

Extract 31

VA1: for me one of the most important things is to work locally because in grass roots things have to start from below ...you've got to make people aware (...) I think it's very important for organisations like EA to have this kind of transnational conscience ... to raise awareness among people [...] at the same time I think it's very important to network you know like you have to work from the most loc-local level to the most international and transnational level it's kind of yeah I am working here but you know things get connected between small groups all around Europe and you know the voice can be stronger for what we are defending or whatever..."

Extract 32

PR2: the network is working on (..) in terms of reaching out to individual people and kind of informing and connecting, because I think that, you know, in a lot of ways there is a lot of information, ahem, about er this kind of EU project, this EU idea out there, is the idea of getting people engaged, getting people interested [...] and so for me again like this is what I like about the network, that it really is working on this erm, again on a very local level and then kind of expanding from there

In the above extracts, both members characterised their activity as taking place within 'live' communities of interest and action which, for example, VA1 connoted positively through the attribution of a 'transnational conscience' and a 'voice' which personifies EA as a living

entity capable of moral decisions. PR2 achieved a similar representation through the proposition that 'the network is working' thus depicting the NGO structure as an actor of its own. Furthermore through the metaphor of network and interconnectedness the community was not represented as predefined but in an on-going process of transformation and capable of expanding, propagating, and reaching out to other members. In these representations it was also clearly noticeable how members had an important investment in their role as 'active citizens' i.e. being agents in creating connections and enlarging the network.

Whilst the two examples above illustrate a construction of network primarily from an organisational perspective, other members used the *topos of network* to conceptualise changing social structures and social orders and the very idea of community. In a significant number of cases realisations drawing on the topos of network enabled members to construct social interconnectedness and to imagine the European community linked beyond borders and embedded in a 'glocal' system of connections. For example, discussing the topic of transnationalism during the interview, EA's Cultural Director BE2 (Berlin individual interview) highlighted this aspect by engaging in a vivid representation of networked physical and social spaces through a biological metaphor:

> *Extract 33*
>
> *BE2: 'l' internazionalismo presuppone sempre una relazione a due chiusa mentre [...] il transnazionalismo spinge a riflettere in un modo più orizzontale più rizomatico non sull'uno a uno, una relazione chiusa ma questa idea di attraversamento che mi permette di muovermi pensare riflettere sia geograficamente che culturalmente attraverso più nazioni senza darmi un percorso forzato, senza darmi un modo di andare dal punto A al punto B io posso muovermi tra A e Z in modi diversi e che hanno relazioni nuove e questo parlo naturalmente di relazioni tra nazioni fra comunità fra il locale e il globale questo credo che sia il transnazionalismo credo che sia un modo di pensare'*
>
> *BE2: 'internationalism always presupposes a two-way closed relation whereas [...] transnationalism pushes one to think in a more horizontal*

more rhizomatic way not in a one-to-one closed fashion but this idea of crossing that allows me to move, think, reflect both geographically and culturally through several nations without forcing me down a path without having to go from point A to point B I can move between A and Z in different ways that have new relationships and of course I'm talking of relations between nations and communities between the local and the global this I believe this is what transnationalism is I believe it's a way of thinking'

The main strategy achieved by BE2 was the representation of the world's different communities interconnected by culture and not bounded as self-contained units. In his account, BE2 relied on the metaphor of NETWORK, which he realised via the interdiscursive reference to 'rhizomatic' thinking'[102]. By invoking the *topos of network* through the botanical metaphor, BE2 appealed to a natural and biological interconnection of the world (see Extract 25 p. 194 for a strategy of dismantling nationhood achieved via a similar realisation). From this perspective, he represented cultural exchange as the 'lymph' that circulates uninterrupted through the rhizome/world and that should not be interrupted by artificial containments such as its crystallisation in 'national' cultures. Trading on this premise, BE2 construed (his) identity as a fluid relationality with the world's cultural flows and, furthermore, he highlighted an agentive element in his ability to choose the path/interaction one wishes to follow.

This depiction points to a cosmopolitan outlook on the world where transnational flows are naturalised (as the rhizome) and nations are somewhat portrayed as artificial barriers. In BE2's account on the multi-directionality of paths linking the local with the global, a particular spatial configuration was thus recognizable which tends to emphasize

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[102] 'Rhizomatic' thinking was first proposed by the French philosophers Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari (1987) who advocated a move away from a dualist and binary understanding of knowledge, which they liken to certain plants feeding through a single stalk (thus in a linear end-to-end way). Instead, they proposed a 'rhizomatic' approach to understanding social phenomena i.e. seeing society as a root system which, sprawling in many different directions, allowed the plant to feed through a crisscrossing network of buds. For Deleuze and Guattari, "any point of a rhizome can be connected to anything other and must be" (ibid, p. 7) through many transversal connections that run and propagate with no end or beginning.

connections as the relations between units rather than the units themselves (cf. Castell's conceptualisation of network discussed on p.67). Moreover, the representation of identities as 'options' that one could choose and rearrange for oneself echoes Beck's interpretation of 'reflexive' identification processes in a cosmopolitan society (see p.70).[103]

5.3.5.2   Topos of imagination

The *topos of imagination* represented an argumentative scheme that members frequently deployed to construct an 'ideal European community' especially through metaphorical representations of society as moving, expanding and progressing in space/time. For example, AM1 (Amsterdam individual interview) constructed a dynamic relation of movement between multiple communities/identities through the spatial/geographical metaphor of 'mapping'. In particular AM1 used the trope of *scale (Dutch schaal)* to construct the European space and the imagined boundaries of the European community as an expanded (g)locality. Through the trope of *schaal,* AM1 drew on the concept of (linear) scale –the ratio between a distance on a map and the actual distance on the earth - to represent her 'mental map' of Europe, as illustrated below:

> *Extract 34*

> *FZ: Okay, so how do you go about this new Europe that you want to erm, create […]*

> *AM1:   There is this concept (..) schaal verharding (.) no, what, what's it called in English, concentric circles idea [slowly] [unsure] or the, the, that you up the scale [high tone] that you go from, from one*

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[103] A similar analytical account of BE2's realisations of network as a biological system has been given by McEntee-Atalianis and Zappettini (2014 p. 404).

(...) community to a bigger community erm (...) in Dutch it's schaal you know (...) scale enlarging [rising tone] (...) erm (...) [brief discussion on the spelling of schaal]

FZ: okay and (..) I mean how does one feel connected at European level, I mean what is it that makes you European in this (..) upscaling as it were?

AM1: that, it's the idea that if you can erm increase that scale in your head from, from a region to a nation then, then you should also be able to (...) see it erm in a, in a bigger scale, and I think that (.) that there, it's, I think it is erm (...) it is really the, the borders that you, that you have in your head [laughs] I would say that (...) erm (.....) that after, after your your nation-state the next logical step is Europe because that's the continent you are on or something and after that it's the world but I dunno if it's the final step [laughs] perhaps we could go to, to a different planet! Yeah, I think so that that's, that that would be the next logical step but that is so, er, incomprehensible [high tone] for people, the world is so big - that erm in, in, in Europe people can find erm (...) er, we say they could (...) er, Europe kind of (.) is the new (...) the, the new frontier

Like some other members, AM1 relied on the metaphorical scenario of communities progressing in space (realised through expressions such as 'you go from...to' and 'the next step'). Notably, AM1's strategy was aimed at depicting European identity as one stage in the dynamic process of expanding the imagination of community. Whilst this imagery is partly consistent with the Russian Doll model (see above), AM1 represented the motion of expansion of communities as limitless (i.e. towards 'one planet' or beyond) her argument therefore resonating with cosmopolitan visions of the world as one 'global village' (Kegley 2008) or a 'Global Gemeinschaft 2' (as discussed on p.71).

AM1 realised her argument through the *topos of 'imagined community' (*i.e. Anderson's theory on the construction of national 'we–ness'). Drawing on this topos, the speaker argued the possibility and desirability of expanding one's perception of community by shifting the imagination of borders (linguistically realised through 'upping the scale') and by backing her claim with the warrant that if one can think of a

regional or a national community then one should also be able to imagine a wider European/world community.

Reproducing membership of local communities on a larger scale or territory was represented by AM1 as a primary cognitive process and consequently, in her view, what makes one European is the 'idea' of seeing oneself as a member of a larger community. In this case the speaker's representation of 'border' was notably different from that adopted by other members, for example, in strategies of dismantling nationhood (see LO3 in Extract 26) in as much as that the signifier 'border' supported the notion of enlarged community and was assigned more positive than negative connotations. Furthermore, the representation of communities historically moving towards larger configurations was enhanced by the use of the term 'new frontier'. Such a term not only suggests the physical edge of boundaries but is distinctly related to notions of exploration/pioneering and visionary social reforms[104]. AM1's strategy seemed therefore to achieve a redefinition of space and community in expansion and to construct Europe as a proxy for the ongoing narrative of human wealth and social justice.

Representations of Europe as an imagined space also emerged conspicuously in the interview conducted with BE1, who is the coordinator of the Berlin branch and also an anthropologist in the field of migration and social movements. One of the most prominent aspects of her discourse was an explicit metaphorisation of Europe through the *topos of Utopia*[105] as illustrated below. Utopianism (that is an ideological commitment to constructing a better society) has historically been the

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[104] The term 'new frontier' has historical association with American settlement in the western part of the country. Moreover the term is also politically associated with American President John F. Kennedy and his administration's social and political programmes for change and advancement including the 'space conquest'. Cf. The etimology of frontier (from Latin *frons* '(at the) front').

[105] Coined by T. More in 1516, the term Utopia refers to an imaginary island characterised by perfect social and political systems, in other words an ideal society albeit unattainable. More invented the term Utopia from the Greek ou (not) and topos (place) therefore literally meaning 'no place' or 'no here' to suggest its metaphysical dimension.

basis of various civil political and cultural movements in and outside Europe and it has generally represented a central imaginary for all societies

"in order to answer basic questions relating to their identity and orientation to the world [which] extends beyond the institutional forms of society with a vision of an alternative society" (Delanty and Rumford, 2009 p.19 discussing Castoradis,1987).

BE1's metaphorical representation of Europe as a (non)place through the *topos of the Utopian ideal* represented a major linguistic device that clearly permeated her vision and ultimately made sense of her discursive and social goals as illustrated by the following extract:

Extract 35

BE1: ehm I see Europe well ehm I have a special view on Europe I think because I don't see it as a geographical space because ehm the things we're talking about we're handling with [sic] are are not geographical if you talk issues of migration for example so ehm [pause] well yeah

FZ: okay yeah so if I were to ask you what Europe means to you [...] what defines Europe of course from a transnational point of view?

BE1: Europe I mean when we're talking about Europe to me it's more really kind of imagination of the wish of how we can live together it doesn't work in reality at the moment but it's an idea we have to go to [...] I think that the idea of this ideal of having a shared place to live in makes me European and yeah .....yeah [pause]

FZ: okay [...] shall we call it a... an imagined community?

BE1: yeah you can call it an imagined community

I: or is it really about place?

BE1: no no no no it's no no no it's no it's not about place no it's not mmh

FZ: or maybe not a physical place maybe an ideal place as you called it

BE1: it's a kind of utopia if you ask me yeah

FZ: okay [...] utopias are good   [BE1: we should go to

BE1: yes [she laughs]

FZ: and in this...well let's call it utopia then, who can participate I mean can anyone be European [...]? who can be European?

BE1: in the utopia everybody who wants to be European can be European I think [long pause] yeah yeah I think it's more it's a more ...not a geographical or political one it's more about divisions but you know this utopia could be everywhere I also could be talking about the whole world but Europe is a place I can think about Europe is more or less an ideal about it so everybody who's interested in this field is sharing with me this idea of Utopia and they can take part in it [...] yeah I mean the European Union is not a utopia it's not an ideal [...] Europe for me is more well what I was talking about before so it's not a geographical thing so ...ehm m-my Europe, my image of Europe is quite bigger then EU countries and it's really more about this shared ideal of a peaceful shared place

FZ: okay okay and would you say this is what brings trans-Europeans together

BE1: I'm quite sure yes yes

FZ: and do you think you all share a common ideal of Europe

BE1: yes yes but this ideal could be everywhere I mean it could be somewhere in Africa it's just a shared yeah a shared ideal yeah that's it

FZ: that's interesting I mean so you're saying that physical Europe happens to be a place where you can make it happen

BE1: yeah

FZ: okay so okay and do you think it is by chance that it's in Europe physically or are there also historical reasons or ...

BE1: no of course there are historical reasons it's not just about sharing this this utopia it's just place focused you know but I mean this what I well let's call it utopia and this is really about shared values and shared idea of a peaceful place and this could happen everywhere but

of course there's a process in Europe and you have this idea of Europe of this peaceful place after the second World War and of course and it also due to certain issues it is what it is and am happy about it and just to to put it away from this geographical thing [...]mmh, I mean if you if I were living in New York I would engage in the same things I'm doing here I'm quite sure because it's a human idea and yeah what I mentioned before this integration and migration thing of course it matters if there are African people in Berlin, Africa is part of Europe in this moment it's connected of course

During the interview, BE1 achieved different strategies of deterritorialisation of Europe through the *topos of Utopia*. Whilst at the level of literal meaning BE1 often characterised Europe as an ideal society rather than a physical place - through propositions that frequently downplayed, if not dismissed, the geographical dimension - at a metaphorical level BE1 often relied on representing Europe as a 'place' and her commitment to a better European society as the journey towards it.

These two levels of meaning were articulated in an argument that can be summarised as follows: there is a moral obligation for individuals as citizens to achieve a better (i.e. more just, equal, and peaceful) society and because IDEA(L)S ARE PLACES and PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS, progress towards the goal is made by moving towards the desired place. As she often used the terms 'place' and 'space' interchangeably in her talk, the metaphorisation of spatiality adopted by BE1 may entail different representations of the European ideal society as more or less 'contained'. All the same, 'filling the gap' between a socially divided Europe (as the point of departure) and an all-inclusive society (as the ideal destination) represented, for BE1, a metaphorical path to follow which provided her with a sense of destination and purpose for her journey.

In BE1's spatial conceptualisation of Europe therefore the path to a 'bigger-and-better-than-the-EU' European society constituted a powerful referent for her orientation to Europeanness so that the process of 'getting there' appeared just as salient for her identity as the destination itself.

Significantly, BE1's dual representation of the European space as both a destination and a journey contributed to her construction of European identity as the dynamic interplay of the two and an 'unfinished' product given the unattainability of Utopia.

Moreover, through her strategy of deterritorialisation the member also constructed a tense representation of Europe and the EU as somewhat divergent projects. A few times in the conversation the speaker signalled her partial dissociation from the institutional vision of Europe, highlighting the discrepancy of real and ideal scenarios. BE1 thus clearly expanded the notion of Europe outside the geographical boundaries of the institutional project through a series of arguments predicated on cosmopolitan views and the topoi of *'global citizenship enacted locally'* and that of the *'universality of ideals'*. Through these topoi, she was able to imagine Europe as a universal (rather than territory-specific) ideal and therefore to envisage its implementation in any physical space even outside the European continent. BE1 therefore constructed a 'transportability' of Europeanness that for instance enabled her on the one hand to reconstruct Africa as part of Europe and, on the other, to recognize the EU project as a favourable context for implementing Utopian visions.

The topos of *imagining a better* society was also taken up by AM1 (Amsterdam individual interview) during her discussion of the reasons for joining the organisation. AM1 referred to (transnational) Europe as 'an idea' that she had discovered she was sharing with others, as illustrated in the extract below:

Extract 36

AM1:   I erm (...) erm, well, [...] the title of my thesis [was] European Alternatives [high tone] [...] and when I was looking for [laughs] erm if there was already something else called that, then I found - found out that the organisation was called that, but I hadn't heard of the, of the Trans Europa Festival also and that was actually an idea that I had years ago [...] so I think it's er, for me it felt like, "Oh yeah okay" [high tone] so that's, it also kind of feels like my own baby

or something [laughs] Like now I don't know how to say it but it's erm I can really connect with, with the whole idea behind it because erm, yeah, it had, it had popped in my mind before as well and I think that's maybe also interesting in these times that are, that there are different people in Europe thinking the same idea, like what, er, let's experiment with this European thing

Although AM1 referred to the cognitive aspect (an idea) of imagining transnational Europe, she clearly highlighted the affective dimension of her interest and the strong degree of personal investment in such project through the metaphor of 'her own baby' which suggests her close relation with the idea. On the back of this representation of sameness, the member engaged in a strategy of representing the process of connecting herself with other like-minded people and developing their shared ideas further thus relating her imagination to the construction and the expansion of the network. Therefore, whilst the process of identification represented by AM1 seemed to rely on the recognition of shared elements of imagination with other 'trans Europeans', it also involved a strong element of agency and openness to the potential outcomes of the Trans European project and ultimately it seemed to drive her vision of community. Such a definition of community was linguistically realised, *inter alia*, through the open and inclusive indexicality of the pronoun 'us' in the cohortative realisation 'let's experiment with this European thing'. Furthermore 'different people' in the proposition "there are different people in Europe thinking the same idea" suggests a wider and diversified community involved in 'doing' Europe.

5.3.5.3   Topos of (transnational) 'active' citizenship

In members' accounts, representations of their active participation in the construction of a European civil society emerged conspicuously as referents of Europeanness. In this sense, members' identification as

Europeans seemed to derive primarily from the exercise of 'active citizenship' and their investment in being active agents in the process of 'doing' Europe. Furthermore, 'active citizenship' was interpreted in light of a culturally open citizenship, that is, from the premise that any individual should contribute to a participatory democracy and the democratic life of a community regardless of their cultural background or any formal membership. This point was discussed by PR2 (Prague individual interview) as illustrated below:

Extract 37

PR2: Erm, (...) the idea of transnationalism for me really means this idea of (..) that people independent of geographical borders are still coming together saying that we have a common idea, a common voice and we have a common purpose [...] this idea that everyone, you, you're not locked by, by where you are geographically and where you're kind of home is. Erm, I mean it's especially an issue for me because I guess that though, even though I am not European by birth, living here for a long time I can still contribute in some way and it doesn't matter if I'm living I Prague or I'm living in Berlin or I'm living in the UK, I can still contribute to this idea of a greater overarching community.

PR2's construction of community was initially realised through an argument of convergence of transnational interests through the metaphor of journey and entailments of movement ('people are coming together'). In addition, the member constructed a widely inclusive 'we'-community through a strategy of unification that attributed different commonalities to the group. Against this background, the member was also able to claim an active role in the construction of the European community, despite the disclaimer that she is not European by birth.

Such an argument was supported by the *topos of 'active citizenship'* through which the speaker represented civic participation decoupled from cultural or geographical containments – such a deconstruction realised via the metaphorical entailments of 'home' for culture and 'locked' for physical places. By relying on the warrant of 'deterritorialised' civic action,

PR2 was able to represent her local contribution as meaningful to the imagination of an expanded community.

Other members represented their engagement as active citizens/agents in EA through the metaphorical scenario of 'experiment'. Through this scenario several members constructed Europe as a 'laboratory' with the 'right' set of conditions for developing a better society through transnational forms of democracy thus characterizing their activity within EA as the opportunity to test such experimental forms of civil engagement. This representation emerged for example when LO2 (London focus group) discussed his main motivations for joining the organisation as illustrated below:

Extract 38

LO2: I originally joined EA because I was really interested in this idea of what happens next politically and culturally and socially after... after this sort of century where we had an organisation of the world into nation-states [...] and I was interested in what happens next so my expectations were (..) ehm of, very much more experimental way of looking at political organisations because there are (...) because there are (..) there really is the question of moving beyond the nation-state moving beyond erm ways of organising erm politics and and is... and I think it's often been very easy erm when talking about Europe ... people just think about Europe... just being a big state, just being a very big state and not have that sort of... additional creativity to think that it's not simply one big state but actually it is something different, it's not a state any more and that in those senses those are the aspects I, I wanted to play with and experiment with more and have sort of more creativity with and so in that sense ehm ehm ehm, I, I, I think there's more that could be done....

LO1 engaged in a strategy of construction of Europe as a new polity drawing on a specific *topos of the advancement of democracy* which he referred to a few other times throughout the discussion. Through this topos, LO2 represented democracy as the development of the political organisation of European societies, that is, a historical process of moving from power exercised by dictators or monarchs to more democratic forms

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of sharing and representation (cf. Extract 3 in which Europe was represented at risk of 'slipping back into tyranny').

In this sense, LO2 had argued earlier in the interview that modern European politics has been reliant on the paradigm of nation-states that is, organised around territory and ethno-cultural criteria for citizenship and participation in political life, a notion that he repeatedly problematised. In contrast, he represented active citizenship as an opportunity to develop the European society out of the nation-state system into newer and better forms of democracy. Such a proposition was argued along spatial and temporal dimensions, realised respectively through the expressions 'the question of moving beyond the nation-state' and 'what happens next'. For LO2, therefore, the personal salience of Europeanness seemed grounded in his civic commitment to social change and in his ability to be an actor in such a process of transformation.

The scenario of experimentation emerged in BE2's (Berlin individual interview) discourse too as a warrant for constructing a mobile European space/community as illustrated below:

Extract 39

BE2: vedo lo spazio europeo come un interessante spazio di sperimentazione

FZ: OK, in che senso?

BE2: Nel senso che ha forse la dimensione, la condizione culturale e politica per poter mettere in ... per implementare questa questa idea di transnazionalità per adesso solo in Europa perché'....pero secondo me si dovrà sviluppare per necessità di cose oltre il confine europeo allargandosi per esempio allo spazio a sud del Mediterraneo [...] molti vedono appunto nell'idea di Europa [...] il sentirsi appartenenti all'Europa .... un un primo step appunto per riuscire a sperimentare l'idea di cittadinanza transnazionale oltre appunto a quella della cittadinanza nazionale. [...] Io è come lo vedo è proprio come questo spazio per una prima sperimentazione mi piace chiamarlo un primo esercizio di condivisione perché' ha la dimensione geografica per potersi...per poterlo per poterlo per poterci provare diciamo... pero si

potrà fare anche fuori dall'Europa anche se per ora è più facile in Europa perché' le istituzioni ce l'abbiamo già

BE2: I see the European space as an interesting space of experimentation

FZ: OK, in what sense?

BE2: In the sense that perhaps it has the dimension, the cultural and political conditions for putting in ... for implementing this idea of transnationality for the time being only in Europe because.....although for me it will have to develop by necessity beyond the European space expanding for example to the space south of the Mediterranean [...] many see precisely in this idea of Europe, in this feeling of belonging to Europe .... just a first step in being able to experiment with the idea of transnational citizenship beyond that of national citizenship [...] And the way I see it is just like this a space for a first test - I like to call it a first exercise of sharing - because it has the right geographical dimension to ... to be able to be able to try it let's say... however it will be possible to do it also outside of Europe although for now it's easier in Europe as we already have the institutions

Like LO1 in the previous example, BE2 characterised Europe as a new political system which has the right conditions for the enactment of transnational 'active' citizenship, i.e. a form of community membership separate from nationality.

For BE2 therefore, rather than being a formal membership attributed top-down on ethno-cultural grounds, transnational citizenship should be claimed through active participation in the political life of the 'imagined' community. Moreover, for BE2 such a model should further emerge from the formation of a public sphere, the sharing of a political culture and it ought to include any individual who is willing to participate in the life of the polity. Through his argument, BE2 achieved a representation of Europe as an ideal civic community whose members derive their sense of belonging from the investment in the idea of transnationality. Furthermore, whilst on the one hand BE2's representations were aimed at anchoring the process of political transnationalisation of Europe to the EU institutions (whom the speaker aligned with through the pronoun 'we'),

on the other hand a strategy of transformation was recognizable, aimed at moving and expanding the transnational community beyond EU-rope. As other members, BE2 represented such a process as a bottom-up, one-directional motion ('step') initiated locally and propagated further out by geographical proximity in an almost inevitable cosmopolitan progression.

BE2 was able to construct his argument of movement and expansion through different levels of abstraction of the term 'European space', a strategy also deployed by other members (see for example section 5.3.5.2) that, in many cases, allowed for transient and movable boundaries of the European community. In the extract above, for example, the European space (initially constructed as an ideal scenario of transnational democracy) is subsequently characterised as geographical Europe and finally conflated with the EU, thus constructing different overlapping communities of relevance. Nevertheless through the representation of Europe as a 'lab', or a metaphorical environment for running a transnational pilot test that would have to be replicated worldwide, BE2 emphasised the salience of participating in a project of community building from grassroots and, furthermore he embedded the experience of constructing a European *demos* in the wider context of belonging to a global community.

Several members deployed the topos of *active citizenship* to construct their identification as Europeans through their political engagement. For example, when asked about his motivation for joining the NGO, RO1 (Rome individual interview) replied:

Extract 40

RO1: last year I left the UK to come back to Italy because I wanted to get involved in politics after spending so many years away my main interest remained Italian politics which I was appalled of and constantly ashamed of while being outside and I thought that I could sort of use the ability I developed outside my own country so there was this sort of almost innate feeling of patriotism and it came out of this stronger kind of often (...) subconscious feeling that you had to do

something that's been on your mind that you have to do it for your own people (...) that said I think the Italian identity is only transitory (..) it is only for the time being 'cause I do see the European alternative as a much bigger one but it's somehow less shared for the moment

RO1's political commitment was a recurrent theme throughout the interview and it seemed to represent for him what Aristotle termed a *bios* [106]. In other words, his identification process appeared to be driven by the construction of ties with fellow citizens around common civic interests. RO1's justified the motivation of his commitment to politics primarily in emotive/biological/genetic terms ('almost innate'/'subconscious feeling'), and through rhetorically laden possessive expressions such 'own people', 'own country'. Furthermore, unlike any other member, he referred to 'patriotism' a lexical choice that clearly underlined a strong community attachment and involves a sense of pride and responsibility towards his nation[107].

Whilst RO1's political commitment stood out among most other participants and, in many regards, from the NGO discourses too, his reclaiming of a 'bond' with his 'own people' however appears to be dependent on the short-term contingency of 'appalling' and 'shameful' Italian politics. Therefore, whilst he portrayed the Italian society as the object of his current political commitment to social justice, he appeared to be equally willing to redirect his commitment to a new, bigger, more relevant purpose and to share such a commitment with a larger community. In other words, he uncoupled his democratic identity from nationalism in the direction of Habermas' 'constitutional patriotism' (2003) that would make Europe a sound post-national project.

In this case, the member constructed the *transportability* of his active citizenship (that is his political engagement as a source of identity)

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[106] Aristotle defines *bios* as a life endowed with meaning and dignity derived from taking part in a political community in contrast to *zoe*, which expresses the simple fact of living a 'bare life'.

[107] Cf. (Nussbaum and Cohen 1996) for a discussion of patriotism.

through a strategy of transformation of his civic allegiance to a new and bigger 'imagined' community, a strategy that he realised through the pragmatic relativisation of his initial expression 'that said'. Furthermore through such an argument of transition, RO1 represented Italian and European identities in antagonising terms over time, their mutually exclusive interplay suggested by the adjective 'alternative'. The member here clearly represented the transitory nature of Italian identity *vis-à-vis* the European/transnational referent through temporal expressions such as 'for the time being' and 'for the moment' which suggest a transient stage in the process of transformation from one to the other.

The *topos of active citizenship* emerged also in the Cluj focus group where a few members used it to construct Europeans as a larger community of citizens and, at the same time, to downplay or dismiss their attachment to the nation:

Extract 38

CL4: Adică vedem posibilități de a rezolva anumite probleme sau modalități de acțiune negandinudu-ne la statul național, la instituții naționale ci ne gândim cum poate cetățeanul de rând cum suntem si noi, cetățeanul din Cluj vine cu o idee, cum poate sa o exprime către cineva care are putere, dar cineva care face ceva pentru toți europenii ca toți suntem cetățeni europeni.

CL4: What I mean is that we see ways to solve problems and ways of action without taking into consideration the national state or institutions, but we think how the ordinary citizen, one like us, a citizen of Cluj when they come up with an idea, how to present it to someone who has power, but someone who does something for all Europeans, because we are all European citizens.

In this extract CL4 constructed an argument that represents active citizenship as the direct relationship between civic actors at a local level and the EU institutions. Through this argument, the speaker achieved different constructions of groupness signalling her belonging to different communities of relevance. Along with her initial orientation towards the organisational identity ('we see ways to solve problems'), CL4 explicitly

identified herself as 'a citizen of Cluj' and as a European (which consistently reflect the self-ascription she gave in the questionnaire "first a citizen of my own town, then European" – see Table 4). This construction crucially appears to sidestep the level of identification as national, with, in fact, the significance of national institutions overtly dismissed by the speaker. The legitimisation of this direct allegiance between local and European levels seemed to interdiscursively relate to the specific construction of Europeanness emerging from the Romanian focus group that was interpreted as an index of equality/emancipation (see 5.3.3.3). In this sense, whilst CL4 could enact her multilevel 'active' citizenship, she bypassed the national level reinforcing her allegiance with local and European institutions.

5.3.5.4   Topoi of transnational democratic dialogue and equal participation

Along with the topos of active citizenship, the *topos of democratic dialogue* was often invoked by members to achieve, *inter alia*, micro strategies of unification aimed at the self-representation of a cohesive community of citizens engaged in a democratic dialogue between themselves and with the EU institutions.

In a few cases, strategies of unification were realised through the metonymical use of 'voice', a trope semantically related to democracy via, for instance, 'freedom of speech' and 'debate'. Often the trope of 'voice' was invoked by members synecdochically, as *pars pro toto,* to represent the collective action of citizens wanting to 'be heard' by (the EU) institutions. For example, these representations emerged conspicuously in the interview conducted with VA1 (Valencia individual interview). In many instances during the interview, VA1 constructed a feeling of commonality through the trope of 'voice' and the *topos of equal*

participation (i.e. the Aristotelian principle of justice whereby, in a democratic system, equality among citizens is based on their number, not their worth) as exemplified by the following extract:

Extract 41

VA1: the way Europe is now conceived [...] it doesn't it doesn't eh..it doesn't have to be with this political and economic system and this setup you know it's not democratic you know like I don't think all –all the countries inside the ... the E-European European Union system are treated with the same opportunities so I don't think they have the same voice [...] inside EA is different yeah maybe not but all of us have the same ideas but we can discuss it and we can agree something ... because when in European Alternatives we have transnational meetings our voices can have the same value whereas (...) at institutional level the things that Germany says will be that (..) [laughter] you know they're not going to discuss with other countries [...] [she gives a long example of political fragmentation among Spanish political parties] so this idea of a single voice is like we're all different but we have a process of decision made by participation and democracy and we finally manage to have one voice although each one has their own ideas and this is what makes you heard by institutions because if we were like thousands of different voices what would happen in the end is that we wouldn't manage anything and this is why I was comparing it with the situation in Spain [...] this is also what happens with this European citizens' initiative when we all have a common goal and we try to reach some changes in the law and this ...and this you can only manage because of the different voices make one.

In the extract above, VA1 initially represented the EU as an unequal economic association of countries and she aimed at delegitimizing this setup through the *topos of equal participation*. The member realised her strategy through the synecdoche of 'voice' (that anthropomorphises states as disempowered/discriminated against humans) arguing that the intergovernmental arrangement of the EU favours the more economically powerful countries. This proposition was further elaborated by VA1 in relation to Germany, which she perceived as the dominating actor in the current financial crisis. This negative representation set up a comparative framework through which VA1 was able to contrast the grassroots approach and to portray EA in a positive light, as democratic, through the

proposition that within the NGO all "voices have the same value" (i.e. have the same power).

In this case, VA1 realised her construction through the same synecdoche of 'voice' in reference to members and by contrasting the plurality of opinions at grassroots level with their restricted representation at institutional level. The speaker was thus able to portray the NGO as a non-national civic actor that 'talks with the institution' in a recontextualisation of the institutional discourses of 'Plan D' (see p. 69). In contrast to the delegitimisation of the EU setup, however, the speaker used the trope of 'voice' to legitimise the group action and to construct it as a cohesive force. On the back of this different representation, the construction of the European society in VA1's discourse appeared focused on the notion of power distribution and organised around (positively connoted) transnational rather than (negatively connoted) national interests.

Through the trope of voice, VA1 achieved an overall representation of Europeans as a community of citizens exercising their democratic rights transversally and bottom-up. Such a trope was also instrumental in the juxtaposition of (closed) intergovernmental and (open) transnational conceptions of Europe. Whereas in the former, VA1 represented power instantiated in a few national representations (EU countries) and exercised unequally, in the latter she represented the power of 'voice' as evenly distributed within EA and, at the same time, capable of being consensually mobilised into a cohesive aggregate (realised through the unifying expression 'different voices make one').

Although VA1's use of 'we-European citizens' was primarily enacted from an organisational perspective, it appeared to index the wider scope of transnational civic action, for example in her reference to the citizens'

initiative campaigns which, in some cases, have been carried out by EA in association with other civil actors[108].

5.3.5.5   Topos of values

The discussion of (shared) values, principles and beliefs also contributed to the members' discursive definition of several European communities of relevance and their identification with one or more of them. Although some members referred to values in vague terms and had to be encouraged to define them specifically, several members explicitly named human rights, social equality, and democracy as perceived fundamental community referents. There was however little consensus among members on the extent to which such values connote European identity as will be elaborated in the next few extracts. For example, in the Bologna focus group, an exchange between two members suggested the topos of values was realised mainly through a temporal/historical frame to achieve different strategies of representing themselves as Europeans.

Extract 42

BO4: Per me quello che unisce un po' l'Europa (..) io sono nata in Russia poi quando avevo 13, 14 anni siamo immigrati con la mia famiglia in Germania e ora vivo in Germania, vabbè teoricamente [ride]... per me l'Europa, gli Europei sono consapevoli ah...di quella che è la loro storia, dove vanno e per me rappresentano anche certi valori la ..la democrazia ... ok in qualche stato di più in qualche stato di meno ...però in confronto con la Russia comunque ..sì però i valori democratici sono quelli che fanno la differenza e forse questo unisce in qualche senso...

BO2: si è proprio una questione storica ... la democrazia è [ben?] radicata, forse però il problema è che non ci si interroga sul significato di avere la democrazia come valore cioè si dà per scontato ...che ci sia un sistema democratico e quindi secondo me, si più che un essere un

reale valore condiviso è una...boh è quasi una una una non lo so, un'eredità storica non sufficientemente elaborata...

BO4:   for me what unites Europe a little (..) I was born in Russia then when I was 13, 14, my family and I emigrated to Germany and now I'm living in Germany well in theory [she laughs] and for me Europe, Europeans are aware ah... of what their history is, of where they're going and for me they represent certain values the... the democracy okay some states more and in some states less.... but compared to Russia however .... yes but these democratic values make the difference and perhaps unite somehow ...

BO2:   it really is a historic question ... democracy is [well?] rooted, perhaps the problem though is that we don't question ourselves on the meaning of having democracy as a value I mean one takes for granted that there is a democratic system and so for me, yes more than really being a shared value it is.... dunno.. it's almost a a a I don't know a historic legacy not sufficiently processed...

In this passage BO4, a Russian-born, German-naturalised student who, at the time of the interview had been living in Italy for one year, engaged in an argument that constructed Europeans as a rather cohesive group on an historical journey (realised via the spatial representation 'they know where they're going'). By perspectivising her argument from a transnational stance - via a brief account of her multiple ties with Russia, Germany and Italy - the speaker positioned herself externally in relation to the European community (signalled by reference to Europeans with the pronouns *they*). From this external standpoint she used strategies of assimilation and dissimilation juxtaposing Europe with Russia to represent Europeans united by the values of democracy and mitigating internal differences ('more or less').

In her exchange with BO4, BO2 initially aligned herself with her interlocutor's views that democracy is a distinctive European value. BO2 also reproduced BO4's proposition on the historical continuity of democracy in the European community, an element which she represented as heritage, thus drawing on the metaphorical scenario of family in which cultural assets are passed down by one generation to the

other. In this case, whilst BO4 appeared to draw on the *topos of values* from the 'inside' perspective of family, she also reflexively characterised democracy as an unfinished process suggesting her positioning as a European as someone with a duty to make such heritage her own.

The topos of values often emerged when members discussed the reasons for joining the organisation. Arguments aimed at representing the sharing of common values were commonly offered as one of the main reason that had brought them together. However, a number of distinct representations also emerged which reversed the causality of such process. In other words, some members referred to European values as emerging from, rather than justifying their engagement in the organisation's activities. This aspect, for example, was highlighted by PR2 (Prague individual interview) as illustrated by the following extract:

Extract 43

PR2: Well it's funny, because this thing comes up all the time of this idea of this shared or common values and what that means, erm, I'm somewhat more hesitant to use this term 'common values', like er, for me it's er, maybe more so this idea of erm, a common purpose like it doesn't necessarily have to be attached to any set of values even though having a common purpose oftentimes there are common values of course come out of it (..) but this idea about er, people are all working towards the same goal, erm it doesn't mean that we all have the same opinions on all of them, but the goal in terms of working towards a better, in this case, a better Europe and what that means (.) socially, politically, erm, culturally, all of these things, of what it means to how we can, we want to get this kind of common idea of making things better [...]Erm, for me personally like I think like yes that is the idea like erm, if there is this common purpose of people working together, people wanting the social equality, people wanting to share cultures, or people wanting kind of erm a certain level or a certain quality of life, if that's what being part of Europe or being a European can mean, like then, then that's great

PR2 clearly represented values in different terms from the previous example (see BO2 and BO4 in extract 42). Whilst both representations in extracts 42 and 43 constructed values as 'holders' and 'drivers' of the

European community, they emphasised two distinct facets of such ideals. On a spatial/temporal dimension PR2 portrayed the European community along a future orientation (through the preposition *towards*) highlighting the key role of common intentionality/agentiveness of members. She engaged in strategies of deconstruction of established meanings (i.e. the decoupling of values from community) and reconstruction of meanings (via the association of Europe with specific social and cultural ideals). By contrast BO2 and BO4 focused on the past dimension portraying values (such as democracy) as part of a narrative close to that of a European civilisation (although, to some extent, both members mitigated these representations).

Consequently, on the one hand, Europeanness appears to be restricted by certain historical, geographical, and cultural elements whilst, on the other, it was defined in more loose and universal terms (suggested for example by PR2's use of the generic term '*people* striving for common goals'). In broad terms it was noticeable how some members deployed the topos of values to 'bring along' Europeanness in their discourses whereas others tended to represent Europeanness as brought about by a mutual project. Furthermore the extent to which these values could be regarded as European and/or Western/universal represented another controversial point for the definition of community and membership. For instance, BE2 (Berlin individual interview) argued:

> *Extract 44*
>
> *BE2: il punto è quando si parla di valori che ci accomunano veramente esistono questi valori che ci accomunano? questa è la prima domanda che sorge credo di no perché questi valori sono diversi tra vicini di casa e spesso e volentieri estendere il valore, una morale una radice comune a quella europea credo che sia ancora più complicato e credo che sia un po' un discorso che possa…rischi di finire anche in discorsi più reazionari quando si parla di radice comune cristiana che è comunque un discorso chiaramente esiste […] quella del valore per me diventa subito un punto di domanda veramente ci sono valori che rendono comune questa idea di Europa?*

FZ: è una domanda che ho fatto alle persone intervistate e spesso, non sempre, c'è stata la risposta sì la democrazia i diritti umani e cosi via

BE2: Però sulla carta vale questo discorso

FZ: Beh come ideale in cui credere

BE2: Come ideale esatto perché poi vai a vedere al singolo stato ok nella vecchia Europa diciamo Ungheria questi concetti entrano un po' in declino però è chiaro hai ragione tu la democrazia è sicuramente un valore è uno di questi valori indubbiamente però la prossima domanda è questa la democrazia è un valore europeo? Credo che sia un valore occidentale [...] Quindi il mio punto è questo questi valori che noi diciamo sono condivisi se è vero che esistono credo che vadano oltre i confini geografici dell'Europa

BE2: the point is when one talks of shared values do these values that unite us really exist? This is the first question that arises I do not think they do because these values are different between neighbours and often extending a value, a moral to one common European root I think is even more complicated and I think it's a bit of a discourse that can ... that risks of ending up in more reactionary discourses when one speaks of common Christian roots which is clearly still a discourse [...] the issue of values for me immediately raises a question mark are there really values that make this idea of Europe shared?

FZ : it's a question I have asked other people interviewed , and often , not always, the answer was yes, democracy human rights and so on

BE2 : This applies on paper though

FZ: Well as an ideal to believe in

BE2 : exactly as an ideal because then if you look at individual states in Old Europe say Hungary these concepts become a bit obsolete and sure you're right democracy is certainly a value one of these values undoubtedly however the next question is is this democracy a European value ? I believe it is a Western value [...] So this is my point if these values that we called shared do exist I think they do go beyond the geographical boundaries of Europe.

BE2's main strategy was to challenge a Euro-centric view of moral values arguing that such shared values do not exist nor, if they do exist, can they be assumed to be contained within the borders of Europe. BE2

realised his strategy by supporting his argument in two ways. Firstly, he refuted that shared values can be found in the European community on the premise that values are 'family specific' (thus representing Europe as an enlarged neighbourhood in which he included himself). Secondly, he rejected the desirability of extending common (for example Christian) morals through the *topos of danger* (i.e. the risk of regressing to conservatism). BE2 realised his argument by formulating rhetorical questions at the beginning and the end of his proposition ('are there really shared values?). As I engaged with such a question, BE2 deployed a different argument. Whilst he conceded that shared values might exist as ideals - a point that he mitigated with the example of Hungary- through another rhetorical question he also detached Europe from democracy, constructing the latter as a more loosely defined 'Western' value. Whilst the deterritorialisation of democratic values from Europe dovetails with BE2's vision of experimental transnationalism likely to be replicated and expanded beyond Europe (see Extract 39), his characterisation of democracy as 'Western' falls short of a complete universalism (as it implies a West/East division).These antimonies were found conspicuously in the interview conducted with PR1 (Prague individual interview) as illustrated below:

> *Extract 45*

> *PR1:- so, so I think what (...) what unites people in this group is really the idea that we share some values and we acknowledge that these values are universal and that we want to spread them or support them; not only in our own country, not only in the country where we live but also erm everywhere. And we have a kind of empathy with erm with people from other countries erm having these sorts of issues...facing similar issues (.) and I I think it's really this idea of erm of universalism maybe*

> *FZ: Okay, okay, that's very interesting (.) so basically it's not it's not just European values (..) erm erm because you called you call them erm universal values?*

PR1: Well, I erm (...) maybe, (..) maybe these are European values even though I am not sure I can say that [laughter] because what I think, they might be similar but I think I think it's values which erm we would like to give them this universal so erm erm how to say (..) erm this (...) universal (..) meaning maybe or erm -

FZ: Okay. Can you...can you give me an example?

PR1: Yeah I don't know, for instance erm the value erm the principle of equality you know [...] erm so we want...I am not sure (..) I wouldn't (...) [laughter] I don't know what to say it's a European value but it's a value which we would like to see everywhere [high tone]

PR1's construction of Europeanness in relation to values involved strategies of unification and strategies of transformation. These were realised through the prevalent use of the term 'values' in its meaning of 'ethical principles/ideals guiding one's actions/goals'. On the one hand, PR1 achieved a strategy of unification of the group through the proposition that group members share similar values. On the other hand, a strategy of transformation was also achieved by PR1 which was aimed at projecting the expansion of such values along prospective spatial and temporal dimensions which were inferable as beyond organisational remits or geographically defined Europe ('everywhere').

In PR1's argument the definition of groupness seemed to rely both on the awareness of sharing certain values and, at the same time, on her desire to turn such values into ideal drivers of the group activities and the expansion of such community of relevance. In other words, PR1 envisaged an ideal enlargement of community relying on transferring what is shared within the NGO to the wider society. This however rested on PR1's rather problematic premise that self-constructed universalism as some sort of higher moral ground ('we acknowledge that these values are universal')[109] and warranted her contradictory proposition of wanting to spread

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[109] The idea of universal values has been criticised by cultural relativism (cf. Donnelly 2013).

universal values (which one must assume are already established and accepted).

PR1's elaboration thus seemed to highlight the ideological dilemma of defining values as devoid of specific European connotations whilst effectively construed them as a discriminant of groupness (for example in her use of the pronoun *we* indexing the Prague branch and possibly the whole NGO and distinct from the generic 'people from other countries' albeit empathically connected to them). These ambivalent representations of European/universal values appeared to be the cause of her impasse (signalled by some circumlocution and hedging) in the last part of the extract above.

5.3.5.6   Topos of solidarity

A number of constructions of the European community were achieved by members through arguments that defined the moral boundaries of solidarity and the notion of common good among the European community, with some members especially emphasizing issues related to wealth distribution. For example BE1 (Berlin individual interview) argued:

> *Extract 46*
>
> *BE1: I think [equality] is quite important in a way because being European can mean you're really really really rich and you live in a rich country but also it can mean you (..) you live in a poor country where old grandmothers have €40 to live on for the month so it's incredible (..) I think this is something we have to work really really hard [...] this is just what people have to recognise what it means to live in a shared Europe a shared place*

BE1's construction of being European was clearly predicated on social and economic conditions among community members and it was

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realised through different arguments driven by what she perceived as a gap between ideal and actual conditions and by her commitment to fill such a gap. The speaker thus constructed an argument for change through the *topos of economic solidarity* which implies inequalities must be reduced through the sharing of resources[110].

By using the *topos of economic solidarity*, BE1 achieved diverse representations of the European community and of Europeanness. On the one hand, the speaker constructed the meaning of being European in relation to a community with striking income inequalities, an argument that she realised through the generalised juxtaposition of poor/rich countries and the singularisation of extreme examples. In this sense, she used the term European as a predicate adjective to extensively include any economic subject within geographical Europe. On the other hand, through the *topos of solidarity* the member constructed an ideal meaning of being European as a collective commitment to a different society or a utopian 'shared place', which is consistent with her metaphorisation of 'Europe as Utopia' (see extract 35).

Very similar views were expressed by AM1 (Amsterdam individual interview) who explained the notion of (economic) solidarity by analogy with the Dutch system:

Extract 47

AM1: for example in, in, in the Netherlands there is erm one part I don't know which one, that is really poor and everybody pays the taxes and the money gets redistributed and nobody really thinks about it because we're all Dutch and there is this (..) so there is this solidarity […] and then the European argument is of course, well, you can, well, it's, it's the scale thing again, like how it works in a nation-state, it can also

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[110] The notion of solidarity has been central to most symbolic constructions of community (cf. for example Cohen 2013) and in nation states it has typically resulted in redistribution occurring through taxation and allocation of welfare services. The EU has somewhat worked on similar principles with the annual budget and 'framework' funding although this has occurred on a much smaller scale as, unlike nation states, the EU institutions have no direct power over taxation. Cf. also Magnusson and Stråth (2007) for a focused discussion of the tensions of solidarity and inequalities in the European field.

work like that in, in Europe, the, the countries that have a bit more money [high tone] they re-redistribute that to parts that are erm poorer […] Yeah, but then what you ask of your people [high tone] is that they feel solidarity with those other countries and it's easier for those people to feel solidarity for a region in their own country, because everybody feels, yeah we're Dutch, we have this history together and erm, yeah, we speak the same language or, you know, erm you, people accept more that they're erm, er, fellow citizens and erm in Europe this erm the, the institutions are, and the laws and everything erm (…) also put that in place for all European citizens and erm we have the right to vote but people don't accept [emphasis] that because they don't feel, yeah they don't feel it.

AM1 used the analogy with the Netherlands and the 'scaled up' imagination of community (see Extract 34) to argue how the concept of solidarity in nation-states should apply to the European society. In this sense, she envisaged the same fiscal functions performed by states being reproduced by the EU institutions on a larger scale with net contributors supporting net receivers. However, AM1 also highlighted the difficulty of realising what Habermas (2003) termed "solidarity between strangers" [111] and ultimately the limitations to the emergence of a European demos. This 'empathy gap' was for example realised by the speaker through the use of the verb 'feel' to connote Dutchness as 'felt' more intensely than Europeanness (cf. also the use of 'your people' or the qualifier 'fellow' in relation to Dutch citizenship that would support the representation of national camaraderie). Moreover, AM1 realised her argument about the 'empathy gap' through different characterisations of national and European identities as 'thick' and 'thin' identities (see p. 76) respectively. On the one hand, she highlighted how the perception of (Dutch) nationhood are based on 'thick' or cultural referents (history, language) whereas, on the other hand, Europeanness was represented from a 'thin' or civic perspective (laws, institutions, right to vote) as a wider community that has not yet fully developed.

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[111] With this term Habermas envisages the development of a sense of community among Europeans similar to that which forged the building of nation states however without ethnic, historical, and cultural elements of a 'community of fate' (e.g. language and common descent).

Whilst several members invoked the *topos of solidarity* in a similar way to AM1 and BE1 (in Extract 46 and Extract 47 above), SO1 (Sofia individual interview) appealed to the *topos of solidarity* to sceptically distance himself from the NGO mainstream interpretation of transnationalism and from the EU project which he saw at risk of reproducing an authoritarian ideology. SO1's elaboration is exemplified by the following extract:

Extract 48

SO1: Well erm (…), for me transnationalism is erm, (.) the new, sort of (..) how to say this, the new speak ehr, I would say of er (.) of a of an older word er which is internationalism […] I understand why it's being done, er, there are many countries transnationally, or internationally who currently are at odds with er, erm, er ex-Soviet past for example, […] so, so I understand the general framework, these days to speak of a, a European co-operation erm mutually et cetera, et cetera and ways to solidarise, solidarise between countries and different groups (..) ehr (..) however […] erh, my, my worry about transnationalism has always been that erm, it sort of ehr, um zeros in on to the socialist past for example of the Eastern Block countries that are involved in European Alternatives […]I think transna…transnationalism is, is a way to erm, the, the, the, to, to reignite again er practices of er co-operation between er, pretty much oppressed er groups ah or groups that are involved in the oppression of other groups ah, that are involved in, against the oppression of other groups, erm, and ways to ehr, uhm rearticulate er (…), a global group of policies

Drawing on the *topos of solidarity,* the speaker constructed an argument that portrayed the transnational ideology as potentially dangerous. He realised his strategy through the trope of 'newspeak', an Orwellian reference (Orwell 1949) to a totalitarian socialist regime where language is redesigned to control thoughts and to reinforce the dominance of the State. In other words, for SO1, transnationalism can potentially be the 'new speak' for internationalism, a term that, in this context, the

speaker attributed with a specific negative connotation in relation to Bulgarian communist history[112].

SO1 used this specific topos as a warrant for his argument that likened certain transnational rhetoric about the European integration to the same discourses of international socialism. Through such a warrant he expressed concern (albeit mitigated) about historical recursivity or, in other words, about the fact that, despite the modernised wording, Europe could become just a mega-state where citizens would be disempowered subjects just as much as they used to be under communist past, a social and political scenario that he clearly perceived negatively and which he warned against.

In this case, one could grasp the historical reasons at play in SO1's negotiation of his identification as a member of a transnational/European community. Unlike the Cluj members, whom saw their Europeanness as an almost unreserved validation of their post-communist location (see section 5.3.3.3), for SO1, the communist legacy appeared to be part of an ideological negotiation between, on the one hand, being committed to new forms of democratic socialism in a community of Europeans and, on the other hand, cautiously embracing the more institutional vision of such a project for fear of a recontextualisation of dominant discourses (cf., for example, his objection to Europeanness as a consequence of Bulgaria's formal membership of the EU as discussed in Extract 16).

5.3.5.7   Topos of diversity

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[112] SO1 referred to internationalism in the sense of 'international (or world) communism', i.e. the ideology that the socialist revolution envisaged by Marxism would eventually be achieved by the coming together of people following the abolition of states (as proletarians have a common cause but no 'fatherland'). In the speaker's view, this idealised interpretation of cross-state solidarity among citizens of communist countries (such as Bulgaria) was instrumentally used by the Soviets to keep such citizens under Soviet influence.

As noted in previous sections, the generic *topos of diversity* was deployed by members interdiscursively with other topoi to achieve different strategies. For example, in Extract 7 and Extract 8 it was illustrated how members drew on narratives of interactional experience to construct the external diversity of Europeans *vis-à-vis* Americans through the *topos of difference*. From a different perspective, internal diversity was called upon by PR2 (through the *topos of multiculturalism*) as a positive context for constructing her multiple national/transnational affiliations (cf. Extract 19).

In addition to these discursive realisations, several strategies driven by *topoi of (internal) diversity* also emerged from the analysis through which members achieved different representations of the transforming European community. For example, the topos of *living with differences* was invoked by LO2 (London focus group) in his elaboration of transnationalism as the 'celebration of diversity' (and counter posed to the rejection of 'national' homogenisation) as illustrated below:

Extract 49

LO2: I actually quite like this transnational thing (..) you're not trying to raise differences between people but, actually, you're saying that, actually, erm, it's great that there are differences and actually (.) what we, we, we, are simply doing is looking for ways to organise, so that different groups can live productively and in peace with one another (.) we don't necessarily have to raise the differences you know we (..) that's what the states have operated throughout the last few hundred years, and it resulted in genocide it resulted in em (..) eh oppression, (..) let's not try to reproduce that idea on a greater level, let's say, actually, that's where we got it wrong, let's embrace our differences and let's live with our differences and that's good, that's great, that's productive, ah...

From a historical perspective, LO2 invoked the topos of diversity as a warrant to both delegitimize states (in the attribution of causality between suppression of differences operated by nation-states and genocide) and to construct an argument in favour of a social order with an enlarged and yet

diverse community of citizens. This strategy of construction was realised via a fluid and largely inclusive meaning of the pronoun *we* which carried different indexicalities: at one level, the pronoun *we* pointed at the organisation and its activities and helped LO2 to portray EA as an agent in the construction of a desirable society of peaceful co-existence of groups.

At another level, the indexicality of *we* which the speaker appealed to was inferable in a larger historical remit of a European 'conscience' (e.g. in the expression 'we got it wrong'). Such understanding appeared thus to be key in constructing the historical continuity of Europeans and, at the same time, in driving the imagination of wanting to be part of a self-transforming community. On the one hand, therefore, the *topos of diversity* was instrumental in the representation of a rupture with the past (via the delegitimisation of the 'social order' of nations) whilst, on the other hand, it served to legitimize the activities of the organisation and its members (which LO2 attributed with the continuity of the historical *we* as Europeans).

5.3.5.8   Topoi of language(s) and multilingualism

Topoi of languages and multilingualism [113] played an important role in how members discursively constructed an imagined community of Europeans. A number of different arguments predicated on the *topos of multilingualism* emerged when members were prompted to express their views on the relation between identity and language(s) and if and how that related to the definition of Europeanness. Overall two major strategic

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[113] Following the constructions of most members, and much literature on the subject (Rindler Schjerve and Vetter 2012, Kjaer and Adamo 2013, Unger *et al.* 2014) multilingualism is interpreted in this context as a multifarious phenomenon comprising of individual, societal and institutional dimensions.

orientations emerged from such views which related to somewhat distinct civic and cultural interpretations of Europe.

On the one hand, the topos of multilingualism was invoked by several members who were adopting particular cultural stances to achieve a representation of Europe as a positively diverse society where languages (connoted as proxies for cultures) were represented as tools for fostering transnational interaction and intercultural dialogue among citizens. In this vein, individual multilingual abilities were constructed as important components of one's Europeanness, as they could facilitate intercultural encounters in the European 'space', the latter mainly conceptualised as a social context of increased mobility. For example, the *topos of multilingualism* was invoked by CL4 (Cluj focus group) in relation to his personal experience of travelling in Europe and interacting with other cultures (see strategies of interactional experience on page 151 for similar constructions). Conceptually, CL4 constructed his belonging through the representation of Europe as a 'familiar space' via the metaphor of home as illustrated below:

Extract 50

CL4: "Te fac mai liber, limbile [...] Eu, de exemplu, am mers in diverse tari si trebuia sa mă descurc in limba respectiva cu oameni care nu ştiau alta limba si atunci uite ca am învăţat maghiara in câteva zile sa mă descurc cu direcţiile [...] Si am început de la buna ziua, si aşa, dar fără sa ştiu nimic înainte, tot interacţionând cu oamenii, deja ştiam, dreapta, vreau sa ajung acolo, ştiam cum sa zic. Intre timp am mai uitat iară cum n-am mai vorbit [...] iţi da aşa o libertate ca oriunde te duci parcă eşti tot la tine acasă"

CL4: "Languages make you free [...] I for example I went to various countries and had to get along with people who didn't know another language and then look, I learned Hungarian in a few days, enough to handle getting directions [...] and I started with hello, so, but without knowing anything before, I kept interacting with people, I learned how

to say right, I want to go there … [language] gives you freedom to go anywhere, and you still feel at home"[114]

The individual interview with LO3 (London) provided another example of how the topos of multilingualism was deployed to represent and accommodate the cultural diversity of the European community. As an English native speaker, LO3 constructed an argument of solidarity with other Europeans whose first language is not English and who tend to converge to English as a lingua franca, especially in EA transnational meetings. Recognizing her own head start and advocating the need for British to learn more languages, she expressed her stance as follows:

LO3: "[speaking English only] highlights an arrogance of forcing everyone else to speak your language […] and it's just erm, it's just a sense of (…) I don't know it's just [..] like having friends that you don't make an effort with, making them always come to your house rather than you go and visit them, that kind of thing".

In this case, LO3 achieved a representation of Europe as an amicable community in which mobility and language accommodation allow for exchange and interaction between friends. Although positively connoted, such representation is somewhat different from CL4's in the previous example. Whilst CL4's use of 'home' entailed a sense of belonging to a common space, LO3's representation seemed to support an understanding of Europeans as a community where different cultures live side by side although each separately contained in their own 'house'.

As well as from cultural perspectives, the topos of multilingualism was frequently invoked by members from civic perspectives, in reference to linguistic practices in the general remit of the EPS, for example within and related to the organisation itself, and, to a lesser extent, in relation to (internal/external) practices of the EU.

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[114] Extracts 50, 51, 52, and 53 have been partly reproduced and discussed in Zappettini and Comănaru (2014).

In both these contexts, languages and multilingualism were typically discussed in relation to issues of communication and democracy with most members recognizing important tensions between ideational and practical dimensions of multilingualism in the 'making' of Europe (i.e. how to best ensure linguistic democracy and preserving cultural diversity whilst transnationalising the EPS and deepening the integration process).

These tensions have been highlighted in a paper that, drawing on the data and analysis of this PhD, has discussed the negotiation of multilingual ideologies in members' discourses (Zappettini and Comănaru 2014). This paper argued how a large number of members appeared oriented overall towards the representation of Europe as a quasi-diglossic[115] society in which communicative and identitarian functions of language were divorced (see for example House (2003) discussed on page 62) and, at the same time, how members appeared concerned with constructing arguments strategically oriented towards a general legitimisation of the use of English as a convenient tool of communication in the transnational political arena.

Building on this insight, the following discussion will focus on how members typically achieved these arguments via different micro strategies of separation, justification, pragmatisation, and accommodation. For example, in an exchange at the Bologna focus group, two members achieved a strategy of deconstruction of the English language into separate entities with distinct communicative and identitarian functions:

Extract 51

BO1: secondo me è proprio necessario distinguere ci sono due lingue, una che è di lavoro e di comunicazione nella vita quotidiana, il globish no? e poi c'è l'inglese

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[115] In sociolinguistics the term diglossia refers to language practices in a community whereby a 'high' variety of language is used for formal or literary purposes whereas a 'low' variety is used for everyday conversation.

BO6: infatti c'è anche l'Euro-English della burocrazia che non ha niente a che fare con la lingua di Shakespeare che è la lingua degli inglesi

BO1: in my opinion we really need to distinguish, there are two languages, one is for work and every-day communication, globish, right? and then there's English

BO6: indeed, there's also the Euro-English of bureaucracy that has got nothing to do with Shakespeare's language, which is the language of the English

The overall strategy adopted by the two members was to decouple communicative and identitarian functions of English into new and old forms/varieties ('globish' and 'Euro-English'[116] and 'classic English' respectively). Whilst the former were attributed mere communicative functions as a lingua franca, the latter were seen as 'personal languages' retaining their salience as referents of cultural identification (for example, 'classic English' was associated with the English heritage via the reference to Shakespeare).

A similar argument grounded in the distinction between identitarian and instrumental functions of English was constructed by RO1. However, more than BO1 and BO6 (see extract above), RO1's strategy was aimed at downplaying the identitarian connotation of English and at highlighting instead its potential role in the integration process, as exemplified by the extract below:

Extract 52

RO1: "Well, I think that my dream, my vision is that Europe be united politically and for this to happen [...] we need to have a language in common [...]I think [English] should be encouraged ...and yes it would give an advantage to English and Irish speakers but... I think sometimes it goes like that, .. some groups in society have advantages

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[116] Globish refers to a simplified version of English (Grzega). Euro English is an emerging variety of English often associated with European institutions and the civil society (Jenkins *et al.* 2001)

over others and the role of the state or of an institution like the EU is to make sure that these natural advantages do not make those people step over others [...]I'm really a fan of English not because I see this as a sort of cultural imperialism, because by now English has nothing to do with England any more or with the UK ...

FZ: Can I just ask you to explain what you mean by English is no longer related to England do you mean the English identity?

RO1: Yes, that's exactly it, I don't see it as an imposition of cultural imperatives from the Brits, you know, by now English is the language of Eur... by now, you know, if aliens came to the Earth, by now, they'd probably try and talk to us in English... it's the language of old England it is the language of the US but it is the language of the EU too..."

RO1's argument was predicated on the ideological warrant that a common language would facilitate processes of democratic debate and ultimately promote the emergence of a European polity. This warrant was offered by RO1 as a statement of necessity (supported by the modal verb 'need'). From this premise, the speaker constructed an argument of 'pragmatic legitimisation' of the widespread use of English within the NGO and beyond. Through his argument, RO1 achieved a strategy of constructing a *universality* and *modernity* of English by representing it as a global language devoid of specific geographical and cultural connotations or ownership.

This strategy was realised along a temporal axis (signalled by the expressions 'by now' and 'anymore') which the speaker used to represent a socio-historical evolution of English away from definite associations with a culture or a territory. Furthermore, RO1 appealed to a cognitive schema of universality of the English language "through the hyperbolic and futuristic imagery of 'aliens' expected to be able to communicate with humans, an effective linguistic device that allowed him to contextualise issues of communication among Europeans in a global, indeed universal, context" (Zappettini and Comănaru 2014 p. 414).

In his argument, RO1, on the one hand, challenged one important aspect of nationhood (the association between languages and cultures), whilst, on the other, reinforced his support for the civic role of a common language as functional to the expansion of community, an argument that resonates with some discourses of the construction of civic nations (cf. footnote 42 on p.61) and which seems to dismiss the EU's rhetorical construction of multilingualism as the equality of languages.

In this sense, a number of constructions emerged in members' discourses that seemed to challenge the representations of multilingualism and European identity promoted by institutional discourses (see Zappettini 2014). For example, at the focus group conducted in Bologna, the debate about whether and how a shared language would contribute to a stronger sense of community or to a better identification with Europe generated different arguments as illustrated in the four-way exchange below:

Extract 53

BO6: perché ... la politica funziona per delega .. anche la lingua può essere delegata per la rappresentanza dei diritti (...) la lingua non rappresenta un problema potrebbe anche essere il cinese, rappresenta un problema se invece si associa alla lingua al carattere nazionale quello diventa [...]a livello politico a livello immaginativo [...] la lingua può rappresentare un ostacolo [...] se ci viene tirata per i capelli proprio in modo che rappresenti un ostacolo

BO1: secondo me cioè per sentirsi europei tutti è un ostacolo, [...] se io parlassi la stessa lingua di un tedesco mi sentirei più vicina al Tedesco [...] così per assurdo se parlassimo la stessa lingua sarebbe più facile sentirsi europei

[BO6 scuote il capo]

BO1: secondo me si..

BO3 più che altro una politica europea senza una lingua europea è impossibile cioè puoi fare...puoi prendertela con Europa usando la tua lingua ma non puoi propugnare una politica europea senza una lingua

europea perché è una cosa è come dire esprimere dei contenuti e sociali politici è una cosa e..no..anche pensando anche il fatto delle quote latte cioe' quando appunto devi lamentarti per un diritto che non ti è stato dato magari lo puoi fare traducendo dal veneto [ride] all'italiano all'inglese però avere una politica cioe' un discorso pubblico europeo alla fine probabilmente non può averlo senza una lingua [...]

BO6: ma non è detto nel senso è stato fatto tutto quello che c'è come istituzioni europee che è una cosa enorme è stata fatta senza porsi questo problema comunque [...] adesso però inizia un problema grosso e' il fatto che essendoci una grossa spinta dal basso a livello politico e una grossa condivisione una grossa discussione sul Web io posso commentare un blog italiano ma non posso commentare un blog tedesco

BO4 io si! [tutti ridono]

BO1: ma appunto che è un ostacolo

BO6: ... since politics works by proxy .. the language too can be a proxy for the representation of rights (...) which language is not an issue, it could also be Chinese, it is a problem though if language is associated with the national character, that becomes [...] at the political level, in the imagination [...] the language can be a barrier [...] if it is dragged by its hair [into politics] just so that it represents an obstacle

BO1: I think that, for all of us to be able to feel European, language is an obstacle [...] if I spoke the same language as a German I would feel closer to the German [...] so, for the sake of argument, if we spoke the same language it would be easier to feel European

[BO6 shakes his head]

BO1: I think so ..

BO3: more to the point, European politics without a European language is impossible I mean you can ... you can blame Europe using your own language but you cannot advocate European politics without a European language because one thing is, how do you say, to express political and social contents and another thing and.. well..and thinking of the milk quotas, when you have to stand up for a right that you were denied maybe you can do it by translating Venetian [laughs] into Italian into English, but to have a politics, I mean in the end

probably you cannot have a European public discourse without a language [...]

BO6: but it is not necessarily so in the sense that all that's been done by European institutions, which is a huge thing, has been done without considering this issue, anyway, [...] but now a big problem arises, that is the fact that since there is a big push from the bottom at the political level and a large shared discussion on the web I can comment on an Italian blog but I cannot comment on a German blog

BO4: I can! [All laugh]

BO1: exactly that's an obstacle

In discussing the lack of a common language as a potential obstacle to the development of the European community, BO6 and BO1 took opposite views. BO6 initially constructed language as a means for democratic debate. As such, his argument was that any language (for example Chinese) would guarantee the exercise of democratic rights (an argument that he rested on the premise 'politics works by proxy') highlighting the communicative aspect of languages. However he conceded that the politics of language can instrumentally mobilize the association of language and nationhood (the identification aspect), a proposition that he realised via the reference to the imagination (of being a community) and the Italian idiomatic expression *'tirata per i capelli'* (which roughly translates as 'dragged by its hair' and is used to suggest involving someone in some action against their will or when something irrelevant is introduced into a discussion).

BO6's view that language is primarily a means of communication was somewhat challenged by BO1 who, on the other hand, emphasised the function of language as marker of groupness via the analogy of affinity with German and, albeit hypothetically (Italian *'per assurdo'*), she positively evaluated a similar scenario for Europeans. BO3 took the discussion back to the pragmatics of language in the EPS arguing a distinction between 'reactive' and 'proactive' enactments of citizenship

suggesting that the latter can only be achieved through a common European language[117]. The member invoked the *topos of active citizenship* (discussed in section 5.3.5.3) to construct an argument aimed at showing how democratic participation can be hindered by practices that require linguistic mediation and, by contrast, promoted by a direct means of communication.

BO3 realised his argument by associating civic participation with linguistic practices/abilities (drawing from the 'milk quotas' example that had been discussed earlier in the focus group) and by contrasting what one 'can do' with what one 'cannot do'. BO6 responded to BO3's argument through a similar evaluation of languages enabling different degrees of democratic participation in the EPS. Whilst BO6 realised his argument via a similar 'can/cannot do' contrast, such an argument was predicated on the juxtaposition of top-down vs. bottom-up perspectives. Whilst BO3 initially somewhat aimed at dismissing BO6's proposition on the necessity of a common language (by offering a positive evaluation of what had been done by the EU *institutions*), he agreed with BO6 on the warrant that there is an increasing need for *citizens* to be able to speak a common language in order to participate in the democratic debate about European issues.

This exchange points to the relevance of language issues in the definition of the EU-ropean community (Wright 2009) and, in particular, to the role of English as a lingua franca in the EPS, a question that Wright (2000) has referred to as 'the elephant in the room' with respect to how it has been dealt with by the EU institutions. The extracts discussed above suggest that, although members recognised the 'symbolic capital' (Bourdieu 1991) embodied in languages - see for example BO1 ironically emphasizing her knowledge of German as empowering her in Extract 53 – they appeared overall more willing than institutional powers to acknowledge the need to approach the question of linguistic justice

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[117] The 'language of democracy' has been widely debated in political and philosophical studies. See, inter alia, Archibugi (2005) and Kymlicka and Patten (2003)

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without the ideological legacy of nation-state building that regards languages as inextricably associated with cultural identities or as political resources (Wright 2000).

6 DISCUSSING AND SUMMARISING THE FINDINGS

6.1.1 Strategies and topoi

The results have suggested a complex and very dynamic picture of how European identities were constructed, challenged and transformed by members. Different strategic orientations were recognised in members' discourses towards the (de)construction and negotiation of meanings of (European) identity, the challenging and dismantling of nationhood, and the construction of new (imagined) communities, spaces and social orders. These strategic orientations must be interpreted as overarching discursive drivers or frames that oriented members towards specific micro-strategies and linguistic realisations (as discussed in section 5.3 above).

Moreover, the analysis has shown how members often realised different micro-strategies simultaneously in the discussion of any one topic, so that, for instance, the delegitimisation of national apparatuses and the transformation of meanings of nationhood frequently occurred concomitantly when members 'explained' transnationalism and/or Europe.

The analysis has also highlighted how members produced Europeanness in different discursive contexts (see section 5.2.1), for example through the articulation of 'identity' and 'European' topics, via both civic and cultural topoi, relying on personal and reflexive dimensions as well as on wider discourses of Europe, and transnational and cosmopolitan narratives.

Furthermore, the analysis has suggested that, in many cases, processes of identification *as* Europeans interplayed with and relied on members' identification *with* European referents.

At one level, strategies of constructing identification *as* European were deployed by members and predicated on both cultural and civic topoi. These were aimed at claiming some European 'credentials'. For example, in arguments constructed on cultural topoi, some members anchored their identification as European in the specificity of their family background or in the recognition of similarities and differences emerging from interactional experiences related to mobility. In the construction of Europeanness predicated on civic topoi, other members referred to a European tradition of democracy and the welfare system or, in the case of the Romanian focus group, to the newly acquired status of European citizens. At the same time, in this context of production, the data analysis has shown that a large proportion of members took a generally cautious, if not sceptic, stance on embracing clear-cut and static definitions of (European) identity, an attitude often signalled by epistemic markers such as 'I think' or 'I don't know'. Frequently, claims of Europeanness were articulated through the negotiation of its relationality with other identities and in the general context of global and post-national understandings of society and groups whereby identities were meta-defined along 'thin' interpretations of the term (see p. 76). Consequently, as illustrated in the analysis, the meaning/value of formally ascribed and externally validated identities was often downplayed or dismissed, with the term (European) identity in some cases deconstructed as an 'empty signifier'.

At another level, strategies of constructing identification *with* 'European' referents conspicuously emerged in the data. These strategies were a means through which members achieved different representations of their belonging to (a) transnational communities(y). In this case too, members predicated such representations of community(ies) on both cultural (e.g. linguistic and ethnic diversity) and civic (democratic participation, social equality) topoi. In this dimension, however, a sense of identity was primarily forged around the experience of contributing to a common project through action, participation, and solidarity. Arguments

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were primarily articulated around elements of the 'nodal' point Europe (see Figure 8) or via organisation-specific contexts.

Significantly, most topoi invoked by members were informed by cultural, civic, and historical conceptualisations of Europe as both a society and a community with different degrees of internal cohesion/diversity and different degrees of external interconnection with other communities. In this sense, these topoi can aptly be interpreted in the light of a larger ideological taxonomy of views that members held about their individual, social, and political belonging to a 'Global Gesellschaft/Gemeinschaft' 'order' (see p. 71). The data has suggested that whilst most members shared a view of the world as a 'Global Gesellschaft 1' - that is as made up of a diversity of societies with much socio-cultural exchange between them (see for example topoi of (inter)connectedness, of diversity, and of interactional experience) - they hardly supported a vision of society as one single integrated system of planned governance ('Global Gesellschaft 2'). At the same time, a considerable number of members pointed to their understanding of the world as a rather integrated community (a 'Global Gemeinschaft') and their perspectives of such global awareness often acted as a warrant for what they perceived as being part of a collective action in the interest of such community of relevance (see for example topos of solidarity and topos of transnational active citizenship).

In members' discourses, therefore, Europe represented multiple referents and appeared driven by what Robertson (1992, p.395) sees as two related dynamics of globalisation: the "implosion of the world [and] the explosion of situated cultures, institutions, and modes of life". In other words, in members' views of the world, Europe could be read as the local instantiation of a global interconnected multicultural society as well as the local instantiation of an enlarged civic *community of relevance.* For most members, therefore, identification as European emerged from their association (or dissociation) with such different conceptualisations of Europe and it was often instantiated in representations of their interaction

in a space of social and cultural diversity, and/or their participation in a modern project of 'constitutional patriotism'. These representations contributed to an overall definition of Europe as a dynamic society/community whose boundaries of interests often overlapped other communities of relevance.

6.1.2 Linguistic Realisations

The 'in-depth' analysis in this chapter has highlighted a diversity of linguistic realisations through which members achieved their strategic goals. Two specific features, which have emerged from the data as particularly significant in members' discourses are discussed further below: a) the metaphorical scenario of spatial dynamics; and b) a set of temporal, spatial, personal, and ideological realisations whose indexicality pointed to distinct frames/interpretations of Europe, transnationalism, and nationhood.

6.1.3 Metaphorical scenario of spatial dynamics

A large proportion of informants realised their arguments through the use of figurative language, such as metonymical and metaphorical expressions (cf. section 5.3). Whilst some of these expressions were deployed by members occasionally and idiosyncratically, the analysis found that a large proportion of tropes and metaphorical expressions were embedded in/belonged to metaphorical source domains of *network, journey, movement, container, and biology* (see Table 12). In addition,

results for the frequency of *N-grams*[118] of the keyword 'Europe' in the corpus (see Table 13 below) showed that 'Europe' was associated with a conspicuous pattern of spatial prepositions (*in, across, outside, around, to, part of, in the continent of, from*), as well as geo-political qualifiers (*Central, Eastern, Western, federal*) and with terms semantically related to cognitive and ideological dimensions (*idea, shared, fortress, etc.*) These different insights coherently suggest a larger metaphorical scenario of *space dynamics* which members often draw upon to explain transnational social processes related to mobility and which, at the same time, acted as an overarching driver of members' narratives of Europe and community.

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[118] N-grams are sequences of co-occuring words where N stands for the number of items that make up the string. Table 13 shows the frequency of the contiguous occurrence of the term Europe within two to six collocates.

Table 12 Summary of the main source domains and linguistic realisations related to the scenario of 'spatial dynamics'. Adapted from McEntee-Atalianis and Zappettini (2014 p. 406).

SCENARIO OF SPATIAL DYNAMICS	
MAIN METAPHORICAL DOMAINS	**TYPICAL LINGUISTIC REALISATIONS**
NETWORK	° CONNECTIONS/LINES/TIES/NODES ° POINT-TO-POINT DISTANCE ° 'HORIZONTAL' ARCHITECTURE ° PLACE/SPACE CROSSING
JOURNEY/ MOVEMENT	° PATH/DESTINATION ° MAPPING/ORIENTING/SCALING ° FLOW/ENERGY/EXPANSION ° (ARTIFICIAL) OBSTRUCTS
CONTAINER	° BOUNDEDNESS/CLOSENESS ° 'BOX TICKING' ° OUTSIDE/INSIDE
BIOLOGY	° NATURAL/LIVING ENTITY/SYSTEM ° GROWTH/EVOLUTION/COLLAPSE/AGE

Table 13 List of most frequent N-grams (2-6) of the key word Europe

Frequency of clusters and collocates co-occurring with the term 'Europe' in the corpus analysed			
69	in Europe	3	is Europe
42	of Europe	3	old Europe
15	about Europe	3	shared Europe
13	outside Europe	3	the Europe
11	across Europe	2	all over Europe
10	federal Europe	2	beyond Europe
9	to Europe	2	fortress Europe
9	part of Europe	2	from outside Europe
9	(in) the continent of Europ	2	groups all around Europe
9	(in) Eastern Europe	2	inside Europe
8	idea of Europe	2	of what Europe
8	think Europe	2	over Europe
7	that Europe	2	see a federal Europe
6	around Europe	2	states of Europe
6	with Europe	2	talking about Europe
4	for Europe	2	that in Europe
4	from Europe	2	the lingua franca of Europe
4	see Europe	2	the old Europe
3	a Europe	2	think that Europe
3	a shared Europe	2	this idea of Europe
3	all around Europe	2	time outside Europe
3	and Europe	2	to see a federal Europe
3	as Europe	2	United states of Europe
3	central Europe	2	want to see a federal Europe
3	ideal Europe	2	Western Europe

On the one hand, members invoked the scenario of spatiality to construct the world interconnectedness, to represent social interaction as unbounded movement and flows and to discursively deconstruct national structures through, *inter alia*, entailments of national boundaries as partition, containment, etc. On the other hand, as illustrated in the analysis, the scenario of *spatial dynamics* was also instrumental in constructing and

defining the 'European space', a term which members often used metaphorically to represent and explain social, political and cultural meanings of Europe. Whilst in some cases the European 'space' coincided with institutional visions of a functionally integrated economic and political system, most members invested the term with a symbolic meaning of an ideal/utopian society with new forms of participation and solidarity. Several members, thus, made sense of their activities and their own Europeanness through metaphorical frames of *expansion* and *progression* of community whereby they represented themselves and Europe as a civic community in the making, expanding and 'reaching out' to the world crossing over (national/artificial) boundaries. In this sense, rather than a 'house' containing states, nations, and cultures as commonly found in institutional discourses (Musolff 2006) the 'construction' of a European space emerged as a powerful discursive referent for members' imagination of themselves as European and relied on the 'horizontal' architecture of the network and its 'nodes'.

Moreover, as well as a web of socio-cultural experiences, family ties, and the organisational structure, in members' discourses, the term network crucially indexed the exercising of 'active citizenship' and a civic commitment to developing democratic participation. Civic initiatives initiated at a local level and then often carried out on a European scale were thus represented by members' as an activity of 'reaching out' and 'connecting' with other citizens contributing to the imagination of building and expanding the European community. Besides, the network was often interpreted as a tool of bottom-up democracy that could reduce social distances by enabling citizens to reorganise social orders through 'horizontal' (i.e. non-hierarchical) interconnectedness. The European community was therefore often represented as a community on a historical journey of progress towards better forms of participatory democracy to be achieved transnationally (cf. the expression 'the need to go beyond the nation-state').

It must be noted that, in the characterisation of Europe as a transnational space, only a few members appeared to conceptualise distinct geo-political 'cores' and 'peripheries' of Europe [119] (cf. for example the topos of insularity of Britain on p. 183), whilst the majority of interviewees were able to represent the European space as 'diffused' across the network. At the same time, however, through their discourses, members produced new forms of centrality and peripherality via the 'marginal' location of social actors *vis-à-vis* institutional powers (for example in binary representations of citizens and states, transnational corporations and individuals, etc.). In this respect members construed Europe and the EU institutions as equally convergent/divergent concepts. On the one hand transnationalism was equated with intra-EU mobility and 'active citizenship' was understood as a tool for fully developing a civil European society somewhat in line with institutional discourses. In this sense, even from a bottom-up perspective, the data has shown the strong institutionalisation of European identities, reflected, for example, in the use of the term Europe(an) deployed by members (see Table 1). This would suggest that, in the exploration of European identities, the 'situatedness' of one's Europeanness must take into account the distinct normative, social, and cultural definitions of Europe produced at institutional level. On the other hand, several members highlighted how their grassroots commitment should result in what they believe is the creation of a transnational public sphere to be expanded well beyond Europe ('an experiment to be replicated'). Therefore it was noticeable that most members understood the 'transnationality' of their activities in a larger remit of global interaction and social transformation, whereby transnational 'active' citizenship was frequently discussed and represented in terms of world citizenship and universality of rights. In this case, although it was not entirely dismissed, the EU project was relativised as one early expression of such a new 'world order'.

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[119] See for example Oberhuber *et al.* (2005), Galasinska and Krzyżanowski (2009) for a discussion of 'core and 'peripheral' Europe.

Identification with European and transnational referents, therefore, emerged as an overall dynamic, if fragmented, process in which the 'transportability' of members' civic commitment across the network allowed for the deterritorialisation of the political project from physical Europe and a general 'movability' of identities. European identity thus was constructed by most members not just as the product of the internal transnationalisation of Europe (i.e. the institutional project of political and economic integration of nation-states) but was also discursively derived from the active creation of Europe as a centre of transnational political and social interests emerging bottom-up. In this sense the salience of feeling European for the majority of members did not just seem to lie in the external validation of a status (such as citizenship) as much as in their agency to imagine and actively enact such citizenship.

6.1.4 The indexicality of Europe and nationhood

The analysis has shown that, in synergy with the scenario of spatial dynamics, members frequently realised their discursive strategies through the use of temporal, spatial, personal, and ideological deictics to mark a multiplicity of referents such as actors, spaces and objects. For example, one of the foci of the analysis was the indexical use of possessive adjectives and pronouns (e.g. *we/us/ours* and *they/them/their)* since, as emphasised in section 3.3.1, these can typically correlate with the definition of boundaries and group demarcation/differentiation. The analysis of these elements has strongly suggested that in members' discursive representations there were no unified 'we-communities' but rather a multiplicity of often coexisting and fluid affiliations to different communities of relevance. In some cases, the indexicality of 'we' pointed to the organisational sense of groupness whether at the level of the local branch or more transnationally (e.g. 'our events', 'our work'). In a similar

way, the 'we-citizens' implied by 'our institutions' was often realised from the perspective of a local administration, the national apparatus, or the EU system. Furthermore, some members anchored the meaning of the 'we-group' to a generational belonging (e.g. 'our generation), an awareness of a socio-historical condition (e.g. 'our situation') or simply the condition of being humans (e.g. 'our emotions'). On the whole these referents would suggest the flexibility of members' perception of their 'we-ness' on a local to global continuum that allow them to simultaneously position themselves at different deictic centres (see below).

At the same time, *they/them/their* were also used in discourse to index different referents such as cultures, nations, and governments. The majority of members did not antagonize these groups *vis-à-vis* a defined *'us'* but rather they appeared to reproduce them discursively as convenient labels of categorisation whilst sustaining discourses of inclusiveness overall (cf. for example expressions such as 'although their culture is different we can still work together for a better Europe'). On the other hand, it must be noted that some members deployed the deictics *they/them/their* to construct relations of difference among groups and to portray exclusiveness (see for example how the construction of Europeans was achieved via the juxtapositions with the Americans discussed in Extract 7 and Extract 8 or with the Russians in Extract 42). In addition, as illustrated in section 5.3.4 some strategies of dismantling nationhood relied on a juxtaposition of *us/the transnational civil society* vs. *them/national apparatuses/structures/governments* (see for example Extract 28 and Extract 29). Furthermore the analysis has shown how, for some members, the otherisation of nationhood (achieved via the construction of the national community as *them*) was key in processes of identification as European, an identity which, to some extent, indexed 'what one is not' (see for example Extract 10 and Extract 22). It was therefore the specific discursive strategy, narrative, or ideational frame that seemed to drive the inclusive/exclusive meanings of personal and

collective deictics, as for most members constructing an identity involved demarcating their 'situatedness' i.e. defining their *here* and *now.* In many cases, the process of situating themselves saw members engaging in reflexive awareness of their social, cultural, and historical locations which could give continuity to personal and collective narratives of belonging.

In this sense, the analysis has revealed how, for most members, the process of identification with a European civic community was discursively related to a general reconceptualisation of narratives of nationhood. In most cases, the 19th century 'grand' narratives of nations as 'communities of fate' or as cohesive and distinct cultural aggregates were displaced by transnational and cosmopolitan ideals of diversity, 'sharedness' and bottom-up construction of a bigger and better society, coupled with a conceptualisation of history as the progress of mankind. At the same time, it must be emphasised that, in the discourses of members, the negotiation of national identity constituted almost an inescapable element in the construction of their Europeanness, if only in the conventional use of terms such as French, German, etc. as denominational characterisations of individuals, groups, cultures, and so on. However, whilst the analysis has shown that in some cases the production of Europeanness occurred through accommodation (and reproduction) of national identities, it has also produced robust evidence of a general transformation and *volatility* of nationhood as, in many instances, identification with national communities/referents was in fact problematised and rejected.

In this respect, one of the insights emerging from the analysis is that nationhood played a key role in members' construction of their Europeanness as an *index* of culture-specific and socio-historical discourses. For some members, rejecting a national identity was thus a way of overcoming one's country's negative past actions (see for example the negative meaning of 'being German' in Extract 22 and that of 'being French' in Extract 22 and, in more general terms, the negative connotation

of nation-states in Section 5.3.4). In some other cases, Europeanness indexed a new relation between East and West and allowed members to position themselves in this changed scenario. For example the ideological value of mobility for the Romanian cohort (discussed in Extract 17) was representative of their emancipation from the Communist past and their claims of Europeanness appeared driven by their willingness to distance themselves from such a legacy. At the same time the validation of Europeanness deriving from the formal accession of 'new' EU countries was treated cautiously and sceptically by some members (see for example Extract 16).

Whilst the analysis has deliberately resisted 'methodological nationalism' as an overarching approach, at this stage it must nevertheless recognize the role of national variables (i.e. the 'national' specificity of certain discourses or topoi) in the articulation of one's Europeanness. However, the interplay between 'national' and European discourses did not follow widely generalizable patterns. Instead, in members narratives, the interdiscursivity and indexicality of nationhood and Europeanness tapped into collective and, at the same time, individual repertoires of meanings and often lay in the contextuality of certain forms of belonging. In other words, nationhood and Europeanness often represented discursive resources which were functional to the realisation of particular strategies or discursive purposes thus allowing for multicausal and, at times, contradictory identification processes with different communities of relevance. Overall, in members' discourses, collective identities such as national, European, transnational or cosmopolitan were thus primarily constructed around 'floating nodal points' i.e. powerful social imaginaries capable of providing 'narrative stability' but also instrumentally defining antagonistic boundaries between different groups and interests (e.g. 'what is Europe' and 'who is inside or outside Europe') in relation to which members, as social actors, were able to position themselves.

6.1.5   A transnational conceptualisation of Europeanness

An overall consideration deriving from the analysis is that, rather than representing an identity *per se*, transnationalism operated as an ideological lens or a general socio-cognitive reference framework providing members with critical and reflexive perspectives on the meaning of their identities, i.e. their (physical and social) locations in transforming spaces. In this sense, by indexing the historical transformation of relations between (national) groups, discourses of transnationalism urged most members to negotiate their *national habitus* by associating themselves with and by dissociating themselves from culture-specific conceptualisations of Europeanness. Similarly, the indexicality of transnationalism (differently conceptualised as a rejection of nationalism, mobility, world democracy, and affirmation of cosmopolitan ideals of openness and equality) offered members opportunities for imagining society anew. The analysis has therefore suggested that the specific framing of 'transnational Europe' 'sutured' (Hall 1992) both collective and individual levels of identities as, on the one hand, it gave members 'ontological security' and continuity to their personal narratives whilst, on the other, it shaped their perspectives of the world and their social actions. Furthermore, through such a framing, members were able to negotiate global and local dimensions often (re)constructing multiple, cross-cutting, hybrid and overlapping affiliations with European referents via the metaphorical expansion and progression of an imagined community. It is thus possible to conceptualise Europeanness as represented and enacted by members from different discursive 'locations' and linguistically realised through different deictic centres, in other words, different 'here' and 'now' of the imagined European space.

Trading from such a conceptualisation (and in the light of the considerations made so far in discussing the data), it might be helpful to visualize the results of this study by means of a diagram which, in broad terms, interprets *Europeanness as the expansion of community of relevance on a continuum from 'nation-centric' to 'cosmopolitan' levels* as illustrated by Figure 10. It is important to underscore that nation-centric perspectives emerged in the data only with a minority of 'outliers' and that members' discourses were far more frequently oriented towards the Eurocentric and cosmopolitan ends of the continuum. The different relevance of these orientations has therefore been reflected in the diagram by the different sizes of the 'dots' and of the 'arrow'. In order to help contextualize the scope of this continuum, a table has also been provided with a heuristic dichotomisation of different understanding of identities, transnationalism and Europe at either pole of the continuum. This will be further discussed below.

Figure 10 A diagram representing the expansion of 'imagined' community along a nation-centric to cosmopolitan continuum

POLY-
CENTRIC/COSMOPOLITAN

EURO-CENTRIC
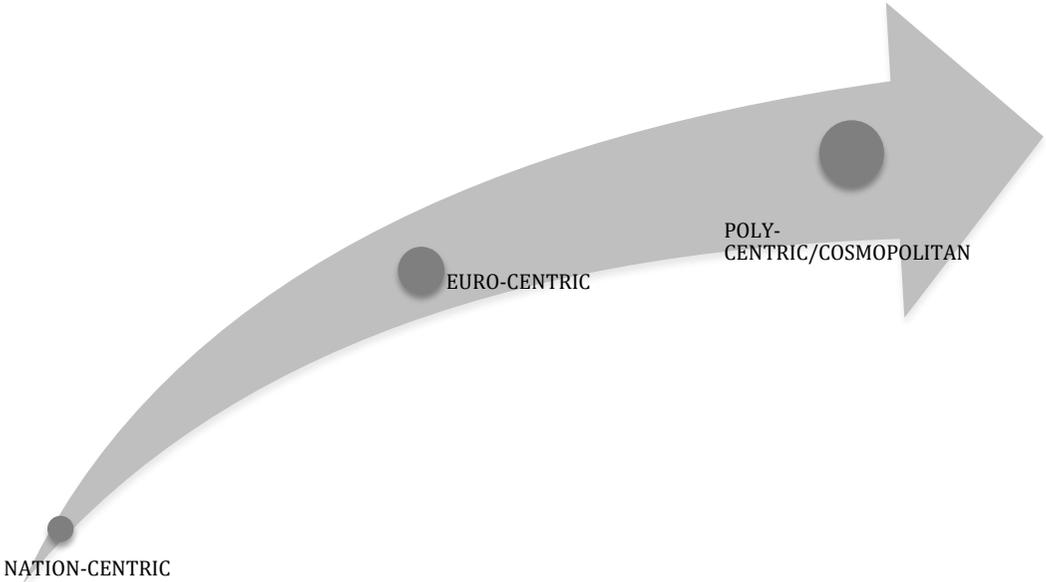
NATION-CENTRIC

THE TWO ENDS OF THE NATION-CENTRIC/EUROCENTRIC/POLYCENTRIC CONTINUUM	
NATION-CENTRIC	COSMOPOLITAN
- Banal or 'weak' transnationalism	- Reflexive or 'strong' transnationalism
- Europeanness as a way of being	- Europeanness as a way of belonging
- 'Thick' understanding of identities	- 'Thin' understanding of identities
- Nationhood mutually compatible with Europeanness (accommodated)	- Nationhood incompatible with Europeanness (otherised, rejected)
- European project as a goal	- European project as an experiment
- Convergence EU/Europe	- Divergence EU/Europe

From a nation-centric perspective Europeanness represents a projection of national identities on a European trajectory. In other words, the nation-centric stance accepts/validates the world order of states and it conceives of EU-rope as the sum of its parts, that is a 'union of states'. From this perspective, transnationalism represents the individual or collective ability to connect across borders through different practices of mobility, cultural exchange, and so on, therefore suggesting a 'weak' interpretation of the term. Intra-state mobility and the 'coming together' of different cultures are valued positively, however, they mainly represent 'ways of being', whilst belonging remains primarily indexed to the reproduction of national identities albeit accommodated with European referents. By and large, therefore, these views align themselves with Risse's theory on the process of 'Europeanisation' of national identities discussed on page 56.

By contrast, at the opposite end of the continuum, a cosmopolitan framing of transnationalism conceives of it as a consequence of the 'natural' interconnectedness of the world, which is not only instantiated in every-day practices but also emphatically recognised as the universality of mankind. Through such a reflexive perspective, for example, Europeanness can be interpreted as a 'node' capable of interconnecting individuals with a wider cosmopolitan 'network' of individuals and experiences. Through the deterritorialisation of one's cultural location, the transportability of one's civic engagement, and the deconstruction of the 'container theory of society', a cosmopolitan social order is no longer reliant on the core-periphery logic and, as such, can thus be defined as polycentric as it allows for multiple social positionings. In this case, Europeanness can represent a salient way of belonging, an intermediate and not exclusive stage linking the local with the global, or, in other words, a proxy for world citizenship. In these cases identification with Europe would often represent the link between local and global dimensions of

belonging, or a 'gateway' to world citizenship that enabled some members to sidestep the process of identification with a national community. Furthermore, as illustrated in the analysis, although members' self-perception as a community of Europeans was often co-existent with an interpretation of Europe as a civic and a political project, such a project was not coterminous with or necessarily driven by the EU.

The data has suggested that most members constructed their Europeanness through frames that exist between the Euro-centric and the cosmopolitan poles described above (i.e. local and global). By and large, these views tended to recognize the European space as a geo-political entity of its own, founded on social and democratic 'European' interests deemed to be above the national ones. In this case, whilst European identity was sometimes represented by members as 'brought along' by individuals in some cultural and historical forms, it was often represented as 'brought about' by participation in a mutual project and as a tool to shape the democratic society at large. Similarly, whilst the transnationalisation of the European space was discursively constructed through the removal of physical and ideological borders inside the European space, it was equally represented as the product of global dynamics of interconnectedness. Hence its relevance extended beyond the European space. Overall, the discursive construction of a community of Europeans from a Euro-centric perspective produced a variety of representations in which the outer borders of the European space were equally invoked to highlight the potential of expansion of its inside as well as to 'contain' and represent Europe as a cohesive community *vis-à-vis* other blocs/groups (e.g. 'the Americans'). As shown by the analysis, therefore, the term Europe emerged as a 'floating signifier' that members used to index Euro-centric and cosmopolitan views alike.

In broader terms, the analysis has also highlighted how the imagination of Europeanness among most members related to an overall

process of 'rescaling'[120] (Keating 2013) of territory, interests, social ties, and organisation of community. Through such a process, along with the deterritorialisation and the dissociation of certain spatial/functional features of boundaries and cultural markers of identity (e.g. languages), one could also recognize the recontextualisation of political and social discourses of community at a transnational level, that is in-between the 'spatial determinism' of nation-states and more idealistic forms of world citizenship.

The different conceptualisations of 'European spaces' among members have also crucially pointed to the fact that 'rescaling' of boundaries can redefine different communities of relevance and, at the same time, can impact on the inclusion and exclusion of its members. This points to the critical question as to whether the transnational narrative of community does away with groups or whether it just replaces national discourses at a bigger or transnational level (Bauböck and Faist 2010). The data has shown that, in some respects, most constructions of Europe are still reliant on the power of 'associative relations' (*demos*) and 'shared space' (*topos*)[121] which might echo national narratives. The analysis, however, has also foregrounded members' desire to anchor their belonging to an ideal community which is typically open to diversity and generally aware of the world's interdependency and the danger of nationalism. From these perspectives the transnational narrative offers an alternative to nationhood in the process of imagining communities which crucially start from bottom-up and emerge in the public sphere through consensus, rather than being imposed from top-down. The tension, however, remains in how to implement cosmopolitan ideals in the European geo-political context and thus reconciling unity with diversity, universalism with particularism, globalised neo-liberalism with social

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[120] Keating (2013) refers to the rescaling of the European space as "the migration of economic, social, and political systems of action and of regulation to new spatial levels, above, below, and across the nation-state" (p.6).

[121] See Recchi, (2013, p.3)

equality. As the data has shown, the definition of Europeanness from a transnational stance confronted members with major 'ideological dilemmas' (Billig 1988). For example, the definition of a community based on 'European' values seems at odds with a cosmopolitan perspective that downplays the cultural centrality of Europe. Similarly, the permeability of a European space *vis-à-vis* other spaces contradicts certain institutional and public discourses that make sense of Europe as a 'fortress' with a distinct inside and outside (Balibar 2009).

Unfortunately these questions are beyond the scope of this study and therefore must be left for future research, however, they can usefully integrate existing understanding of the tensions and ambivalences in the construction on European identities, thus expanding on existing interpretations of such antinomies (see for example Wodak and Weiss (2005)) and helping with the framing of further investigation. Trading on this point, the contribution of this study to the advancement of the CDA literature on Europe and transnationalism and further avenues of research are discussed in the final chapter below.

6.1.6   Summary

This chapter has presented and discussed the results of the analysis in order to answer the research questions. The 'thematic analysis' in section 5.2 discussed the key topics emerging from focus groups and individual interviews whilst in section 5.3 the 'in-depth' analysis discussed in detail strategies, topoi and linguistic realisations. Sections 6.1.3, 6.1.4, and 6.1.5 have discussed two distinct linguistic features that emerged from the analysis: the metaphorical scenario of spatial dynamics and the indexicality of certain realisations of members' locations pointing to

different frames of Europe between nation-centric and cosmopolitan perspectives.

7   CONCLUSIONS

This chapter brings this thesis to a conclusion by summarizing the original aims of this study, the development of research questions and how these were addressed theoretically and methodologically. It will then summarise the findings and highlight the contribution of this thesis. Additionally, this chapter reflects on the strengths and limitations of this study, and suggests how it is intended to further the research on European identities.

7.1   Summary of this study

This thesis started out as a quest to contribute new insights to the vexed question of 'European identity' from discursive and linguistic methodologies and, at the same time, by interdisciplinarily and synergistically calling upon sociological disciplines such as Political and Transnational Studies. In line with the DHA, Europeanness was approached through an understanding of its historical and current discursive and social transformations. Carrying out a review of how the CDA literature has dealt with the formation of European identities, it was argued that transnational social action in the public sphere still lacks sufficient academic attention. The main rationale for this research was then defined as aiming to fill this gap by providing views from bottom-up and transnational perspectives.

The empirical study collected and analysed the discourses of 'Europeanness' of members of European Alternatives, a grassroots association of citizens that characterises itself as engaged in building a transnational and democratic European society. The salience of

investigating EA, therefore, lies in the very nature of the organisational cross-border set up and, above all, in its advocacy for framing the debate over European issues within the construction of a transnational (civic) community. Such a specific context was also influential in the choice of treating the data at transnational level rather than through 'methodological nationalism'. That meant that the analysis was not concerned with looking at variation across national variables, albeit discourses of nationhood were clearly recognised as one powerful discursive element.

Following the DHA, the study was operationalised on three levels of contextualisation and analysis. Chapter Two set the scene by embedding the object of this study into the wider social context of transnational and European civil societies initiatives emerged in recent years. Subsequently, the specific nature, scope, and 'fields of action' of European Alternatives were discussed explaining how the character of this organisation fits the specific transnational and bottom-up perspectives adopted in the examination of European identities.

Chapter Three constructed the 'toolbox' for this research by exploring the notions of identities from social constructivist and 'late modern' perspectives which recognise the pivotal role of language in the construction of meanings. Furthermore the chapter provided an overview of the discursive production of social identities (such as national identities) as evolving amid dynamic socio-historical contexts and how Critical Linguists have accounted for the constructions of identities. The multifaceted concept of transnationalism was introduced explaining how transnational flows and practices have impacted on the imagination of community and on the 'glocalisation' of identities. From these premises, different, but interrelated meanings of 'European identity' were highlighted as relevant to this study: that of Europeanness as a political project, as a site of recontextualisation of global discourses, and as a historical process of transformation of 'nationhood'.

Chapter Four offered a detailed account of the methodology used in this study, including the nature and the range of data collected, as well as the methods of collection and a socio-demographic profile of the informants. The analytical framework used in this study (DHA integrated with some statistical data) was also discussed in detail in Chapter Four.

Findings were extensively presented in Chapter Five, organised around a taxonomy of macro/micro strategies and topoi, and followed by a critical discussion of such results. The discussion focused, inter alia, on two salient linguistic realisations: the scenario of spatial dynamics and the indexicality of the terms Europe, transnationalism and nationhood which were invested by discussants with a range of meanings including ideals of democracy, diversity, and equality. It was suggested that most members often made sense of their (European) identities, their cross-border practices and their situatedness through these two sets of linguistic realisations. Findings also revealed how European identities were typically produced through the recontextualisation of historical discourses of nationhood with distinct discursive patterns emerging whereby some members tended to accommodate their national identities with their Europeanness whilst others challenged, rejected, otherised or by-passed national referents. It was thus argued that, albeit extant, nationhood emerged also as extremely volatile. Moreover, findings also suggested the interdiscursivity of Europeanness, transnationalism, and cosmopolitan perspectives which were often conceptualised as convergent discourses. In this sense, this study has suggested that one of the members' frequent narratives of Europeanness was the expansion and progression of community towards ideals of equality and world citizenship.

A model was proposed that captures this dynamic as a continuum and relates it to three frames of one's 'situatedness' in the social space: nation-centric, Euro-centric, and cosmopolitan or poly-centric. These three 'locations' were also related to different conceptualisations of the European 'project' which at the nation-centric end broadly overlapped the

EU's vision whilst at the cosmopolitan end regarded it as an experiment of transnational citizenship to be replicated worldwide. It was highlighted how, for most members, the transnational dimensions of their European identities often lay between these two poles and how Europe was often discussed as a 'nodal point' and ambivalently represented as an open and closed space with tensions in the definition of 'insiders' and 'outsiders'. Moreover the analysis has suggested that, for EA members, the construction and transformation of Europeanness is not a linear process but, rather, a dialectic one which is achieved via multiple and dynamic identification processes with different communities of relevance and that sutures both individual and collective narratives.

Drawing on these empirical insights, the following section will highlight the major contribution of this research, its limitations, reflecting on possible ways to further this study and reaching some final conclusions.

7.2   Contribution of this study

This study has contributed to the advancement of knowledge on European identity in a number of ways.

1.   Firstly, the data has been approached from a transnational stance, treating Europeanness as a series of identification processes occurring amid transnational fields, rather than along national variables. At the same time this study has clearly recognised the salience of nationhood as a socio-historical discourse.

Whilst the findings of this study by and large corroborate the literature on the multiplicity, fragmentation and context dependency of identities, they have cast a light on the historical transformation of discourses of nationhood, Europe and, from the specificity of the data

studied, the discursive interplay of Europeanness with 'glocalisation' phenomena. The findings have suggested that the dynamic interplay between different cosmopolitan, (trans)national, and local perspectives can be key in the definition of one's community of relevance and related processes of identification.

The analysis has also suggested that transnationalism can, *inter alia*, represent the individual awareness of globalisation that urged members to (re)construct their situatedness in a global society and thus to rethink the relation with the communities to which they imagine they belong (or do not belong). In this sense, the findings of this study support existing calls for treating the sociology of Europeanisation in the wider remit of global dynamics (see for example Delanty and Rumford 2005).

Furthermore this study has shown the recursive and yet 'liquid' nature of national and historical discourses in the construction of Europe, suggesting that it is in the transformation and volatility of such discourses and in their recontextualisation and embedding into transnational referents that often members made meaning of their locations.

2.   Secondly, whilst transnational dynamics can shift the imagination of borders and generate new spaces, this study has found no evidence of a global or unified 'European identity'. Instead, the insights have suggested that, since members treated Europe as a relational spatial concept rather than an essential one (Pries 2013), they constructed their European locations between and around micro and global dimensions.

Consequently, the interplay of identities anchored to the 'European space' with micro, national, macro-regional or global identities, as emerged from the data, does not support the logic of contained identities - for example as suggested by the Russian Doll Model (Herrmann *et al.* 2004) discussed on page 56 - but, rather, it points to the fact that

identification processes with local and global referents can work in fluid, self-reflexive and agentive ways complementing each other.

3. Thirdly, this study strongly supports a constructivist view of identities, highlighting in particular the mutually constitutive nature of language and social interaction. For example, the analysis has highlighted how members not only used the metaphorical scenario of *spatial dynamics* to describe patterns of mobility but also as a key cognitive and discursive tool through which they made sense of their own locations, of their connections with Europe and with the wider transnational society. This should perhaps invite us to rethink certain cognitive and metaphorical conceptualisations of Europe (e.g. house/mosaic) in favour of more dynamic ones (e.g. network, flows).

4. Fourthly this study has cast some light on the interplay of European and cosmopolitan ideals/identities. Whilst some members identified as European through the articulation of a (negative) relationality with an 'other', a large proportion of members constructed their Europeanness through a 'thin' conceptualisation of identities, i.e. driven by the cosmopolitan ideal that identities ought no longer to be constructed in relation to the 'other'. In this sense, although Europeanness does not necessarily equate to cosmopolitan perspectives, it can closely interplay with such perspectives by bridging the 'scaling up' of community in the reconceptualisation of nationhood.

5. Finally, this study has highlighted the salience of political agency in processes of identification as European/with European referents. The imagination of Europeanness as articulated and envisaged by EA members not only offered them opportunities for making sense of their 'glocal' locations but it was also key in their identification as European actors who are contributing to a democratic project, a consideration which may be relevant to the legitimisation of such projects.

7.3   Limitations of this study

This study has focused on specific bottom-up and transnational perspectives for, as it has been argued, they have been largely underexplored in CDA. Of course, taking these angles has constrained and shaped the analysis and, therefore, the results must be embedded in the very specific nature of the organisation under examination. Clearly, the high mobility, the age range, and the political commitment of the informants represented key variables in their articulation of their discourses of Europeanness.

Moreover, the results must be seen as limited by the partial number of branches analysed, the fact that informants were a self-selected sample and that my membership may have influenced the responses of some members. This study therefore cannot make any claim about the generalisability of the findings and cannot assume that a similar investigation replicated in the wider remit of the 'public' opinion, with similar associations of citizens, or even within EA would produce similar results.

In this respect the interpretive nature of CDA must be stressed once more. Whilst I personally believe the heuristic approach taken by CDA is a strength in the examination of complex social phenomena, I am aware of the challenges of such an ontological and epistemological approach to language. In this research I have therefore striven to minimize the bias of my interpretations by providing as much robust evidence from the data as possible and also by taking this study as a reflexive opportunity for my own exploration of (European) identity, in the awareness that there is an inescapability for researchers to become co-constructors of social reality

by decontextualizing and recontextualising texts in the process of doing research (Fairclough and Fairclough 2012).

7.4   Further avenues of investigation

The transformative nature of identity and society means that any exploration of processes of identification cannot be conclusive and although this study has achieved its aims, clearly there is much scope for further work on the issues covered in this thesis especially in the light of shifting cultural, social, economic and political contingencies that define Europe. A number of future lines of enquiry are therefore envisaged that might take CDA research on European identities further, building on some of the insights on transnationalism that emerged in this study.

In the first instance, European identities (treated as social and discursive constructs) should be further explored at bottom-up and grassroots levels as these standpoints have only been cursorily appreciated by the CDA literature. At the same time, research should continue exploring top-down discursive constructions of Europeanness so that comparison between the two could be carried out and provide significant insights. Moreover, as highlighted in this thesis, civic participation and agency can be key to processes of identification related to Europe. Supporting Krzyzanowski's (2010) view, social action ought to be central to further exploration of European identities and therefore I would particularly encourage any ethnographic investigation of social and political action in the EPS to take a transnational outlook on civic participation.

Further studies on European identities would also benefit from investigations related to transnational mobility and issues of citizenship since, as suggested by this thesis, these are crucial in the definition of

community, belonging, membership and ultimately inclusion and exclusion. In this regard, it would be worthwhile focusing on intra/extra-EU mobility *vis-à-vis* institutional and public discourses of 'Fortress Europe', especially in the light of how EU immigration policies have recently been shaped and how, at the time of writing, the debate over European mobility has increasingly featured in many public discourses and many political agendas.

From a different perspective, it would be worthwhile studying issues of transnational communication. In particular, contributions would be welcome on the negotiation of language ideologies in the context of the EPS, especially within members of organisations such as EA (including the examination of pragmatics aspects of different linguistic realisations across different languages). As this was one of the original aims of the study that I have only marginally been able to engage with in this research, I hope it will soon be food for thought.

7.5 Final Remarks

This thesis has suggested that the imagination of Europe as a community of relevance was produced through the interplay of several discursive dimensions and was influenced by multiple variables. Although the transformation of discourses of nationhood emerged as one key element, the construction of Europeanness was better explored and made sense of by taking transnational and bottom-up perspectives rather than as *a priori* taxonomy of 'national' variables. This thesis has suggested that the transnational narrative has the potential to drive (European) society further towards cosmopolitan ideals of peaceful and egalitarian coexistence of individuals. However, as I type these last few lines, I am only too aware that such a rosy picture stands in stark contrast with what

many would consider different 'realities' of Europeanness, whether experienced in every-day interaction or in 'high' politics. For this reason I will end on the very personal consideration that (European) identity may not be 'out there' but it should be hoped for.

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THE DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION OF EUROPEANNESS:

A TRANSNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

by

Franco Zappettini

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the

requirements of Birkbeck, University of London

for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

August 2015

VOLUME 2 OF 2: APPENDICES

I hereby declare that the work presented in this manuscript is my own.

9 Appendix

9.1 Call for participants emailed to gatekeepers

CALL FOR TRANSEUROPA NETWORK MEMBERS TO PARTICIPATE IN A RESEARCH PROJECT

Dear Trans Europa Network members,

You are invited to take part in a study that I am carrying out as part of my PhD in the Department of Applied Linguistics and Communication, Birkbeck, University of London. The study, which explores the relation between language and 'European identity', has received ethical approval by the University and has been endorsed by European Alternatives.

For this study I am looking for Trans Europa Network members willing to join a group discussion (focus group) or to be interviewed individually at a time and a place mutually convenient. The discussion will be run informally and you will be able to express your views on European issues.

You should expect the group interviews to last about an hour and individual interviews between 45 and 60 minutes. The group interview will be moderated to ensure that everyone is able to take part. Focus group and interviews will be recorded and your anonymity will be ensured therefore you will not be identifiable in the write up or any publication which might ensue.

I would be grateful if you would indicate your availability to participate in this study by emailing me back at: frazapuk@yahoo.co.uk

Many thanks for your help.

The study is being carried out by Franco Zappettini in the Department of Applied Linguistics and Communication, Birkbeck, University of London and it has received ethical approval. For any information please contact: frazapuk@yahoo.co.uk

9.2   Informed Consent Form

Department of Applied Linguistics and Communication

BIRKBECK

University of London

Malet Street,

London WC1E 7HX

+44 020 7631 6000

Title of Study: The Construction of European Identity through Transnationalism

Name of researcher: Franco Zappettini

The study is being carried out as part of my Doctoral Studies in the Department of Applied Linguistics and Communication, Birkbeck, University of London. The study has received ethical approval.

This study will explore the relation between language, transnationalism and 'European identity'. I am therefore interested in your views as members of an organisation engaged with European issues and European institutions.

If you agree to participate you will take part in an informal interview at a convenient time and place. You should expect the discussion to last between 30 and 60 minutes. If for any reason during the interview you feel that you would like to withdraw your participation you are free to do so at any time.

The interview will be recorded and the data analysed. In reporting data a pseudonym or a code will be attached to your contribution to protect your anonymity.

The analysis of the interview will be written up in a report of the study for my degree. Data may also be used for presentations at conferences and teaching and for publications. You will not be identifiable in the write up or any publication which might ensue.

The study is supervised by Dr Lisa McEntee-Atalianis who may be contacted at the above address and telephone number.

CONSENT FORM

Title of Study: The Construction of European Identity through Transnationalism

Name of researcher: Franco Zappettini

I have been informed about the nature of this study and willingly consent to take part in it.

I understand that the interview will be recorded and the content of the interview will be kept confidential.

I understand that I may withdraw from the study at any time.

I am over 16 years of age.

Name _____

Signed _____

Date _____

9.3 Socio-demographic questionnaire

– Are you: female/male/other?

– Which age group are you? [The following options were given: 18-24; 25-34; 35-44; 45+]

– What is your occupation?

– What is your nationality?

– What is your country of residence?

– If you have lived abroad in which country(ies) did you live and for how long?

– What is your first language (mother tongue)?

– What other languages do you know? (Level of proficiency 1=basic – 5= fluent)

– How would you describe yourself? [The following (non-exclusive) options were given:]

– A national of my country (e.g. British, Greek, etc.) only

– European only

– Primarily national then European

– Primarily European then national

– Transnational

– Other (please specify)

– Would you please provide some feedback on today's discussion

9.4 Transcript London focus group (pilot)

FZ: Ok, thank you for agreeing to partic.. participate to this , er chat (..) don't worry, er, I'm not looking for right or wrong answers, I'm just interested on your views, what you think about Europe (…) eh, perhaps we could start by briefly introducing ourselves, so if you could you say your

name where you're from and what your interests in European issues are (.) [name] do you want to start?

LO2: I'm from London, I was originally born to South London my mother's German my father is English I originally joined EA because I was really interested in this idea of what happens next politically and culturally and socially after... after this sort of century where we had an organisation of the world into nationstates and it seems to me that that's coming to an end, that's changing in some way and I was interested in what happens next

LO1: Hi my name is [name], I'm from Italy from, from Calabria... and, okay I am here in London just for a few months, for an internship with [name of the organisation in the field of human rights], I joined EA because generally interested in European issues (..) ehm, I think that Europe has been something of special (..) eh in the history of the world eh, (.) its something strange because also if you look at the juridical aspects of what we are, (..) so with the European Union and the (.) how we have created this political organisation after the second world war, to create a new world of peace of human rights culture so I agree with [LO2] there is something that is changing now in Europe and perhaps eh (..) we need more Europe than, uhm,   national states the classical, in the classical form (..)

FZ: okay, thank you and (..) can you ask you both to what extent the expectations you had when you joined EA have been fulfilled?

LO2: my expectations were...ehm of, very much more experimental way of looking at political organisations because there are (...) because there are (..) there really is the question of moving beyond the nation-state, moving beyond, hum ways of organising aeh ehm politics and and is... and for my sense I think it's often been very easy ehm , when talking about Europe people just think about Europe just being a big state, just being a very big state and not have that sort of... additional creativity to think that it's NOT simply one big state but actually it is something different, it's not a state any more and that in those senses those are the aspects I, I wanted to play with and experiment with more and have sort of more creativity with and so in that sense ehm ehm ehm, I, I, I think there's more that could be done....

LO1: yes (..) pretty much the same for me (.) although I've only joined EA very recently so (...) yes (..)

FZ: ok, and then would you define yourself as a European? I mean, what (..) could you explain what Europe means to you?

LO2: (..) so, it's a hard question (..) okay I define myself as a European and (..) we share differing cultures, but also a common ground of some cultural elements so I know that the languages are different but ehm (...) in some, (.) on some aspects we have the same points of view of view and (...) I didn't understand this difference before my exchange with this experience in the US but before I was thinking that the Europeans of different nations have, are (..) were very different but it's not in that way we(...) have so(.), some (..) common aspects like the respect for human rights but also of of some (..) eh aspects of the social welfare that may be the Americans don't have(.), okay, there are differences between the Scandinavia and I don't know, Spain, but there is a common ground social welfare and other point of views (...)

FZ: Ok, thank you [name] and what about you [name]?

LO2: well, in terms of (..) I do think of myself as being European, ehm, but that's simply a way of, I think avoiding having to decide whether I'm British, English or German (.) so it's far simpler for me to simply say that I am European than to sort of say I am half English eh.. whatever [laughs] and in terms of what it mean,s I don't (..) I don't think that I have it (..) that I give it a lot of meaning, actually, to be European (...) I just think that I was born in the continent of Europe, to parents who were born in the continent of Europe, you know, and whose own family was born in the continent of Europe, and that's just about as much meaning as I can give it and I am quite aware that you don't have to go very far back in history to have quite tyrannical and despotic Europe, and and I don't know (.) ehm (..) ehm I don't think necessarily that Europe (..) I mean it could slip back into tyranny and then it could still be Europe, so yeah I'm not sure that I'd give it a huge amount of significance just a little word (..) it's funny [laughter]

FZ: ...but that's absolutely fine...[everybody laughs] ...but in general what do you feel you have in common with Europeans?

LO1: so (...) ah, I think that we have the same point of view about democracy, you know, about human rights and (..) and other aspects like the respect for the environment also (..) we share a common view about our relations (.) so this was the influence also of the European Union, with the free movement of people around Europe, it's not so easy to do the

same thing in other parts of the world, so we feel ourselves free to move to other countries, so that we think that we are not so different from people that live in other nations at the European Nations (..)

FZ: right (.) and if you had to choose one element what would you say is the most indicative of your European identity?

LO1: for me, the most defining element of my European is the culture of democracy (.) yes, maybe it refers to the old nations of Europe, maybe if we have countries like Turkey I don't know they don't have a tradition of democracy in the past but (..) now I can think democracy, freedom of thought, freedom of expression ..

LO2: I think it is related to democracy for me I think there is this thing in Europe that it is okay to disagree which is very related to democracy, that is perfectly okay even if you really have a crazy opinion, it is okay to have that crazy opinion and that I think sort of become you know very important for Europeans even in contrast to, maybe, America, even in contrast to other, you know, other Western countries, that you have this sort of right to disagree to have an opinion no matter how strange that is a very central European for me

FZ: ok that's most useful, thank you, now, on a related issue (..) the organisation describes itself as transnational, and I was wondering if you could tell me what (.) well, what in your opinion is transnationalism?

LO1: for me transnationalism is the attempt to go beyond the state and so it's the understanding that we are a mixture of cultures, a mixture of identities so ....and this multi-layered structure refers to all our aspects, so it refers to culture, to identity but also, now with the European Union, to our political and juridical system, that some argue that we have a multilevel constitutionalism, and this is strange if you make a reference to the past so from me this is transnationalism...

LO2: in my view transnationalism is simply that you accept that there are nations that there are groups, linguistic groups or cultural groups, that there are differences between one another, but that because you accept that there is a transnational link between them, you say it's not the end of their ability to communicate, (.) people one another simply because you have a different background different linguistic identity or cultural identity or history or whatever, but actually there is a possibility for you, to find your similarities as well as your differences and (.) and that's simply what the transnational part of EA is that's what it means to me

FZ: ok, picking up on differences , linguistic differences in Europe are often cited as a sign of diversity but also a potential obstacle to a 'closer Union', how do you feel about it?

LO2: I largely agree, but, my views have developed somewhat in an opposite direction from the people who necessarily want a closer union

that, I actually quite like this transnational thing (..) you're not trying to raise differences between people but, actually, you're saying that, actually, erm, it's great that there are differences and actually (.) what we, we, we, are simply doing is looking for ways to organise, so that different groups can live productively and in peace with one another (.) we don't necessarily have to raise the differences you know we (..) that's what the states have operated throughout the last few hundred years, and it resulted in genocide it resulted in em (..) eh oppression, (..) let's not try to reproduce that idea on a greater level, let's say, actually, that's where we got it wrong, let's embrace our differences and let's live with our differences and that's good, that's great, that's productive, ah…

LO1: yes, I agree because Europe has this beautiful aspect, okay, it's going to create a political demos, not a cultural ethos, in the Greek sense, so this this is the difference the European, Europe don't want to eliminate the differences between cultures and people but it respects the differences and focuses on the common ground that we have…

FZ: so for example the EU Commission is encouraging citizens to learn 2/3 community languages on top of their mother tongue and (.) so as Europeans how important do you feel it is to know other languages?

LO2: I think it's very important, I think ehm I think it's interesting that they emphasise the 2 languages, because simply in most countries in Europe, if you said you had to learn one other language apart from your mother tongue people would learn English, and then you and up in a situation that people living on one side of that....let's say people in Romania were speaking to people in Bulgaria in English you know and they're not speaking to each other in Romanian or Bulgarian and that's a real shame ehm so yeah, I mean ehm , uh I I think simply the way that ehm you... speak in a different language makes you think slightly differently uhm and makes you behave slightly differently uhm uhm it's so enriching, uhm uhm to each individuals' life as well as you know natural and cultural lives it is it something that (..) it doesn't have to be limited to European languages either, I'd strongly encourage people to learn languages that yeah are from out of Europe

LO1: I agree (…) ehm learning more languages could be something, because you uhm … can change your mind about a lot of things, because you have the possibility to talk to people with different cultures and so you can see things from another perspective and… okay I agree that maybe it's a shame that a Bulgarian talks in English to a Romanian, but I think that it's a good thing to have English as a common instrument because people can use that language as an instrument to speak to everyone…

FZ: right, so do you feel that knowing 3 languages is enough to communicate and participate effectively in the European public sphere?

LO2: I would say that learning one language is enough to participate in the public sphere, I mean even if it's not English even if it's another language, I'm in [? unclear] you know you participate again, first in your local sphere, uhm uhm, and you always have the ability to have translation, ought to have other things because I mean you know I think it's beneficial for the individual to have more languages, to be able to speak more languages, and understand more but, I don't think, it is crucial I don't think people are excluded, because they don't speak more than one language

LO1: it depends on where you live, because if you are English and you learn French and Spanish, I think it's enough maybe if you are Italian or Romanian, two languages like maybe French and Spanish, yes you can participate but without English is not the same

FZ: in that case, would you say you felt more distant from another European if neither of you could speak the same language?

LO1: Yeah, I would

LO2: yeah definitely

FZ: so referring to your activity within EA what language(s) do you use when communicating with other Europeans?

LO: Typically when I've worked in other places I've used the language of the country that I lived in (…) even when I've been working with other Germans in France, we'd speak French with one another, even when our French is bad as mine is [laughs] we oblige ourselves and that's the way it is (…) in a sense the trans-Europe network has been a bit of exception with this because everybody speaks English which is a bit said in my view …[laughs]

FZ: E, I know that your experience in this organisation is very limited but do you want to comment?

LO1: ehm,….no, no that's ok

FZ: [name] you mention this earlier, in many contexts English has emerged as Europe's de facto lingua franca and here we have an ideal situation because we have a native speaker and a non-native speaker. How do you feel about using English for 'transnational communication'? [name] do you feel advantaged? [name] do you feel disadvantaged?

LO2: I would say definitely advantaged, I would say following on from my previous answer that, if I ever had to negotiate a contract, I'd make a point even in different countries of using English if it's all possible simply because it gives a slight advantage to do things like that in your native tongue and that (…) that's just the way it is (…) yeah definitely there is an advantage in speaking your native tongue

LO1: I agree because in London, in England and also in other countries you need uhm (..) English at a native speaker level so they require that particular level and for me is no good so I feel disadvantaged (..)

FZ: on a slightly different point though still related to this subject...well some have criticised the EU approach to ML because despite being egalitarian in principle the actual situation is more complex, for example by recognising 23 official languages the EU has effectively adopted only the official languages of each member state but not regional or immigrant languages. Another issue is that the Commission and other EU institutions use a limited number of working languages (mainly English and French and to a lesser extent German). How do you feel about these issues? Do you see any contradictions?

LO2: I think they are just historical, they are a little bit uncomfortable but if it was decided that everybody would have ...or that the lingua franca of the EU institutions could be Maltese then everybody would have to.. you know take a break for the next 3 or 4 years and learn Maltese and then get together again, it's, it is just not practical ....the biggest, the widest spoken languages in Europe in that order aren't they, they are English French and German and that's the reason they're spoken purely for a practical reason ...ehm it's a bit unfortunate maybe everybody should learn Maltese or there should be the greater interest for the other languages but I just think that purely as a practical or historical fact it's you know probably something which is going to have to learn to live with

LO1: yeah I agree it's for a practical need that we use English, French and German you know because there are a lot of people who speak these languages and so... yeah

FZ: so do you agree with Italian writer Umberto Eco that "the language of Europe is translation", or do you see any alternatives?

 LO2: again I think it's almost the point of what Europe is! I think it is a positive thing, I mean you can choose to see as a positive thing ...without translation you don't have differences you don't have this understanding and appreciation of difference the opposite of translation is that you force everyone to speak English or you force everyone to speak French I think translation is key I think is a very positive thing I think it's very good

LO1: I agree, also because every language has their own aspects, it's not easy sometimes to translate ... the last days I've been at the judicial review of the Digital Economy Act at the Royal Court of Justice and the judge asked the claimants to say the same words in French in the European directive so because every ...it was liability and the French word was *responsibilite* ..because translation is important but I think that sometimes just sometimes with translation is difficult to give the same meaning to words

FZ: I'd like to pick your brain on this....According to a Eurobarometer survey on languages published in 2006 70% of Europeans think that "Everyone in the EU should be able to speak a common language". What's your view?

LO2: I don't know I guess I'd sort of disagree, I mean it probably would could be useful if everybody spoke English but I don't …

LO1: yes it could be useful but not essential and also it's difficult I mean if you think young people now they have the possibility to go abroad yes it's easier but you can think about maybe people who work in the countryside who don't' have a high level of education it is difficult to learn another language I know a lot of people that went abroad and for 40 years they didn't speak the language of the place where they lived…

FZ: great thank you, …now…. Finally if you were a policy advisor to the Multilingualism Commissioner, would you have any suggestions/recommendations for him?

LO2: I think the main thing is to have or to encourage people from a much younger age to learn languages or to give people access to languages and certainly that can make a big difference …. I don't think you can force people to learn languages but certainly when you're young if you have the opportunity and you think it's fun I remember learning languages when I was young and I think it was a lot more fun and now were trying to learn languages it's a lot more hard work [laughs]

LO1: I agree, for me it's important to promote the learning of other languages You don't have to force others to learn but also you have to give the possibility to learn other languages and so you have to promote the learning also improving the school system in all countries about learning other languages I know that maybe in Germany school is good and they learn more English than people in other countries like Italy so you have to give the possibility to learn other languages

FZ: Unfortunately I'm aware of time as we are approaching the end of our session. Is there anything that anyone would like to add? or any issue that you feel hasn't been covered?

LO2: ehm , no I think that's it…thank you …very interesting though..

LO1: yes, thank you

FZ: oh well thank you for taking part….

9.5   Transcript Bologna focus group (Italian version)

FZ: Eccoci qua, perfetto (..) ecco (..) benissimo allora intanto vi ringrazio per aver accettato di farvi intervistare come vi ho detto vi ho spiegato che questo studio …parla…. tratta della relazione tra lingua e di identità europea quindi come membri di EA mi interessano molto le vostre opinioni perché fate parte di un'organizzazione che a che fare con

tematiche europee. Questa è un'intervista informale, no? quindi siamo qua nonostante l'intrusione del registratore, ma è informale, il che significa non ci sono.... vi farò alcune domande ma non ci sono risposte giuste sbagliate, no? mi interessa veramente come la pensate e se volete, se siete in disaccordo con magari quello che viene detto ditelo tranquillamente l'unica cosa magari vi chiederei di non sovrapporvi, no? sulle voci perché poi diventa anche difficile quando quando è trascritta, no? però tranquillamente dite come la pensate allora tanto per cominciare di chiedere se ciascuno di voi può dire il proprio nome e che cosa fate all'interno di EA e da quant'è che siete con EA chi vuole cominciare...un volontario..

BO05: si, sono [nome], collaboro con EA da febbraio, sono una tirocinante e ...in questo momento mi sto occupando dell'organizzazione del festival TransEuropa e quindi degli eventi insieme a [nome] e [nome]

FZ: Bene, grazie

BO03: io sono [nome] e ...sono in EA con loro sto collaborando da un mesetto più o meno e faccio si anch'io mi occupo del festival un po' oggi manovalanza è un po' mi occupo di Europa sociale

FZ: perfetto

BO04: io sono [nome] sono qui non mese e faccio un po' tutto (ride)

FZ: il jolly! (tutti ridono)

BO02: io sono [nome] e sono...sto coordinando EA a Bologna da circa un anno e mezzo e mi sono occupato un po' di tutto

FZ: Benissimo perfetto

BO06: io sono [nome] sono a EA da...quattro mesi da gennaio e anch'io sono tirocinante come [nome] e loro..

FZ: Perfetto

BO01: sono [nome] e sto facendo video training da febbraio con EA però anche l'anno scorso avevo fatto la volontaria per il primo TransEuropa Festival

FZ: Perfetto, OK ehm, che cosa vi ha portato a EA, perché avete pensato di diventare volontari, membri chiamiamoli come vogliamo..[pausa]

BO02: diciamo che il mio interesse primario e la mia connessione immediata con l'associazione è a partire dal mio interesse per l'immigrazione quindi io mi occupo e mi sono occupata per motivi di ricerca di flussi migratori quindi diciamo che termini come flussi transnazionali, movimenti transnazionali sono questioni che si incontrano necessariamente studiando questi fenomeni quindi a partire da quello la.. l'interesse diciamo verso ciò che è transnazionale è stato immediate eh… non mi sono mai occupata di affari europei di questioni europee quindi quello è soprattutto un aspetto nuovo, nuovo per me però diciamo eh..nel momento in cui mi sono avvicinata l'associazione ho visto anche diciamo questo concetto di Europa in modo molto più ampio, più …in una prospettiva diversa da quello a cui era abituata e mi ha interessato molto esplorare un modo diverso di vedere l'Europa a partire da questo… questa prospettiva transazionale, quindi così (...)

FZ: ah, si, quindi (.) diresti che il transnazionalismo è, non so, un modo di vedere le cose, o cosa...

BO02: mah (…) dal mio punto di vista è proprio una prospettiva (..) cioè è il modo in cui la vedo io, è un modo di vedere i problemi le questioni superando quelli che sono le nostre normali (..) gli usuali modi di categorizzare (…) uscendo dal locale ma anche dall'idea dell'internazionale, insomma tagliando attraverso quindi è una prospettiva

FZ: mmh, perfetto, e per gli altri è lo stesso interesse, migrazione o avete altre motivazioni?

BO06: io sono entrato ad EA perché' la conoscevo già..ah..perché' io ero, ero molto interessato a tutte le forme di giornalismo partecipativo a livello europeo e EA ha una piattaforma sul Web di pubblicazione di contenuti giornalistici ..in varie lingue e così mi sono, ...ed è per quello (...)

FZ: Benissimo, e gli altri?

BO03: a me mi interessava molto per la ragione sociale dell'associazione l'idea di una cultura europea da creare dal basso in qualche modo insomma in qualche modo che fosse indipendente dall'Unione Europea in senso burocratico mi appassiona molto il soggetto in se'

FZ: Perfetto

BO05: mah io... anch'io sono rimasta colpita da...dalla novità che è rappresentata da EA stesso però devo dire che ho capito che cosa volesse dire questo aspetto transnazionale nel momento in cui ho iniziato effettivamente a collaborare e anche a....prendendo parte alle riunioni con con I membri degli altri uffici vedendo attivamente che cosa ..che cosa in concreto EA facesse

FZ: benissimo , volete...ah si vai pure

BO05: a me è sempre, cioè l'Italia cioè mi è sempre sembrata un po' troppo piccolina un po' troppo a guardare se stessa e quindi un'associazione così che espandesse un po' lo sguardo all'Europa mi ha molto molto interessato

BO04: io sono studentessa Erasmus

FZ: OK

BO04: sto già partecipando a un progetto internazionale e io...sinceramente stavo cercando un progetto perché... dovevo fare un altro progetto per la mia università però partecipando ho capito proprio far parte di tante altre cose che ha fatto prima perché ho fatto volontariato europeo ho partecipato in un paio di programmi di youth selection quindi proprio quello che ho fatto fino adesso e...che mi piace fare, che mi interessa...

FZ: e che cosa significa per te il transnazionalismo?

BO04: per me (...) transnazionale non è la parola giusta (...) c'è la parola nazione dentro (.) quindi forse un immigrante tunisino in Italia forse dovrebbe avere prima la cittadinanza italiana per partecipare a questo transnazionalismo, perciò preferisco il termine transculturale (...) non so ma forse per me la nazione è artificiale, forse perché' non sono nata in Europa (...)

FZ: Ok, ok, allora ti ritieni europea, cioè ti definiresti europea eh... lo chiedo a tutti

BO03: è una domandona (...) [sospira]

BO02: per quanto mi riguarda ho sempre avuto qualche difficoltà a definire a definirmi legata a qualche identità eh.. sicuramente non ho mai sentito anche forse per una formazione familiare non lo so il legame nazionale quella proprio è una cosa che non non ho mai sentito forte forse anche con il dispiacere di non sentire il legame rispetto, rispetto a certa memoria, cioè non l'ho mai tanto sentita verso l'Italia quindi il passo successivo potrebbe essere quello di sentirsi parte di qualcosa di più grande come l'Europa ...volevo dire che forse una cosa su cui sto riflettendo di più adesso che faccio parte una citazione di questo tipo e allora riflettendo su che cosa sia l'Europa e su come l'Europa non sia definita necessariamente da questi confini geografici allora pensandola in questo modo mi posso definire europea se definirsi europea significa semplicemente essere parte di questo sistema allora mi interessa poco sento molto più forti i legami con con tutto il resto del mondo e ho esperienze in passato di progetti con l'Africa piccole esperienze di collaborazione internazionale diciamo che mi sono sempre messa in connessione più ampie però se l' Europa la guardiamo come un modo per ampliare il proprio la propria località e soprattutto di connettersi anche con il mondo allora forse mi sento europea

FZ: e gli altri si sentono europei allo stesso modo di [Nome]?

BO3: cioè di primo direi ovviamente si mi sento europea però effettivamente se dovessi andare appunto a [?] che cosa significhi essere europei non saprei dire

FZ: OK.. [nome], volevi dire..

BO06: si volevo dire una cosa forse un po' controcorrente però io forse oggi mi sento molto europeo perché condivido con molti ragazzi europei la sensazione di declino che sta vivendo il nostro continente e noi forse lo sentiamo più degli altri e ah...è questa una cosa che riscontro , un elemento comune di declino che sta vivendo il nostro continente e non è e non è forse non sentiamo più degli altri questa è una cosa che riscontro proprio un elemento comune che secondo me caratterizza anche rispetto ad altri ragazzi parlo della mia generazione ovviamente che vengono da altre parti del mondo

FZ: OK, puoi spiegare un po' meglio.. il declino?

BO06: Il declino....ah

FZ: rispetto a..

BO06: il declino rispetto alle aspettative di progresso che ah.... che fondano un pochino sia la costruzione dell'Europa come istituzione, come assetto istituzionale sia come corpo sociale diciamo

FZ: ok perfetto è chiaro si...e la pensate anche voi ...lo vedete anche voi questo declino o..?

BO01: io non mi caratterizzo nel declino (ride) (ridono tutti) ....se dovessi dire..nel senso se dovesse dire che sono europea perché c'è questa cosa.. non è la prima cosa che mi viene in mente il declino, mi viene più in mente una cultura millenaria per dire, europei in quanto questa grande cultura più che il declino..

BO06: non lo so forse anche proprio rispetto a quello..

BO01: vecchio! E decadente..

BO06: si, vecchio e arteriosclerotico

BO01: ma io...ma però ti senti parte di questo...

BO06: si cioè nel senso forse mi sono spiegato male

BO01: no, no

BO06: non è che mi sento parte perché vedo questo, vedo questo sento la comunione del sociale, già effettivamente gli europei tendono molto a parlarsi addosso secondo me ultimamente sono molto egocentrici la loro storia millenaria è stato questo perché erano ....diciamo la comunità

dominate nel mondo e quello che succedeva qui in Europa influiva su tutto il resto del mondo e non sempre viceversa

FZ: Ok, ma voi ad esempio pensate ci siano, ad esempio BO01ha citato la storia millenaria ehm, no la cultura no?, la vedete come un elemento comune tutti gli europei qualcosa che può unire che può definire eventualmente una comunità europea comunità nel senso di di società diciamo insieme di persone ecco…

BO03: secondo me si [pausa] cioè secondo me rispetto alle culture fuori dall'Europa quella europee hanno delle caratteristiche comuni in qualche modo …cioè che potessero essere spiegate cioè decostruite alla fine credo che le persone riconoscerebbero questi aspetti di di similitudine …credo di si

BO05: anche se forse l'elemento che prevale è quello individualistico no? Il prevalere di una cultura sull'altra piuttosto che un elemento comune, cioè quello che si..si vede più che un dialogo è uno sconto tra i vari stati membri dell'unione è quello di..appunto di riaffermare una componente nazionalistica cioè la cultura come elemento nazionalistico più che come elemento di condivisione con gli altri stati

FZ: è così anche per gli altri, si..?

BO04: Per me quello che unisce un po' l'Europa (..) io sono nata in Russia poi quando avevo 13, 14 anni siamo immigrati con la mia famiglia in Germania e ora vivo in Germania, vabbè teoricamente [ride]… per me l'Europa, gli Europei sono consapevoli ah…di quella che è la loro storia, dove vanno e per me rappresentano anche certi valori la ..la democrazia … ok in qualche stato di più in qualche stato di meno …però in confronto con la Russia comunque ..sì però i valori democratici sono quelli che fanno la differenza e forse questo unisce in qualche senso…

BO2: si è proprio una questione storica … la democrazia è [ben?] radicata, forse però il problema è che non ci si interroga sul significato di avere la democrazia come valore cioè si dà per scontato …che ci sia un sistema democratico e quindi secondo me , si più che un essere un reale valore condiviso è una…boh è quasi una una una non lo so, un'eredità storica non sufficientemente elaborata..

BO05: si, e soprattutto quando la democrazia diventa in realtà una trappola nel senso per le minoranze cioè quindi il ..il prevalere della maggioranza sulla..a discapito della minoranza cioè bisogna un attimo..

[inaudibile] [entra qualcuno portando una bottiglia d'acqua]

BO06: perché' ahm...c'è una tendenza ad conservare proprio in presenza di forti pressioni culturali la globalizzazione nuovi sistemi economici nuovi flussi migratori diciamo c'è la tendenza a conservare uno status quo culturale che significa bagaglio eh ah tradizionale che significa ah patrimonio linguistico e un sistema di relazioni e quindi anche un sistema economico an..an..anche se è anacronistico tra le altre cose e quindi prevale la volontà conservatrice sulla capacità di adattamento perché esiste una dialettica fortissima intorno appunto al significato di democrazia e di cultura e storia europea

FZ: siete d'accordo che il conservatorismo sia l'elemento...

BO06: come prodotto finale intendo eh..non dico che non ci siano pulsioni progressiste innovatrici però (..) come prodotto finale (...)

BO03: io definirei invece ..per me è l'umanesimo la caratteristica centrale ..cioè la centralità della persona secondo me è nelle culture europee rispetto dell'individuo cioè almeno vedendo...cer ..cercando di vedere dell'Europa dell'esterno penso che vedrai questo vabbè ..lo considererei naturalmente un fatto positivo ...non so per cercare di capire l'Europa devo cercare di vederla dall'esterno e penso che alla fine potrei vedere questo ecco...

BO05: [inaudibile]

BO01: ma tipo rispetto agli Stati Uniti per dire cioè non c'è anche li non so ..

BO03: eh.. sì secondo me anche rispetto all'America, rispetto agli Stati Uniti, perché comunque ehm.. credo che ci sia, non lo so, un rispetto maggiore per le...cioè la persona singola, eh..per i diritti le libertà gli individui che si...in maniera ...appunto uno per ciascuno .. diciamo non ci sono magari cioè sono meno forti i meccanismi di potere le nazioni che ci sono anche fuori dall'Europa nel caso degli Stati Uniti sia i meccanismi di potere che l'economia basata sulle grandi imprese sui grandi capitali quindi penso , penso che in Europa sia anche più forte che negli Stati Uniti questo elemento diciamo cioè vabbè non lo so ....

BO01: più diritti ...ma può darsi tipo rispetto ...

BO03: più diritti beh si secondo me si...anche rispetto agli Stati Uniti

BO01: più sociale mmh

Tutti: si più sociale..

BO01: sicuro..

FZ: sembrate tutti d'accordo su questo ..quindi il modello sociale vogliamo chiamarlo? Il modello sociale europeo

BO04: modello sociale giusto vuol dire che ognuno paga per gli altri quindi non è così individualista come in America ...

BO06: ma paga in senso contribuisce o paga nel senso...

BO04: paga il dipendente le tasse dipende ...ad esempio in Germania la classe sono molto alte e giusto per creare questo stato sociale perché quello che non guadagna possa vivere digna..di..dignitosamente

BO05: brava!.....e funziona in Germania?

BO04: Si adesso sì però adesso la Germania ha tanti tanti de..b..iti [esita] come si dice? quindi non funzionerà più tanto secondo me e secondo tanti altri

BO02: però è vero questo sistema di welfare effettivamente dove più dove meno ha funzionato è anche probabilmente una cosa che dovremmo valutare tra i valori europei da non ..da non perdere cioè secondo me se mi devo mettere a lavorare in Europa adesso è difficile non essere, non essere presi dall'angoscia e anche cioè di quello che effettivamente c'è come valore ..[inaudibile] che non vengono sufficientemente sviluppati si tende a quello che dice BO06 secondo me si tende al conservatorismo la chiusura la fortezza Europa però forse è anche il fatto che..che.. parlando cioè ad

esempio della situazione di adesso dei degl'immigranti [rumore esterno] cioè chi ha l'atteggiamento più..eh. più..eh..più' con..insomma conflittuale nei confronti dell'arrivo tenda anche a distaccarsi dalle posizioni europeiste forse ci fa pensare cioè che l'Europa forse può servire anche a ricordare agli stati membri che ci sono certi ..eh..certi diritti certi, certi principi ...

BO06: l'Europa come istituzione?

BO02: l'Europa come istituzione in questo caso, si.. ma anche l'Europa ma anche l'Europa come storia appunto come valori come idea si come ideale, l'Europa come istituzione ..eh..come possibile...

FZ: adesso io tirerei in ballo la lingua e mi riallaccio al discorso fatto di questi elementi comuni e condivisi ..la lingua non è un elemento comune anzi è proprio l'elemento di diversità eh..da un lato c'è ..ehm ..questa tendenza a proteggere no? la diversità la diversità linguistica e questo è visto appunto come rispetto appunto dei valori fondamentali dell'unione europea no? dall'altro lato però viene anche vista come se vogliamo una difficoltà all'integrazione alla cosiddetta 'closer Union' cioè l'Unione sempre più vicina voi come la pensate su questa....?

BO05: eh...beh sicuramente la lingua è un elemento..uno degli elementi fondamentali dalle culture nazionali ..il fatto che sia necess...indispensabile una lingua veicolare che sia sempre stata cercata con già le lingue artificiali l'esperanto e poi e poi fino ad arrivare all'utilizzo di una lingua nazionale prima col francese e poi attualmente eh..con l'inglese chiarisce comunque la volontà appunto di trovare un ...mezzo di comunicazione ..una via per comunicare... però mi piace ...però mi piace l'idea che ci siano tante lingue, in realtà..

FZ: quindi..tutto sommato, non è necessariamente un ostacolo ...

BO05: no non è un ostacolo nel momento in cui, è chiaro, che c'è una lingua veicolare che sia quella per tutti , cioè basta che ...ehm... che sia chiaro che in ..in Europa si può comunicare con l'inglese che ormai è la lingua ....la lingua veicolare per eccellenza ...

FZ: si? Siete d'accordo?

BO06 ti posso chiedere di rifare la domanda forse non l'ho capita

FZ: certo.. allora c'è una grossa diversità di lingue in Europa e questa diversità incoraggiata protetta perché' fa riferimento al valore della diversità no? Però al tempo stesso alcuni dicono se vogliamo un'Europa veramente integrata questo è un ostacolo il fatto che ci siano tante lingue è chiaramente un ostacolo alla comunicazione, alla sfera pubblica alla partecipazione attiva ……quindi….anche questa è una domandona…

BO06: quindi come posizionarsi su questa linea?

FZ: beh tu come la vedi…siete d'accordo intanto che è un ostacolo?

BO06: mah si dal punto di vista…

BO01: è chiaro che chi parla… Stati Uniti tutti quanti inglese c'è …. è facile sentirsi tutti quanti uno nonostante siano giganti molto più gigante di….insomma è chiaro che è un ostacolo però cioè anche solo pensare a una lingua boh per tutta l'Europa? mi suona strano perché comunque in realtà anche a me piace che ci siano tante lingue quindi….

FZ: però ad esempio [nome] ha detto sì è vero c'è la diversità però il modo per comunicare poi lo troviamo insomma no? quindi non è detto che pur essendoci tanta diversità non ci sia poi la possibilità …quindi poi forse all'integrazione, non so questo è il tuo pensiero, però alla fine ci arriviamo..

BO01: magari bisognerebbe fare un insegnamento massiccio della lingua inglese in questo caso tipo per risolvere un po' l'ostacolo …

BO04 ma secondo me l'Europa alla politica un po' nazionalista su questo, Europa cioè gli stati europei su questo punto si proteggono soprattutto le lingue nazionali forse un'eccezione un po' la Spagna che ci sono quattro lingue tutti gli altri in Francia solo francese non hanno come si dice l'ossiitano, l'oss..

FZ: l'occitano, si

BO04: in Italia italiano vabbè forse il sardo come lingua però però non è ufficiale adesso non so..

Tutti: no no..

FZ: si certo c'è la nozione di lingua ufficiale perché ad esempio in Europa adesso ci sono 23 lingue ufficiali che sono esattamente le lingue ufficiali riconosciute da ciascuno Stato membro

BO04: eh quello secondo me rimarrà così però se parliamo della diversità bisogna anche proteggere quelle piccole lingue che sono dappertutto e allora ci saranno tantissime lingue bisogna definire che cosa è la lingua che cosa è il dialetto eccetera cioè proteggere solo queste 23 nazionale è ridurre un po' la diversità linguistica e dopo una lingua comune secondo me non sarebbe comunque realtà ....fantascienza ...

FZ: però è stato detto che l'inglese di fatto è una lingua comune

BO03: si secondo me col tempo l'inglese diventerà comunque ..secondo me sono le politiche di alcuni Stati che impediscono queste perché magari credono ancora di poter difendere ....

BO02: l'Italiano, ah..

BO03: no, [ridendo] il governo italiano non dice ancora niente della nostra lingua in Europa però forse altri grandi stati come la Francia e la Germania eh insomma continuano a insistere perché ci siano varie lingue ufficiali anche ane..d esempio nell'amministrazione pubblica a Bruxelles e Strasburgo è quindi questo secondo me cioè ritarda ancora di più l'unificazione che alla fine ci sarà lo stesso secondo me però sarà ...cioè viene ostacolato soprattutto da alcuni Stati dalle nazioni più grandi soprattutto la Francia Germania ...

BO06: secondo me la lingua non rappresenta un problema per un verso ma lo rappresenta per un altro cioè nel senso non rappresenta un problema nel momento in cui si parla di istanze collettiva perché comunque le istanze sociali e politiche non hanno lingua cioè nel senso sono ...cioè hanno una lingua comune, cioè esiste una lingua comune che non ...che non è una lingua parlata una lingua scritta ma una lingua emotiva fondamentalmente cioè la condivisione dei problemi di risorse non ..ah si pone di trovare una lingua comune perché è una lingua la si trova dopo per comunicare la lingua diventa un ostacolo per la realizzazione dell'individuo cioè nel senso l'individuo singolo può subire il...ah.. diciamo così la sua...il suo deficit linguistico ...però se si considera

l'individuo all'interno di una collettività il problema non si pone perché comunque la collettività esprime la possibilità di parlare più lingue non lo so mi viene in mente che per la protesta sulle quote latte non c'è stato il problema che i contadini e gli allevatori del Nord Italia non parlassero inglese per far valere la loro posizione...

FZ: Ok..

BO06: eh... perché comunque la politica funziona per delega fondamentalmente e anche la lingua può essere delegata per la rappresentanza dei diritti diciamo eccetera la lingua non rappresenta un problema potrebbe anche essere il cinese fondamentalmente.... rappresenta un problema per l'individuo singolo poi se invece si associa alla lingua al carattere nazionale quello diventa più diciamo una...una protezione del proprio status a livello ....a livello politico a livello immaginativo più che altro perché la lingua rimane comunque un mezzo cioè non è un contenuto di per se'

FZ: quindi se ho capito bene quello che dici è da un lato c'è il fatto che se vogliamo comunicare alla fine non ci stiamo a preoccupare di qual è la via più diretta no? cerchiamo appunto questa forma più immediata dall'altro c'è però un aspetto che è il riconoscimento ufficiale se vogliamo no di quelle che sono appunto le modalità di comunicazione e quindi a quel livello lì probabilmente è più difficile trovare il compromesso è questo?

BO06: si ci sono varie piani su cui la lingua agisce, dei piani su cui la lingua può rappresentare un ostacolo, e altri su cui può non rappresentarlo, e anche dei piani su cui viene tirata per i capelli proprio in modo che rappresenti un ostacolo

FZ: ok quindi proprio usata strumentalmente dici

BO06 si perché' da mezzo diventa contenuto...

BO01secondo me cioè per sentirsi europei tutti è un ostacolo, non per l'individuo che deve imparare un'altra lingua ma....cioè perché io me sento europea no? se io parlassi la stessa lingua di un tedesco mi sentirei più vicina al tedesco ...

BO06 come individuo

BO01: mi sentirei più..

BO01: si..

BO06 come individuo

Eva: come collettivo, come individuo inserito in una collettività che è l'Europa

BO06: si ma come collettività' saprai benissimo che che non ci potrà mai essere un bilinguismo cioè nel senso l'italiano [si sovrappongono le voci] ...parlare tutti inglese ma questo non impedirà di concepire l'Italia con un paese europeista

BO04: si però sarebbe più facile cioè se il livello così per assurdo se parlassimo stessa lingua sarebbe più facile sentirsi europei

[BO06 scuote il capo]

BO01: secondo me si..

BO03 più che altro una politica europea senza una lingua europea è impossibile cioè puoi fare...puoi prendertela con Europa usando la tua lingua ma non puoi propugnare una politica europea senza una lingua europea perché è una cosa è come dire esprimere dei contenuti e sociali politici è una cosa e..no..anche pensando anche il fatto delle quote latte cioè quando appunto devi lamentarti per un diritto che non ti è stato dato magari lo puoi fare traducendo dal veneto [ride] all'italiano all'inglese però avere una politica cioè un discorso pubblico europeo alla fine probabilmente non può averlo senza una lingua cioè'...quindi ...cioè ..ehm alcuni tipi di contenuti non può averli senza una lingua

BO06 si tu come individuo, no...

BO03: eh..

BO02: ma comunque dall'individuo ci devi passare un certo punto [ridono tutti] è vero

BO06 ma non è detto nel senso è stato fatto tutto quello che c'è come istituzioni europee che è una cosa enorme è stata fatta senza porsi questo problema comunque

BO05: si però secondo me …

BO06 adesso però inizia un problema grosso è il fatto che essendoci una grossa spinta dal basso a livello politico e una grossa condivisione una grossa discussione sul Web io posso commentare un blog italiano ma non posso commentare un blog tedesco

BO04 io si tutti ridono

BO01: ma appunto che è un ostacolo

BO02 però..

BO06 ma non ho un'idea sicura su questo la mia reazione istintiva mi dice questo

BO05: secondo me uno degli ostacoli a livello individuale è doversi confrontare con de madrelingua nel senso un conto è se uno spagnolo e un italiano parlano inglese, un conto è quando un tedesco e un italiano parlano inglese e un conto è quando un italiano e un inglese parlano inglese..

BO06: si è visto alla riunione..

BO05: eh si! Perche' c'è sempre il disagio per quanto appunto essendo una lingua che parli tutti i giorni non avrai mai la ricchezza di vocabolario che può avere un madrelingua e secondo me un passo importante potrebbe essere, cioè è anche quello che il madrelingua si renda conto perché molto spesso per esempio nelle riunione che facciamo noi c'è un madrelingua inglese e quando parla parla molto veloce perché non ci pensa probabilmente cioè o comunque da per scontato il fatto che tutti lo capiscano e nella comunicazione se non ti metti dalla parte

dell'interlocutore sei già un , hai già ..hai già perso quindi è fondamentale non solo da parte nostra lo sforzo di imparare una lingua di saperla meglio ma deve essere biunivoco il rapporto anche di chi la lingua lo sai già e parte avvantaggiato non poco insomma

BO02: si secondo me ci sono vari moltissimi piani insomma legati alla lingua alle lingue ad esempio c'è il fatto che io considero la ricchezza linguistica in generale appunto una ricchezza. Anche perché a me piace poi particolarmente studiare le lingue, mi piace conoscere di più, leggere in lingua lo considero un valore inestimabile, cioè poter leggere comunque un autore nella sua lingua originale è esperienza magnifica che vorrei moltiplicare più di quanto possa fare e questa è una ricchezza che secondo me va assolutamente mantenuta che dipende molto dal punto di vista culturale che quindi non è cioè io faccio un discorso molto diverso da quello della protezione nazionalistica della lingua che in Italia vabbè non c'e' ma ce l'avrei in altri luoghi..pero ce' il problema poi del rischio di separare questa ricchezza linguistica e e il fatto di continuare a usare lingue ricchissime come vocabolario e nella scrittura nella letteratura e puoi aver una lingua inglese burocratica orrenda che viene usata nelle istituzioni europee che è già più o meno quello che succede per cui la maggior parte dei documenti europei sono scritti in inglese che non sono madrelingua e allora cioè viene fuori il problema della predominanza dell' inglese e...c'e' da un lato il rischio di appiattire la lingua stessa inglese per cui è mai capitato di lavorare con degl' inglesi madrelingua che si mettono le mani nei capelli quando leggono le cose che vengono fuori dalle istituzioni europee e io capisco il madrelingua che dice cioè la mia lingua cìoe una lingua una lingua che non è necessariamente la mia lingua ma che è una lingua che io ho letto per esempio Shakespeare che viene poi malmenato in questo modo e voglio mantenere la ricchezza della lingua e...però ho la necessità come diceva BO05 invece di incrociare le esigenze di chi con la lingua ha letto Shakespeare e chi con la lingua soltanto i documenti e quindi c'è il problema della ..cioè' della predominanza linguistica .. secondo me in questi due sensi sia perché una lingua che ha delle potenzialità incredibili viene sminuita sia perché comunque ... anche la posizione, non so se è chiaro, anche la posizione, di chi ha quella lingua come madrelingua e le vede sminuita hai in qualche modo rispetto agli altri non so insomma e quindi

[voci sovrapposte]

BO05: il fatto è che sono proprio due lingue diverse, inglese di Shakespeare è una lingua, e l'inglese Euro-English con le varie sfumature europee quindi che si inseriscono nella lingua inglese piuttosto che un progetto come il Globish quindi veramente un inglese molto semplificato di un tot limitato di parole che però sia accessibile a tutti perché adesso stiamo parlando di un livello alto anche cioè nell'istruzione la possibilità di,

mettiamo, anche semplicemente, non so, pensiamo anche alle generazioni precedenti alla nostra, mia madre ha studiato il francese a scuola quindi lei sarà sempre fuori da questo …

BO06: mia madre è francese…

BO05: è vero, figurati la tua…[ride]fino a trenta, venti, trenta anni fa c'era il francese poi il boom dell'inglese e allora come adesso c'è stata una politica prima sul incentrata su una lingua adesso su un altra quindi per permettere…. quello che verrà in futuro non lo però, per adesso secondo me è proprio necessario distinguere ci sono due lingue, una che è di lavoro e di comunicazione nella vita quotidiana, in tutto, e poi c'è l'inglese che è quello è inevitabile che sia..

BO06: quello vero..

BO05: si,..quello vero..

FZ: eh questo è interessante..

BO06 posso dire una cosa sull'onda di quello che dici tu secondo me noi stiamo ragionando come se la lingua fosse un motore della storia ma la lingua è un prodotto storico cioè nel senso la lingua è la conseguenza di movimenti politici e sociali non è un caso che si usa l'inglese come non è non era un caso che si usasse francese e se si andrà verso una convergenza dell'uso di una lingua comune europea non sarà perché cadrà dal cielo questa cosa sarà perché ci sarà una volontà primaria di convergenza che va al di là della lingua poi ci sara' il bisogno di metterla in pratica e quindi la lingua si adatterà a questa cosa però se prima non c'è una volontà di unione di condivisione che sia a livello politico sociale economico culturale non nascerà una propensione verso l'apprendimento di una lingua qualsiasi essa sia per quello è più effetto che causa secondo me la lingua in Europa …

FZ: che cosa ne pensate certi direbbero però la lingua è stato l'elemento fondamentale nella costruzione delle stato nazione eh..

BO06 no è stato il frutto di.. in Francia ha prevalso la langue d'oil sulla langue d'oc cioè nel senso è stato così cioè il popolo vincitore impone la lingua

BO01: però scusa se prendi l'Italia anni 50 Tv e l'italiano fu...cioè lì è stato imposto non è che è cresciuto da... è stato l'effetto di scelte dall'alto comunque

BO06 no è stato ..no ma è stato l'effetto comunque di una volontà di creare una nazione

BO01: infatti..

BO06: Dopo è venuta la necessità di unire l'Italia linguisticamente ma perché prima c'era la volontà di una costruzione in Italia della nazione

BO03: anche se secondo me la lingua è più il risultato cioè un aspetto relativamente superficiale non puoi creare un'Europa attraverso l'unificazione della lingua questo si..e' più l'unificazione della cioè della cultura comunque del...

BO06 della visione delle cose, l'esigenza del far capire alle persone le esigenze comuni anche traducendogli le cose

BO03 si credo anch'io sia più un effetto che ...anche perché è vero che secondo me è vero che in alcuni in alcuni Stati è vero che la creazione linguistica è solo importante per lo stato nazione ma l'Europa non sarà mai uno stato nazione cioè questo credo su questo non c'è dubbio cioè sarà una formazione federale diversa quindi non farei questo paragone

FZ: e quindi pensate che ad esempio è per questo che l'Europa non prende posizione rispetto al dire vabbè se anche comunque è vero che l'inglese la lingua franca etc. però noi non possiamo ufficialmente riconoscerla proprio perché ciò che l'Europa è o vuole essere è distanziarsi da quella modalità di costruire no? di costruire lo stato nazione e quindi quindi ritorniamo al principio che tutte le lingue sono uguali o.. non so se mi sono spiegato ...

BO03 si si io penso che l'Europa dovrebbe fare in modo che tutti sappiano l'inglese comunque cioè dovrebbe cercare di convincere gli stati a insegnare l'inglese però non credo che dovrebbe mettere come lingua ufficiale soltanto l'inglese

FZ: ok, ma in realtà le politiche culturali e linguistiche sono a carico degli Stati membri, quindi l'EU può solamente dare delle direttive, e quello che ha detto è che ogni cittadino dovrebbe imparare due lingue in più rispetto alla propria lingua madre e questo dovrebbe creare una società in cui si comunica meglio ci si capisce meglio culturalmente eccetera la ragione per cui ha detto 2 è perché sa o si prevede che una sarà necessariamente inglese e quindi proprio per evitare di avere questa uniformità... sono sufficienti secondo voi, è la politica giusta?

BO05: Secondo me si potrebbe ritornare sulla distinzione tra il Globish che mi sembra che in realtà una è una lingua di comunicazione cioè pratica funzionale pragmatica e l'altra una lingua che fa riferimento all'identità culturale ad esempio la lingua degli inglesi madrelingua con una relazione con connotati culturali ...se vogliamo il problema è che proprio una distinzione ulteriore una è una lingua e uno è uno strumento in modo tale da non fare confusione tra le due non innalzare una lingua veramente semplificata al rango di lingua una è uno strumento e una è una lingua, così

FZ: secondo voi c'è sufficiente distinzione percepita

BO02: secondo me non è percepita, cioè l'idea è interessante però non mi sembra che venga percepita e neanche insegnata in questo modo (...) il fatto per esempio che da quello che io so e che mi ha molto stupito è in Inghilterra che non so se non c'è l'obbligo comunque non c'è una particolare attenzione allo studio delle lingue straniere, è significativo, comunque poi io mi emoziono sempre personalmente quando c'è qualcuno madrelingua inglese che si prende la briga di parlare un'altra lingua no cioè ho una grande ammirazione

[tutti ridono] bravi!

BO02: adesso la stiamo mettendo molto sul divertente però in realtà penso che sia fondamentale che ci sia questo sforzo, a parte che, comunque io mi rendo conto che per quanto possa anche aver anche imparato relativamente bene l'inglese e francese o lo spagnolo poi comunque nel momento in cui posso comunicare e trovo qualcuno che prova comunicare nella mia lingua madre ho immediata relazione affettiva accademica istintiva mettiamola così comunque cioè anche se è semplicemente lo stupore "wow sei un madrelingua inglese e sai tre parole di italiano no?" non lo so, per cui questo aspetto dell'attenzione comunque all'apprendimento della lingua per tutti cioè di almeno una lingua straniera almeno uno probabilmente due per questo motivo per evitare di

passare sempre solo dall'inglese perché altrimenti si ritorna con il problema della predominanza che è molto evidente cioè

BO06 poi secondo me c'è anche un grosso problema con le lingue franche cioè una lingua molto povera impoverisce anche la comunicazione cioè faccio..boh mi è venuto in mente 1984 verso la fine del libro c'è il direttore della Psico polizia che spiega al protagonista che stanno cancellando un monte di parole dai dizionari ne cancellano e ne cancellano e ne cancellano e ne cancellalo perché' cancellando la parola cancellando la possibilità di esprimere un concetto cancelli anche il concetto e quindi una lingua franca ha questo di problema che può servire a comunicare più facilmente ma può anche impoverire la comunicazione per cui funzionerà come ha funzionato sempre ovvero che la lingua che fa capo ad un potere si diffonderà più facilmente e cioè non è un caso che c'è un boom degli insegnanti di cinese in Italia cioè un boom

BO05: però il concetto di di una lingua di ..di uno strumento di comunicazione che possa essere ad esempio l'inglese e quello non tanto di non... come posso dire... non di incrementare il numero di parole che tu conosci, ma è di partire tra un numero di parole che sia quello per tutti nel senso ora me rifaccio a quest'idea del Globish se l'idea è quella di proporre un vocabolario di 1500 parole dipende con chi ti relazioni cioè nel senso è ovvio che la comunicazione dipende sempre dal tuo interlocutore quindi se hai un interlocutore con un livello di lingua che sia elevato ...cioè nel senso dipende appunto dipende dal grado di comunicazione però se il tuo interlocutore ha un livello base sai che almeno quei concetti con quelle parole li puoi esprimere e lui capisce perché fondamentalmente è quello il punto centrale se lui non li capisce lui o lei, l'interlocutore non ha senso quindi il concetto è fare una base no? di una lingua che sia semplificata, uno strumento che sia semplificato ma che non necessariamente debba fermarsi lì poi se tu vuoi invece imparare l'inglese lo vuoi imparare bene nessuno ti limita però che ci sia una base comune capito questa è l'idea

BO03 ma che intendi per base comune?

BO05 eh appunto questo è un progetto perché mi rifaccio sempre un po' questo Globish nel senso che ci sia un una base chiara

BO03 cioè?

BO05 un vocabolario non fissato di parole con cui almeno con quello tu sai esprimerti nel momento

BO03 sì ma devi sapere una lingua devi conoscere la lingua

BO05 beh si certo almeno le basi

BO03: è una lingua

BO02: l'inglese

BO05 non è l'inglese perché non è l'inglese è un'altra cosa è veramente semplificata però è un livello base da cui tutti possono partire capito questa è una democrazia linguistica almeno da lì tutti partiamo poi oh ben venga il più però almeno quello che ci sia

BO04 ma io ho sentito per esempio non so se è vero c'è stato un sito Internet che le lingue possono essere classificate da quelle più facili fino a quelle più difficili per esempio l'inglese è classificato come una lingua facile e il russo per esempio come una lingua difficile cioè il concetto di dire che una lingua è più povera dell'altra è già non così democratico però ad esempio in italiano non c'è il concetto di genere neutro è solo maschile e femminile manca un mondo secondo me ...e già puoi dire che è semplificato in inglese non c'è neanche quello cioè non c'è il tavolo la sedia e quindi cosa è semplificato che cosa no non si sa non possiamo deciderlo (...) le lingue sono diverse non so in una lingua di questi popoli che vivono nella neve ci sono 40 aggettivi per descrivere come è la neve noi non abbiamo bisogno quindi è così relativo la domanda è se dobbiamo proteggere proprio ogni lingua il Veneto e il napoletano il sardo non so che o se proteggere proprio l'italiano non so

BO06 non è una protezione che viene dell'altro cioè c'è la protezione nel momento in cui c'è l'esigenza dal basso

BO04 ma la protezione per esempio se tu non insegni le lingue nella scuola sparisce molto probabilmente quindi come anche stanno cercando di proteggere il gaelico irlandese muore sicuramente fra qualche anno anche se hanno cercato di insegnarlo per esempio probabilmente fra cinquant'anni spariranno tantissime lingue perché non le insegnano nelle scuole tante lingue africane se insegnano a tutti gli africani inglese e francese tutte le lingue delle loro tribù così spariranno

BO06 ma è il movimento della storia questo sono morte milioni di lingue

BO04 sicuramente

BO06 e ne sono nate di nuove, eh nel senso non si può concepire la difesa dall'alto di una lingua secondo me perché essendo strumento la lingua segue il movimento della storia

BO04 allora possiamo togliere tutte le lingue europee e mettere l'inglese spariscono venti lingue

BO06 ma non spariranno perché la storia non si muove in quel verso li secondo me almeno ora

BO04 non so perché come hai detto tu prima il problema è che la lingua dominante forse è anche quella del potere economico e allora forse smetteremo di studiare inglese e ci metteremo studiare il cinese tra vent'anni

BO03 vabbè ma si possono fare delle politiche per diffondere di più delle lingue rispetto al delle altre cioè cioè se ritieni che è importante che ci sia una discussione pubblica maggiore in Europa fai in modo che in Europa ci sia una diffusione maggiore di una lingua ..lo puoi fare con le politiche anche se il potere economico è altrove lo puoi fare perché tramite le scuole insegni a ragazzini quindi cioè puoi comunque puoi agire per diffondere la lingua

FZ: ecco a proposito di politiche è interessante questo ..se voi foste un esperto che aiuta il Commissario europeo per il multilinguismo a scegliere le politiche linguistiche migliori cosa gli direste?

BO06: di farsi il segno della croce !!! [ridono]

Ok di farsi il segno della croce va bene altri suggerimenti?

BO03 ma non ho capito consiglio in che senso su quale lingue vanno insegnate?

FZ: ad esempio c'è la possibilità di ridefinire le politiche multilinguistiche

BO01: cioe' secondo me spingere su altre due lingue è bello ovviamente non so quanto sia possibile quindi io direi vai d'inglese e almeno quello lo parlano tutti

FZ: quindi tu vedresti .. prova a definirlo un pochino meglio ..

BO01: io non mi figuro per dire che in Italia in tutte le scuole si insegneranno oltre all'italiano altre due lingue succede solo nei]licei] linguistici e basta?

BO05: no anche alle medie,

BO04 : in Germania…

[si sovrappongono voci]

FZ: quindi tu vedresti ad esempio abbassare il limite di età se ho capito bene, a cui cominciare insegnare le lingue

BO01: ma io non so adesso qual è il limite dalle elementari esattamente? se non c'è addirittura qualcosa prima tipo giochi all'asilo no alle elementari non mi ricordo

FZ: vabbè diciamo se non c'è tu vorresti comunque che fosse introdotta no proprio come normativa e dovrebbe essere l'inglese?

BO01si

BO06 io introdurrei ...

BO03 il veneto! Ah ah

BO06: in televisione i programmi originali sottotitolati in italiano

BO01: adesso con il digitale poi io guardo tutti i film in lingua con il digitale

BO06 sì ma io lo eliminerei proprio il doppiaggio [voci sovrapposte]

BO06 perlomeno non dobbiamo doppiare i programmi rivolti ai bambini perlomeno quello

BO02 però un bambino che non sa leggere cosa serve... [si sovrappongono voci]

[ora tutti parlano insieme indistintamente]

FZ: scusate...eh..[attira l'attenzione] abbiamo ancora pochi minuti vorrei farvi un'ultima domanda rispetto alle contraddizioni del multilinguismo all'interno dell'Unione Europea dove abbiamo il Parlamento che usa la traduzione perché ci sono 506 possibili combinazioni di lingue e la commissione stessa che alla fine usa i cosiddetti linguaggi procedurali ma fondamentalmente si mettono d'accordo su qual è la lingua che voglio usare per discutere no che poi alla fine tendono ad essere inglese e francese e un poco il tedesco allora alcuni dicono ma questa è un po' un'ipocrisia, una contraddizione come la vedete?

BO05 è che poi la teoria si scontra con la realtà nel senso quando c'è una necessità poi... anche perché già mi sembra che la macchina della traduzione sia piuttosto pesante nell' unione europea quindi figuriamoci cioè è ovvio che sia così quindi si torniamo un po' al discorso che fondamentalmente... cioè già tre lingue in realtà... forse se si usa solo l'inglese... cioè è una questione pratica come fai a lavorare ...rallenta tutto

BO03 secondo me il Parlamento deve lavorare per forza in tutte le lingue perché è un organo di discussione per cui è impossibile produrre una discussione politica se non conosci benissimo i significati che vuoi esprimere ...già è diverso il discorso per le istituzioni esecutive il tribunale tipo la commissione e magari lì forse una semplificazione maggiore è più realistica non lo so

FZ: direi che siamo giunti alla fine a meno che non ci siano altre cose che volete aggiungere o dii cui non abbiamo parlato eh..domande?

[alcuni secondi di silenzio]

FZ: Ok possiamo finire qui allora... vi ringrazio molto per la vostra partecipazione

[tutti insieme] grazie a te

9.6 Transcript Bologna focus group (English translation)

FZ: Here we are, well ... that's fine then ... first of all, thank you for agreeing to this interview you as I... I explained to you earlier this study deals with the relationship between transnationalism, language and identity, and (..) as members of EA I am very interested your opinions because you are part of an organisation that deals with European issues. This is an informal interview, so we are here despite the intrusion of the recorder, for a chat. ... I will ask you some questions but there are no right answers wrong, right? I 'm really interested in how you think and if you want, feel free to disagree with what is being said tell the only thing maybe I would ask you not to overlap you talks because it can make the transcription a bit more difficult (...) enough housekeeping (..) so can I ask you to say your name and what you do within EA and how long have you with EA who wants to begin a volunteer [laughs] ..

BO05: Yes, I'm [name] and I've been collaborating with EA since February, as a trainee and ... right now I am dealing with the organisation of the festival and then TransEuropa event with BO02 and BO04

FZ: good, thank you

BO03: My name is [name] and I'm ... I've been with EA for a month or so and I also myself I take care of festival a little and also I take care of Social Europe [one the branch's initiatives]

FZ: perfect

BO04: I've been here for a month and do a little of everything (laughs)

FZ: jack of all trades! (everyone laughs)

BO02: I'm [name] and I'm … I've been the coordinator of EA in Bologna for about a year and a half and I have dealt with a bit of everything

FZ: Fine, perfect

BO06: I'm [name] and have been with EA … four months since January and I am also a trainee as BO05 and others ..

FZ: Perfect

BO01: I am [name] and I've been doing video training with EA since February although last year I did volunteer for the first TransEuropa Festival

FZ Perfect, OK uh, can I now ask you what led you to EA I mean why you have thought about becoming a volunteer or members as you want to call them ..

[pause]

BO02: Let's say that my primary interest and my immediate connection with the association sprang from my interest in immigration, and I have dealt with research of migratory flows such as transnational flows, transnational movements, these are are necessarily issues that are encountered studying these phenomena and then from that .. the interest to transnational Europe was immediate eh …although I have never dealt with European affairs or European issues before so, above all, it is a new look, new to me, however, say eh..so when I approached the association I've seen this concept of Europe in a much broader, more … in a different perspective from what I was used to and I 've become interested in exploring a very different way to see Europe starting from this … this transactional perspective, then so (…)

FZ: ah yes, so (.) would you say that transnationalism is, I don't know, a way of seeing things or what..

BO02:well (…) from my point of view it really is a perspective (..) I mean it is the way I see it, it is a way of seeing problems and issues overcoming our normal (..) usual ways of categorizing (…) coming out of the local but also out of the idea of international, cutting through so it is a perspective

Sofia per me transnazionale c'e' la parola nazione quindi forse un emigrante tunisino in Italia dovrebbe avere prima la cittadinanza italiana per poter partecipare a questo transnazionalismo io preferisco il termine Transculturale non non so transnazionale nazione è una cosa artificiale forse per me forse perché non sono nata in Europa

FZ: mh, perfect, and what about the others did you have the same interest in migration, or you did you have other reasons for joining EA?

BO06: I joined EA because I already knew … ah .. because I was, I was very interested in all forms of journalism at the European level and EA has a Web publication platform for journalistic content. . .in different languages and so 'I have … and that is what ..

FZ: Very well, and what about the others?

BO03: I did join because I was very interested in the name of the association with the idea of creating a European culture from the bottom up, in some way, yes in some way that would be independent of the European Union in a bureaucratic way (..) I'm passionate about a lot of the subject itself

FZ: Perfect

BO05: well I … I … I was struck by the novelty that EA represents, however, I must say that I understood what this transnational aspect means when I actually started to cooperate and in … .taking part in meetings with members of other departments actively seeing what EA did ..that thing in concrete

FZ: well, you want to … oh yes please.. go ahead

BO01: I've always thought that (…) Italy has always seemed a bit too tiny a bit too much inward looking, at herself, and so an association that expands its look to Europe I was very much interested in …

BO04: I am an Erasmus student

FZ: OK

BO04: I was already participating in an international project and I … honestly I was looking for a project because … I had to do another project for my university, however, I realized just participating to be part of many other things that I did before because I did volunteer work I participated in the European projects in a couple of programs for youth selection so that's what I've done until now … and I like to do, I'm interested in it..

FZ: and what does transnationalism mean to you?

BO04: for me(…) transnational is not the right word (…) there is the word nation in it (.) then perhaps a Tunisian immigrant in Italy should have first Italian citizenship in order to participate in this transnationalism, so I prefer the term transcultural, (..) I do not know but a nation is perhaps artificial to me, perhaps because I wasn't born not born in Europe (…)

FZ: Ok, ok so would you call yourself a European, I mean do you consider yourself European eh .. and I'm asking this to everyone…

BO3:big question!(…) [sighs]

BO02: as far as I'm concerned I have always had difficulties in defining myself tied to an identity eh.. certainly the national bond that is really something that I've never felt strongly also because of my family background… never felt for Italy therefore thee next step could be feeling part of something bigger like Europe .. this is something I've been reflecting on since I joined this kind of association reflecting on what Europe is and how Europe is not necessarily defined by these geographical boundaries, if I think of it that way then I can define myself as European … if defining oneself as European simply means being part of this system then I'm not much interested in it, in that case then I feel stronger ties with the rest of the world as in the past I have worked on projects in Africa, I have minor experiences of international cooperation wider connections … however if we look at Europe as a way to expand one's own locality and above all of connecting oneself with the world then perhaps I feel European'

FZ: and what about the others? Do you feel European the same way as [name]?

BO01: First I would say obviously I feel European but actually if I was going to [?] what it means to be European I can not say

FZ: OK .. [name] did you want to say ..

BO06: I just wanted to say something perhaps a bit against the mainstream but maybe today I feel very European because I share with many European kids the feeling of decline .... that has... that our continent is living through and perhaps we feel it more than others and ah ... it's something that I am finding...really a common element .. which in my opinion characterizes [Europeans] compared to other kids coming from other parts of the world I speak of course of my generation

FZ: OK, can you explain a bit better .. the decline?

BO6: the decline compared to expectations of progress that ah .... that are a little the foundations in the construction of Europe as an institution, as both institutional setup and as a social body , let's say

BO1: but I do not characterize myself with this decline .... (everyone laughs)

BO6: No, but I mean....

BO1:... old and decadent (in an ironical tone)....

BO6: yes old and arteriosclerotic [....] and actually I feel the social communion because [the Europeans'] ancient history was just this .... let's say the world's 'dominant' community and what was happening here in Europe influenced the rest of the world and not always vice versa.

FZ ok but do you think that there is an ancient history or a culture if you will with common elements, I mean something that unite Europeans as a community that can possibly define their community or....

BO03: I think that … in my opinion, compared to cultures outside Europe, European cultures have some common features, in some ways (..) I mean, if they [cultures] could be explained, that is deconstructed, in the end I believe people would recognize these aspects of of similarity [...] I mean, at least seeing …try…trying to see Europe from the outside I think this is what I would see…I don't know, trying to understand Europe, I've got to see it from the outside and I think that in the end I could see this.

BO05: although perhaps the element that prevails is the individualistic one, isn't it? The dominance of one culture over another, rather than a common element, what one can see more than a dialogue is a clash between the various states of the union and the will to to reaffirm a component of nationalism, so culture as a nationalist element rather than as an element of sharing with other states

FZ: is it like that for everyone else, yes ..?

BO04: for me what unites Europe a little (..) I was born in Russia then when I was 13, 14, my family and I emigrated to Germany and now I'm living in Germany well in theory [she laughs] and for me Europe, Europeans are aware ah… of what their history is, of where they're going and for me they represent certain values the… the democracy okay some states more and in some states less…. but compared to Russia however …. yes but these democratic values make the difference and perhaps unite somehow …

BO2: it really is a historic question … democracy is [well?] rooted, perhaps the problem though is that we don't question ourselves on the meaning of having democracy as a value I mean one takes for granted that there is a democratic system and so for me, yes more than really being a shared value it is…. dunno.. it's almost a a a I don't know a historic legacy not sufficiently processed.

BO05: Yes, and especially when democracy is in reality a trap for minorities in the sense that the majority ..takes over ..at the expense of minorities and perhaps we should …

[inaudible]   [enter someone carrying a bottle of water]

BO06: 'cause urm ... there is a tendency to maintain strong cultural pressures in the face of the new globalization, new economic systems, migration, etc. amd so say there is a tendency to maintain the status quo, meaning cultural baggage eh ah ah meaning traditional heritage, language, and a system of relations and therefore also an economic system an..an..even if it's anachronistic among other things, and then the prevailing desire on the conservative adaptive capacity because there is a strong dialectic around precisely the meaning of democracy and culture and European history

FZ: Do you agree that conservatism is the element ...

BO06: I mean as a final product eh..I'm not saying that there are no progressive and innovative pushes, however (..) as a final product (...)

BO03: Well, I would call instead ... for me humanism is the central feature ..I mean, the centrality of the person according to me is respect for the individual in European cultures that is at least seeing I mean, at least seeing ...try...trying to see Europe from the outside I think this is what I would see...I don't know, trying to understand Europe, I've got to see it from the outside and I think that in the end I could see this.

BO05: [inaudible]

BO01: but you mean like.. with respect to the United States you mean that there is not even there I do not know ..

BO03: well ... to me even compared to the United States, however, because ummm .. I think there is, I do not know, a greater respect for ... I mean the single person, the eh.. rights freedoms individuals who ... in a way ... in fact, one for each .. say there are maybe that are less strong the mechanisms of power nations that are also outside Europe in the case of the United States and the mechanisms of power that an economy based on large companies on large capital so I think, I think in Europe is even stronger than in the United States this element ...say ...[dismissive] I do not know. ...

BO01: so for you it is more rights ... perhaps but like in relation to

BO03: more rights yes, even than the United States ...well in my opinion ..

BO01: maybe more social provisions, right, mhh ?

All together: yes, more 'social' ..

BO01: sure ..

FZ: all seem to agree on this ...then do you want to call it a 'social model'? the European social model?

BO04: yes, the European 'social model' just means that everyone pays for the other, so it is not as individualistic as in America ..

BO06: but do you mean, everyone pays in the sense 'contributes' or pays in the sense ...

BO04: the employee pays taxes ...it depends ... for example, in Germany taxes are very high and they've created this welfare state because with what they earn they can live digni...with dignity

BO05: good! ... and does it work in Germany?

BO04: It has so far, but now, yes, but now Germany has many many debts [hesitates] how do you say? then it will not work so well anymore, anyway according to me and many others

BO02: But it is true that the welfare system, somewhere more than somewherw else, is probably one thing that we should count amongst European values ..trouble is that if we have to put it to work in Europe now is difficult, (..) it is difficult not to panick, but yes there are actually values .. [inaudible] that are not sufficiently developed we tend to say what I think [name] was saying earlier, there is a tendency to conservatism, closing fortress Europe, perhaps is the fact that ...that...that, for example now with the situation now of immigrants [external noise] some have developed some attitudes more, ..ehm. more..eh..con..well conflictual against new arrivals and ...people tend also to break away from the more pro-European positions and perhaps this should   make us think that Europe can perhaps also serve to remind member states that there are certain .. eh.. certain rights, certain principles ...

BO06: are you talking Europe as an institution?

BO02: yes Europe as an institution, in this case, yes .. but also Europe but also Europe as a history, as values such as the ideal, ideals…

FZ: Can I bring up the issue of language and I refer to the discussion of these common elements and shared ..la language is not a common element in fact is precisely the element of diversity ehh..on the one hand is ..ehm ..there is this tendency to protect linguistic diversity as this is seen precisely as one of the basic values of the European Union is not? But on the other hand, however, is also seen as a difficulty for integration the so-called 'Closer Union' what is your take on this subject. ...?

BO05: eh ... well certainly it is an element.. language is a key element of national cultures ..the fact that it is necess ... essential to have a vehicular language, that it has always been sought with artificial languages, esperanto and then and then the use of a national language first with the French and then English eh..it shows the desire to find a ... just a means of communication ..a way to communicate ... but I like ...but 'I like the idea that there are so many languages, in reality ..

FZ: right..so what you're saying is that is not necessarily an obstacle ...

BO05: no it is not an obstacle at the moment, it is clear that there is a common language that it is one for all, that 'just that ... um ... it is clear that in Europe .. you can communicate with English (..) English is now the language ... .the lingua franca par excellence ...

FZ: Does everyone else agree?

BO06 can I ask you to repeat the question, perhaps I did not get it

FZ ..sure…so there is a great diversity of languages in Europe and this diversity is encouraged and protected isn't it because it refers to the value of diversity right? At the same time however some people say if you want a really integrated Europe the fact that there are so many languages is an obstacle, and clearly a barrier to communication, active participation in the public sphere ...... then ... another big question ...

BO06: so how do I position themselves on this?

FZ: Well, how do you see it ... do you agree that it is an obstacle to begin with?

BO06: well, from the point of view ...

BO01: well it's clear that... in the United States all speak English ... there and it is easy to feel as one ... despite they're a giant ...well it is clear that it is an obstacle, however, the mere thought of a language for all of Europe sounds strange to me, however, because in reality I also like that there are so many languages. ...

FZ, however, [name] said it is true there is diversity, however, we always seem to find a way to communicate don't we? And she said that although there is not much diversity there is also the possibility ... so then perhaps, I do not know your thinking on integration, but at the end, we'll get there ...

BO01: maybe we should do a massive teaching of English in this case to solve the obstacle ... a bit

BO04: but I believe European politics is a little nationalist on this, Europe I mean the European states on this point in particular, protects national languages exception perhaps a bit in Spain where there are four languages all others in France, French just do not recognize the occi... how do you say, the oss...

FZ Occitan, yes

BO04: then in Italy Italian oh well perhaps the Sardinian language, however, is not official but now I do not know ..

Everyone: no no ..it's not

FZ: yes and the notion of an official language, for example in Europe there are now 23 official languages that are exactly the official languages recognized by each Member State

BO04: eh I think that will remain so, however, if we talk about diversity we must also protect those little lingueque are everywhere, and then there will be many languages you have to define what language is and what'dialect so that they protect only 23 national is to reduce a little linguistic diversity and after a common language I do not think it would still be true ... .it's sci-fi ...

FZ, however, it has been said that English is in fact a common language

BO03: I think over time it will become English anyway ..in my opinion there are the policies of some states that prevent this because maybe they still believe they can defend. ...

BO02: Italian, ah ..

BO03: no [laughing] the Italian government has not yet said anything of our language in Europe, but perhaps other large states such as France and Germany eh , continue to insist that there are several official languages as well as in the administration and published in Brussels and Strasbourg, so this is my opinion that delays even further the unification that there eventually will be the same just as well but ... that is hindered mainly by some states by larger nations especially France Germany ...

BO06: I think the language is not a problem on the one hand but it can be on the other I mean in the sense that is not a problem when it comes to collective inssues, however, because social and political issues have no language in the sense that they are ... have a common language, that is a common language that is not ... that is not a spoken language or a written language, but a fundamentally emotive language ...I mean the issue of sharing resources ..is not concerned with finding a shared langage because a language will be found to communicate, but it can be an obstacle for the individual who may suffer her own ...let's say linguistic deficit...howevever when you consider individuals inside a society that is not a problem however, because the community expresses the ability to speak several languages, I do not know, I can think of for the protest on milk quotas it was not a problem that the farmers and ranchers of the North Italy did not speak English in order to assert their position ...

FZ: Ok ..

BO06: eh ... anyway because politics works basically by proxy and the language can be delegated to the representation of rights say so language is not a problem, it might as well be the Chinese basically...it constitutes a problem for the single individual but if you then associated the language with the national character that becomes more let's say ... a protection of their status at a political level ... at imaginative level more than anything else because the language is still a means it is not a content per se

FZ: so, if I understand correctly, what you say is on the one hand there is the fact that if we want to communicate to the end we are not to worry about what is the most direct way right? One shpuld just try this most immediate form, but on the other hand, there is one aspect which is the official of precisely the modes of communication and so, on that level, it is probably more difficult to find the compromise is that it?

BO06: yes language works at different levels, at some levels language can be a barrier, at some others it may not, and other levels too language gets dragged by its hair so that it just represents an obstacle

FZ: ok then just used instrumentally you mean...

BO06: yes because it is turned from means into content ...

BO01: I think that for all Europeans to feel so is an obstacle, not for the individual who needs to learn another language but ... I mean why do I feel European? if I spoke the same language of a German person I would feel closer to the German ...

BO06: as an individual

BO01: I would feel more

BO01: yes ..

BO06: as an individual

BO01: as a collective, as an individual placed in a community which is Europe

BO06: Yes, but as collectivity you know very well that there could never be a bilingualism in the sense that the Italian [overlapping voices] ... all speak English but that does not prevent you from conceiving Italy with a pro-European country

BO01: But it would be easier that if the level by absurd if we spoke the same language would be easier to feel European

[BO06 shakes his head]

BO01: I think so ..

BO03: more to the point, European policy without a European language is impossible, I mean you can ... you can blame Europe using your own language but you can not advocate a European policy without a European language because it is one thing to say express social and political contents and another thing is ....well ..I was thinking of the fact of the milk quota that is'when in fact you have to stand up for a right you're denied maybe you can do it by translating from Venetian [laughs] into Italian and then into English, however, ultimately you cannot have a public European discourse without a language I mean ... so ... I mean '..ehm you cannot have certain types of content without a language..

BO06 you as an individual, you cannot no ...

BO03: eh ..

BO02: but it has to go through the individual at some point [everyone laughs] it's true

BO06 but not necessarily so, in the sense that all that's been done as European institutions, which is a huge thing, was made without considering this issue, however,

BO05: But I think ...

BO06 but now a big problem has come up, the fact that since there is a big push from the bottom at the political level and a large sharing, a big discussion on the web I can comment on an Italian blog but I can not comment on a German blog

BO04: I can [all laugh]

BO01: exactly that is an obstacle

BO02 though ..

BO06 I'm not sure, I don't have an opinion but my gut instinct tells me so

BO05 I think one of the barriers at the individual level is having to confront native speakers, I mean, one thing is if a Spaniard and an Italian speak English, one thing is when a German and an Italian speak English, and another case is when an Italian and and an English person speak English ..

BO06: it became apparent at the meeting ..

BO05: Oh yes! 'Cause there is always discomfort, as much as it is a language you speak every day, you will never have the same richness of vocabulary as a native speaker, and I think an important step could be, that even native speakers realise that because very often, for example in our meetings when a native English speaker talks, they speak very fast without thinking about it and they take for granted that everyone understands them, and, in communication, if you do not stand by the interlocutor's side you've already lost, you've already '.. so it is vital not only on our part that wemake an effort to learn a language better but it must be a two-way relationship even those who already know the language and have a head start, it's not a minor thing..

BO02: I think there are many different levels relating to language, to languages, for example there's the fact that I consider the linguistic richness in general indeed wealth. Also because I like to study languages, I also particularly like to know more, I consider to read in a language invaluable in any case be able to read an author in its original language is a wonderful experience that I would like to multiply more than I can do and this is a wealth which according to me must absolutely maintained

that depends very much on the cultural point of view, so to me it is a very different issue to the nationalistic protection of language, which in Italy may not be there but it exists in other places. .. but the problem is the risk of separating this linguistic richness and the continued use of languages rich in vocabulary, writing and literature and then to get a horrible bureaucratic English language as that used in the European institutions which is, more or less, what happens when most of European documents are written in a non-native English and then the problem of the predominance of' English turns out that and ... there's, on the one hand, the risk of flattening the very English language, as it happened to me when working with native English speakers who put their hands in their hair when they read the things that come out of the European institutions and I understand the native speaker who says that's my language ie a language a language other than is necessarily my language but that some language other than that I read, Shakespeare, for example, which is then beaten up in this way and I want to keep the richness of language and, at the same time,. but like BO05 said, there is the need to meet the needs of those who deal with the language only for the documents ... and so there is the problem of linguistic dominance .. I think in these two senses is because a language that has incredible potential is diminished both because even though ... position, not sure if 'clear, the position of those who have that language as their mother tongue and have seen diminished in some way than the other and then I do not know

[overlapping voices]

BO05: the fact is that they are just two different languages, Shakespeare's English is one, and Euro-English with its various European nuances [is the other] so that they fit into the English language or a project like English Globish therefore really a very simplified English limited to a certain number of words but accessible to everyone because now we are talking about a high level of education that is also the possibility of let's suppose , simply, I don't know, let's also think previous generations, my mother studied French at school so she'll always be left out of this ...

BO06: my mother is French ...

BO05: it 's true, let alone yours ... [laughs] up until 30 20 30 years ago there was the French and then English boomed and what about now, first policies focused on one language then on another to allow. ... what will happen in the future I don't know, however, for the time being, I think it's really necessary to distinguish, there are two languages, one is a work and communication language in everyday life, in everything, and then there's the English that is it is inevitable..

BO06: the real one ..

BO05: yes, .. the real one ..

FZ: eh this is interesting ..

BO06 I can say one thing in the wake of what you say I think we're reasoning as if language were a driving force of history but language is a product of history in the sense that language is the result of political and social movements it is not by chance that we use English as it is not was not a coincidence that we would use French and whether it will go towards a convergence of the use of a common European language will not because this thing will fall from the sky, but because there will be a primary will to convergence that goes beyond language then there will be the need to implement that and herefore language will adapt to it, however if there's no will to share at social, political and economic level in the first place, no tendency will emerge to learning a language whatever that will be, to me language in Europe is more the effect than the cause...

FZ what do you think some would say, however, the language is the fundamental element in the construction of the nation-state eh ..

BO06 no , it was the brainchild of .. in France o the langue d'oil prevailed on the langue d'oc it was the winning people who imposed their language

BO01: excuse me, however, if you take Italy in the fifties, television and Italian language ...well that wasn't imposed it did not not grow out of...it was the effect of top-down choices , however,

BO06: no, it was ..no but it 'was, however, the effect of a desire to create a nation

BO01: precisely ..

BO06: after came the need to unite Italy linguistically but because before there was the will of a nation building in Italy

BO03: although I think the language is more the result [of that]...I mean a that's a relatively superficial aspect...you can not create a Europe through the unification of language si..e this' more' that is, the unification of culture, however, the ...

BO06: of vision of things, the need to make people understand the common needs also by translating things

BO03: I think too that is more an effect than ...also because it is true that, I think it' s true that, in some in some states it is true that the linguistic creation [of state] has only been important for the nation-state but Europe will never be a nation-state, I think this there is no doubt about that, I mean it will be a different federal formation then I would not make this comparison

FZ and then do you think, this is why for example, Europe does not take any position with respect to say oh well anyway even if it' s true that English is the lingua franca etc. we can not officially recognize it because what Europe is or wants to be is to distance himself from that way of building right? Of building the nation-state and then that takes us back to the principle that all languages are equal to or .. I do not know if you know what I mean ...

BO03: yes yes I think that Europe should make sure that everyone knows English, that is it should try to convince the states to teach English but I do not think that should put only English as the official language

FZ: ok, but in fact linguistic cultural policies are borne by the Member States , so the EU can only give some guidelines, and what they said is that every citizen should learn two languages more than their mother tongue and this should create a society in which people communicate better, we understand each other better culturally and so the reason why they said 2 is because 2 is known or expected that will necessarily be English and then just to avoid having this uniformity... in your opinion, is the right policy?

BO05: In my opinion we could go back to the distinction between Globish which it seems to me is a language of communication, functional, practical and pragmatic and the other, a language that refers to the cultural identity and for example, the language of the English with a relationship with cultural connotations ... if you want the problem is that just a further distinction is a language and one is a tool so as to avoid confusion between

the two does not raise a really simplified language to the status of a language, one is a tool and one is a language, so

FZ: do you think there is sufficient perceived distinction

BO02 I do not think it is perceived [like that], I mean the idea is interesting but does not seem to be perceived and even taught in this way (...) for example the fact that I learnt and that surprised much is that, in England, I do not know if one is required, however, there is no special attention to the study of foreign languages and this is significant, however, then I personally always get excited when there is some native English speaker who takes the trouble to speak another language they have all my greatest admiration

[Everybody laughs] well done!

BO02: Now we're having a laugh at it, but I do think it is essential that there is this effort, if nothing else I realize that even though it may have learned relatively good English and French or Spanish, however, then the time I can communicate and find someone trying to communicate in my mother tongue, I immediately have an instinctive emotional relationship, academic put it this way, that is, even if it is simply the amazement: " wow you are a native English speaker and you know three words of Italian, do you?" I don't know, so this attention to language learning for all, that is of at least one foreign language at least, one probably two, for this reason to avoid passing more and more through only English because otherwise we're back to the very obvious problem of the predominance that is

BO06: then I think there is also a big problem with lingua francas, that is a poor language makes communication even poorer, I ... I don't know, I'm thinking 1984 towards the end of the book the director of Psycho police that explains to the protagonist that they are canceling a mountain of words from dictionaries and they delete them on and onand on 'cause by deleting the word you eliminate the opportunity to express a concept and therefore a lingua franca has this problem that is it can help communicating more easily but can also deplete the communication, so things will work as they have always worked, that is or that the language which is part of a power will spread more easily and that it is no coincidence that there is a boom of teachers of Chinese in Italy I mean a boom

BO05: however, the concept, of a tool of ..of a communication tool that can be for example English and not so much not ... how can I say ... not to increase the number of words that you know, but it is to start from a set number of words for everyone, in the sense that, and I am now referring to the idea of Globish if the idea is to propose a vocabulary of 1500 words it depends on with whom you relate in the sense that it is obvious that communication always depends on your interlocutor so if you have a partner with a high standard of language ....that is in the sense that it depends precisely depends on the degree of communication, however, if your partner has a basic level at least you know that you can express those concepts with those words and he will understand because that is basically the point... if he or she does not understand, the other party does not make sense of them, so the concept is to have a mutual basis right? of a language that is simplified, a tool that may be simplified but that does not necessarily have to stop there and then if you want to learn English instead, you want to learn it good, well nobody restricts you, however, that there is a common basis do you get me? this is the idea

BO03: but what do you mean by common ground?

BO05 eh precisely this ...this project because I refer always a little to this Globish in the sense that there is a clear basis

BO03: meaning?

BO05: no fixed vocabulary of words that at least allows you to express yourself in every situation

BO03: yes, but you still have to know a language you have to know the language

BO05: well you certainly do at least the basics

BO03: it is a language

BO02: it is English

BO05: is not English because it is not English...it is another thing it is really simplified but it is a base level from which everyone can understand from

do you get me? This is a linguistic democracy at least we can all start from there anything more is welcome oh but at least that should be there

BO04: well, I've heard, for example, I do not know if it is true, there was a website that classifies languages from the easiest to the most difficult, for example, English is classified as an easy language and Russian, for example, as a language that is difficult, so the very concept of saying that a language is poorer than the other is already not so democratic, however, for example in Italian there is the concept of neutral gender, it's only male and female, and with that alone you are missing a world in my opinion ... and you could say that English is simplified for there is not even that one [distinction] and that is there is no table or chair and then what' simplified and what is not no one knows and it is not up to us to decide (...) languages are different, I don't know, in one language of these people who live in the snow there are 40 adjectives to describe what snow is like but we do not need that so it is so relative the question is whether we need to protect just about every language Veneto and Neapolitan Sardinian do not know who or whether to protect Italian I do not know

BO06: it is not a top-down protection, there is protection when there is a need for it at the bottom

BO04: but protection is gone for example if you do not teach languages in school most likely then it will disappear, so as they are trying to protect Irish Gaelic, surely it will die in a few years even though they've tried to teach, for example, probably in fifty years many African languages will have disappeared because they do not teach them in schools if all Africans are taught English and French all languages of their tribes will disappear

BO06 but it is the movement of history millions of languages have died

BO04: surely

BO06 and new ones have been born, eh in the sense you cannot conceive the top-down defense of one language because to me, since language is a tool, it follows the movement of history

BO04 in that case then we can remove all the European languages and keep English, twenty languages will have gone

BO06 they won't because history does not move in that direction in my opinion at least now

BO04 I'm not sure because like you said before the problem is that the dominant language is perhaps also that of economic power and then maybe we'll stop studying English and we will take up Chinese in twenty years

BO03: but one can devise policies to spread more certain languages than others, I mean if you believe important that there is a greater public debate in Europe you will make sure that in Europe a language is more widely spread greater .. you can do that through the policies even if economic power is elsewhere because you can do it through schools you teach kids so that you can still take action to spread the language

FZ right on this point if you were an expert advising the European Commissioner for multilingualism to choose the best policies what would you say to him?here about this policy it is interesting to imagine that you are there ..allora Commissioner for multilingualism was riaccorpato youth with education and so on, however, imagine that you are as you say a counselor that is, a person who is an expert no it helps and then choose the language policies right now so we have this policy that calls on the Member States to teach at least two languages in school so that every citizen in the end know at least two languages other than their you have the power to it are experts who can recommend something to the Commissioner for Multilingualism, what would you say to this person

BO06: to sign himself the cross !!! [laugh]

FZ : Ok to make the sign of the cross, fine, any other suggestions?

BO03: but I did not understand in what sense advice about which languages should be taught?

FZ: for example if it was possible to redefine the multilingual policies

BO01: I think that pushing two languages is good obviously, I do not know how possible it is, so I'd say go for English at least everyone speak it

FZ then you would see .. can you try to define that a little better ..

BO01: I don't imagine that in all schools in Italy two languages get taught other than Italian, that's only happens in high school, does it not?

BO05: no also in middle school

BO04: in Germany ...

 [overlapping voices]

FZ: then you would see, for example lowering the age limit as I understand it, to begin teaching languages

BO01: well I'm surewhat the lower limit is exactly from elementary? if there is something even before kindergarten like games in elementary school I do not remember

FZ: ok, let's say if there is anyway you would like it to be introduced as legislation and should not just be English?

BO01 yes

BO06 I'd introduce ...

BO03: Venetian! ha ha

BO06: original television programs subtitled in Italian

BO01: now with digital [TV] I can watch all films in the original language

BO06 I'd get rid of dubbing altogether [overlapping voices]

BO06 at least let's not dub the programs for children at least that

BO02, however, a child who can not read what's the point ... [voices overlap]

[at this stage they all talk together indistinctly]

FZ sorry...eh ..[drawing attention] we still have a few minutes left and I would like to ask you one last question regarding the contraddicitions of multilingualism inside the European Union where the Parliament uses a lot of translators for the 506 possible combinations of languages and, at the same time, the Commission uses the so-called procedural languages but basically they will agree on what is the language they want to use to discuss and in the end they tend to be English and French and a little German but then some say this is a bit of a hypocrisy, a contradiction , how do you see it?

BO05: as theory colliding with reality in the way when there is a need then ... because already it seems to me that the machine translation is quite heavy in the European Union, fancy that, and then it is obvious that... I mean this goes back to the fact that three languages already... maybe if you only use English ... that 'it is a practical question how can one get any work done when everything slows down

BO03 I think Parliament must work by force in all languages because it is an organ of discussion so it is impossible to produce a political discussion if you do not know very well the meanings you want to express ...it is a different story for the executive institutions like the Court, the Commission and perhaps greater simplification is most realistic, I don't know

FZ ok I'd say we've now come to an end unless there's anything you want to add or something we haven't discussed...eh, any questions?

[a few seconds' silence]

FZ: Ok we can end up here then ...let me thank you very much for your participation

[all together] thank you

9.7 Transcript Cluj focus group (Romanian version)

RC: Am pornit înregistrarea. Cum spunea si Franco va mulţumim foarte mult ca aţi acceptat sa veniţi si sa petreceţi aşa zi frumoasa cu noi. Franco îşi face doctoratul la aceasta universitate, BBK din Londra si culmea e ca avem aceeaşi tema de doctorat, dar metodologia e diferita: eu fac chestionare si interviuri; el face interviuri de grup cu oameni care lucrează efectiv in domeniul integrării europene. Deci a făcut un interviu in Italia, unul la Londra, acum cel de aici. Si ca sa începem, as vrea numai sa va dau la fiecare un consimţământ, care explica despre ce e vorba in studiu. daca aţi putea sa semnaţi, va rog, e o chestiune de etica.

CL5: Da da da, pai aşa facem si noi când înregistram de-astea.

CL1: Mă duc sa iau un pix [...]

CL4: Deci trebe sa avem peste 16 ani, avem?

Toţi [laughing]: ahem...

[...talking about their boss who has an Italian nămi but doesn't speak Italian... date, who has an extra pen, the date şi some religious holiday, returning the informed consent and keeping the debriefing form, Franco's email address]

RC: Mulţumesc. Ok deci daca vreţi sa începem cu o scurta introducere fiecare si sa îmi spuneţi scurt cum aţi ajuns sa va alăturaţi echipei Trans Europa.

CL4: Cu forţa

RC: Sau cum preferaţi sa ii spuneţi?

CL5: Pai e European Alternative ca si organizaţie si Transeuropa Network reţeaua de activişti, intelectuali, artiştii care fac chestiile... evenimentele

RC: Am înţeles, perfect

CL4: Si ei sunt membri ai Transeuropa Network.

RC: Mhm

CL6: Mie îmi place sa spun Euro Alter ca e mai simplu

CL4: Da, Euro Alter e universal ca si soteul e Euro alter

CL6: Da, pentru toata organizaţia

CL3: Sau EA

RC: Cine vrea sa înceapă?

CL3: Cine, eu?

RC: Pai daca ai început sa vorbeşti, spune tu

CL3: Am ajuns ca mi s-a propus si mi s-a părut interesant si e ca .... si m-am adaptat la persoanele pe care le cunoşteam, cum ar fi CL4

CL4: Si CL6

Toți [laughing]

RC: Cine a fost sa zicem primul membru?

CL5: CL4, ia zi povestea

CL4: Povestea a început in 2008 in urma cu 3 ani si ceva când 5 studenți din 5 universități europene au fost selectați pentru a participa la o scoală de vara care se chema academie de vara si într-adevăr îşi merita titlul, organizata de fundația culturala Aliantz Kultur lângă Munchen, scuzați-mi pronunția germana, promit sa merg la cursuri si o sa o îmbunătățesc. Acolo am cunoscut mai multe persoane care erau implicate in European Alternative, eu eram pentru prima data acolo, ei erau deja la nivelul de alumni sau alumne, In aceasta structura, ne-am mai întâlnit apoi de câteva ori la Berlin, iar surpriza a venit in toamna anului 2009, când la deschiderea Fabricii de Pensule, după ea, directorul organizației, unul din cei doi directori, deoarece European Alternative are 2 cu-directori, si anume Niccolo Milanese, mi-a propus sa facem împreuna ,un parteneriat pentru organizarea primului festival transnațional din Europa pe numele sau Trans Europa. Acesta urma sa aibă loc in Londra unde se mai întâmplase pana atunci, in Paris, in Bologna si pentru prima data in istoria Europei Centrale si de Est, dar mai ales Centrale, la Cluj. si deja vorbesc prea mult. Am spus ok, era joi seara, trebuia ca pana in ziua de duminica dimineața sa fac rost de încă 4 persoane interesate in a construi un grup local informal pentru a organizarea acestui festival. l-am sunat pe CL5 si ii las cuvântul domniei sale.

CL5: Mă suna si ii zic "mai, mă laşi, facem festivaluri de-astea, ştim noi sa facem, nu", am stat o juma de ora eram si ocupat si pana la urma am zis ca da, nu, vedem acuma. am mai găsit încă doi prieteni. si am făcut primul festival anul trecut. a ieşit totul bine deşi noi nu aveam experiența, nu ştiam mai nimic, dar aveam alte calități care ne-au făcut sa iasă bine.

CL4: Totul pe baza de voluntariat.

CL5: Da, sigur. Si apoi in septembrie s-a înființa Transeuropa Network, din nou am fost invitați sa participam, mai mulți cunoscuți dinainte, prieteni si aşa a pornit Transeuropa Network cum e ea azi. Si de atunci in fiecare luna au fost întâlniri, in diverse oraşe, Londra, Paris, Roma, Cluj, au fost, Bologna, unde se desfăşoară si activitatea European Alternative. Si tot s-au

adunat oameni, au mai venit membri, acum e si un fel, aşa, instituţionalizat ca sa fim o echipa mai serioasa si sa ştim cine face parte si .... uite aşa am ajuns azi si sunt Transeuropa si European Alternative in 12 oraşe in 10 tari cu sediul in Spania. In curând, de ce nu, altele si ne tot extindem in măsura posibilităţilor umane si financiare. si cam asta e, foarte pe scurt.

RC: Mda

CL5: Si anul asta iarăşi am fost la a doua ediţie a Transeuropa festival, unele din programe sunt pe pereţi, ca pereţii ăştia şi aşa uraţi ca le-am pus. Si asta e foarte pe scurt ce s-a întâmplat. Si ei, ei, fiecare poate spune de când si cum.

CL1: Eu de exemplu, am participat la unele din evenimente pe care ei le-au organizat in prima ediţie a festivalului, in 2010 si deci atunci nu am fost implicata mai mult, n-am fost mai activa. In schimb din septembrie am participat sau... da.. am participat la tot ce înseamnă Transeuropa Network, inclusiv la o mare parte din întâlnirile care au avut loc si .. erm.. am organizat cu ei festivalul, i-am ajutat, am făcut o echipa.

RC: Si ce te-a făcut sa te alături echipei?

CL1: Pai in primul rând ii cunoşteam, pe o mare parte dintre ei,

RC: Colegi de...

CL1: Facultate, da oarecum, si plus ca am participat la prima ediţie la evenimentele lor si ştiam cam ce si cum, plus ca am aflat cu ce exact se ocupa, nu numai ei, ci si organizaţia in general, si mi s-a părut ok si de încredere. Si am participat la festival si acum sunt membru in Transeuropa Network in continuare si asta e povestea.

CL6: Povestea mea a început in aprilie sau martie, nu mai ştiu exact, m-a sunat CL4 si mi-a spus ca mai sunt locuri pentru a mă implica in organizarea festivalului de anul acesta, anul trecut nu am participat pentru ca abia m-am mutat la Cluj, in septembrie am început, si am zis ca, de ce nu, mi-a plăcut mi s-a părut interesant si am participat la organizarea festivalului si la festival si de asemenea am fost la un forum cu ocazia festivalului pentru drepturile muncii, am mai participat si in Cluj la o întâlnire despre drepturile persoanelor LGBT si... ah ...mai nou am candidat pentru poziţia de coordonator local Transeuropa Network in Cluj si am fost aleasa de colegii mei si .. ce sa zic, şi foarte incantata si abia aştept sa încep sa fac mai multe. Si cam atât.

CL3: Ce? Iara eu?

RC: Pai nu mi-ai spus toata povestea, mi-ai spus pe scurt

CL3: Pai e aceeaşi poveste ca si Angli. M-au sunat sa mă întrebe daca pot si eu sa vin si CL4 mi-a propus. Implicarea nu a fost sa zic aşa foarte mare pentru mine, poate pentru restul a fost. M-am implicat cat am putut si cat am avut timp la festival. Anul trecut nu am auzit de el, anul asta a fost prima oara când am auzit de el. As fi vrut sa mă implic, dar n-am avut

ocazia. Am ocazia din nou la anul si când o sa mai fie. Iarăşi, la Londra am participat la un forum pe drepturile muncii si cam atât de aicea

RC: Si va urma. Si tu?

CL2: Pai eu n-am fost implicat in absolut nimica,

RC: Eh, începi acum

CL2: Nu scap, cu forţa. Pai m-am întâlnit ieri cu Dani si CL4 si mi-au zis sa vin si am venit aşa foarte pe scurt.

RC: Te gândeşti sa intri si tu?

CL2: Pai tocmai am fost informat de Dani ca si eu sunt parte din Transeuropa Network.

RC: Si cum ti se pare? Ce părere ai?

CL2: Pai nu ştiu, eu nu pricep deloc cum funcţionează, nu ştiu mecanismele lor....

CL4: E perfect pentru ca avem reprezentarea demografica a României

CL5: Pai si ea e...

CL4: Si tu eşti?

CL5: Numai cu numele

CL4: Da, are un nume perfect maghiar...

CL2: Si in sânge aşa...

CL1: Da, in sânge

[sabin herb nămi wit a hun arian accent, fes Exchange in Ungaria]

CL1: Nu, nu vorbesc, doar tatal meu e maghiar.

CL5: Noi doi suntem moldoveni oricum

[some jokes about the origin of everybody, can't really make out what they are sabin]

RC: Si... Transeuropa Network e descrisa in general ca o retea transnaţionala. Ce înseamnă trans naţionalismul in opinia voastră?

CL5: Zic eu doua vorbe. Transnaţional e diferit de internaţional, ca si European Alternative nu e organizaţie internaţionala cum e transparency internaţional sau amnesty internaţional ci e transnaţionala, fiind ca avem colegi in Italia, Anglia, Franţa cu care vorbesc zi de zi, si nu numai eu care lucrez zi de zi si in timpul zilei, in programul de lucru, dar toţi voluntarii când mergem ne întâlnim cu ei, facem activităţi împreuna. Festivalul e transnaţional in sensul ca anumite evenimente se întâmpla in mai multe oraşe la fel organizate, propagate chiar de aceeaşi oameni la Cluj si la

Londra in acelaşi timp, si atunci cumva asta e, transnaţional pentru ca exista o cooperare strânsă intre tineri din diverse tari si nu e, cumva, nu vine de undeva de sus o idee, un ordin, ceva, si atunci ceilalţi implementează, ci e un schimb continuu de idei si de posibilităţi de acţiune.

RC: Ca si cum nu ar exista graniţe

CL5: Chiar nu exista graniţe in activitatea noastră, avem noroc ca si Romania e in UE si putem calatori tot timpul liber, nu suntem încă in Schengen ca sa nu ne mai controleze, dar nu exista niciodată nici o problema de călătorit.. in afara de bani, sigur, dar in rest, internetul ne e la dispoziţie oricând si putem comunica, transmite oricând.

RC: Ca si cum ar fi aici

CL5: Plus ca noi credem ca ce se poate rezolva in cazul problemelor din ziua de azi se poate acţiona la nivel transnaţional mult mai bine decât naţional. Tocmai am avut ieri un eveniment despre mafie. Cum stopezi mafia la nivel naţional, ca mafia e transnaţionala, lucrează, spală banii in diverse tari, dintr-un cont din Italia, intra-un cont din Romania, aduce gunoaie din Italia in Romania si atunci daca guvernele nu colaborează transnaţional fiecare rămâne cu problemele la nivelul lui, dar mafia rămâne transnaţionala, supranaţionala.

RC: Si atunci echipe gen echipa asta European Alternative sunt un fel de chestie la nivel supranaţional? transnaţional?

CL5: Da la un nivel de gândire sa zicem supranaţionala.

RC: Asta am vrut sa te întreb? Ce in seamănă gândirea transnaţionala?

CL5: Adică vedem posibilităţi de a rezolva anumite probleme sau modalităţi de acţiune negândind-ne la statul naţional, la instituţii naţionale ci ne gândim cum poate cetăţeanul de rând cum suntem si noi, cetăţeanul din Cluj vine cu o idee, cum poate sa o exprime către cineva care are putere, dar cineva care face ceva pentru toţi europenii ca toţi suntem cetăţeni europeni. Si atunci trecem si peste barierele de naţionalitate, de limba, care nu sunt foarte fericite, acolo apar si conflicte si atunci de aia festivalul Transeuropa e cel mai mare eveniment al nostru si care promovează tocmai lucrul asta de a face lucrul in echipa peste un cadru naţional destul de restrictiv. Aşa ar însemna sa ne relaţionam tot timpul cu Bucureştiul, cu instituţii naţionale de la Bucureşti, sau guvernamentale cum ar fi prefecturi sau consilii judeţe, chestii din astea care sunt destul de greoaie, masive, merg greu, nu funcţionează de multe ori si atunci.... sigur ca si la nivel european exista birocraţie de te sperii, dar măcar se mişca lucrurile altfel cumva, e alta dinamica

RC: Si măcar la nivel european toata lumea are aceeaşi birocraţie

CL5: Da. eu unul mă simt de multe ori egal cu ceilalţi din Franţa, Italia de oriunde si atunci asta iţi da un pic de încredere ... încredere in forţele tale ca om, nu ca roman, ca european ca sa zicem

CL4: Oarecum in completare dar nu neapărat in opoziție cu CL5, cred ca e important sa subliniem rolul care li are cultura si arta in activitatea europeana European Alternative si in faptul ca aceasta ii da cu adevărat caracterul transnațional pentru ca folosind mijloace artistice cu cat mai inovative cu atât mai bine, ca de exemplu, New media dar si producția de film, speram ca in curând si producția muzicala, pentru a transmite anumite mesaje din partea cetățenilor europeni pe anumite teme pe care le consideram de interes pentru sprijinirea drepturilor omului si a dezvoltării acestora. Iar in acest sens am dezvoltat împreuna numeroase proiecte după cum v-am spus, este vorbe despre filme de campanie privind LGBT, romii, la acest al doilea film discuțiile au fost foarte intense pentru ca a fost într-adevăr greu sa venim cu o poziție comuna in ceea ce privește la nivel transnațional, un set de cârti poștale care au fost distribuite in toate orașele festivalului, un program de film transnațional menit sa analizez post comunismul si felul in care acesta e perceput in mod diferit in Europa de vest, centrala si de est si așa mai departe.

RC: Foarte interesant. Si voi membri mai noi ce părere aveți despre ideea asta de trans naționalism? Credeți ca e o chestie viabila?

CL3: Da, și de acord cu ea.

Al: [laughing]

CL4: Critica e constructiva

CL3: Nu critic.

RC: Perfect. Ok. Am atins puțin ideea asta de a ne considera europeni. Voi va considerați europeni si v-ați autodefini ca europeni si daca ați putea sa îmi spuneți ce înseamnă asta pentru voi, pentru fiecare fără jena....

CL3: Singurul drept care li avem, nu știu, mă rog, părerea mea, ca putem calatori mai liber acum, ca oarecum ni s-au dat mai multe drepturi sa facem ce vrem noi, sa facem ce ne place sau ce credem noi ca ne poate ajuta personal in dezvoltare, ne-am îndepărtat puțin de ceva legat, nu mai suntem legați de un lucru, nu mai putem visa greu la un lucru cum era înainte, acuma poți învăță mai ușor, poți ca fii cu oameni mai ușor, poți interacționa cu alți străini mai ușor, e mai .. e mai ok ca înainte.

RC: Sie asta te face sa te simți mai european?

CL3: Da, oarecum, ca mă pot întâlni cu oameni, ca pot calatori, ca pot vedea lucruri, ca pot schimba viziunea aspra anumitor lucruri, decât sa stau aici fără sa călătoresc, fără sa vad nimic, fără sa cunosc oameni, culturi

RC: Deci chestia de contactul cu alte culturi schimba..

CL3: Schimba ... experiența schimba pe om si viziunea, faptul ca vezi altceva, ca interacționezi cu ceva nou la care nu te așteptai, te schimba. Vezi altfel lucrurile după.

CL6: Voiam sa zic într-adevăr odată cu 2007 parca simți mai bine ca ești european, nu doar ca poți sa călătorești mai mult ceea ce e foarte

important si sa intri in contact cu alte culturi si toate cele, dar intri in contact cu si cu legislaţie si tot ce presupune domeniul birocratic, sa zic, si ...ham... cred ca da, odată cu 2007 eu cel puţin am simţit mai bine ca sunt european si... nu ştiu, in general... cred ca e important nu sa simţi neapărat ca eşti roman sau maghiar sau ca eşti italian, francez, ci sa simţi ca eşti aşa un .. european in general si sa depăşeşti barierele astea naţionale, dar in fine, asta sunt eu un pic mai ... haham.. visez utopii si tot felul de lucruri

RC: Crezi ca e posibil?

CL6: Da, într-adevăr destul de greu de zis pentru ca n-as putea sa fac o predicţie care as fie 100% valabila, dar ar fi frumos, adică cel puţin mi-ar plăcea sa trăiesc într-o aşa lume, dar din nou cred ca e puţin utopic.

RC: De ce crezi ca e utopic? Care crezi ca ar fi impedimentele?

CL6: Pai, daca ne uitam la toate problemele care sunt in Europa, ok, in Franţa cu romanii sau cu romii, sau in Italia la fel, sau in orice alta tara in care exista si discriminare si daca exista si discriminare nu prea cred ca e posibil sa se implanteze viziuni utopice. nu ştiu daca am fost clara..

CL1: Referitor la ce ai spus tu, mă gândesc ca nu poţi sa te simţi doar european pentru ca automat eşti născut într-o cultura...

CL6: Mhm, da e adevărat

CL1: Si nu poţi sa ignori cultura, dar sa renunţi la discriminare si asta.... asta da, asta se poate

RC: Cum crezi ca se ajunge la punctul asta? Prin contact?

CL1: Sa se renunţe la discriminare...

RC: Si sa ne simiţi mai europeni

CL1: Prin contact cu persoanele care într-adevăr au ochelari de cal si nu vad decât cultura lor si nu ca sunt european si tu eşti german sau nu ştiu. .. si.... trebuie sa fie si mai multe campanii, chiar întâlniri de genul cum facem noi pentru ca iţi schimba modul de a gândi si interacţionând cu ei direct observi si ce probleme sunt si cum ai putea sa adaptezi sa te adaptezi la diferite situaţii astfel încât sa reuşeşti sa ii faci pe ei sa se schimbe cat de cat sau măcar într-o proporţie mica sa nu mai vadă faptul ca tu eşti din tara X si eşti cetăţeanul tarii X si doar atât. Pur si simplu aşa cum noi suntem romani si ceilalţi francezi, toţi suntem europeni ca venim pe de acelaşi pământ,

CL3: Da eu mă gândesc ca ar trebui sa nu mai existe naţionalismul in unele tari, oamenii acum sunt liberi sa călătoreasă oriunde vor, sa se stabilească ori unde vor ei si trebuie acceptat de societate, integraţi, ajutaţi.

CL6: Dar e greu, daca nu imposibil.

CL3: Da, e greu, dar nu poţi sa obligi pe cineva sa se stabilească undeva, fiecare îşi alege o tara in care vrea sa plece, poate unii nu vor sa trăiască in Romania.

CL5: Da, dar in momentul in care merg in Franţa, sunt acceptaţi de aia?

CL3: Poate le place alta tara mai mult.

CL5: Pai, uite, eu daca vreau sa mă duc in Franţa, vrea eu sa mă duc sa mă stabilesc acolo, sa muncesc, crezi ca francezii te lasă? Nu te lasă. Sau te lasă pe o poziţie prost plătita

CL6: Pai te duci in Italia si speli vase plus ca eşti privit diferit si discriminarea, sa fim serioşi.

CL3: Discriminarea si neacceptarea in societate a oamenilor.

CL5: Da, tocmai ca aia e o mare problema

CL3: Pentru ca oameni sunt liberi sa călătorească sa se cunoască intre ei sa vadă

CL5: Numai ca libertatea noastră de a calatori a tuturor e barata de naţionalismul celorlalţi care nu ne accepta. Bine, probabil ca asta exista si in Romania. adică eu nu ştiu, vin din Iaşi care e un oraş conservator si vai de capul lui ca mentalitate unde era acum 100 de ani centrul cultural cel mai important, unde, de exemplu, ungurii sunt văzuţi ca diavolul pe pământ adică sa ardă in iad si sa nu-i mai vezi, asta se cultiva in scoală in sistemul educaţional, in familie

RC: Poate si pentru ca nu sunt foarte mulţi unguri in Iaşi

CL5: Si normal ca nu ştie nimeni, n-or văzut in viată lor

RC: Sie se perpetuează nişte mituri

CL5: Sigur, nişte stereotipuri proaste care se perpetuează despre romi, sau despre Romania, sau bulgari ca toţi şi hoţi, despre romani ca toţi şi romi

CL1: Deci e si manipulare si tot ce vrei

CL5: Sigur, deci acelaşi... si eu am avut noroc ca am venit la Cluj, am văzut unguri, am văzut ca sunt foarte ok, totul in regula, m-am mai deschis si la minte ca totuşi aici e altfel, e alt aer, nu sunt munţi intre vest si Transilvania

CL1: Are o teorie CL5 foarte interesanta

CL5: In Moldova vine vântul din Siberia si tot vine de acolo si se opreşte si atunci

CL3: Oamenii aici se mai accepta, se mai înghit

CL5: Da da da

CL3: Si aici sunt conflicte

CL5: Plus ca in Cluj exista si o cultura cum sa zic, o istorie multiculturala ca au trăit romani cu unguri cu nemţi plus evrei plus tot felul de comercianţi si atunci se accepta altfel. pe când la Iaşi erau numai romani si evrei. Pe evrei i-au terminat la ..

CL4: '40

CL5: Si au rămas numai romani.

RC: Tu ce părere ai ca reprezentant al maghiarilor din Romania, din Cluj?

CL2: Nu ştiu, eu sunt destul de naţional, adică nu prea mă identific într-o comunitate, nici cu termenul de european.. mmh.. o întrebare mai specifica?

RC: Întrebarea mai specifica: cu ce te identifici tu? Te identifici ca, ştiu eu, clujean, maghiar, european? Si daca cu nici una, de ce?

CL1: Evreu?

RC: Evreu?

CL2: Nu ştiu sincer, pai nu cu evreu...

CL1: Sau rom...nu?

CL2: Pai, nu ştiu, mă identific tocmai cu limba maghiara, pentru ca e limba materna, mă identific cu limba romana ca e limba oficiala, mă identific cu limba germana ca o vorbesc fluent si am mulţi prieteni acolo si am petrecut mult timp acolo, dar nu, nu, nu mi se pare ca una este o parte dominanta a identităţii mele si ... termenul de european ar trebui sa fiu foarte, foarte european daca am tangente cu atâtea culturi, dar mi se pare doar aşa o unealta retorica care de fapt nu înseamnă nimic, absolut nimic, eventual înseamnă cetăţean al unui stat care face parte din UE. Atunci ce-i cu Croaţia, ce-i cu Albania...

RC: Cu Moldova...

CL2: Deci cam asta este părerea mea.

CL5: Si ii cam dau dreptate si eu cumva. Mi-a cam pierit din optimismul pe care li aveam când eram mai mic. Ca e frumos aşa ca sunt european, ca călătoresc, si am o cultura europeana in spate, ca vorbesc o limba care e înrudita si cu italiana si cu franceza si ca sunt influente vestice in cultura romana, dar când chiar interacţionezi cu majoritatea oamenilor din vest, a fi european nici pentru ei nu înseamnă mare lucru.

CL4: Chiar asta a fost principalul meu soc atunci când am ajuns sa locuiesc mai mult timp in Occident, mai precis in Paris, faptul ca de mica fusesem obişnuita cu aceasta credinţa într-o cultura europeana, fusesem crescuta într-o familie de intelectuali care se axau foarte mult pe prietenia pe lunga istorie de schimburi culturale intre Romania si Franţa, dar când am ajuns acolo am văzut ca nu aveau nici o importanta nici cunoştinţele mele, nici credinţele mele despre aceasta cultura si despre ce se presupune a fi o cultura europeana clasica. Singurul lucru care conta era eticheta de roman, de roman prost privit, de roman privit ca rom, de rom privit ca hot si aşa mai departe

RC: Aha...

CL4: Era un lung sir de clişee care pana la urma m-au pus sa chestionez foarte profund si clişeele pe car ele aveam eu despre aceasta istorie a prieteniei romano-franceze. Este doar un exemplu, poate ar fi greu de generalizat, dar am presimţit profund acest lucru. Sa înveţi ca eşti european si apoi sa ti se arunce in fata ca nu eşti. Si atunci ajungi sa te întrebi ce e aia.

CL2: Nu ştiu care jurnalist sau politician a spus ca o sa fie mult mai greu sa îndoctrinezi cetăţenii tarilor europene, adică e o îndoctrinare, e un proces de europenizare, cum o fost maghiarizarea sau germanizarea, aceeaşi chestie si e mult mai greu sa faci asta cu un cetăţean cu o cultura civica si o identitate franceza, italiana, decât era de exemplu pe vremuri sa refaci un francez dintr-un breton sau sa sa-l faci sa îşi uite cultura, ca erau alte standarde. acum lumea sa identifica cu mult mai multe chestii si e mult mai greu sa suprapui încă un strat de identitate si sa atingi un nivel in care stratul ala european sa începe sa domine identitatea oamenilor adică sa te prezinţi ca european si nu ca francez sau englez sau spaniol sau portughez.

RC: Legat de chestia asta statele din UE si-au format identitatea naţionala oarecum bazata de multe ori pe limba, deci noi, romanii vorbim romana, ungurii vorbesc maghiara si oarecum s-au format aceste naţiuni, state pe graniţe mai mult sau mai puţin lingvistice si una dintre problemele cu UE este ca aceasta identitate europeana s-ar construi oarecum fără a avea nişte graniţe lingvistice. După cum probabil ştiţi in UE toate limbile statelor membre sunt limbi oficiale, in mod normal ar trebui sa se folosească toate in UE adică toate documentele trebuie traduse si aşa mai departe, Ce funcţie credeţi ca are o limba in formarea unei identităţi? Deci tu spuneai de exemplu ca te identifici cu maghiara, romana si germana.

CL5: Eu am cunoscut nişte elveţieni... scuze ca te-am....

CL2: Nu nu nu ca eu n-am nici un răspuns

CL5: Eu am cunoscut nişte elveţieni. După cum ştiţi in Elveţia sa vorbesc patru limbi, lăsând la o parte retoromana, se vorbesc trei sa zicem, italiana, germana si franceza. Oamenii aia le vorbesc cam pe toate, daca nu, doua foarte bine si una mai puţin. Si totuşi sunt o naţiune, ei se identifica ca fiind elveţieni, nu considera ca sunt francezi sau germani deloc, ei sunt elveţieni. Elveţia oricum exista de pe la 1200 si ceva ca stat, ca naţiune sa zic aşa, nu existau naţiuni pe vremea aia, dar oricum, exista o istorie cam de pe atunci ca sa zicem, si atunci chestia cu limba e un pic... cel puţin in spaţiul ala poate fi pusa in paranteza. Mai exista state unde exista doua limbi de exemplu, Spania, sau Belgia, care iarăşi, ei sunt o naţiune, nu poţi sa spui ca spaniolii .. nu ştiu catalanii se considera ca o alta naţiune....

CL6: Am cunoscut nişte persoane care veneau din tara bascilor, s-au prezentat ca ei nu sunt din Spania

CL5: Bascii da, bascii da....

CL6: Si ei fac parte tot din Spania

CL1: Bine si in Belgia e la fel, nu poți sa zici

CL6: ... nu e stat separat.. si... eu mă gândeam, oare nu știu eu ca exista tara asta in Europa? Mă tot gândeam.

CL5: Da, da. Atunci ajungem la întrebarea ce e națiunea, ce definește o națiune? Si atunci am plecat greșit de acum 200 de ani de la Revoluția Franceza sau de când exista națiuni definite așa...

CL2: Apropo de situația asta, in Catalonia, când FC Barcelona a învins Real Madridul acum vreun an sau doi s-a dus antrenorul sa dea un interviu si a început sa vorbească in limba catalana si era mare soc si cum se poate sa facă așa ceva pe televiziunea naționala spaniola sa începi sa vorbești in catalana, deci exista o oarecare tensiune in acest respect, nu-i ca si Elveția deloc.

CL5: Da da da. Dar acolo nu e așa o, adică , rațiunea, întrebarea cu limba, nu o vad ca fiind principalul liant pentru a forma o națiune. Eu am o problema cu termenul de națiune oricum, ce-i aia națiune?

CL4: Eu am înțeles altfel întrebarea, o mai poți repeta? Nu in sensul ca limba ar trebui sa fie principalul liant in formarea unei națiuni, ci cum percepi tu limba pe care o vorbești in relație cu caracteristicile asumate alte națiunii.

RC: Da.. si in același timp...

[phone ringing]

CL4: va trebuie sa răspund ca daca nu zice ca ...

[speaking French to herb boss on Skype]

CL1: Mai greu cu vorbitul, dar...

[speaking about the phone call, call Franco back]

RC: Nu-i nici o problema ca tocmai ajunsesem la punctul in care trebuia sa repet întrebarea. O am chiar scrisa aici, așa ca o sa o citesc: daca ne gândim la trasaturile comune ale europenilor, limba evident, nu este una, diferențele lingvistice sunt considerate de mulți ca o forma de respect ca UE, faptul ca sunt recunoscute ca limbi oficiale, fata de aceasta diversitate europeana. Alții susțin ca ar fi un obstacol in formarea unei uniuni mai strânse. Voi ce părere aveți, cum vi se pare ca aceasta diferențe lingvistice....

CL3: Nu neapărat toate limbile de circulație din Europa sunt cunoscute, Cum e siciliana de exemplu, italienii se identifica numai cu italiana, sicilienii nu pot vorbi siciliana la programele de știri sau televizor sau... deci ei ca se se înțeleagă cu cei din nord trebuie sa vorbească italiana si trebuie sa le înțeleagă accentul, ca e tara cu cele mai multe dialecte din lume.

CL5: Si Germania cred ca are

CL3: Si oamenii... sunt sate si oraşele in Sicilia, ei daca vorbesc aceeaşi limba, limba lor natala cu un sat la 50 km mai încolo. Ei nu se înţeleg. Ca sa se identifice sa se poată înţelege ei trebuie sa folosească italiana.

CL6: Tu te referi la Sicilia strict sau Italia?

CL3: Italia neapărat, pentru ca unul din sud, sicilian pur sânge nu se poate înţelege cu un italian. vorbesc italiana care o învaţă in scoală ca si acolo in Brescia au alt accent, au si un dialect acolo, si numai ei din zona aia se înţeleg acolo. In Roma, iarăşi, e italiana oficiala.

CL4: Interpretând altfel întrebarea, eu personal sunt total împotriva unei limbi comune aleasa dintre una din limbile existente la nivelul UE, pentru ca pana la urma oricât am încerca, la orice nivel de C1 sau C2 am ajunge, nu putem sa vorbim o limba aşa cum vorbim limba materna, nu avem aceleaşi modalităţi de exprimare, de corelare a propriei personalităţi cu expresiile existente in oricare alta limba. O singura soluţie care s-ar putea întrevedea ar fi aceea a unei limbi artificiale cum este Esperanto, deşi pare puţin forţat într-adevăr. Dar orice s-ar spune nu vom putea vorbi niciodată engleza cum o vorbeşte un englez.

CL5: Pai putem sa o folosim, când vorbim cu Franco vorbim in engleza, toata lumea vorbeşte aici engleza la nivel de conversaţie putem vorbi orice.

CL4: Da din motive pragmatice da, dar nu pentru a scrie un text literar. Cred ca ti minte conversaţia care am avut-o noi cu un prieten care acum îşi va publica prima serie de sort storsei in care spunea ca principalul beneficiu pe care li are este acela al limbii, al faptului ca poate sa scrie in propria lui limba si astfel găseşte modalităţile de a se exprima pe sine însuşi pana la capăt, ca altfel nu.

CL3: Singura soluţie care nu cred ca o sa se întâmple vreodată este inventarea unei noi limbi comune pentru toata Europa.

RC: Cum era Esperanto.

CL5: A fost un eşec si o sa fie veşnic un eşec aşa ceva.

CL3: E foarte greu sa înveţi o comunitate de vreo un miliard sau caţi suntem in Europa, duo miliarde in Europa sa ii înveţi aceeaşi limba. E foarte greu. Imposibil

CL4: Fiecare limba are o personalitate.

CL3: E si posibil dar mai mult imposibil

CL5: De ce discutam acum despre limbi? Limbile oricum o sa existe in continuare pana la sfârşitul lumii, dar cred ca vorbeam despre o limba de comunicare si aia o sa fie engleza de acum înainte si limbile naţionale or sa reziste, si locale si in fiecare tara ca vorbesc alte limbi si alea o sa reziste oricum, eu o sa scriu in continuare in romana si nu o sa aibă nimeni nimic împotriva.

CL3: Da dar unii oameni cam uita sa se exprime in romana.

CL5: Aia e problema naţionala

CL3: Copiii încep sa înveţe engleza si germana pe la patru ani in loc sa înveţe romana cum ar trebui si nu ştiu sa se exprime.

CL5: Aia e o problema a noastră.

CL1: Unii nu ştiu sa se exprime oricum

CL5: Da...

CL4: Totuşi ar trebui sa percepem unitar chestia asta.

CL3: Engleza poţi sa o înveţi si mai încolo.

CL6: Dar este o problema la nivel naţional.

CL5: Si merge cu mai multe si cu educaţia in general.

CL4: Tu spui despre engleza de acum înainte, acum 200 de ani, s-ar fi zis franceza de acum înainte...

CL1: Nu se ştie, poate sa fie romana....

CL5: Da dar nu exista globalizare si poate numai daca se de globalizează pământul atunci poate o sa se schimbe, dar pana atunci nu...

CL4: Pe tema asta, v-as recomanda un film, poate l-aţi văzut, poate, al lui Michael Winterbottom, Code 46, in care îşi imaginează regizorul care bineînţeles e si scenarist si tot ca in toate filmele astea experimentale, cum ar arata lumea in 2050 intra-un viitor apropiat si toţi vorbesc o limba universala care e la baza engleza plus se adaugă cuvintele clasice din celelalte limbi, cele mai des utilizate, cum ar fi Ciao pe italiana, Grazia, grafiase, erau mai multe. si cred ca asta e cea mai viabila varianta.

CL5: Aşa era Esperanto, fix aşa,

CL4: Nu-i fix aşa Esperanto, ii construit, ii imaginat de o singura persoana, e rezultatul unui drept scris decât a unui Common Law.

CL5: Si tu crezi ca o sa se îmbine limbile pământului aşa si sa formeze ....

CL2: Pai se îmbina deja

CL5: Cu engleza poate

CL2: Pai da, dar...

CL1: Engleza pana la urma, ca foloseşti tot felul de termeni. Si in alte limbi.

RC: Ce părere aveţi despre UE susţine faptul ca toata lumea trebuie sa vorbească cel puţin doua limbi satine in afara de limba materna?

CL6: Toata lumea sau doar cetăţenii europeni

RC: Cetăţenii europeni spun ei. Dar asta este ceea ce UE recomanda, dar implementarea se face la nivel naţional si atunci fiecare tara decide daca trebuie sa introducă a doua limba in clasa a 2a sau a 5a

CL1: Bine, si la nivel naţional înainte sa fim in UE se dorea si se .. la scoală nu învăţam 2-3 limbi, dar nu ştiu daca ne uitam parca tot mai putina lume vorbeşte, bine, vorbeşte romana, la nivel naţional, dar daca mai vorbeşte engleza, dar a doua sau a treia limba deja sunt tot mai putini, deci nu ştiu daca o sa fie neapărat.

CL6: Doua limbi, nu doua limbi străine in afara de...

CL1: ... da limba ta materna.

CL4: Genul asta de practica exista cum au spus si fetele încă din perioada naţional comunista, îmi amintesc ca mama mea când si-a scris lucrarea de gradul întâi ea fiind profesoara de franceza trebuia sa înceapă cu un citat din Ceauşescu ca aşa se începea ca altfel nu se aproba si nu-si lua gradul.

CL1: Sau Lenuţa

CL4: Sau Lenuţa dar acuma depinde de domeniu, Lenuţa era mai pe partea asta de ştiinţe reale si el pe astea socii-umane. Si aşa găsise un citat in care spunea ca orice cetăţean al tarii romaneşti trebuie sa cunoască 2 limbi satine. Deci daca asta zicea el in anii '60 - 70. E o dovada ca exista oarecare asemănări

CL1: Sigur l-au citit pe Ceauşescu.

CL2: Eu nu cred ca pot fi învăţate aşa artificial, nu ştiu, cred ca 8 din 10 persoane care vorbesc o limba străină bine, au învăţat de la televizor sau prin calatorii

CL3: Bine in sensul de...

CL1: Conversaţional.

CL6: Nu academic neapărat

CL3: Sa poţi menţine o conversaţie, nu gramatici, ca gramatica e grea, e foarte grea.

CL2: Sau nu trebuie sa înveţi gramatica ca sa înveţi o limba

CL3: Te poţi înţelege ca omul înţelege ce vrei sa spui când explici nişte chestii chiar daca nu ştii gramatica, te înţelege. si cu 2 limbi, nu-s de acord, o singura limba e de ajuns, ce doua limbi ar putea sa înveţe?

CL6: Pai e foarte util sa ştii mai multe...

RC: Ce iţi aduce o limba străină? Ca aport la personalitatea ta

CL1: Libertate de exprimare cu alte persoane din alte culturi

CL2: Si nu poţi cunoaşte o cultura fără limba respectiva, chiar daca iţi place foarte mult, eu zic ca compozitorii lor sau poezii... da... trebuie sa cunoşti la un anumit grad limba respectiva. fiecare are un caracter foarte puternic si iţi aduce un plus chiar daca nu in mod direct pragmatic.

CL3: Uite mie de exemplu îmi place italiana si engleza. Atât. Altceva nu vreau sa învăţ, sau m-o bătut gândul sa învăţ rusa, dar e foarte grea. Mie nu

îmi place sa folosesc, când vorbesc engleza nu vreau sa sune ca si cum ar fi engleza pura, mie îmi place sa vorbesc engleza in accentul ala rusesc.

[speaks english wit a Russian accent]

CL3: Of course, I'll be there. Deci ii stilul meu, care îmi place. omul te înțelege indiferent cum ii exprimi tu cuvântul, poate spui cum știe el

CL6: Pentru daca pui altfel pronunția atunci el poate sa înțeleagă altceva pentru ca sunt cuvinte asemănătoare cu pronunții diferite

CL1: Lost in translation.

BREAK

RC: Deci rămăsesem cam la poziția limbii engleze in UE si in comunicarea cu alți europeana. In multe contexte limba engleza a devenit un fel de lingău franca in Europa. Ce părere aveți voi despre folosirea limbii engleze in contextul comunicării transnaționale si vi se pare ca noi ca vorbitori nenativi ai englezei suntem dezavantajați?

CL6: Eu cred ca nu suntem dezavantajați pentru ca din cate știu eu învățam limba engleza din clasa a doua sau a cincea si majoritatea tinerilor, oamenilor învață la scoală. Nu știu exact, nu cunosc procentele, dar nu cred ca e un dezavantaj, e foarte important sa știi limba engleza ca sa te poți înțelege cu aproximativ oricine de pe planeta asta, pentru ca in orice tara daca ai merge toata lumea înțelege când spui tahân ou sau pliase sau cuvinte de baza, nu e nevoie sa știi limba la un nivel destul de înalt

RC: Ca sa poți comunica

CL6: Da

CL3: Uite de exemplu, francezii, italienii sunt mai greu cu limba engleza.

[CL6 renovez His hand taht as in front of His moțul]

CL3: Lasă-mă

CL6: Dar nu te înțelegem

CL3: Noi, ca romani, sau nu neapărat ca romani, ca o nație așa mai din est, învățam mai repede, suntem nevoiți sa învățam mai repede decât alții.

CL5: Suntem mai deștepți.

CL3: Nu neapărat mai deștepți

RC: Chiar, de ce crezi ca e asta?

CL3: Suntem nevoiți pentru ca sa avem acces la

CL4: Surse ca si studenți de exemplu

CL3: Si sa interacționam cu alți oameni trebuie sa învățam sau sa învățam lucruri, calculatorul e in engleza, nu este Windows in romana

CL2: Ba da

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CL3: Da, mă rog....

CL4: A fost tradus...

CL3: Pe când in Italia totul e dublat, filme, filme, desene animate, engleza numai aia deştepţi care vor sa o înveţe.

CL6: Nu neapărat, dar cei care au nevoie si lucrează cu oameni....

CL3: Sau aşa..

CL6: Hoteluri

CL3: Dar oricum, Italia in comparaţie cu Romania, sa ştii ca ei nu cred ca învaţă, se prind mai greu. Noi ca romani învăţam mai repede, si italiana si engleza, si franceza, deşi franceza e foarte grea.

CL2: Pai tocmai pentru ca nu-s dublate chestiile, cel puţin la generaţia noastră ca vai de capul lor copiii ăştia de 4-5 ani care se uita la la cartoon network in romana

SebCL2: Nu ştiu, dar noi învăţam altfel limbile.

CL5: Pai eu de la cartoon network ştiu. Eu din clasa a şasea am început sa fac engleza, dar ştiam deja, recunoşteam la un text ideile de baza, pentru clasa a şasea, adică ştiam de la Tom si Jerry, de la Teo stupid dos, de la Cow and chicken.

CL3: Noi am avut noroc ca n-or fost dublate si am avut acces la informaţia aia in engleza prin traducere, ca mai bine înveţi prin traducere ca dublaj nu mai înţelegi nimic, nu mai ai acces la limba aia.

CL5: Ah, cum erau traducerile alea, când ziceau "fuck ou!" traducea nu ştiu care "la naiba"

RC: Dar tot înveţi

CL3: Oricum, orice limba se învaţă cu înjurături

CL4: Si nume de băuturi.

CL6: Eu mă gândesc ca noi învăţam mai repede si pentru ca ţinutul romanesc din timpuri si pana astăzi a trebui sa sa adapteze ca a fost cotropit ba de cei din est, ba de cei din vest si aşa mai departe si noi am avut foarte multe influente si a trebuit sa ne adaptam si am învăţat si acum când avem nevoie sa învăţam ceva e mult mai uşor pentru noi.

CL3 [tries to remember something]: A vrut sa bage legea sa nu se mai folosească neologisme

CL5: Da sa nu mai scrii 'site' ca in engleza sa scrii 'sărit'

CL3: Sa nu foloseşti cuvinte ca 'cool' sau 'ok', asta au vrut sa fac el

RC: Un pic pe modelul francez

CL3: Da, un fel de naţionalism

RC: Deci limba....

CL3: Si acum au vrut sa bage legea dublajelor in Romania si s-a refuzat sa fie dublate filmele, desenele animate toate si foarte bine ca nu s-a acceptat

RC: Credeţi ca faptul ca noi învăţam mai multe limbi... cam cate limbii vorbiţi voi? Ce limbi vorbiţi voi si cum le-aţi învăţat?

CL3: Engleza si italiana

CL6: Eu spre exemplu engleza vorbesc cel mai bine, franceza foarte puţin dar înţeleg pentru ca am făcut mulţi ani de franceza, spaniola puţin, dar înţeleg, germana câteva cuvinte, dar tot mai înţeleg ceva. Si am fost in Polonia anul asta si foarte interesant pentru ca la un moment dat, nu vorbesc, dar a treia oara când am fost am început sa înţeleg ce vorbeau, anumite fraze si era foarte interesant pentru ca unele cuvinte chiar semănau cu cuvinte de-ale noastre si.... interesant sa mergi 2-3 ori într-o tara si sa începi sa înţelegi chiar daca nu poţi sa vorbeşti. Si atunci automat te simţi altfel pentru ca parca te simţi parte din grupul respectiv, e un sentiment.... aşa...

CL1: Eu, franceza, engleza, putin-putin germana si greaca, si bine, italiana ca orice roman care înţelege cate un pic si daca se străduieşte poate sa si scoată vreo 2 cuvinte.

CL3: Ah, si ştiu si puţin siciliana, câteva cuvinte. Şi foarte dubioase cuvintele, suna foarte dubios limba asta, mă rog, un dialect din zona aia. Aşa mai, nu ştiu, stâlcit, aşa parca vorbesc cu limba aşa legata

CL5: Vorbesc engleza, franceza, la un nivel cel mai ridicat pe care li pot, spaniola si italiana la nivel conversaţional sa mă pot face înţeles, rusa si greaca pot citi si scrie foarte bine, înţeleg 20-30% si pot exprima si cam tot aşa si cu germana, pot citi si tot, dar nu mă pot face înţeles si înţeleg mai mult, e normal sa înţelegi mai mult decât poţi exprima

CL2: Maghiara, romana, germana, engleza, astea ...

CL5: Astea toate foarte bine.

CL2: Pai da. Si atât.

CL4: Iar eu vorbesc nivel avansat, engleza, franceza, italiana, am si certificate o pot demonstra

Anna: Arata-ni-le

CL4: Iar la un nivel mediu spaniola, adică înţeleg foarte bine, dar de când cunosc limba italiana pentru ca întâi am făcut spaniola si apoi italiana, oricând vreau sa vorbesc in spaniola vorbesc italiana. Cred ca e problema multora dintre noi. Iar maghiara si germana foarte puţin, dar pe partea de germana cel puţin mă aflu pe calea cea buna, vreau sa trec de la nivel de începător avansat la intermediar începător.

RC: Si credeţi ca faptul ca vorbiţi atâtea limbi va ajuta sa va simţi mai europeni? mai...

CL2: Eu am răspuns la asta.

CL3: Te face sa te simţi mai om, aşa.

CL5: Mai bine, nu mai european.

CL4: Limbile te fac, la început am crezut ca e un clişeu, ca l-am auzit când eram încă destul de mica si nu citisem aşa de mult si nu mă confruntasem cu atât de mult, sa ai mai multe personalităţi si nu neapărat in sensul negativ pentru ca când ajungi sa cunoşti o limba...

[brief conversation wit CL1 about a course they took together]

CL4: Nu ştiu ajungi sa gândeşti si sa înţelegi mai bine felul de a proceda, chiar de a acţiona a unei anumite naţiuni. De exemplu, când eram mica mama îmi tot baga in cap texte in limba maghiara si cred ca de aceea am o altfel de atitudine fata de maghiari pentru ca de mica am învăţat sa apreciez un anumit tip de ironie care se găseşte la ei si care nu o găsim la romani, o ironie foarte, foarte specifica si total adorabila. Iar apoi sigur s-a ajuns la filme clasice in limba engleza cu accent cockney si aşa mai departe.

CL5: Te fac mai liber limbile, si mai stăpân pe situaţie in multe azurii. Eu de exemplu am mers in diverse tari si trebuia sa mă descurc in limba respectiva cu oameni care nu ştiau alta limba si atunci uite ca am învăţat maghiara in câteva zile sa mă descurc cu direcţiile. Mergeam cu bicicletele si trebuia sa aflu. Si am început de la buna ziua, si aşa, dar fără sa ştiu nimic înainte, tot interacţionând cu oamenii, deja ştiam, dreapta, vreau sa ajung acolo, ştiam cum sa zic. Intre timp am mai uitat iară cum n-am mai vorbit. După aceea in Germania, iarăşi nu ştiam multe lucruri in germana, dar am învăţat foarte rapid, asimilează foarte repede si italiana iară deja vorbeam aproape fluent cu ei chiar daca nu ştiam aşa de bine înainte si iţi da aşa o libertate ca oriunde te duci parca eşti tot la tine acasă.

CL3: Pe mine mă amuza foarte tare oamenii ăştia mai bătrâni când vine un străin si zice ceva in engleza, oamenii se blochează devin muţi dintr-o data, ştiu eu hai sa zicem romana nu înţelege nimica si vrea sa zic in engleza dar nu ştie nimic si rămâne.

RC: Si începe sa vorbească mai tare si mai rar

CL3: Da si se pierde si vrea sa zică el ceva dar nu mai ştie.

RC: Dar crezi ca asta e o problema, in generaţia noastră, ti se pare ca tinerii învaţă mai repede limbile?

CL3: Absolut, in generaţia noastră da.

CL6: Exista mai mult posibilităţi,

CL3: Nu ştiu cei care vin din spate acum sa zicem ăştia de pe la 10-12 ani deja ştiu la un nivel mult mai mare decât ştiam noi pe vremea aia

RC: Si crezi ca rolul....?

CL3: Nu ştiu, ei or crescut altfel. nu cu jucăriile in nisip si cărări de lemn si cuburi de lemn, ei or crescut cu calculatoare si au trecut foarte repede peste pragul cu jucăriile si au început sa înveţe alte chestii.

CL4: Grădinițe sunt in engleza, germana, cat mai mult...

CL3: Atunci, pe vremea aia, nu toata luam era data la grădinița. Nu toata lumea avea ocazia sa meargă la grădinița, acum daca nu faci grădinița e ca si cum nu ti-ai făcut scoală.

RC: Legat de ce a spus CL4 mai înainte, ideea asta ca învățând o limba străină capeți un fel de alta personalitate, alta identitate, oarecum, ce părere aveți, limbile străine, multilingvismul in general are un rol pur comunicativ sau si partea asta de schimbare a identității personale?

CL6: Daca trăiești mulți ani într-o anumita tara, cred ca da, pentru ca daca stai 20-30 de ani într-o tara automat împrumuți din cultura, vorbești limba lor si te identifici cu limba respectiva.

RC: Si identificând-te cu limba te identifici si cu cultura si cu idealurile tarii respective sau....?

CL6: Aici depinde cred si de la persoana la persoana.

CL3: E adevărat faptul asta ca daca stai mai mult într-o tara deja ești oarecum ... stai printre străini si ești nevoit sa vorbești limba aia, o înveți atât de bine ca uiți sa mai vorbești romana de fapt.

CL4: Si ajungi sa gândești in limba aia

CL3: Da si ajungi sa gândești, eu vad la maica-mea e de șase ani in Italia si când o sun si nu răspunde, mă suna ea după o juma de ora si spune 'm-ai chemat'?

CL6: Si împrumuți accentul

CL3: Si zice 'm-ai chemat', am zic cum 'm-ai chemat'? 'Nu te-am chemat, te-am sunat'. Si vorbește in cuvinte, ii mai scapă câteodată in italiana când vorbesc cu ea, e reflex, vine așa fără sa iți dai seama.

CL5: Eu nu neapărat ca m-a schimbat, dar m-a format cumva, citind mai multe limbi, sau uitându-mi la filme in mai multe limbi. văzând foarte multe filme rusești, citind poezii rusești sau nu știu, uitându-mi la filme italiene, spaniole, ce m-a mai atras așa, atunci am pătruns mai ușor cultura respectiva, înțeleg mai bine, si când e vorba de a explica o anumita situație, ca uite ce a făcut un spaniol sau un rus, daca ai pătruns cumva dinainte in cultura lor știi cumva care e resortul din spate, de ce, fiindcă rușii așa-s ei, prin cultura lor ei se gândesc mai întâi la asta si apoi la asta.

CL3: Ei și foarte naționaliști si întâi se gândesc la limba lor si după aia...

CL5: Asta e in cazul multor tari

CL3: Deci, rușii sânge pur naționaliști. De aia nu se aude nimic de ei, e un comunism acolo foarte strict.

CL5: Si mafie e acolo

CL3: Nu lasă sa se permită, nu permit cum o permis Romania după '89.

CL5: Fiindcă sunt o tara mare si un popor puternic, de aia

CL3: Da, nu permite aşa uşor sa vina Coca-Cola si toate prostiile astea la ei. Deşi exista, dar nu aşa in cantităţi industriale cum e la noi. nu au acces foarte clar la produse si tot felul.

CL4: As putea sa adaug ca la parte asta cu personalitatea unei naţiuni exprimata prin limba trebuie neapărat ţinut cont de backgroundul cultural si chiar economic al persoanei care vorbeşte limba respectiva. Ţin minte ca discutam cu tine despre felurile diferite in care poate fi vorbita maghiara de exemplu, iar despre romana cred ca ştim cu toţii ce diferenţe exista intre anumite persoane si acestea sunt foarte greu de observat când este vorba despre o alta limba. Cu mult mai greu decât despre propria ta limba. totuşi e esenţial sa se tina cont de ele. Deci mai degrabă decât ideea de personalitate a unei naţiuni exprimata prin limba trebuie sa adăugam si dimensiunea personala a celui care o vorbeşte.

CL5: De ce zice background si nu zici fundal

CL3: Da

CL5: Ţinând cont de backgroundul nu ştiu cui

CL3: Pruteanu te priveşte

CL5: Nu, dar eu sunt foarte curios.

[ininteligibile]

CL6: Mai ales daca comunici in limba engleza zilnic cu persoane din alte parţi începi..

CL5: Ti se alterează

CL6: Gândeşti in limba respectiva si iţi vin cuvintele in limba respectiva

CL4: Poate ca mi se alterează in bine. alterarea înseamnă schimbare

CL3: Limba romana...

CL4: Ca tu ii dai o conotaţie negativa asta e altceva

CL3: Limba romana in ultimii 600 de ani s-a schimbat foarte mult. din limba romana care exista din timpurile vechi se păstrează cam 30 de cuvinte din limba veche. In rest, toate s-au schimbat cu timpul

CL5: Nu cred, ca din limba daca

[ininteligibile - talking about the 30 words]

CL3: Nu chiar frecvent dar le folosim totuşi

CL4: Si ar mai trebui sa fim si atenţi la anumite vocabule care sunt exploatate de către naţionalism. Eu ţin minte când eram mica si mă învăţau toţi profii in scoală ca cuvântul 'dor' exista doar in limba romana, ceea ce e fals pentru ca da într-adevăr nu exista in limba engleza, deşi multe cuvinte din limba engleza exista in limba romana, nu exista in

franceza, dar exista de exemplu in germana si se vedea clar ca acei profesori învăţaseră de la alt profesor care nu studiase problema

CL5: Si cum ii zice?

CL4: Sehnsucht, primul album Rammstein.

CL5: Sehnsucht?

CL4: Cum sa-l pronunţ?

CL2: Sehnsucht

CL4: Si genul acesta de cuvinte într-adevăr merita sa fie studiate, dar nu exploatate ca wow suntem mai buni ca si naţiune pentru ca avem acest cuvânt si ca in alte tari nu poţi sa ai acest sentiment pentru ca nu exista sau nu e exprimat in felul asta. Da. dor, doina

CL6: Pai in engleza zici i miss ou, adică îmi lipseşti, nu e dor.

CL4: Nu exista ca si substantiv

CL6: Dar ca sentiment clar exista in toata lumea

RC: Tu ai crescut vorbind maghiara sau bilingv?

CL2: Maghiara

RC: Si ai învăţat romana la scoală

CL2: Nu, nu se poate învaţă romana la scoală, cine nu a învăţat-o de pe strada... nu. Deci am mulţi prieteni din Secuime de exemplu, pot sa-ti vorbească timp de 40 de min despre roman, trăsăturile romanului balzacian, dar cum sa cumpere o pâine nu ştiu. Deci eu ştiu romana pentru ca am petrecut mult timp la bunici, ei stau la tara si ceilalţi copii de vârsta mea, majoritatea erau romani si am învăţat când eram mic. La scoală nu cred ca se poate învaţă romana daca nu ai cunoştinţe anterioare.

CL3: Aia e cel mai important si sigur: o limba o înveţi interacţionând cu alţii. Nu singur. Singur ti-e foarte greu sa o înveţi, ti-e mai greu decât sa interacţionezi cu alţii.

RC: Si poate ca înveţi un anumit vocabular

CL3: Din ce ştiu eu in engleza, am învăţat din desene animate, din filme, prin interacţionare cu alţi oameni, aşa am învăţat. Deci nu m-a învăţat nimeni si in scoală nu prea mi-am dat interesul. Am învăţat aşa, cuvintele simple 'hi' , 'I want something' si chestii de genul. Propozitii simple. Asta am învăţat la scoală. Nu mi-am dat silinţa pentru gramatica.

CL6: Gramatica din auz poţi sa o înveţi

CL3: Da, deci e ... limba funcţionează se schimba mereu ceva, auzi, te corectează lumea. pe mine nu mă deranjează daca mă corectează cineva. Eu foloseam foarte des pleonasme si tot felul si mă corecta fratele meu. Eram nervos pe el, dar îmi dădeam seama ca e ok. Si acum, nu mai folosesc. Înainte foloseam foarte des 'hai urca sus', 'coboară jos'. Si de aia zic ca

mereu e într-o continua schimbare, înveţi, înlături si înveţi altceva bun. Înveţi din ceea in ce mai mult de la alţii.

[connection problem, video issues, talk to Franco]

RC: Discursul UE despre multilingvism are doua trăsături de baza: ei spun ca reflecta si asigura văluririle de baza ale democraţiei europene, dar si ca aduce beneficii economice si sociale. voi ce părere aveţi sunteţi de acord cu chestia asta?

CL5: Dar ce treaba are limba cu democraţia?

CL3: Da, chiar aşa

CL5: Si cu beneficiile economice si sociale

CL3: Limba e ceva opţional, nu se leagă de nimic

CL5: Beneficiile economice vin prin engleza, uite eu pot vorbesc acum engleza, lucrez intra-un loc unde îmi trebuie sa vorbesc in engleza altfel n-as putea, m-as duce sa...

CL3: Eşti nevoit sa vorbeşti, altfel n-ai vorbi

CL5: Da, orice persoana in orice firma normala trebuie sa ştie si engleza ca lucrezi pe calculator, cu străini, ceva trebuie sa ştii, de acolo, da, daca îmi aduce mie romana in ceea ce fac eu beneficii sociale, ca mă ajuta in democraţie... nu ştiu...

CL4: Te ajuta daca interpretezi ca într-o instituţie europeana te poţi exprima in limba romana si atunci poţi sa exprimi mult mai bine subtilităţile pe care...

CL5: Ei, si traduce...

CL6: Trebuie sa le traducă da

CL4: Dar nu eşti sigur ca traduce prost, poate traduce bine, de exemplu la Cluj e o scoală foarte buna de interpretări

CL6: Oricum întotdeauna se pierde din informaţie in momentul in care exista un translator, deci una e când vorbeşti tu limba respectiva si alta e când cineva e intermediar

CL2: Si din punctul asta de vedere, trebuie sa creezi cat mai multe situaţii in care nu ai nevoie de un intermediar. Adică nu ştiu. Se întâlneşte un businessman din Polonia cu unul din Franţa si ala din Polonia nu ştie franceza sau ala din Franţa nu ştie poloneze, bine asta e

CL1: Daca e tatăl sau mama poloneza

CL2: Si atunci altfel decurge totul

CL1: Da, încrede...

CL6: Acuma, cred ca depinde si ce înseamnă democraţie pentru fiecare persoana in parte, ce înţelege persoana respectiva prin conceptul de

democrație si apoi ar putea sa se facă o analiza intre ce spun ei in UE acolo ca multilingvismul sta la baza democrației si ce cred eu ca e democrația

RC: Faptul ca ei promovează aceasta idee de unitate in diversitate. Fiecare trebuie sa se simtă unit in diversitate, sa-si păstreze oarecum identitatea culturala si lingvistica si ceea ce înseamnă esența lui ca persoana ca si cultura dar sa fie oarecum uniți cu ceilalți europeni. Credeți voi ca este o chestie viabila? Ca aceasta lozinca e posibil sa fie implementata, exista sau e doar o chestie la nivel teoretic?

CL5: Ea exista, e foarte buna așa ca lozinca, si in anumite domenii lumea e unita, chiar daca e diversa. Cum e in cazul nostru: sunt echipe transnaționale si toata lumea vorbește foarte bine; dar când te gândești la democrație, la drepturile tale ca cetățean european, ca roman in Italia. Ce-ti aduce? Uniți in diversitate... mă simt eu unit cu italianul? Mă simt unit cu suedezul'?

CL1: Nu, dar daca e sa te iei după drepturile omului ele sunt valabile oriunde te-ai afla in lume

CL5: Pai nu, dar unii sunt mai egali ca alții. Adică, un italian si un francez ei sunt cam pe acolo, dar eu când mă duc intre ei sunt alt standard

CL1: Pai da, dar asta exista si datorita unor legi care exista in tara respectiva

CL5: Pai da

CL2: Pai nu, dar legile sunt implementate cu un anumit scop adică eu cred ca daca romanii ar fi tratați egal cu francezii in Franța daca in tara asta n-ar mai locui nimeni, sau populația ar scădea de la 20 milioane la 1 milion jumate

CL4: Si ar fi foarte ok, ca toți care ar avea de plecat ar pleca, si am putea sa o luam de la zero. mie mi-ar plăcea, eu sunt din aia care rămâne

CL5: Una e când sunt legi si alta e când pe strada un om te tratează rău fără sa li oblige nici o lege, te disprețuiește așa, fără motiv

CL1: In chestiile astea am putea din cate știu eu sa mergi la CEDO si sa faci ceva in privința asta

CL5: Nu, daca te tratează urat pe strada, ce, ba ești roman, ești un hot ordinar

CL1: Asta e discriminare

CL4: Sau daca vorbește cu tine si după aia când ajunge la întrebare ești din Romania si zici ca da, nu mai vorbește, ce poți sa faci?

[ininteligibile]

CL2: Dar vorbim acum despre anumiți oameni dintr-un strat social care exista in fiecare tara, nu e o caracteristica națională a unui stat ca dispreţuiesc oamenii din Europa de est

CL3: Sau poţi sa te prezinţi ca fiind din Transilvania

CL6: Sau poţi sa priveşti si altfel situaţia. Poate ca italienii ne dispreţuiesc, dar de ce? pentru ca au foarte mulţi romani care s-au dus si au făcut rele acolo si atunci automat...

CL3: Nu e vorba de asta, e vorba ca italienii sunt o naţie de oameni naţionalişti si rasişti

CL2: Dar nu poţi declara aşa ceva despre o naţiune

CL3: Zic aşa, majoritatea... eu zic aşa ca am trăit acolo si am văzut oameni, am stat un an de zile, m-am mai călătorit si am văzut.

RC: Cum crezi ca e Romania?

CL3: Privita de ei?

RC: Din punctul asta de vedere al discriminării si naţionalismului

CL3: Nu ştiu, mă rog, lăsând la o parte cum funcţionează cu moldovenii, ungurii

CL1: Cu romii

CL5: Cam cu toţi

CL2: Lăsând la o parte tot

CL3: Dar in general străinii care vin, nemţi, africani, chinezi nu sunt....

CL5: Pai aia aduc bani de aia, dar de exemplu când vine la Cluj un oltean, asta e prost, moldoveanul e leneş si putoare bucureşteanul e idiot prin definiţie

CL6: Si şmecher

CL5: Chinezul - asta ce caută aici, ruşii - la ăştia ni-s duşmani de o viată. ce mai e primprejur, bulgarii - ceafa groasa si mafioţi si de-aia, ungurii - trăsni-i-ar ca ne-or luat Ardealul, deci cam ....

CL2: Pai nu ştiu cat de strâns se leagă ceea ce vrei sa zici tu... pai chestia asta cu naţionalismul in Romania, deci in primul rând, trebuie sa te gândeşti ca modelul politic si constituţional romanesc e bazat pe cel francez care e cel mai naţionalist încă de pe vremuri si asta aduce cu sine o anumita mentalitate care pe trasee foarte ciudate ajunge in conştiinţa oamenilor si este, Romania este singurul stat unde comunismul a fost de caracter naţionalist, aşa ceva nu mai era in Europa in alte parţi, si asta totuşi rămâne chiar daca suntem pe drumul cel bun, dar eu nu cred ca Romania ar fi mai naţionalista ca Italia sau Franţa sau alte tari care ..

CL3: Nu, dar Romania nu mai e naţionalista

CL5: De când nu mai e primar Funar...

CL2: Dar eu nu vorbesc despre... am zis ca au rămas anumite chestii in tradiţia politica care tot răsuna in conştiinţa politica

CL3: Da, da da

CL2: Si nu e naţionalist, pentru ca pentru mine nici Franţa nu e naţionalista, nici Italia, dar după definiţia ta si Romania ar trebui sa fie la fel.

CL3: Da mie mi s-a părut absurda ideea lui Funar de a vopsi toate băncile si bordurile in roşu galben si albastru. Chiar a fost o discriminare totala, aşa nu ştiu, pentru Romania nu neapărat pentru alte comunităţi.

CL6: Ce voiam eu sa spun e ca am avut o discuţie cu un prieten si vorbeam chiar despre asta, despre discriminare si a spus o chestie foarte interesanta cu care chiar am fost de acord, ca un om din ziua de astăzi care are o gândire normala nu poate sa discrimineze o persoana, o naţiune pentru ca italienii sunt, nu ştiu, conservatori sau nu ştiu cum pentru ca in ziua de azi un om normal ar trebui sa discrimineze daca discriminează omul pentru acţiunile sale, pentru faptul ca arunca gunoi pe strada sau omoară pe altcineva, nu pentru faptul ca este roman, ca este german, ca este francez si aşa mai departe, daca toata lumea ar gândi aşa ar fi mult mai bine. Si niciodată nu poţi sa bagi pe toata lumea in aceeaşi oala, din toţi trebuie sa fie si excepţii

CL2: Adevărul e ca omul a funcţionat si funcţionează in continuare pe un mecanism foarte simplu. Eu mă identific prin Ant agonizare si asta e folosit de către politicieni si de media. Eu sunt ceea ce e diferit de ălalalt si daca eu li urăsc pe el, eu automat mă iubesc pe mine si sunt împăcat cu mine. Asta e un mecanism care funcţionează la toata lumea. Si acum 200 ani erau conflicte religioase, acum sunt conflicte politice si astea nu or sa dispară, e cam utopişti sa crezi ca prin... singura modalitate prin care poţi sa treci de acest nivel si nu o sa treci cu toata populaţia, nici măcar majoritatea populaţiei, este cultura, prin cultura. Numai ca din păcate si cultura se poate folosi greşit si s-a folosit greşit de multe regimuri si o sa se întâmple si mai departe.

RC: Dar crezi ca iniţiative ca Europa Alternative si Transeuropa Network pot sa ne ajute sa depăşim faza asta in care ne identificam fiecare prin Ant agonizare cu cel de alături?

CL4: Da, te ajuta foarte mult sa vezi individul cu calităţile si defectele lui, ca oricât am zice ca nu ştiu care face asta ca e italian sau e francez pana la urma e doar o gluma, când e vorba ca într-adevăr sa analizezi o persoana, o faci individual si asta e unul din principalele merite pe care li vad in a activa in aceasta organizaţie.

CL6: Si eu mă gândesc ca interacţionând cu atâţia oameni din atâtea tari intervine si procesul de diseminare a ceea ce muncim noi aici si ajunge informaţia la cat mai multa lume si atunci exista posibilitatea de schimbare, poate nu foarte rapida, dar exista.

CL3: Ideea e ca multe tari se dau după alte tari mai puternice. Aşa funcţionează acum in ziua de azi.

CL6: Oricum daca e sa vorbim de politica...

CL3: Si de acord cu alte tari, politica influenţează, încă din America au început sa fie ilegale multe chestii si tot aşa au dat mai departe in toata lumea, ca altfel nu suntem liberi cum credem noi ca suntem, suntem urmăriţi, suntem ascultaţi, suntem... fiecare are dreptul sa facă ceea ce vrea el, corpul lui, sănătatea lui, aspectul, fiecare face ce vrea, nu poţi sa ii spui, ba, nu, nu ai voie sa fumezi marijuana, nu ai voie sa te droghezi, mori, tu eşti conştient de tine, tu faci ce vrei...

CL1: Nu sunt de acord cu tine, adică cu ceea ce spui

CL3: N-are nimeni treaba cu tine, faci ce vrei, dar faci acasă nu pe strada. Daca vrei sa fumezi sau ceva, stai acasă, de aia.. Elveţia e la fel, a fost o tara neutra, nici in războaie nu s-a băgat, nici in NATO, nici in UE

CL6: Dar uite ca si legile astea care sunt sunt ca sa păstreze anumita ordine, nu poţi fără legi, e chiar imposibil

CL3: Daca ar fi fost ceva haotic, Olanda ar fi fost de rasul lumii, dar eu cred ca e ceva bine organizat acolo, ceva pus la punct. Sunt nişte reguli.

CL5: Da, e o societate foarte bine pusa la punct oamenii se respecta si respecta regulile, adică nu ştiu, eu când am fost in Olanda tinerii de vârsta mea sau mai mici, daca dădeau peste tine se întorceau si spuneau, sorry, adică scuze ca am dat peste tine, la noi, da peste tine si....hahhaa

CL3: Si te mai si înjura daca ... nu ştiu e altfel pus la punct sistemul, e ilegal, sunt legale nişte chestii la care noi nu avem acces sau multa lume in întreaga lume nu are acces, si la ei e legal, constituţia e altfel.

CL4: Si datorita unor legi nescrise care constituie sfera publica, care la noi nu funcţionează

CL3: E corpul tău, faci ceea ce vrei tu cu corpul tău

CL6: Atâta timp cat nu deranjezi pe altul

CL3: Da da, cat nu ii deranjezi pe ceilalţi din jurul tău.

CL2: Nu-i aşa de simplu. In Olanda e foarte simplu pentru ca s-a atins un nivel de trai suficient de mare ca sa existe o oarecare bunăstare.

CL3: Oamenii deja s-au obişnuit acolo, nu ştiu cum a fost legalizarea... cum a acceptat lumea legalizarea prostituţiei si drogurilor uşoare. Dar oricum ei s-au saturat deja, s-au plictisit, nu cred ca acum oamenii sunt foarte dependenţi de ceea ce au ei acuma dreptul

CL2: Deci trei chestii: diferenţa intre Olanda si Romania, consumatul alcoolului pe strada, marijuana si prostituţia. 90% dintre prostituatele care lucrează in Rid Legat District in Amsterdam sunt din Cehia, Ungaria, Romania, Moldova si aşa mai departe. Daca s-ar legaliza aici prostituţia atunci n-ar veni olandeze sa se prostitueze, s-ar prostitua o parte foarte

mare de românce care nici nu s-ar fi gândit la aşa ceva, pentru ca e un venit ok, plătesc taxe, e acceptat social. E o forţa de munca care se muta dintr-o parte in alta si rămâne un anumit gol care permite unor chinezi sau ucraineni ca sa vina si sa umple locurile respective pentru un salariu mai mic. Consumul de alcool pe strada, in Olanda ...

CL3: Dar eu nu sunt de acord pe strada

CL2: Deci totuşi reprezinţi o categorie de oameni care considera spaţiul public intra-un mod mai conservator, daca nu poţi sa bei alcool pe strada, de ce nu?

CL3: Pai nu vad rostul sa mergi de nebun cu o sticla de vodka pe strada.

CL2: Mhm.

CL4: In Germania e ok, e normal sa poţi sa stai sa bei berea in parc in loc sa dai 6 euro intra-un bar.

CL3: Atâta timp cat nu deranjezi pe cei din jur, absolut.

CL2: Si asta se poate atinge in Occident, aici daca ar fi legal ar curge sânge pe străzi.

CL3: Ii ilegal sa bei pe strada in Anglia

CL2: In Anglia e ilegal sa bei pe strada?

CL5: Eu am văzut oameni care beau pe strada.

CL2: Pai nu ştiu, din cate...

CL3: Atâta timp cat iţi vezi de treaba ta si nu faci scandal poţi sa iţi dai si foc. Dar când faci pagube

CL2: Dar exista societăţi unde se poate implementa aşa ceva si Romania nu e una dintre ele. Nici prostituţia, nici iarba, nici alcoolul

CL6: Mentalitatea e cu totul alta

RC: Dar se schimba sau nu?

CL6: Se poate schimba, dar..

CL3: Eu zic ca omul e liber sa facă ce vrea.... cu limite. Mai puţin crime, furturi si violuri, atâta timp cat tine... De ce Coca-Cola nu e interzisa de exemplu, ştim cu toţii ca ...

CL2: Asta e problema cu "omul e liber sa facă ce vrea". E liber pana la o anumita limita, pana când nu deranjează pe altcineva in libertatea lui, dar fiecare are alt grad de sensibilitate. Tu zici ca gay-i sa facă ce vor ei numai sa facă acasă, ca pe tine te deranjează daca vezi doi bărbaţi sărutând-se pe strada

CL3: Ah, nu nu! Dar zic sa nu degenereze...

[ininteligibile]

CL3: Sa nu se dea la tine pe strada, sa nu te deranjeze, ştii? Ca aşa n-am nici o treaba ca se ţin ei de mana, n-am avut in viată mea.

CL2: Ultimele 20 de minute ...

CL3: Sunt multe chestii mai grave in lumea asta care trebuie interzise decât ceea ce am discutat pana acuma, astea sunt chestii opţionale. Astea sunt chestii aşa, opţionale si....

CL5: Sărăcia ar trebui interzisa

CL6: Cerşetoria...

CL3: Care aparţin de nevoile omului si....

RC: Eu mai am o singura întrebare care este: daca voi aţi fi consilieri ai comisarului pentru multilingvism sau daca pur si simplu aţi putea sa influenţaţi directivele UE, ce sugestii sau ce recomandări aţi avea pentru aceasta comisie a multilingvismului?

CL5: Sa ii bata la cap pe moldoveni pana schimba constituţia ca limba e romana.

RC: Ei nu sunt parte din UE

CL5: Nu, dar au acordul de pre-aderare

CL2: Dar ce, limba oficiala nu e romana?

CL5: Nu, e moldoveneasca

CL2: Ah, da

CL4: Eu as fi perversa si as folosi limbile ca sa deconstruiesc naţiunea. Ca de exemplu, pentru Europa Centrala asta ar folosi foarte mult.

CL5: In sens de regionalizare

CL4: De euro-regionalizare, nu de regionalizare in interiorul statului. Faza asta cu maghiara care e vorbita in Ungaria, Slovacia, SV Ucrainei, Ardeal, romana care e vorbita si pe teritoriul Republicii Moldova si in Ucraina, ce ar mai merge, ar merge destul de multe.

RC: Ce ai propune?

CL4: Cred ca proiecte europene sa se scrie ca sa se cunoască tinerii din diverse tari care împărtăşesc aceeaşi limba. Sigur, exista, dar sunt finanţate de partide politice, de finanţatori privaţi. Ar merge o chestie oficiala pe asta care ar facilita foarte mult schimbul intre tineri din tari diferite care au parte si prin limba de un trecut comun si care personal cred ca n-ar trebui pierdut

CL5: E o treaba foarte deşteapta, foarte buna, dar exista un pericol, mă gândesc iar la maghiari ca e mai apropiat examplul. Sa nu fie recuperata toata treaba si instrumentata de un guvern maghiar naţionalist ca după o perioada in care tineri de genul asta se întâlnesc in Transilvania, Slovacia, Croaţia, Slovenia, pe unde mai sunt vorbitori, ia sa vedem noi cine a participat la toate scolie astea si cum au învăţat si sa ii manipulam cumva

pentru un scop de ... pentru Ungaria Mare, ceva de genul asta. Acelaşi lucru se poate face si in Romania cu Republica Moldova, daca sunt prea intense chestiile astea atunci poate fi uzurpata toata....

CL4: Nu ştiu, dar daca vrem o Europa a regiunilor, atunci aşa trebuie sa faci. Daca vrei numai sa bal bal despre Europa regiunilor si tu de fapt sa menţii statul naţiune, atunci da, nu faci nimic si te gândeşti la iredentism si la ultranaţionalism.

CL5: Pai, da, dar statul naţiune nu dispare in viziunea ta. Adică trebuie... deci de aia atunci e periculoasa toata ideea, pana nu renunţam la suveranitatea extinsa a statului naţiune

CL4: Dar nu renunţa nimeni la suveranitatea statului naţiune, cred ca orice tara care a renunţat la moneda ca sa intre in zona euro, regreta in ziua de azi

CL5: Ideea nu-i viabila, e perfecta, dar...

CL4: Ba e viabila, pentru ca e complementara. Se suprapune asupra statului deja existent.

CL5: Statul naţional care rămâne cu puterea toata sa nu dea doi bani pe regionalizarea asta culturala sau...

CL4: Si tocmai ca nu da, măcar nu o împiedica daca ea vine de sus de la nivel supra naţional.

CL5: Guvernele se schimba o data la 4 ani

CL4: Da si un proiect european, perioada de finanţare e de 6 ani, 7...

CL5: Aşa, si vine peste 10 ani un guvern super naţionalist, si ce te faci, s-a terminat proiectul

CL2: Răspunsul ar fi exista trei nivele de administrare, modelul pe care l-as recomanda eu: exista trans-naţional, naţional si regional. Slăbirea puterii administrative naţionale si întărirea celei regionale, pe locul doi sa fie cel trans-naţional si chiar nivelul naţional sa aibă cea mai putina putere, sa fie un coordonator

CL5: Armata, diplomaţie, alea mai dure, in rest... da. Aşa ar fi perfect, dar nu prea vor...

CL2: Si atunci, pot fi implementate, de exemplu, serios, limba turca de exemplu, turcii acum vor intre in UE, trăiesc 3 milioane de turci in Germania si unii trăiesc chiar in gheto-uri si nu vorbesc alta limba decât cea turca. Si e un fel de stigma. Daca nu ar mai fi o stigma sa vorbeşti limba ta, cum ar fi turca, eu cred ca atunci si turcii ar începe mult mai repede sa vorbească limba naţionala, adică germana, daca nu ar fi totul tratat de parca ar fi un gheto, ci ca si o regiune care poate aduce avantaje. Si exista tari unde trăiesc mai putini, nu ştiu, Estonia, trăiesc un milion, si aia e o limba naţionala, dar in acelaşi timp trăiesc oameni, cetăţeni ai UE a căror limba materna nu este una oficiala. Sie asta iar e o problema. De aceea trebuie implementata regionalizarea cat mai puternic.

CL4: Si ce as mai face ar fi sa mă axez pe modelul Finlandei in care a doua limba, adică limba primei minorităţi naţionale e si ea limba naţionala. Cum e cazul minorităţii suedeze care are exact tot acelaşi procent ca minoritatea maghiara din Romania, si totuşi e limba naţionala si vorbita peste tot in Finlanda, adică sunt obligaţi sa o aibă in orice loc. Iar chestia asta s-ar putea aplica si la noi si in alte tari din Europa Centrala.

CL3: Dar n-are rost

CL5: Daca faci abstracţie de toata istoria si de tot cumulul cultural

CL4: Adică?

CL2: Si n-are nici un rost pragmatic, zic eu, adică de ce sa...

CL4: Adică da, de fapt, ar putea sa fie reversul...

CL2: De ce sa ştie oameni din Constanta limba maghiara, ei n-au nici o tangenta.

RC: Dar de exemplu oamenii din Cluj?

CL2: Oameni din Cluj da, de exemplu mi-ar plăcea ca romanii din Cluj sa vorbească.

CL4: Dar nu trebuie sa te legi strict de exemplul României, si in alte tari...

CL5: Ar putea fi la nivel regional: in Transilvania sa se aplice in administraţie, in...

RC: Sau măcar sa ti se dea opţiunea sa înveţi ca limba străină la scoală, nu? Pentru ca cel puţin din cate ştiu eu nu exista opţiunea sa înveţi maghiara ca limba a doua.

CL2: Pai in scoală nu.

CL5: Nu cred ca poţi învaţă in scoală maghiara

CL1: Daca eşti la romani....

RC: In scoală, exista ca limba a doua engleza, franceza, germana, spaniola, dar nu exista nici o scoală care sa ofere maghiara ca limba a doua, deşi pentru noi poate ar fi important sa ştim sa vorbim.

CL6: Asta e o chestia cu care m-am confruntat, eu m-am mutat in septembrie la Cluj, am făcut facultatea la Bucureşti si sunt din Bârlad, Moldova si nu am avut tangente cu limba maghiara si la început când m-am mutat in Cluj îmi căutam de lucru si am văzut ca se cerea automat limba maghiară la anumite locuri de munca si mie de exemplu nu mi s-a părut normal pentru ca eu nu ştiam si nu aveam cum sa ştiu, atâta timp cat veneam din alta parte a tarii unde nu se vorbeşte deloc. Asta a fost o problema cu care m-am confruntat eu.

CL3: Deci normal ar fi sa fie opţional sau un avantaj - avantaj limba maghiara.

CL6: Bine, dar atât timp cat cum a spus CL4 s-ar introduce in scoală ca si a doua limba si atunci înveţi, e normal sa se aplice, dar daca vii din alta

regiune si vrei sa te muţi la Cluj si vrei sa lucrezi într-o anumita firma eşti limitat.

RC: Alte idei am mai putea sa dam comisarului pentru multilingvism?

CL2: Sa nu se vorbească doar doua limbi in afara de cea materna, sa se vorbească chiar 3-4, cat mai multe

RC: Pentru ca?

CL2: Da, răspunde tu...

CL6: Mi-a venit si mie o idee acum. Am fost doua proiecte in Polonia pentru tineri cu deficiente de auz si am lucrat cu ei si este foarte interesant si am aflat ca poţi sa comunici prin limbajul mimica-gestual, cu orice om din lumea asta indiferent de limba pe care o cunoşti, pentru ca exista la nivel internaţional limbajul de semne internaţional care e toata lumea le foloseşte si chiar daca tinerii din Romania cu cei din Turcia si cei din Polonia nu aveau acelaşi limbaj si nu ştiau cel internaţional, cu toate acestea s-au înţeles foarte bine si a fost uimitor si ca un sfat ce as face eu ar fi interesant sa avem si un curs de limbaj internaţional de semne in scoală.

CL4: Foarte interesant

CL6: Si atunci nu este neapărat nevoie sa ştii limba respectiva

CL4: Si ar include si partea de educaţie non-formala.

CL1: Exact

CL6: Si automat si persoanele cu deficiente de auz care sunt foarte multe peste tot si ...

CL1: Si care sunt destul de marginalizate

[ininteligibile]

CL1: Si fără accente care pot fi deranjante pentru unii

CL3: Nu mai ştii care e neamţ, austriac, englez, ungur, moldovean, toţi acolo in aceeaşi oala.

CL5: Si eu daca vreau sa vorbesc moldoveneşte [wit a Moldavian accent]

CL2: Dar n-ai auzit cealaltă parte

CL5: Pai nu ca am plecat

CL3: Nu contează

CL6: Singura chestie e ca prin limbajul mimica-gestual nu poţi sa transmiţi neapărat stări, sentimente, e mult mai greu, chiar dificil, dar chestiile de baza se poate.

CL4: Îmi aminteam de cursurile de la Istoria Orientului Apropiat, la profa cu care iţi scrii tu licenţa, când am învăţat cum a evoluat alfabetul

CL1: Da

CL4: Ca erau ideogramele care exprimau numai ideea, după aia se ajungea la obiect, după aia se ajungea la stare si won! progres când puteai exprima starea de spirit. De abia atunci s-a ajuns la scris.

RC: Alte idei, cam astea sunt întrebările mele

CL2: Pai, de academizarea învăţământului de limbi, adică sa se folosească chestii gen sa fie obligatoriu sa te duci tu ca profesoară de germana o data pe luna in Germania unde chiar se foloseşte limba, sa se folosească mai multe unelte ca sa înveţi interactiv, sa creezi comunităţi unde fiecare îşi are francezul si olandezul cu care sa vorbească pe Skype o data pe săptămâna.

CL3: Sau Chat Roulette

CL2: Ala e de perverşi

CL3: Nu ştiu, eu li foloseam

CL6: Nici nu ştiu ce e aia

Dani: Chat Roulette?

CL3: Da, intri pe chat si dai search si iţi arata cate un om din nu ştiu ce colt al lumii

CL2: Dar majoritatea sunt nişte perverşi, nu?

CL3: Pai mai sunt si din ăştia care au camera îndreptata in jos si ... naşa, ştii?

CL2: Deci astea sunt chestiile, nu Chat Roulette

CL1: Da, programe interactive

CL3: Daca vrei sa te distrezi puţin mai intri si mai vezi unul aşa ciudat, bătrâni din aia...

RC: Si programe de contact, da? [9.0] Daca doriţi sa mai adăugaţi ceva: Tema discuţiei de azi era "O Analiza a Construcţiei si Reproducerii Identităţii Europene prin Discursul asupra Multilingvismului". Daca mai aveţi ceva idei

CL6: Da, încă o idee.

RC: Te rog.

CL6: Din punctul meu de vedere, eu consider ca Europa ca si continent nu ca si UE, într-adevăr UE face anumite chestii pentru anumite tari care fac parte din UE dar nu si pentru celelalte ceea ce mi se pare o discriminare, sa acorde, tu ai voie, hai, tu nu. Pentru ca Europa este tot continentul, de la Munţii Urali.

RC: Crezi ca avem ceva trăsături comune care ne identifica ca europeni? Sau ce înseamnă chestia asta?

CL6: Mă gândesc si un pic la istorie, nu ştiu foarte multa, dar din cate îmi amintesc eu noi am fi printre cei mai vechi si am fost de la începuturi ne-

am creat toate naţiunile si am avut aceeaşi strămoşi sa zicem, e o chestie care ne leagă, dacii, romanii si nu ştiu cine a mai fost înainte nu mai ţin minte. Si practic Europa in sine era împărţita intre ei.

CL5: Ne leagă multe, chiar si limbile ne leagă, sunt trei tipuri mari de limbi, limbile indo-europene

CL3: Limbile au evoluat in funcţie de oameni

CL5: Mă gândesc ca exista limbile latine, sunt câteva tari, sunt limbi germanice care au legături intre ele si culturale nu numai de limba. Maghiarii si finlandezii care la un moment dat au avut nu ştiu ce legături foarte... nu ştiu exact care e , dar ştiu ca limba are anumite si maghiarii sunt aici, finlandezii sunt sus. Sunt nişte conexiuni foarte ciudate si interesante. Mă gândesc la ...

CL2: Si slavii

CL5: Sunt destul de slabe, dar sunt

CL2: Nu, slavii, slavii

CL5: A, da si slavii, iarăşi, da, ultimul cel mai mare... Si stilul arhitectural gotic, nu ştiu, care li găseşti din Irlanda pana in Iaşi, Iaşiul e ultimul oraş, cel mai estic...

CL4: E neogotic, pai scuze

CL5: Dar de ce l-au construit aşa, ca sa.... nu, e ultima borna spre est si goticul e prin definiţie european, nu exista gotic in alta parte

CL2: Pai neogoticul exista si in America, si in America de Sud si Australia

CL5: Da, zic aşa

CL6: Dar au fost construite după, si strămoşii noştri au plecat acolo

CL4: As vrea sa spun ca nu cred ca ar trebui sa avem un discurs asupra multilingvismului, ar trebui sa avem practici, atât. Ca poate fi grav sa construieşti un discurs asupra multilingvismului care sa varieze in timp in funcţie de comisarul european aflat la putere in momentul respectiv sau de grupul parlamentar care deţine dominanta in parlamentul european si aşa mai departe. Anumite practici care sa conserve, sa păstreze, sa multiplice multilingvismul asta cu siguranţa ca sunt necesare, dar sa construieşti un discurs ca sa impui identitatea europeana, cred ca asta chiar deloc

CL5: Mie de exemplu daca mi-ar da cineva cârti gratis in italiana, franceza, ceha, slovaca eu as învaţă, m-ar tenta, dar aşa daca trebuie sa dau bani mi se pare un pic mai greu si nu prea, daca as avea acces la filme

CL2: Sa ştii ca daca dai bani eşti mai motivat

CL5: Pai bine, dar daca n-ai, atunci...

CL6: Pai daca te înscrii la un curs de limba străină, trebuie sa te duci ca ai dat un ban si trebuie sa înveţi

CL5: Da, dar pe de alta parte ... Mă gândesc cu limba franceza, când eram la Iaşi eram abonat la Centrul Francez. Aici preturile sunt duble, de când sunt la Cluj, n-am mai fost niciodată abonat ca nu dau atâţia bani. Mă mai uit pe internet, am eu alta legătura cu limba franceza, studiez, dar daca nu ai un imbold de a merge in direcţia asta, de a învaţă mai multe limbi, de a cunoaşte mai mult, din lene, din inerţie nu te mai... si atunci poate chestiile gratis si antrenante, cârti, filme activităţi

CL1: Contact cu diverse persoane, de exemplu, se organizează acum începând din octombrie o zi pe săptămâna studenţii francezi se întâlneau cu cei romani in cafeneaua Spritz si era in fine in fiecare săptămâna întâlnire si mi se părea un lucru foarte bun prin care chiar puteai sa interacţionezi cu ei intra-un cadru foarte relaxant

CL5: Si întâlnirile couch surfing tot aşa

CL1: Da bine, dar...

CL5: Cu toţi străinii care sunt in Cluj se aduna si se întâlnesc săptămânal

CL1: Pai el nici n-are cont

CL5: Am, am, stai liniştita

CL1: Si-a făcut, won!

[7.0]

RC: Va mulţumesc mult!

CL4: Si noi.

9.8   Transcript Cluj focus group (English translation)

RC: I started recording. As Franco said thank you very much for agreeing to come and spend such a beautiful day with us. Franco is doing his doctorate at this university, BBK in London and we have the same theme of PhD, but the methodology is different: I do questionnaires and interviews, he does group interviews with people who actually work in the field of European integration. So he did an interview in Italy, one in London, now here. And to begin, I will give you each a consent form, explaining what the study is about. If you could sign it, please, it's a matter of ethics.

CL5: Yes yes yes, well we do the same when we record stuff like this.

CL1: I'm going to take a pen [...]

CL4: So we need to be over 16 years, are we?

All [laughing]: ahem ...

[...talking about their boss who has an Italian name but doesn't speak Italian... date, who has an extra pen, the date is some religious holiday, returning the informed consent and keeping the debriefing form, Franco's email address]

MO: Thank you. Ok so if you want to start with a brief introduction and tell me briefly how you came to join the Trans Europe team.

CL4: By force

A: Or how would you prefer to call it?

CL5: Well, as an organisation it is European Alternatives and TransEuropa Network is a network of activists, intellectuals, artists who do stuff ... events

MO: Perfect, I understand

CL4: And they are members of TransEuropa Network.

MO: Mhm

A: I like to call it Euro Alter, it is easier

CL4: Yes, Euro Alter is universal, even the website is Euroalter

CL6: Yes, for the whole organisation

CL3: or EA

MO: Who wants to start?

CL3: Who, me?

A: Well, since you started talking, you go first

S: I got here because I was offered to join and I found it interesting .... and I adapted to the people I knew, like CL4

CL4: And CL6

All [laughing]

MO: Who was let's say the first member?

CL5: CL4, tell the story

CL4: The story began in 2008 after 3 years or so when five students from five European universities were selected to attend a summer school which is called the summer academy and really deserves the title, organised by the cultural foundation Kultur Aliantz near Munich, excuse my German pronunciation, I promise to go to courses and to improve it. There I met several people who were involved in European Alternatives,I was there for the first time , they were already at the level of alumni. In this same structure then we also met several times in Berlin and the surprise came in the fall of 2009, when at the opening of the Paintbrush Factory after it, the director of the organisation, one of the two directors, because European Alternatives has two co-directors, namely Niccolo Milanese suggested we made a partnership together to organize the first transnational Europe festival across Europe. it was to take place in London where it had happened before, in Paris, Bologna and for the first time in the history of Central and Eastern Europe, especially central Europe, in Cluj. And I have already talked too much, I said ok, it was Thursday night, I had to come up with an additional 4 people by Sunday morning, people interested in building an informal local group to organize this festival. I called CL5 and I give the word to his Highness.

CL5: She calls me and I tell her "Give me a break, do we know how to do these festivals, we don't, I stayed for a half hour, I was also busy, and eventually I said yes, well, we'll see. I also found two friends. and we did the first festival last year. everything came out well although we did not have any experience, we didn't know almost anything, but we had other qualities made it come out well.

CL4: Everything on a voluntary basis.

CL5: Yeah, of course. And then in September TransEuropa Network was established, again we were invited to participate, more people we knew in advance, friends and so TransEuropa Network started, like it is today. And since then there have been meetings every month in various cities, London, Paris Rome, Cluj, Bologna, where European Alternatives and TransEuropa Network is active. and people kept gathering, new members came in, is now kind of institutionalised in a way, to be a more serious team and so we know who belongs to it and .... this is how we arrived to today and there are TransEuropean Alternatives in 12 cities in 10 countries with headquarters in Spain. soon, why not, others, and we will keep extending according to the human and financial possibilities. And this is it, in short.

MO: Yes

CL5: This year we also went to the second edition of the TransEuropa festival, some of the programs are on the walls, the walls here are so ugly that we had to put them up. And this is very briefly what happened. And they, they, everyone can tell when and how.

CL1: I for example, I participated in some of the events that they have organised at the first edition of the festival in 2010 and so then I was involved any more than that, I wasn't active. I was more active starting September, I attended or ... Yes .. I participated in everything that TransEuropa Network organised, including the meetings that took place .. erm .. I organised the festival with them, I helped, we made a team.

MO: What made you join the team?

CL1: Well first of all I knew, a great part of them.

MO: Colleagues from ...?

CL1: University, yes, somewhat, and I also attended the first edition of their events and know about what and how they do, plus I found out what exactly they did, not only them, but the organisation in general and it seemed ok and trustworthy. And I attended the festival and I am now a member of TransEuropa Network and that's the story.

CL6: My story began in April or March, I don't know exactly, I got a call from CL4 who told me that there are places to get involved in organising this year's festival, last year I hadn't participated because I had just moved to Cluj, in September I started, and I said, why not, I liked it, it seemed interesting and I helped with the organisation of the Festival and attended the festival and I also took part in a forum for labor rights at the festival, and in Cluj I attended a meeting about the rights of the LGBT people and .. Ah. .. I applied for the position of local coordinator for the Cluj TransEuropa Network and I was chosen by my colleagues and .. what else to tell you, I am very excited and cannot wait to start doing more. and that's about it.

CL3: What? Me again?

MO: Well, you didn't tell me the whole story, you just told me briefly

CL3: Well it's the same story as Angi's. They have called to ask me if I can come and CL4 suggested I joined. Involvement was not very high for me, maybe for the rest it was. I was involved in the festival as much as I could and as much as I had time. Last year I hadn't heard of it, this year was the first time I heard about it. I wanted to get involved but I didn't have the opportunity. I have the chance again next year and whenever there will be another one.. Again in London I attended a forum on labor rights and that's about it for me.

MO: To be continued. And you?

CL2: Well I have not been involved in anything,

MO: Well, you are starting now

CL2: I can't escape, it's by force. Well, yesterday I met with CL4 and Dani and they told me to come and I came. So that's it, very briefly.

MO: Are you thinking of joining?

CL2: Well I've just been informed by Dani and I am part of TransEuropa Network.

MO: And what do you think? What's your opinion of it?

CL2: Well, I do not know, I do not understand at all how it works, I don't know their mechanisms ....

CL4: It's perfect because we have the demographic representation of Romania

CL5: Well, she's also ...

CL4: You too are...?

CL5: Only by name.

CL4: Yes, she has a perfectly Hungarian name ...

CL2: And she has it in her blood

CL1: Yes, in blood

[Saying her name with a Hungarian accent, few exchanges in Hungarian]

CL1: No, I don't speak it, only my father is Hungarian.

CL5: The two of us are Moldovan anyway

[Some jokes about the origin of everybody, can't really make out what they are saying]

MO: And ... TransEuropa Network is generally described as a transnational network. What does transnationalism mean in your opinion?

CL5: I'll say a couple of words. Transnational is different from international, and European Alternatives is not an international organisation like Transparency International and Amnesty International but it is transnational because we have colleagues in Italy, England, France that I talk to every day, and not only I who work here daily and during working hours, but all volunteers go when we meet them, do activities together. The festival is transnational in the sense that certain events are happening in several cities organised the same way, even propagated by the same people, in Cluj, London at the same time, and then somehow that's because it is transnational, because there is a close cooperation between young people from various countries and not because somebody above gives an order or something, and then the others implement, but it is a continuous exchange of ideas and possibilities for action.

MO: As if there were no borders

CL5: There really are no borders in our work, we are lucky Romania is in the EU and we are allowed to travel in our free time, although we are not yet part of Schengen, so that they don't control us, but there is never any

problem traveling .. except for money, of course, but otherwise, the Internet is available anytime and we can communicate, transmit anytime.

MO: As if they were here

CL5: Also, we believe that what can be solved regarding the problems today can be done so on a transnational level better than national. We just had an event yesterday about mafia. How can you stop the mafia at the national level when the mafia is transnational? They launder money in various countries, from an account in Italy, to an account in Romania, it brings garbage from Romania to Italy and then if governments don't collaborate they each stay with their problems, while the mafia remains transnational, supernational.

MO: And so you mean that teams like European Alternatives are positioned at a supranational level? Transnational?

CL5: Yes, it's a supranational level of thinking, let's say.

MO: I wanted to ask you that. What is transnational thinking?

CL5: What I mean is that we see ways to solve problems and ways of action without taking into consideration the national state or institutions, but we think how the ordinary citizen, one like us, a citizen of Cluj when they come up with an idea, how to present it to someone who has power, but someone who does something for all Europeans, because we are all European citizens. And then we also break the barriers of nationality and language, which are not very happy circumstances, they allow for conflicts to appear, and that is why TransEuropa festival is our biggest event and it promotes exactly this thing: team work in a rather restrictive national framework. This would mean we would always have to be related to Bucharest, with national or government councils in Bucharest such as prefectures and counties that sort of thing which are quite massive and slow, and often they don't work, so then .... of course, at European level there is a frightening bureaucracy, but somehow things move differently, there's another dynamic. [think global, act local].

MO: And at least at a European level everyone has the same bureaucracy

CL5: Yes. I often feel equal to others in France, Italy from anywhere and then it gives you a little more confidence ... confidence in yourself as a person, not as a Romanian, as a European so to speak

CL4: In addition but not necessarily in opposition to CL5, I think it's important to emphasize the role that culture and art have in the European activity of European Alternatives and the fact that they indeed give it the transnational character because using artistic means, the more the more innovative the better, such as new media and film production but, hopefully soon music production as well, to convey certain messages from the European citizens on specific issues that we consider of interest to support human rights and their development. And for this reason we developed many projects together as I already said, for example the

campaign films regarding LGBT, the Roma people.This second film yielded some very intense discussions because it was really hard to come up with a common position at a transnational level regarding a set of postcards that were distributed in all cities the festival or the transnational film programme designed to analyze post-communism and how it is perceived differently in Central and Western and Eastern Europe and so on.

MO: Very interesting. And you newer members what you think about this idea of transnationalism? Do you think it's a viable thing?

CL3: Yes, I agree with it.

All: [laugh]

CL4: The criticism is constructive

CL3: I don't criticise.

MO: Perfect. Ok. We already touched a bit on this idea of considering ourselves Europeans. Do you consider yourselves Europeans and would you define yourselves as Europeans? And if you could tell me what this means to each one of you?

CL3: The right we have now, I do not know, well, I think, that we can travel more freely now, and somehow we were given more rights to do what we want, to do what we like or what we think could help us in our personal development, we took some distance from something that bound us, we are not bound anymore, it isn't hard to dream of something anymore, like it used to be, now you can learn more easily, as can be with people more easily, you can interact with strangers more easily, it's more .. it's more ok than before.

MO: And this makes you feel more European?

CL3: Yes, somehow, that I can meet people, that I can travel, that I can see things that can change the view of things, rather than staying here without traveling, without seeing anything, without getting to know people, cultures.

MO: So the contact with other cultures changes

CL3: It changes ... experience changes one person and their vision,the mere fact of seeing something different, that you interact with something new you did not expect, it changes you, you see things differently after.

CL6: I wanted to say that starting in 2007, you can really feel more European, not just that you can travel more, which is indeed really important, and get in contact with other cultures and all, but you come into contact with the legislation and all the bureaucratic field means, so to say, and ... a. .. a. .. I think so, starting with 2007 I at least felt better as a European and ahm... I do not know, in general ... the important thing is not necessarily feel that you're Romanian or Hungarian or French or Italian but feel that you are a .. European, in general and to overcome this

national barriers, but that's me, a little ... haha .. I dream of utopias and all sorts of things

MO: Do you think it is possible?

CL6: Yes indeed it's hard to say, I wouldn't be able to make a prediction that would be 100% valid, but it would be nice, at least I would like to live in such a world, but again I think it's a bit utopian.

MO: Why do you think it is utopian? What do you think would be the impediments?

CL6: Well, if we look at all the issues in Europe, ok, in France with the Romanians and the Roma, in Italy the same, or in any other country where there is discrimination and if there is discrimination, I don't think it's possible to implant utopian visions. I do not know if I was clear ..

CL1: Regarding what you said, I think you can't only feel European because you're automatically born into a culture ...

CL6: Mhm, yes it's true

CL1: And you can not ignore the culture, but to give up discrimination and that ... yes, that is possible

How do you think that point is reached? Through contact?

CL1: To stop the discrimination ...

MO: And to feel more European

CL1: Through contact with people that really have blinders and see only their culture and that they are not European and you're German or I don't know. .. and ... there must be even more campaigns, even meetings like ours, because that changes your way of thinking; and interacting with them directly you observe what problems are there and how you could adapt to adapt, adapt to different situations so that you succeed in making them change somewhat or even a small proportion, not to see you only as being from country X and as a citizen of country X and just that. Just as we are Romanian and the other French, we are all European because we come from the same earth.

CL3: Yes I think that there should no longer be nationalism in some countries, people are now free to travel anywhere they want, to settle wherever they want and thy must be accepted by society, integrated and helped

CL6: But it's hard, if not impossible.

CL3: Yes it is hard, but you cannot compel anyone to settle somewhere, each one chooses a country they want to go, maybe some do not want to live in Romania.

CL5: Yes but when they go to France, are they accepted there?

CL3: Maybe they like another country better.

CL5: Well, look if I want to go to France, i want to go and settle there, to work, do you think the French will let me? They won't.

Or they'll let me, but on a poorly paid position.

CL6: Well, you go in Italy and also wash dishes and you are looked at differently, and there's discrimination, let's be serious.

CL3: Discrimination and non-acceptance of people in society.

CL5: Yes, exactly that is the big problem

CL3: Because people are free to travel, to know each other, to see.

CL5: The only thing is that our freedom to travel is blocked by the nationalism of others that do not accept us. Well that probably exists in Romania as well. I do not know, I come from Iasi which is a conservative town and and with a very poor mentality. 100 years ago it was the most important cultural center, but now for example the Hungarians are seen as the devil on earth that should burn in hell and not be seen ever again, these ideas are cultivated in the school education system, in the family.

MO: Perhaps because there aren't many Hungarians in Iasi

CL5:And of course, no one knows, they haven't seen one in their lives.

MO: And some myths get perpetuated

CL5: Of course, some stupid stereotypes that have perpetuated about Roma, or about Romania, or Bulgarians that they are all thieves, about Romanians that they are all Roma.

CL1: And there's manipulation and everything you want.

CL5: Right, exactly... and I was lucky I came to Cluj, I met Hungarians, I saw that they are okay, everything's okay, I am more open-minded because things are different here, it is another atmosphere, there are no mountains between the West and Transylvania

CL1: CL5 has a very interesting theory

CL5: In Moldova, the wind comes from Siberia and it keeps coming and and then stops and then...

CL3: People here accept each other, they can swallow each other

CL5: Yes yes yes

CL3: And there are conflicts here as well

CL5: Also that Cluj has, how should I call it, a multicultural history as Germans lived with Romanians with Hungarian, with Jewish people, plus all sorts of merchants and they accepted one another. While in Iasi there were only Romanians and Jewish people, and these ones were finished in...

CL4: The '40s

CL5: And there remained only Romanians.

MO: What do you think, as a representative of Hungarians in Romania, in Cluj?

CL2: I do not know, I'm pretty anational, that I do not really identify with a community, nor the European term .. mhm .. a more specific question?

MO: A more specific question: How do you identify yourself? Do you identify as someone from Cluj, Hungary, Europe? And if you don't identify with any, can you tell me why?

CL1: Jewish?

MO: Jewish?

CL2 I do not know honestly, well not Jewish ...

CL1: Roma ... Or not?

CL2: Well I do not know, I just identify with the Hungarian language, because it's my native language, I identify with the Romanian language as it is the official language, I identify with German as I am fluent in it and I have many friends there and I spent much time there, but no no no I don't think that one is a dominant part of my identity ... the European term, I should be very very European since I am connected with so many cultures, but I find it to be just a rhetorical tool that actually means nothing, absolutely nothing, it could mean any citizen of a State which is part of the EU. Then what about what Albania, Croatia ...

MO: Moldova ...

CL2: So that's my opinion.

CL5: And I agree with him about somehow. I lost the optimism I had when I was small. because it's beautiful that I am a European, that I can travel, and I have a European culture to support me, that I speak a language closely related with Italian and French and that there are Western influences in the Romanian culture, but when you actually interact with most people in the West, being European does not mean no big deal for them.

CL4: That was really my main shock when I came to live longer in the West, specifically in Paris that I had been raised to believe in such a European culture, I had been raised in a family of intellectuals who put a heavy emphasis on a long history friendship, of cultural exchanges between Romania and France, but when I got there I saw that my beliefs or my knowledge about this culture, or about classic European culture didn't matter. The only thing that mattered was the Romanian label, a Romanian badly seen, a Romanian seen as a Roma, a Roma regarded as a thief and so on. It was a long string of clichés that eventually forced me to question very deeply my clichés about the history of a Romanian-French friendship. It is just one example, it might be hard to generalize, but I felt it very deeply. To learn that you are European and then to have it thrown in your face that you are not. And then you start wondering what that is.

CL2: A journalist or a politician, I do not know exactly who, said it would be a lot harder to indoctrinate the citizens of the European countries, because it is indoctrination, it is a process of Europeanisation, just how there was the Magyarization or Germanization, it's the same thing and is much harder to do that with a citizen with a civic culture and identity, French, Italian, than it was for example to turn a Breton into a Frenchman or make him forget his culture, as then there were other standards. Now people identify with a lot more stuff and it's much harder to overlay another layer of identity and achieve the level where the European layer starts to dominate the identity of the people, to the degree that you would introduce yourself as European rather than French or English or Spanish or Portuguese.

MO: Related to this, the EU states have formed their national identities based somewhat on the language, so we, the Romanians speak Romanian, Hungarians speak Hungarian and somehow the nations, states were formed more or less on the linguistic borders. And one of the issues with the EU is that this European identity is being built without having some linguistic borders. As you probably know in the EU, all the languages of the Member States are official languages and they can all be used in the EU, all documents must be translated and so on. So what role do you think language has in the formation of identity? So you said that you identify with Hungarian, Romanian and German.

CL5: I know some Swiss people ... I apologize that ....

CL2: No no, I don't have an answer

CL5: I have met some Swiss people. As you know in Switzerland they speak four languages, leaving Rhaeto-Romanic aside, there three spoken say, Italian, German and French. Those people speak almost all of them, if not at lest they speak two very well and one a bit less. And yet as a nation, they identify as being Swiss, not French or German, they are Swiss. Switzerland exists since about the 1200s as a nation, although there were no nations then, but they have a history since about those times and this thing about the language, at least in that space it can be put in paratheses. There are countries where there are two languages for example, Spain or Belgium, where again they are a nation, one cannot say that the Spanish ... I don't know, do the Catalans consider themselves to be a separate nation?

CL6: I know some people from the Basque Country and they introduced themselves as not being from Spain.

CL5: Yes, the Basques, the Basques yes ....

CL6: And they are all part of Spain

CL1: Well, it's the same in Belgium, you can't really say...

CL6: ... it's not a separate state .. and ... I was thinking, I did not know that there is this country in Europe? I kept thinking.

CL5: Yes yes. Then we come to question what a nation is, what defines a nation? And then we started off wrong 200 years ago at the French Revolution or when nations were defined as such...

CL2: Speaking of this situation in Catalonia, when Barcelona beat Real Madrid about a year or two ago the coach went to give an interview and began to speak in Catalan and that was a great shock and how could somebody do such a thing on Spanish national television - start talking in Catalan, so there is some tension in this respect, it's not at all like Switzerland.

CL5: Yes yes yes. But there is not such a, that is, reason, the question about language, I do not see it as the main binder to form a nation. I have a problem with the term nation anyway, what's a nation anyway?

CL4: I understood the question differently, could you repeat it? Not in the sense that language should be the main binder in forming a nation but how you perceive the language you speak in relation with the assumed characteristics of a nation.

MO: Yes .. and at the same time ...

[Phone ringing]

CL4: I need to answer if you do not she'll say that ...

[Speaking French to her boss on Skype]

CL1: It's harder to speak it, but ...

[Speaking about the phone call, call back Franco]

MO: There's no problem, we had just come to the point where was going to to repeat the question. I have it written here, so I'll read it: If we refer to common features shared by Europeans, language is clearly not one of them. Linguistic differences in Europe are often cited as a sign of the EU's respect and value of diversity. Other think it is a potential obstacle to a closer Union. What's your opinion about this, do you think that these linguistic differences ....

CL3: Not necessarily all the languages of Europe are known, like Sicilian for example, Italians identify only with Italian, Sicilians can not speak Sicilian on television or news programs or ... so to get along with those from the north they must speak Italian and need to understand their accent, it's the country with the world's most dialects

CL5: And I think Germany has a lot

CL3: And people ... there are villages and towns in Sicily, though they speak the same language, their native language with people from a village 50km further... They do not understand each other. To identify themselves, to be able to understand each other they need to use Italian.

CL6: Are you referring strictly to Sicily or Italy in general?

CL3: Italy really, because a pure breed Sicilian cannot understand an Italian. They speak the Italian they learn in school, because there, in Brescia there is a different accent, they have a dialect there as well and only the people from that area can understand each other. In Rome, again, it is Italian the official language.

CL4: interpreting the question differently, I am personally totally against a common language chosen from one of the existing EU languages, because in the end, no matter how much we tried, regardless of what C1 or C2 level we reached, we can not speak a language as we speak our mother tongue, we don't have the same ways of expressing ourselves, of correlating our personality with expressions existing in any other language. One solution I could foresee would be the artificial language Esperanto, although it seems a little forced though really. But whatever they say we can never speak English as an Englishman.

CL5: Well, we can use it when talking with Franco, we speak English, everyone speaks conversational English here, we can talk about anything.

CL4: Yes for pragmatic reasons yes, but not to write a literary text. I remember that conversation we had a friend who will now publish the first series of short stories saying that the main benefit he has is that of being able to write in his own language and he can find ways to express himself all the way, otherwise not.

CL3: The only solution which I don't think will happen is to invent a new language common to all Europe.

MO: As was the case of Esperanto.

CL5: It was a failure and forever be a failure.

CL3: It's very hard to teach a community of about one billion or how many are we in Europe, 2 billion, to teach them the same language. It is very difficult. Impossible

CL4: Each language has a personality.

CL3: It is also possible but mostly, impossible

CL5: Why are we now talking about languages? Languages continue to exist anyway till the end of the world, but I think talking about a language of communication that will be English from now on, and local languages will resist, and local and every country that speaks other language those will resist anyway, I will still write in Romanian and nobody will have anything against it.

CL3: Yes but some people forget how to speak Romanian.

CL5: That's a national problem

CL3: Children begin to learn English and German at four instead of learning Romanian as they should and they don't know how to express themselves.

CL5: That's a problem we have.

CL1: Some can't express themselves anyway

CL5: Yes ...

CL4: But should perceive unitarily this thing.

CL3: You can learn English later as well.

CL6: It is a nationwide problem.

CL5: And it goes hand-in-hand with other things, education in general

CL4: You say about English from now on, but 200 years they would have said it was French from then on.

CL1: Nobody knows, may be Romanian ....

CL5: Yes, but there was no globalisation then, and maybe only if the plantet will deglobalise it will change, but until then ...

CL4: Speaking about this, I would recommend a movie, maybe you saw it, Michael Winterbottom, Code 46, where the director, who is also the screenwriter and all as they do it in these experimental films, imagines the world in 2050 in the near future when they all speak a universal language that is based on classic English plus words in the other languages, most commonly used words, such as the Italian Ciao, Grazie, Gracias, there were more. And I think that's the most viable option.

CL5: That was Esperanto, exactly like that.

CL4: Esperanto is not like that, it was built, imagined by one person, it is the result of a written law than common law.

CL5: And you think the earth languages will combine and form ....

CL2: Well, they already combine

CL5: With English maybe

CL2: Well yes, but ...

CL1: English after all, we use all sorts of terms. And other languages.

MO: How do you feel about the fact that the EU says that everyone must speak at least two languages besides their mother tongue?

CL6: Everybody or just European citizens?

MO: European citizens, they say. But that is what the EU recommended, but the implementation is done nationally and then each country decides whether to introduce a second language in second or fifth grade

CL1: Well at a national level, before we were in the EU, they wanted and .. in school we didn't learn 2-3 languages, but, i don't know, if we take a look, fewer people speak, well, at a national level Romanian is spoken, but if they speak English, but the second or third language there are already fewer people. So I do not know if it will necessarily be.

CL6: Two languages, not two foreign languages apart from ...

CL1: ... yes, your native language.

CL4: This kind of practice exists since the national communist times, like the girls said. I remember my mother when she wrote the first degree as a teacher of French it had to begin with a quote from Ceausescu, because that was how everybody started off, otherwise it wouldn't have gotten approved and she wouldn't have gotten her degree.

CL1: Or Lenuta

CL4: Or Lenuta but it depended on the field, Lenuta was more on the side of the exact science and he was on the socio-humanistic side. And she had found a quote that said that any citizen of the Romanian country must know 2 foreign languages. So if he said that in the '60s-'70s, there's proof that there are some similarities.

CL1: Of course they read Ceausescu.

CL2: I do not think they can be learned like this, artificially, I do not know, I think 8 out of 10 persons who speak a foreign language well, they learned it from television or travelling

CL3: Well in terms of ...

CL1: Conversationally.

CL6: Not necessarily academic

CL3: You can have a conversation, not grammar, the grammar is difficult, it is very difficult.

CL2: Or you don't have to learn grammar to learn a language

CL3: You can make yourself understood, cause a guy can understand what you want when you explain it to him, even if you don't know any grammar, he understands you. I don't agree with two languages, one is enough, what two languages could one learn?

CL6: Well it's very useful to know more ...

MO: What does a foreign language bring? As a contribution to your personality?

CL1: Freedom of expression with other people from other cultures

CL2: And you cannot know a culture without its language, even if you really like it, I mean, their composers or poetry ... Yes ... You need to know to a certain level the language. each has a very strong character and brings something even if not directly or pragamtically.

CL3: Look, I for example, I like Italian and English. That's all. I do not want to learn anything else. The thought of learning Russian crossed my mind, but it is very difficult. I do not like to use, when speaking English that is, I do not want to sound English, I like to speak English with a Russian accent.

[Speaks English with a Russian accent]

CL3: Of course, I'll be there. So it is my style, that I like. A guy can understand regardless of how you express your words, maybe you say it like he knows it.

CL6: Well, if you change the pronunciation he might understand something else, because there are words which are similar but with different pronunciations.

CL1: Lost in translation.

BREAK

MO: So we left off speaking about the position of the English language in the EU and in communication with other Europeans. In many contexts the English language has become a kind of lingua franca in Europe. What do you think you about using English in the context of transnational communication and do you think that non-native speakers of English are disadvantaged?

CL6: I think that we are not disadvantaged because to my knowledge we start to learn English from grade two or five and most young people learn in school. not sure, I do not know the percentages but I don't think it's a disadvantage, it is very important to know English to get along with almost everyone on this planet, because in any country if you go everyone understands when you say 'thank you' or 'please' or basic words, there's not need to know the language at a very level high

MO: So you can communicate

CL6: Yes

CL3: For the Italians, the French it's harder with English.

[CL6 removes his hand from his mouth]

CL3: Let me be

CL6: But we do not understand you

CL3: We, the Romanians, and not necessarily as Romanians, as a nation more to the east, learn quicker, we have to learn faster than others.

CL5: We're smarter.

CL3: Not necessarily smarter

MO: Right, why do you think this is?

CL3: We need to have access to

CL4: Sources, since we're students

CL3: And to interact with other people we must learn and learn things, the computer is in English, there's no Windows in Romanian

CL2: Yes, there is

CL3: Yeah, well ....

Daian: It has been translated ...

CL3: While in Italy everything is dubbed, movies, movies, cartoons, only the smart ones want to learn English.

CL6: Not necessarily, but those who need it and those working with people ....

CL3: Or so ..

CL6: Hotels

CL3: But anyway, just so you know, Romania compared to Italy,I don't think they learn it, they catch on slower. Romanians learn faster, even Italian, or English, or French, although French is very difficult.

CL2: Well, precisely because things are not dubbed, at least in our generation, cause poor children who are 4-5 years old now watching Cartoon Network in Romanian

CL3: I do not know, but we learn languages differently.

CL5: Well I learned from cartoon network. I started taking English in sixth grade, but we already knew, I recognised in text to the basic ideas for grade six, that I learned from Tom and Jerry, Two stupid dogs, Cow and chicken

CL3: We were lucky that things weren't dubbed and we had access to that information through translation from English, it's better learn from translation, through dubbing you don't understand anything, you don't have access to that language.

CL5: Oh, how were those translations when they said "fuck you!" They translated it as "Hell"

MO: But you still learn it

CL3: However, any language is learned by swearing

CL4: And the names of drinks.

CL6: I think that we learn faster also because the Romanian land from old times until today had to adapt, it was conquered by the Easterners, and the Westerners and so on, and we had lots of influences and we had to adapt and learn and now when we have to learn something it's much easier for us.

CL3 [tries to remember something]: He wanted to introduce a law no longer use neologisms

CL5: Yes, so that we no longer write 'site' in English, but 'sait'

CL3: Not to use words like 'cool' or 'ok', that's what they wanted to do

MO: Similarly to the French model

CL3: So a kind of nationalism

MO: So language ....

CL3: And now wanted to introduce a law on dubbing in Romania and it was refuse to have the films dubbed, and cartoons, and all, very well that it was not accepted

MO: Do you think the fact we learn more languages ... how many languages do you speak? What languages do you speak and how you have learned them?

CL3: English and Italian

CL6: I speak English best, French very little, but I understand French since I took it for many years, Spanish a little, but I can understand, German, a few words, but I can still understand something. I was in Poland this year and it's very interesting because at some point, do not speak it, but the third time I went I started to understand certain phrases and it was very interesting because some words even resemble our words, and .... it's interesting to go 2-3 times to a country and .. you begin to understand even if you cannot talk. and then automatically feel different because you feel like part of the group, it is a feeling .... so ...

CL1: I know French, English, German and Greek and Italian a little bit, like any Romanian, I can understand it and if I try hard I can even say a couple of words.

CL3: Oh, and I know and a little Sicilian, a few words. These words they are ver strange, this language sounds very strange, well, a dialect of that area. They speak as if their tongue was tied up.

CL5: I speak English, French, the highest level I can, Spanish and Italian conversational level and to make myself understood, Russian and Greek I can read and write very well, I understand and can express 20-30% and about so also with German, I can read it, but I can't make myself understood, I understand more, it's normal to understand than you can express

CL2: Hungarian, German, Romanin, English, these ones...

CL5: All these, very well

CL2: Well yes. And that's it.

CL4: And I speak advanced English, French, Italian, I can prove it with certificates.

CL1: Show them to us

CL4: Medium level Spanish, that is I understand very well but since I know Italian, first I took Spanish and then Italian, now every time I want to speak in Spanish I speak in Italian. I think many of us have this problem. Hungarian and German very little, but with German at least I'm on the right track, I want to move from advanced beginner to beginner intermediate level.

MO: And do you think that so many languages helps you feel more European? more ...

CL2: I already answered this one.

CL3: It makes you feel more human.

CL5: Better, not more European.

CL4: At first I thought it was a cliche that I heard when I was still quite small and had not read so much and did not have to deal with s much, but languages make you have more personalities, and not necessarily in the negative way, because when you get to know a language...

[Brief conversation with CL1 about the course they took together]

CL4: I do not know, you reach a point when you think and understand better how to proceed, even how to act as a nation. Since I was little my mother forced all these texts in Hungarian into my head and I think that's why I have a different attitude to Hungarian because since I was small I learned to appreciate a certain kind of irony that is found in them and which you cannot not find in Romanians, a very very specific and totally adorable irony. And then we reached the point of classical English films with cockney accents and so on.

CL5: Languages make you free, and more in control of the situation. I for example I went to various countries and had to get along with people who didn't know another language and then look, I learned Hungarian in a few days, enough to handle getting directions. we went by bikes and had to find our way. And I started with hello, so, but without knowing anything before, I kept interacting with people, I learned how to say right, I want to go there. Meanwhile I forgot it all again, since I haven't practiced. Then in Germany, again I did not know too much in German, but I learned very quickly, I assimilated very quickly, and Italian, the same, I was almost fluent when talking to them although I didn't know it before. It gives you freedom to go anywhere, and you feel at home.

CL3: I have a lot of fun when I see these older people when a foreigner comes along and says something in English and they just freeze, they become mute, let's say the guy doesn't speak Romanian, he doesn't understand anything, and they want to say something in English but they don't know anything and they just stay like that.

MO: They speak louder and slower

CL3: Yes and they get confused and want to say something but do not know.

MO: What do you think is this a problem in our generation, do young people learn languages faster?

CL3: Absolutely, our generation did.

CL6: There are several possibilities,

CL3: I do not know what to say , but kids who are 10-12 now already know much more than we did at their age.

MO: And you think the role ....?

CL3: I do not, they grew up differently, not in the sand with toys and wooden paths and wooden blocks, or they passed over the threshold with toys very fast and began to learn other stuff, they grew up with the computer.

CL1: Kindergartens are in English, German, as much ...

CL3: In those times not everybody went to kindergarten. Not everyone had the opportunity to go to kindergarten, now if you don't go to kindergarten it's as if you didn't go to school.

MO: Regarding what CL4 said before, the idea that learning a foreign language you get a different kind of personality, different identity, rather, what do you think, foreign languages, multilingualism in general has a purely communicative role, or does it have also this side, that can alter a personal identity?

CL6: If you live many years in a certain country, I think so, because if you stay in a country for 20-30 years you automatically borrow the culture, speak their language and identify with the language.

MO: And identifying with the language, do you automatically start identifying with the culture and ideals of that country or ....?

CL6: I think it depends from person to person.

CL3: it is true that if you stay longer in one country you are already somewhat ... you live among foreigners and you have to speak that language, you learn it so well you forget to actually speak Romanian.

CL4: And you get to think in that language

CL3: Yes, and you end up thinking, I see in my mother, she spent six years in Italy and when I call and she doesn't pick up, she calls me back half an hour later and asks 'm-ai chemat'? [in Romanian we would say 'm-ai sunat']

CL6: And you get an accent.

CL3: And she says 'm-ai chemat', and I say, what do you mean 'chemat'? 'Nu te-am chemat, te-am sunat.' And speaks with some words, They just

come up sometimes in Italian when I speak to her, it's like a reflex, she can't even see it.

CL5: It didn't necessarily change me but it formed me somehow, reading several languages, or looking at movies in many languages. seeing very many Russian movies, reading Russian poetry or I do not know, seeing Spanish, Italian movies, whatever attracted me, it helped me enter a culture easier, to understand it better, and when it comes to explain a situation like 'Look what a Spanish or Russian did', if you are familiar with their culture somehow somehow you know what spring is behind their actions, because the Russians are like this and because of their culture they would first think about this and then that.

CL3: They are very nationalistic and first think about their language and only after that...

CL5: This is the same in many countries

CL3: So pure blood Russians are nationalists. That's why you do not hear anything about them, there is a very strict communism over there.

CL5: And there's mafia

CL3: And they don't allow it, not the way it was allowed in Romania after '89.

CL5: Because they are a big country and a strong people, that's why

CL3: They don't allow Coca-Cola in so easily and all that crap. They have it, but not in industrial quantities like we do.They do not have access to products and all that.

CL4: I might add to this part about the the personality of a nation expressed through language, one must necessarily take into account the cultural and even economic 'background' of the person who speaks that language. I remember talking to you about different ways that Hungarian can be spoken, for example, and about Romanian I think we all know what differences exist between certain people and they are very difficult to spot when it comes to another language. Much more difficult than about your own language. It is still essential to take them into account. So rather than the idea of the personality of a nation expressed through the language, we must add the personal dimension of the person speaking.

CL5: Why say 'background' and not 'fundal'? [the Romanian word]

CL3: Yes

CL5: 'Considering the background of I don't know who'.

CL3: Pruteanu is watching you [he was a Romanian professor who used to have a TV show about grammar and language]

CL5: No, but I'm very curious.

[Unintelligible]

CL6: Especially if you communicate in English daily with people from other parts, you start...

CL5, They are altered

CL6: You think in that language and words come to you in that language

CL4: Maybe I alter for the better. alteration means change

CL3: Romanian ...

CL4: You give it a negative connotation, that is a different thing.

CL3: Romanian language in the last 600 years has changed a lot. From the Romanian language from ancient times there are only about 30 words kept from he old language. The rest have all changed with time

CL5: I do not think so, because from the Dacian language...

[Unintelligible - talking about the 30 words still present in modern day Romanian from the Dacian language]

CL3: We don't use them frequently, but still

CL4: And would have to be careful about certain phrases that are exploited by nationalism. I remember when I was small and the teachers in school taught me the word 'dor' exists only in Romanian, which is false, because it really does not exist in English, although many words from English exist in Romanian, it does not exist in French, but there it exists for example in German; and it was clear that those teachers learned from other teachers who did not really study the issue.

CL5: And how do you say?

CL4: Sehnsucht, the first Rammstein album.

CL5: Sehnsucht?

CL4: How do you pronounce it?

CL2: Sehnsucht

CL4: And words like that really deserve to be studied, but not exploited like wow, we are better as a nation because we have this word, as in other countries can you can have this feeling that is or is not expressed this way. Yes. 'Dor', 'doina'.

CL6: Well you say 'I miss you' in English, that missing, but not 'dor'

CL4: It doesn't exist as a noun.

CL6: But that clearly exists as a feeling everywhere

MO: You grew up speaking Hungarian or bilingual?

CL2: Hungarian

MO: And you learned Romanian in school

CL2: No, you can't learn Romanian in school, who has not learned it on the street ... no way. I have a lot of friends from Secuime [a mostly Hungarian region of Romania] for example, who can speak for 40 minutes about the features of the balzacian novel, but who have no idea how to buy bread. So I know Romanian because I spent a lot of time at may grandparents', they live in the countryside and there were other children my age who were Romanians and I learned mostly when I was little. I don't believe you can learn Romanin in school if you don't have prior knowledge.

CL3: That is the most important and safe: you learn a language by interacting with others. not alone. Alone it's very hard to learn, it's harder than when you interact with others.

MO: And maybe to learn a certain vocabulary

CL3: What I know English, I learned from cartoons, movies, through interaction with other people, so I learned. so no one taught me in school I it didn't really interest me. I learned like that, simple words 'hi', 'I want something' and stuff like that. Simple sentences. That's what I learned in school. I did not try very hard with grammar.

CL6: You can pick up grammar by ear

CL3: Yes, so it ... language is always changing something, you hear, people correct you. I do not mind me if someone corrects me. I often used all sorts redundancies and my brother used to correct me. It annoyed me, but I realized it's ok. and now no longer use them. I used to say very before, 'let's climb up', 'down below'. That's why I say it is in constant change, you learn, you remove and learn something good. As you learn more and more from the others.

[Connection problem, video issues, talk to French]

MO: The EU discourse on multilingualism has two basic features: they say they reflect and provide the basic European democracy values, as well as economic and social benefits. What do you think, do you agree with this?

CL5: But what does language have to do with democracy?

CL3: Yes, really

CL5: And with the economic and social benefits

CL3: The language is something optional, does not bind one to anything

CL5: The economic benefits come through English, look, since I can speak English, now I work in a place where I need to speak English otherwise I couldn't, I'd go do...

CL3: You have to speak it, otherwise you wouldn't.

CL5: Yes, any person in any company needs to know English since you are working on computer, and with foreigners, something you need to know, from there on, if Romanian brings me social benefits or if it helps me in a democracy ... I do not know ...

CL4: It helps if you interpret the question that in a European institution you can express yourself in Romanian and then you can express subtle ideas much better ...

CL5: Well, and they translate ...

CL6: Yes they have to translate them

CL4: But you're not sure that they translate it poorly, maybe they can translate it well, for example in Cluj there is a very good school of translation

CL6: Nonetheless, you always lose information when there is an interpreter, so it's one thing when you speak that language and quite another when someone is an intermediary

CL2: And from this point of view, you must create as many situations where you do not need an intermediary. For example, I do not know, a Polish businessman meets one from France and one Polish one does not know French and the French doesn't know Polish, well, this is...

CL1: Unless they have a POlish mother or father.

CL2: And then everything runs differently

CL1: Yes, I think so ...

CL6: Now, I think it depends partly on what democracy means for each person, what the person understands by the term democracy, and we could then make an analysis between what the EU says in there that multiligvismul underlies democracy and what I think democracy is

MO: The fact that they promote the idea of unity in diversity. Everyone should feel united in diversity, but maintain their cultural and linguistic identity somewhat and what their essence as a person, or as a culture, is, but somehow be united with other Europeans. Do you think it's a viable thing? That this slogan is likely to be implemented, or that it is just a theory?

CL5: It exists, it is very good this as a slogan, and in some areas people are united, even if they are diverse. Like in our case: there are transnational teams and everyone communicates well, but when you think about democracy, your rights as a European citizen, as a Romanian in Italy. What does it bring you? United in diversity ... Do I feel united with an Italian? Do I feel united with Swedish guy?

CL1: No, but if you think of it from a human rights point, they are valid wherever you are in the world

CL5: Well no, but some are more equal than others. An Italian and a Frenchman they are about on the same level, but when I go between them there is another standard

CL1: Well yes, but this also exists because of laws that exist in this country

CL5: Well, yes

CL2: Well no, but the laws are implemented with a purpose that is, I believe that if the Romanians would be treated equally with the French in France, nobody would live in this country, or the population would drop from 20 million to a half million

CL4: And it would be ok, everyone who wanted to leave would leave and we could take it from zero. I would like that, I'm from the group that would stay

CL5: It's one thing when there's a law and another a man on the street treats you badly without being forced by any law, and despises you, for no reason

CL1: To my knowledge you could go to ECHR and do something about it

CL5: No, if they treat you badly on the street because you're Romanian, you're just a common thief

CL1: This is discrimination

CL4: Or if he is talking to you and then he asks you 'are you from Romania?' and you say yes and then he stops talking to you, what can you do?

[Uninteliggible]

CL2: We are now talking about a certain type of people from a social class that exists in all the countries, it is not a national feature of a state that they despise people from Eastern Europe

CL3: Or you can introduce yourself as being in Transylvania

CL6: Or you can see the situation from another angle. Maybe Italians despise us, but why? because they have very many Romanians that went there and did bad things and then automatically

CL3: It's not that, it's the Italians are a nation of people who are nationalists and racists

CL2: But you can't say such a thing about an entire nation

CL3: I mean, most of them ... I say so because I lived there and I saw people, I stayed for a year, I traveled and I saw.

MO: How do you think Romania is?

CL3: Seen by them?

MO: From this point of view of discrimination and nationalism

CL3: I don't know, well, putting aside how thing work with the Moldovans, Hungarians

CL1: The Roma

CL5: Mostly all of them

CL2: Putting aside all that

CL3: But in general, the foreigners who come, Germans, Africans, Chinese are not ....

CL5: Well, why bring money, that's why, but for example when it comes to an 'oltean' [a specific area in the south of Romania] in Cluj, he's stupid, the Moldavian is lazy and he stinks and the people from Bucharest are idiots by definition

CL6: And they're slick

CL5: Chinese - what's he looking for here, the Russians - they are out life enemies. what's around, Bulgarians - and thick neck mobsters and so on, the Hungarians - to hell with them they took our Transylvania

CL2: Well I do not know if what you say has anything to do with ... Well, this thing with nationalism in Romania, so, first of all you have to think that the Romanian political and constitutional model is based on the French one which is the most nationalist since the old days and this brings with it a certain mentality, which taking very strange routes gets in people's consciousness and Romania is the only state where communism had a nationalist character, so you couldn't find anything like this elsewhere in Europe, and that still stays, even if we are on the right track, but I would not think Romania is more nationalistic than Italy or France or other countries ..

CL3: No, but Romania is no longer nationalist

CL5: Since we mayor Funar is gone ... [he was mayor of Cluj for eight years, renown for his nationalistic and anti-Hungarian discourse]

CL2: But I'm not talking about ... I said there are still some things that have remained the political tradition that still resonate in the political consciousness

CL3: Yes, yes yes

CL2: And it's not nationalist, because for me France or Italy are not nationalistic either, but by your definition Romania should be nationalistic.

CL3: Yes it seemed absurd to me Funar's idea to paint all banks and red yellow and blue. This was really discrimination, so I do not know, for Romania, not necessarily for other communities.

CL6: What I wanted to say is that I had a conversation with a friend and talking about it, about discrimination and he said something very interesting that I even agreed with, that a person today who has a normal way of thinking, cannot discriminate someone, or a nation just because

they are Italians or, I don't know, conservative, because these days a normal person should discriminate a person for their actions, for throwing trash on the street or for killing someone else, not for the mere fact the one is Romanian, or German or French and so on. If everyone would think this way, it would be much better. And you can never put everyone in the same pot, there must always be exceptions

CL2: The truth is that the man worked and still works on a very simple mechanism. I identify myself by antagonizing and that's used by politicians and media. I am that what is different from the other one and if I hate him I automatically love myself and I am reconciled with myself. This is a mechanism that works worldwide. and 200 years ago there were religious conflicts, now there are political conflicts and they won't go away, is rather utopian to believe that they would ... the only way you can pass this level and you won't pass the entire population, not even most of it, is the culture. The only thing is that unfortunately culture can be used for the wrong purpose and misused and this has happened before and it will happen again.

MO: What do you think, initiatives such as European Alternatives and TransEuropa Network can help us overcome this phase where we identify each by antagonism with the other person?

CL4: Yes it helps a lot to see the individual with their defects and qualities and, because no matter how much we say that someone did this or that because he is Italian or French, this is after all just a joke, when it comes to really analysing a person, you do it on an individual basis and that's one of the main merits that I see in being part of this organisation.

CL6: I think so too, that interacting with people from so many countries, the process of dissemination of what we work on intervenes and the information reaches as many people as possible and then there is the possibility of change, maybe not very fast but it's there.

CL3: The idea is that many countries take after other more powerful countries. That's how things work today.

CL6: However, if we talk about politics ...

CL3: And in agreement with other countries, politics influence, staring in America many things began to be illegal and it spread on like that all over the world, because we are not free as we think we are, we followed, our communication is tapped, we are... Everyone has the right to do what he wants, his body, his health, his appearance, everybody does what he wants, you can not say, you can't smoke marijuana, you can't get high, you'll die, you're aware of yourself, you do what you want ...

CL1: I do not agree with you, meaning with what you say

CL3: Nobody has any business with you, do whatever you want but do it at home, not on the street. If you want to smoke or something, stay home,

that's why .. Switzerland is the same, it was a neutral country, didn't get into any wars, nor NATO nor the EU

CL6: But these laws are there to keep certain order, you can not live without law, it is impossible

CL3: If it was something chaotic, Holland would have been the laughingstock of the world, but I think it's well organised there, it's put in place. There are some rules...

CL5: Yes, it's a very well planned society, people respect and follow the rules, I don't know, when I was in the Netherlands, youngsters my age or less, if they stepped on you they's turn around and say sorry, that is, forgive me for stepping on you, while here they step on you and.... hahhaa

CL3: And they even swear at you if ... I don't know, the system is put in place differently, it's illegal, some things are legal, things that we don't have access to and many people around the world don't, but for them it is legal, the constitution is different

CL4: And because of unwritten laws which constitute the public sphere, which do not work for us

CL3: It's your body, do what you want with your body

CL6: As long as you do not bother another

CL3: Yes yes, don't bother others around you.

CL2: It's not so simple. In the Netherlands it is very simple because they reached a high enough standard of living for a comfortable living.

CL3: People already go used to it there, I do not know how the legalisation was done ... how the people accepted the legalisation of prostitution and drugs But they are already tired of it, and bored, I do not think now people are very dependent on what they have right to have now.

CL2: So three things: the difference between Holland and Romania, the consumption of alcohol on the street, marijuana and prostitution. 90% of prostitutes working in the Red Light District in Amsterdam are from the Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania, Moldova and so on. If prostitution were legalized then the Dutch girls wouldn't come, a large part of the Romanian girls who never thought about it would become prostitutes, because it's an ok income, they would pay taxes, it would be socially acceptable. It's a work force that moves from side to side and leaves a void that allows some Chinese or Ukrainians to come and fill those spots for a lower salary. Drinking on the street, in the Netherlands ...

CL3: But I disagree with drinking on the street

CL2: So you still represent a category of people who consider public space in a more conservative way, if you can't drink alcohol on the street, why not?

CL3: Well, I see no point in going crazy with a bottle of vodka on the street.

CL2: Mhm.

CL4: In Germany it's ok, it's normal to drink beer in the park rather than pay 6 euros in a bar.

CL3: As long as you do not bother others, absolutely.

CL2: And this can be achieved in the West, here if it would be legal there would be blood flowing in the streets.

CL3: It's illegal to drink on the street in England

CL2: In England is it illegal to drink on the street?

CL5: I have seen people drinking on the street.

CL2: Well I do not know, from what I...

CL3: As long as you mind your own business and you're not making a scandal, you can even set yourself on fire. But when you do damage...

CL2: But there are communities where you can implement something like this and Romania is not one of them. Neither prostitution, nor pot, nor alcohol

CL6: The mentality is quite different

MO: But is it changing or not?

CL6: It may change, but ..

CL3: I think that man is free to do what he wants .... with limits. Not crimes, theft and rape, as long as it's ... Why isn't Coca-Cola forbidden for example, we all know that ...

CL2: That's the problem with "man is free to do what he wants." He's free up to a certain limit, until he bother someone else in his freedom, but each has a different degree of sensitivity. You say that gays can just do what they want at home, because it bothers you if you see two men kissing on street

CL3: Oh, no no! But I'm saying it shouldn't escalate ...

[unintelligible]

CL3: Not to hit on you on the street, not to bother you, you know? I have no problem with them holding hands, I have never had a problem in my life with it.

CL2: Last 20 minutes ...

CL3: There are many worse things in this world to be banned than what we have discussed so far, these are optional things. These are things like that, optional and ....

CL5: Poverty should be banned

CL6: Begging ...

CL3: That are part of people's needs...

MO: I still have one more question which is: if you would be advisors to the Commissioner for multilingualism, or if you simply could affect EU directives, which would be you suggestions or recommendations for the commission for multilingualism?

CL5: To keep harassing the Moldovans to change the constitution to say that their language is Romanian. [currently it says it is Moldavian]

MO: They are not part of the EU

CL5: No, but pre-accession agreement

CL2: But why, isn't the official language Romanian?

CL5: No, it's Moldovan

CL2: Ah, yes

CL4: I would be nasty and I'd use languages to deconstruct the nation. As such, it would be very useful for Central Europe.

CL5: For the purposes of regionalization

CL4: The Euro-regionalism, not regionalisation within the state. This thing with Hungarian being spoken in Hungary, Slovakia, SW Ukraine, Transylvania, Romanian which is also spoken on the Republic of Moldova territory and Ukraine, what else could work, quite a lot of things could.

MO: What would you propose?

CL4: I think European projects to be written for young people from different countries who share the same language to get to know each other. Sure there are some, but they are funded by political parties, by private donors. Something official would work, which would facilitate the exchange between young people from very different countries who share a common past through language, which I personally believe shouldn't be lost.

CL5: It is a very smart thing, very good, but there is a danger, and I think of a Hungarian example, because it's closer. That this idea should not be fished and instrumentalises by a nationalist Hungarian government after a while, in which young people like that met in Transylvania, Slovakia, Croatia, Slovenia, where there are speakers of the language, let us see who has participated in this programme through the school and hw have they learned and how to manipulate them somehow for a purpose ..for the Great Hungary, something like that. The same can be done in Romania with the Republic of Moldova, if this stuff is too intense it may be usurped ....

CL4: I do not know, but if we want a Europe of regions, then that's what we should do. Only if you want to blah blah about Europe regions and you actually keep the nation-state, then yes, you do nothing and think of ultra-nationalism and irredentism.

CL5: Well, yes, but nation-state does not disappear in your vision. That is, it should ... So the whole idea is dangerous, until we give up the extended sovereignty of the nation-state

CL4: But nobody would give up the sovereign nation, I think any country which dropped its currency to join the euro zone, regrets it today

CL5: The idea is not viable, it is perfect, but ...

CL4: Yes, it is viable because it is complementary. Overlaps the existing state.

CL5: The nation-state which stays with all the power doesn't give a damn about the cultural regionalisation or ...

CL4: Exactly, it doesn't, at least it does not prevent it, if it comes from above, from the supranational level.

CL5: Governments change every four years

CL4: Yes, and a European project funding period is 6 years, 7 ...

CL5: And10 years later a very nationalist government comes in, and what you do, the project is over.

CL2: The answer is there are 3 levels of management, the model I would recommend: there are trans-national, national and regional levels. Weakening of the national administrative power and strengthening the regional, the second should be the trans-national and even national level should have the least power, to be a coordinator

CL5: Military, diplomacy, those tough, otherwise ... Yes. That would be perfect, but they don't really want ...

CL2: And then, they can be implemented, for example, seriously, Turkish, for example, the Turks will now join the EU, there are 3 million Turks living in Germany and some even live in ghettos and do not speak another language than Turkish. It's a kind of stigma. If there wouldn't be a stigma to talk your language, such as Turkish, I think then the Turks would begin to speak more quickly than national language, that is, German, if the whole thing wouldn't be treated as if it would be a ghetto, but as a region that can bring in benefits. And there are countries where fewer people live, I do not know, Estonia, there are a million people, and that is the national language, but also there are EU citizens whose mother tongue is not an official one. And this again is a problem. That's why regionalisation.should be implemented as strongly as possible.

CL4: What I would do would be to focus on the Finnish model where the second language, that is the language of the largest national minority is also a national language. Swedish minority as is the case here has exactly

the same percentage as the Hungarian minority in Romania, and still this is the national language and spoken in Finland all over, they are required to have it in any place. And this thing could apply to us and other countries in Central Europe.

CL3: But it is pointless

CL5: If you ignore the whole history and cultural overlapping

CL4: What do you mean?

CL2: And it has no pragmatic sense I'd say, that is, why would ...

CL4: That is true, in fact, may be the reverse ...

CL2: Why would people in Constanta learn Hungarian, they don't have any tangent with it

MO: But people in Cluj, for example?

CL2: People from Cluj yes, for example I would like it if the Romanians in Cluj would speak it

CL4: But you shouldn't only focus on the example of Romania, in other countries as well...

CL5: It could be at regional level: in Transylvania to apply in the administration, in...

MO: Or even give you the option to learn the language at school, right? because at least from my knowledge there's no option to learn Hungarian as a second language.

CL2: Well, not in school.

CL5: I do not think you can learn Hungarian in school

CL1: If you are studying in a Romanian school...

MO: In school there as a English, French, German, Spanish, as a second language, but there is no school that offers Hungarian as a second language even though it might be important for us to know how to speak it.

CL6: That's a thing that I had to face, I was moved to Cluj in September, I studied university in Bucharest and I am from Barlad, Moldova, and I never had anything to do with Hungarian and in the beginning when I moved in Cluj I was looking for work and I saw that they automatically requested Hungarian for certain jobs and to me for example, it didn't seem normal because I did not know and had no way of knowing it, as long as I came from another part of the country where nobody speaks it at all. That was a problem that I had to face.

CL3: So would it should be optional or an advantage, advantage for Hungarian speakers.

CL6: Well, as CL4 said it, if they offered it in school as a second language and then you learn it, it is natural to apply it, but if you come from another

region and want to move to Cluj and want to work in a certain company, you are limited.

MO: Other ideas we could have for the Commissioner for multilingualism?

CL2: Not to speak only two languages besides their mother tongue, to speak even 3-4, as many as possible

MO: Because?

CL2: Yes, you answer ...

CL6: I got an idea as well now. We went to work on two projects in Poland for young deaf people and we worked with them and it is very interesting and I learned that you can communicate through sign language, with any person in this world no matter what language they know, because there is an international sign language that everyone uses and even if young people in Turkey and Romania and those in Poland did not have the same language and could not speak the international language, regardless they got along very well and it was amazing and my advice is that it would be interesting to have a course in international sign language in school.

CL4: Very interesting

CL6: And then there is no need to know that language

CL4: And it includes the non-formal education.

CL1: Exactly

CL6: And automatically the hearing impaired people who are quite a lot everywhere and ...

CL1: And who are quite marginalised

[unintelligible]

CL1: And without accents, which may be disturbing to some

CL3: You do not know anymore who's German, Austrian, English, Hungarian, Moldavian, all there in the same pot.

CL5: And if I want to speak Moldovan [with a Moldavian accent]

CL2: But you didn't heard the other side

CL5: Well, no because I left [he had left the room for a few minutes and had not heard CL6's idea]

CL3: It's not important

CL6: The only thing is that in sign language you cannot really convey moods, feelings, it's more difficult, quite difficult, but basic stuff you can.

CL4: I remembered the course of Middle Eastern History, with your dissertation advisor, when we learned how the alphabet evolved

CL1: Yes

CL4: The ideograms were only expressing the idea, then they moved on to the object, then the mood and wow! progress when you could axpress your mood. Only then did they reach the writing stage.

MO: Other ideas, those were my questions

CL2: Well, the de-academisation of the language education system, that is to use such things like to make it mandatory for a German teacher to go once a month to Germany, where she can actually practise the language, to use more tools to learn in an interactive way, to create communities where each has their French and Dutch person to talk to on Skype once a week.

CL3: Or Chat Roulette

CL2: That is for the perverts.

CL3: I do not know, I used it.

CL6: I dom't know even what that is

Dani: Chat Roulette?

CL3: Yes, and you join a chat room, you search and it shows you somebody from who knows what part of the world

CL2: But they're mostly perverts, right?

CL3: Well there are the guys who point the camera down and ... it's bad, you know.

CL2: So these are the things, not Chat Roulette

CL1: Yes, interactive programs

CL3: If you want have a little fu, you join and you can even see some who are a bit strange, old like that ...

MO: Contact and programmes, right? [9.0] If you want to add anything: The theme of today's discussion was an analysis of the discursive construction and reproduction of multilingual European-ness. If you have any other ideas

CL6: Yes, one more idea.

MO: Please.

CL6: From my point of view, I believe Europe as a continent, not only the EU, the EU really does some things for certain EU countries but not for the others what seems to me to be discrimination, to give, 'you're allowed, let's go, you're not. Because Europe is the whole continent from the Ural Mountains

MO: Do you think we have something in common which identifies us as Europeans? Or what does this mean?

CL6: I think a bit about history, I do not know very much, but I from what I remember we would be among the oldest and we were here from the beginning, all nations were created and we had the same ancestors say, it's a thing that binds us together the, Dacians and Romans, and I do not know who was here before, I don't remember. And Europe itself was practically divided between them.

CL5: We share many things, even the language we share, there are three main types of languages, Indo-European languages

CL3: Languages have evolved according to the people

CL5: I think there are Latin languaes, there are some countries which are Germanic and they have cultural links between them, not only the language. Hungarians and Finns who at one time were very ... I do not know what links they had, I do not know exactly what it is, but I know that language is for sure, and Hungarians are here, the Finns are up there. There are some very strange and interesting connections. I think about ...

CL2: And the Slavs

CL5: Some are pretty weak, but... [he misunderstood slav for slab which means week]

CL2: No, the Slavs, the Slavs

CL5: Oh, yes the Slavs too, again, yes, the last, the greatest ... Gothic architectural style, I don't know, you find it from Ireland to Iasi, Iasi is the last city, the most Eastern ...

CL4: It's Neo-Gothic, well, sorry...

CL5: But they had built so as to .... No, this is the last terminal to the East and the gothic is European by definition, there is not Gothic elsewhere

CL2: Well the Neo-Gothic does exist in America, and South America and Australia

CL5: Yes, I'm just saying

CL6: But they were built later, and our ancestors have gone there

CL4: I want to say I do not think we should have a discourse on multilingualism, we should have more practices, that's all. As can be serious to build a discourse on multilingualism that will vary over time depending on the european commissioner currently in power, or the parliamentary group which is dominant in the European Parliament and so on. Practices to conserve, to keep, to multiply this multilingualism they are certainly necessary, but to build discourse to impose a European identity, that, not at all.

CL5: For example if someone would give me free books for Italian, French, Czech, Slovak I would learn them, I'd like that, but if you have to spend money so it seems a little hard, if I have access to films

CL2: You know that if you spend money you are more motivated

CL5: Well, but if you don't have any, then...

CL6: Well, if you join a foreign language course, you have to go because you paid for it and then you have to learn

CL5: Yes, but on the other hand ... I'm thinking about French, when I was in Iasi I was subscribed to the French Center. Here the prices are double, since I came to Cluj, I didn't subscribe again, because I can't spend that much money. I go online, I have other relation with French, I study it, but if you do not have an incentive to go in that direction, to learn more languages, to know more, you stop out of laziness, out of inertia ... and then maybe free and exciting stuff, books, films, activities.

CL1: Contact with different people, for example, they have organised since October one day a week for the French students to mee the Romanian ones in the coffee-shop Spritz and there was a meeting each week and it seemed like a good thing through which you could even to interact with them in a very relaxing atmosphere.

CL5: And so are the couch surfing meetings

CL1: Yes well, but ...

CL5: With all foreigners who are in Cluj they gather and meet weekly

CL1: Well he does not even account

CL5: I do, I do stay calm

CL1: He got one, wow!

[7.0]

MO: Thank you very much!

CL4: Thank you

Transcript Cardiff focus group

MODERATOR: ....Yes, a lot of paperwork to do... excellent, thank you for participating in this focus group, as I have explained to you I am not looking for right or wrong answers but genuine opinions, so feel free to say what you think . good .. first of all I would like to ask you if you can introduce yourself ....and a.. and what your interest in the TEN and is basically why you joined this organisation...ehm who wants to start? ...yes

CA1 My name is [name], I am 22 I am from Romania, and I'm doing a MA in a translation study degree here at Cardiff Uni and, like everyone else here, I think we have heard about TEN from our group coordinator Mr [name]

because he is organising this hu.. human library at the TransEuropa Festival, this like he did last year so I thought it'd be an interesting thing to do and (...) that's why I got involved...and of course I'm also interested in European cul .... European languages and cultures (laughs)

MO: Is it the same for you both?

CA2: Yes, it's the same story for me and...I'm [name]

CA3: Yes, pretty much the same....

MO: and you are...

CA3: Yes, I am [name]

MO: excellent...now members of TEN called themselves trans-Europeans and I was wondering if you would call yourself European...or perhaps trans-European, I mean how would you describe yourself, ehm, I know it's always a difficult question...

CA3: I like to think of Europe as...ehm ...yeah the experience of living in Europe as being transnational because I think it's very easy to move about and to exchange culture. I think living in the UK our experience is slightly different obviously being an island we are that much further away from it but I think by studying languages that, ehm that sort of distance is bridged because you spend a year abroad and obviously by speaking a foreign language you can sort of go and live in that country, and I think it becomes a lot easier.

MO: OK, thank you...and is it the same for you too?

CA1: I'm not part of Europe because I'm from Turkey ...actually it's both part of Europe and at the same time there's another part.... but still it's not part of the European Union and yes, I've always been keen on studying about Europe because of its diversity there's a lot of cultures a lot of languages ...

MO: But is it geographical or cultural or what is it about Europe? I mean what is it that makes one European in your view?

CA1: I think the common point is history, European history, European tradition, maybe all the people are modern most of the people think in the same way people are open-minded and I think this is the point that makes us European, they share the same history

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MO: mmh, ok...any further comments?

CA2: I guess for me transnationalism is partly geographical because as I said I come from Romania and moving around makes a difference for me as well, so I guess I can call myself a transnational but obviously we also impose our own limits, our own boundaries, so...

MO: In what way, can you clarify?

CA2: ...ah ... that ...this thing that I am Romanian....OK so we were doing this exercise yesterday picking a book title for our books in the human library and ... and we were supposed to talk about our identity and I was saying okay I am Romanian but I don't like to think myself as only Romanian and to limit myself and to put myself in the box, within the boundaries of Romania within the boundaries of Bucharest and I like to consider myself as a world citizen actually not necessarily a European citizen.... so I guess this is transnationalism... That's what I mean by transnationalism, we've got to be open-minded and to learn to talk and to understand each other ...... we don't have to... We shouldn't at least from my point of view sptick to one box I mean only one box the Bucharest box or the Romanian box and that we should like distance ourselves and see the world from a more general perspective from the bird's eye view perspective....

MO: Okay good point, thank you .... ehm now I'd like to pick up on this idea that Europeans share some elements as you said history for example, but what about languages?

9'

I think yeah certainly like the way the UK is concerned people that only speak English there is definitely a distance that they don't feel European or even maybe they don't speak a foreign language but if they are sort of really interested in European cultures it's probably as well a political thing some people are very anti-Europe I think it is based on you know the fact that we are separate and people are very keen to guard that whereas other people are much more open to integrating ourselves into Europe and I think in Europe we are also viewed differently I know some of my friends on the year abrad have the perception that we are distrusting of the EU and we don't want anything to do with it and we have a perception that we put in lots of money when we don't and and I know the Germans definitely felt quite strongly about that. I think that the UK is in quite a unique position as being part of Europe I think

MO: OK, now there's a lot of integration in political and social areas in Europe primarily political integration but certainly not in languages...

CA1: they are trying to do something with multilingual policies and they are trying to sort of make educate let's say people learn and make them understand that we need more languages and they have certain policies but is this is the very institutional level with the Lisbon I think they decided to have mother language +2 if I am not wrong yes yes so they are running some projects about languages

MO: yes I think you're referring to the general multilingual policies whereby the EU is trying to encourage people to learn a language ideally 2 languages on top of the mother tongue

CA1: but some would say there are issues with that because culture policies can only be recommendations and not directives so implementation is up the individual member states and so...yes at institutional level is fine but in reality ....

MO: what is it like in reality?

CA2: I know that over here the situation is getting worse not better as less people are doing languages less people continuing them it's a big problem because we are already behind so...

CA1: most people are extremely reluctant to do ...to learn foreign languages...

MO: and why is that?

CA3: I think part of it is ...well obviously English is spoken everywhere and people don't need to and the other thing is when you live in Europe you know you can get a train from Amsterdam to Brussels so moving to different countries is a lot easier you know from Germany you might be kind of out from where you live going to France just for a day and I think that would give me a lot of incentives to learn the language maybe...

MO: How? could you expand that a bit?

CA3: if I was able to travel, say if I was near to say Germany and I could actually go and practise some German without actually you know book a holiday or take a flight and that would make me more encouraged…

MO: do you all agree here??

CA1: well, I think ..there's also a point of pride being⬛I think people British people consider Britain Great Britain as being an entity and there's been this ..what is it called …self standing? it's not self standing

CA3: self-sufficient?

CA1: yes self-sufficient that they don't need anybody else for anything because for example in Romania the situation is completely different everybody speakes at least English and everybody's enc…. not encouraged at the institutional level but everybody feels that they should speak more foreign languages in order to get better chances and better opportunities to move around and to get a better life and I think this is a very important issue as well because in Great Britain most people have very good life in comparison to Romania let's say you know so it comes down to money and like social situations and something like this so…ah and also history and everything… so I guess in Romania everybody absolutely everybody is very keen ah..on learning about other cultures and everybody's very interested in foreignness while in Great Britain people are reluctant as far as I've noticed and I have been living here for the last 6 or 7 months

MO: but how would you go about choosing one language one culture I mean there are so many languages that one can learn we now have 23 official languages in Europe and I doubt that everyone will ever get to the stage where they can all languages so how would you go about choosing a language I mean…

CA2: in Turkey actually it works on the basis of politics and economy for example everyone has to know English in Turkey because maybe is the lingua franca of the European Union and after English is coming French maybe because the widely used language and think we are choosing languages according to the progress in the world according to improvement in technology

MO: and what about the benefits that one language brings and also the prestige and the status

CA2: yes

CA1: yes same for Romania I mean English is ….people, kids start learning English even in kindergarten now and afterwards comes French which is the second language for everybody but French also because we were influenced by the French culture we were one of the Francophone countries we were influenced during the inter-bellic period between the 2 world wars we were extremely influenced by the French culture so people would speak French in their homes specially the higher classes they would have French maids to teach their children in French and things like this so now that's how French got to be a second language and then the university because that's where people learn and study foreign languages and you just have to pick one language

MO: which brings me to the provocative question is it truly multilingualism or is it a selective pecking of some languages I mean how would anyone dream of learning Maltese or Estonian would they I think

CA1: I've learnt Swedish and I got friends learning Bulgarian so and friends learning Finnish some not the good example but so there are people out there learning different languages

CA2: but in Turkey if they choose I don't know Bulgarian Estonian these people can't find any work in the future so they have to choose so they have to do something else other than the problem this study so the dominant languages are Italian English French and Spanish we have just 4 main languages in Turkey and you can't find a job

CA1: I would tend to contradict that because I think that when you studying foreign languages which are not there aren't so many people knowing your language and knowing your country the sort of a niche market for most dollars for Ford these languages and I think it's much easier to find a job you know if you know something but in general and the general level if you're standing

yes of course you have more job which unities

so do you feel that you buy adopting and promoting this kind of multilingualism is in fact reproducing the pecking order of languages by which I mean yes they're all equal in principle but some are more equal than others I hope I've made myself clear

MO: So do you feel the EU by adopting this kind of multilingualism is effectively reproducing a pecking order of languages? Yes I mean they're equal in principle but some are more equal than others

CA3: I think it's a practical thing some people are really talented linguists and they know French and German and Chinese and then they'll learn other languages so quite often the more common ones are sort of a starting point and perhaps ago the potential to go on and learn more than a handful I think sometimes I find people will say to me I started learning German or I'll pick that up really easy because you've done French but actually I would say I'm not that skilled at languages as other people are but for me if I'm going to pick another language it's going to be very time consuming so I need to make sure that either I'll use it personally or definetly get work and I think that being English can quite interestingly [?] but we had someone coming in and he said that as an English person you wouldn't get any work because there's so many Polishwith excellent Emglish so for me to learn Polish would be pointless really

MO: yes and so would you say there is a linguistic market we have to adapt

CA1: I guess so, I guess that from a personal perspective we start learning languages as a personal decision but your main concern is if it is going to be beneficial or productive from a financial point of view more I think from my point of view

MO: right

CA1: so yes there is a market that we have to adapt because we're not living in a bubble for ourselves

CA3: That's probably why I dropped Spanish because I was taking it jointly with long with French but then I decided I'd rather do one well and a lot of people said that was a bad decision because they said for a lot of jobs you need two languages so from a practical point of view it made sense to carry on but I was more motivated with French so you kind of work with your heart and your head and you need your motivation as well

MO: Sure, I'd like to go back to this idea that came earlier that to be European is also the ability to move freely now that there are no physical borders and am wondering if languages in your view can still represent borders or barriers

CA1: I guess they're not really barriers to the movement itself away but when it comes to people yes if you don't know where somebody… I think it's much easier to relate to other people when when you know the

language first of all so... And if you can't communicate their there there can be borders definitely if you're talking if she's Turkish and am Romanian there were speaking English I think there are certain limitations between us more or less now that we are aware but now that I'm thinking there are some limitations because when you're speaking certain languages you.you.. create you have a certain thinking pattern in a language I guess so when you give up your language you have English let's say the makes you think in a slightly different way but this comes to identity and mmh does it make sense?

CA2: I think you said there are no boundaries in Europe but actually I think there are boundaries because even when we speak in English we can't express ourselves to the full

MO: So what is it that makes us Europeans given that so far we've mentioned mainly differences there are between Europeans

CA1: I guess it's the perspective on the world we have... the way we think and we see the world in comparison to Asia or Africa or I guess I don't know but I think it's the way we see the world more or less the perspective from which we see the world how we relate to....

MO: and can you tell how you see the world

CA1: I think the common point is history European history , European tradition, maybe all the people are most people think in the same way people are open-minded and I think this is the point that makes us European they share the same history

MO: and do you think that all Europeans have the same perspective on the world because of their history

CA1: yeah....because I mean if you look at other continents there are Middle East or Asia Europa they have different patterns different cultures they share other ideas from European people it cannot be denied they are different Asian people are completely different in terms of culture history I think we all have different ideas about world perspective

MO: that's very interesting thank you sure

CA2: and the way we relate to everyday things because I was thinking now about the text that we read about Hamlet and there is an anthropologist who goes who goes to lighter now in a jungle and she has Hamlet with her and the people in the tribe asker to tell the story of Hamlet and this is the perfect place to show the hamlet is a universal story and she starts telling them the story of Hamlet and after 5 min they interrupted her and this is not what it should have done this is what I should have done this is wrong and in the end they say and now you go back Europe I think she was from Europe go back to Europe and tell your people that this is what they should have done and he didn't know what it was doing so they offered her a completely different interpretation of Hamlet wish I'd thought I think he was and that's what I mean by different interpretations

MO: thank you now that's a good example

CA1: yes it's very interesting

MO: and now from a more political point of view do you see these things we have in common as a good basis for the EU common project of integration

CA1: my thinking might be a bit radical but when it comes to when I think of the EU as an institutional unity and all countries get integrated I think all comes down to money in the end because it's all about from my point of view it's all about the interest each country has in it and which one is the most powerful that gets to dictate sorry what others are supposed to do …. and then a political party are all the same there is no clear distinction any more between right and left at least let's say in Romania to give you a concrete and clear example there are there is no ….. different alliances are made because there is no clear difference between right and left and this is also the case of Europe being…

MO: But do you mean there consensus in finding a political convergence how we all agreed on European issues?

CA1: Well they all agreed because of the power they get when they agree the power they get when they get together so it's just a power arrangement but it's not because it's good for the citizens necessarily and that is bad from my point of view

CA3: yeah

I think the EU has the potential to change cultural things

MO: but as trans Europeans how do you see language connected to national identity

CA2: well of course there is an element of pride in national identities and that relates to where you born which is opposite connected to your parents your language and think that in this new Europe that we were talking about there are still there should still be roots but the also open-minded around them and not to think of the boxes we were talking earlier but I think it's important for us to know to have roots and to no one coming from to have a mother tongue about everything around this and to be able to relate to other people without thinking well I am Romanian I was told to an Hungarian because of I don't know what they'd done and stuff like this and I think we have to go past this and we need some routes and for me for me language it's related to my roots is ...

[the other two members start talking to each other]

... I just wanted to say about mobility I completely appreciate the fact that I am from Romania but the fees for me to study in the UK are the same for every British citizens and also further to Sweden let's say I have the same status I am considered to be an international student so from this point of view it's a very important point for me because I am able to go around Europe and to be considered a member of each state and as a member of each state I have the same rights in each state they go around I have the same bright at the citizens and their makes me feel like I'm part of the community. But on the other hand there are constraints that really really annoying me like if I want to work in the UK have got to have a working permit which I don't consider no more because we are from the European Union and and I mean there is a clash between what they are promoting and what they're doing

CA1: It's not the same for me because mobility is not valid for Turkey because Turkey is part of Europe but not in the EU so there is no mobility for my country and I have today international students fee and I can't go anywhere without a visa or a passport (...) there you are

CA2: sorry

MO: yes

CA2: I really must go…

MO: OK no problem, I think we're nearly done anyway… shall we wrap it up?

CA3: yes I think we can finish now

MO: Ok (…) is there anything that you would like to add

CA1: ummh . no . not really

CA2: ah, I wish I could stay , there's so much we could discuss…I mean it's been a very interesting conversation…

CA1: really … it has

MO: I'm afraid we'll have to live it for another time then, but thank you very much for your contribution

All: thank you

9.9   Transcript Rome individual interview

FZ: Thank you very much [name] for accepting to be interviewed (..) emh, the purpose of this interview is for you to share your views on (.) on general issues about Europe, and in particular, about what being European is about (…) so, the reason why I approached you is because your are a member of an organisation engaged with European issues, and (.) therefore I am particularly interested in your views…

[RO1 nods]: yes sure

FZ: First of all I would ask you to perhaps introduce yourself (..) by saying your name, and what, what your responsibilities are within EA, and how long you've been with EA …

RO1: My name is [name] I'm 28 originally Italian, although I left Italy when I was 17 and (.) only recently come back (.) 6 months ago when I was 28, so spent most of my early youth outside of Italy, and mostly in the UK and Spain and so in Europe, but also in Canada and I came back bec (…) I was trying to come back for a few years finally managed to find a job with European Alternatives, in November where I manage a project called People Power Participation, which is a consultation with different activities citizens around Europe to sort of reflect on their civil rights as European citizens ..

FZ: Wonderful, thank you very much (.) can I ask you now what made you join European Alternatives in the first place?

RO1: Well I (..) my background is very much political, having been away from my country from an early age, I think I developed a sense that things could have been done differently, and (..) politics is obviously a tool to make things different because good government could make good countries , so (.) so I was trying to look for something in this field politics , and since it's really hard to get a paid job in politics without (...) sleeping with anyone [giggles] ehm.. I approached something that was political and yet outside of formal politics, which is the case of this NGO , organisation, pressure group I particularly liked the European dimension which is the European identity, which is this very much this field of mine, (..) and I like the issues they deal with which a sort of progressive agenda for Europe (.) past ideological [?] they represent the issue of the new left which are very much mine..

FZ: Okay, very good , so, when you joined EA presumably you had some expectations of what future developments would be, would you say then that your expectations have been fulfilled and so to what extent?

RO1: I had the expectation to be doing (..) I was actually hired to manage resource, which is my background and it is not so much what I'm doing, research, it is more like project managing consultation, but apart from that it's equally exciting and research was (...) and I have been very much in contact with Europeans of different kind, I've been visiting countries I hadn't visited before so, somehow this has not been life changing for me because I physically had a transnational life for my all adult life, so it's not that much different from what I used to have...

FZ: Okay, thank you, let's move on to the European identity now first of all do you feel European and and so could you explain what that means to you

RO1: : I think that ironically the easy (...) well (..) first of all yes, I feel very much European, maybe as much as I feel Italian, or possibly even more and ironically I did (...) the European identity developed when I moved to Canada, and when you're like in a third country outside of Europe, it's a lot easier to see what you have in common with fellow Europeans that were also in Canada, so we would (.) I was in an international college, with people from all over the world, but it was obvious to me there that I had something in common with people from Finland or Bulgaria, although we had no shared languages or food habits, and I thought that culture is about that, but there is something about finding the same things and, strange

peculiar [things?] about America, for example, and I think identity comes from... I mean it is also understood through shared experiences and shared emotions and shared reactions, so we have very much the same historical cultural background without really knowing it, and then I moved to Britain, which is a very Eurosceptic country, where people are very European but they don't think they are, and people call you European and when I say to people I go to Europe they don't include themselves, and that even if somehow they are a lot closer to Europe than they would like to think, but that also helped develop an identity of (..) and you know again if you met a Spanish person, or French, whatever in London, he would be someone closer to the way you think, to your identity and then, meanwhile, the development of a European policy also helped because they became, you know, places you can go to work and places that have your own currency and so on, places that have increasingly the same laws, so that identity goes hand-in-hand with social and political developments ...

FZ: Okay, back to what you mentioned earlier, you said that whilst staying in Canada you felt they had things in common with other Europeans when you mentioned historical background are there any other elements that you think you share with other Europeans

RO1: I think it's very much about the mindframe about the way we think... The way that history plays a bigger role on how we would think how we behave what mistakes we've made.... all of them somehow translate into less naive attitudes towards life I don't know and I mean Americans would probably say we're cocky Europeans are are you youbut but I was 17 when I moved to Canada and the rest of the people from the rest of the world were sort of still children how European 17 year -old were quite grown-ups and that happened and then I got a different city than I thought I had nothing in common with political thoughts already political opinions that no one else really had people were a lot more sort of away from politics whether they came from more developed countries like America and Canada but they were very protective whether they came from Asia and Africa they didn't not engage in politics they felt distant simply because they became from dictatorships and there was not politics so somehow there is this common engagement that is why obviously it's a bit of an analysis that I am making relating to social historical political stuff that happened before but 17-year-old from Europe usually have a fair idea of what.... Of the politics in their country so we fought for what was bad and strike in school, but Canadians don't have that Americans don't have that so... That was an element and then obviously they're all like.... Because in a way cultural exposure is similar and I think that Italian youth and Swedish youth are more exposed to American cultural products then each other's products but in a way I think this European identity doesn't go through receiving similar products but rather living similar experiences

FZ: So if you had to choose one element of your European identity would you be able to pick one out and say this is really what makes me European....

RO1: What do you mean one element do you mean whether it's my local identity or national or...

FZ: No, perhaps not, I was thinking that for example, you mentioned the historical backgrounds as something that you share with other Europeans, so I was thinking more along the lines of shared elements.....

RO1: Well it's difficult to... to distill European identity in one element... Its hard but it could be people lifestyle, it could be the ideology, actually even the presence itself of ideology it's very much like the European thing that other people don't really have.....

FZ: The other question I wanted to ask you is you mentioned about being Italian and therefore this is a national identity how do you feel that the two play out together I mean being European and being Italian?

RO1: Yeah..[pause] It's a difficult question I mean all questions about identity are difficult and.....I actually left Italy to come...I mean left the UK to come back to Italy because I wanted to get involved in politics so for me after spending so many years away and critical years my main interest remained Italian politics which I was appalled of and constantly ashamed of while being outside and I thought that I could sort of use the ability to develop outside my own country so there was this sort of almost innate feeling of patriotism and it came out of this stronger kind of often ... subconscious feeling that you had to do something that's been on your mind that to do it for your own people

This said I think Italian identity is only ....ehm *transitoria*, how do you say, it is only for the time being 'cause I do see the European alternative as a much bigger one but it's somehow less shared for the moment there's bunch of elite people not only so much in terms of economics but people would travel around live in other countries they have transnational lives and do appreciate and do realise that there's a lot more in common than more Europeans there are differences and ...I mean for example you hear often of the European Union justification for not allowing direct elections it's not quite [?] Europeans are not ready to vote for someone who is not from their own countries whereas I think and a lot of people are more than ready I would have no problem to choose their Finnish socialist and

the Spanish Christian Democrats it is the same and I think a lot of people in my generation would say that but not enough it's sort of a niche identity that's why the Italian identity may be stronger because it's shared with a large group of people and European identity is niche and not something that you can go to a bar and talk about with your group of privileged people

FZ: What about trans-nationalism or transnational identity because obviously EA defines itself as a transnational network what's in your opinion transnationalism?

RO1: Yeah Transnational is just ….a move beyond the idea that nations are the sort of units of everything in which life happens and at best there are relationships between nations but the idea life moves across nations both my sort of work life and personal life ehm is a representation of that I mean now I was in Cardiff 3 days ago any Madrid the week before and in Bulgaria 2 weeks ago and in Argentina a month earlier because my partner is Argentinian and that's another element I do have… My partner is Argentinian and lives in Mexico just to make things complicated and we lived together in London for ages but then he got a job there and that's why he decided to take some time off and come to Italy and rather than staying in London so this is what transnational life is about so it's not any more seen as going abroad as you know I am travelling to another country you know and discovering something new that seems the normalisation of life in its every stage love work leisure happening across borders with obviously the complication that the world is not ready for that the word is still very much based on national institutions and to give an example of that from my life I can get married to my partner in London but I can't get married to my partner here and if I get married to my partner in London I cannot come back and live to Italy with my partner because marriage is not accepted and he's not a European citizen so he would not have a permit to stay so it's very much the example of transnational life being there but nation-states putting obstacles towards this transnational life floating…

FZ: Okay thank you very much I'd like now to move to a slightly different subject still within Europe I'd like to talk about languages how do you feel about the claim that language diversity in Europe is a good thing because it shows respect for diversity but at the same time it's not so good to integration?

RO1: Yeah, I disagree with that I don't think that languages are not an obstacle to integration it's obviously…. we have English which is the lingua franca of Europe a lot of people speak most people in Southern countries

and and that's good enough to have you know meaningful conversations with other people while keeping your own culture that relates to your own language so I think that you know yeah emphasis should be put in school and making sure kids are raised bilinguals but I don't think that languages are an obstacle to how Europe works

FZ: Now language policies are ultimately the responsibility of member states but the EU recommendations are encouraging citizens to learn to languages on top of their mother tongue language do you think that the "2+1" solution is actually effective in bringing people together in Europe in terms of making helping them communicate effectively

RO1: well I think it is desirable to speak as many languages as you can but I don't think it's absolutely necessary and I think your own plus English and I think the EU obviously has the obligation not to mention any specific language and just say +2 but is true if I speak Finnish and Hungarian it does really help us if we speak English so I would say I was so speak English although France would probably oppose this in a resolution but I don't care people should learn English and as many other languages as they like but I don't think it's just enough to learn communitarian languages to be integrated and the emphasis should be placed on English whether we like it or not..

FZ: Ok, but so if we do accept that English could become the officially recognised lingua franca what about are native speakers don't you think that native speakers would be have an advantage?

RO1: yeah I mean obviously they will have an advantage but but ..I think sometimes it goes like that some groups in society have advantages over others the role of the state or of an institution like the EU is to to make sure that this natural advantages do not make those people step over others and I don't think that's the case and the British and the Irish should definitely make an effort to learn other languages but they also should understand the frustration when the speak ok Italian or ok case Spanish and and Italians and Spanish switch to English 'cause it's easier to speak English to them and I think it should be encouraged all the time and that's yes and gives an advantage to English and Irish and speakers but that's an advantage that's not scandalous to me it's is just you know that's the way it is..

FZ: so am I right in thinking that what you're saying is it's more important that we get to communicate effectively even if that means recognising one language as the most important...

RO1: yeah I mean I think….are you talking about the EU?

FZ: yes, yes…

RO1: I do think that it is already a de facto situation just a matter of fact I don't know how many of the negotiations in Brussels happen in other languages but English so I think we're just stating the obvious which is that the EU operates in English and I think obviously it is the right of citizens to communicate with the EU institutions in their own language so ….yeah and it is one that I think should be kept but I think that it's okay if we admit what is like an elephant in the room and that English is the lingua franca of Europe because it's already like that

FZ: So do you agree with the Euro barometer survey in which people were asked whether they thought that it's important to have a common language, … let me phrase it correctly [read out] "everyone in the EU should be able to speak a common language" and 75% agreed to that view, so is this also you view?

RO1: Yes I would… I mean depends what should means..it is the desirable very much so but not should in the sense that has to be imposed it would be desirable if they did…

FZ: …now going back to policies and practices within the EU multilingualism is the default position with the official position that all languages are equal but practices vary a lot Parliament for instance relies on translation but the Commission uses working languages so they can agree to working one or 2 languages and basically that narrows it down to English French and sometimes German do you see any contradiction in that as it were between what's been preached and what's been practice …

RO1: Yes there is a bit of contradiction but as I say I don't find it too….scandalous in itself what it means is that the Parliament relies on interpretation up to the point a lot of MEPs who are fluent in English have to speak Dutch and Swedish or whatever just because they have to give jobs to those translators maybe out of national pride I don't know so it's often [?] Long languages when it's not necessary as the case of Gaelic in Ireland shows that's hardly anyone in Ireland who speaks Gaelic and not English but its more a matter of like national pride and Spain started with wanting you know the other 3 official languages of Spain to be recognised and we could go on with that forever…. I would just prefer a system in

which if somebody cannot speak a language they can have access to interpreters rather than being there on the assumption that we need interpreters... For me it keeps the European Parliament even more intergovernmental rather than supranational institution and it gives a lot of work [?] At the MEP of Sweden whether they should be talking for everyone ideally and the fact that they are working in languages well that's fine it's true that German is almost never used because most Germans speakers are fluent in English there's the French which is just regularly used for the French you know Belgians and Luxembourgers are fluent in English and they want to keep it because they prefer that to speaking with an accent you know it's fine by me but if we got to the point in 20 30 years in which the only working language will be English I think it will be easier for everyone...

FZ: Okay but what about the public sphere, by using translation, do you think that something might get lost in translation? After all Italian writer Umberto Eco once said that the language of Europe is translation....

RO1: Yeah, obviously with all translations you lose a bit of their meaning, I have a friend who is an interpreter for the European Parliament and she kept telling me that I don't know how to translate policymaker in Italian which if you think about it there isn't a way to translate policymake but what I found ironic is that probably you know, the person, the Italian MEPs listening they would know what policymaker was but there was sort of this obsession even in Italian because it was their right to have it translated into Italian so I understand what

Eco says varies problem with all translation if you... If people were made able to speak English that's probably easier.... Yeah before I use an expression the elephant in the room that doesn't exist in Italian and in a way I'm not speaking my own language but I am adding meaning with figures that belong to these other languages we manage to get everyone to with a level of which was good enough to speak [?] Which are accustomed to that. Sweden Holland pass this basic level that is, Luxembourgers we just implement that education system plus you know an encouragement like dubbing films sorry subtitling films rather than dubbing them we could again one generation which like all bilingual pupils you express yourself in both and there are some expressions that can only be used in your native languages and some others can only be used inother languages...

FZ: Okay thank you, if you and another European got together and neither of you spoke the same language would you say that you felt more distant from that person?

RO1: yeah definitely I would of course I would this is my anecdote and you might say I have a bit of hard feelings towards the French…. basically I am fluent in Italian English and Spanish and I speak a bit of Portuguese given the 3 are like colonial languages I can travel in most places in the world and find a way of communicating with people the only place on the planet where I have problems communicating is France because I don't speak French and and most of them don't really speak and they refuse to and yes that is why I have less French friends than most other European countries because of lack of communication and it's true that when I'm in Paris I feel like a foreigner I feel like I don't know what to do and that doesn't happen when I am in Spain or England because I can speak the language and how and when I am in Eastern Europe either because I can communicate in basic English…

FZ: Okay thank you for this… If you were an adviser for the Commissioner for multilingualism is there any suggestions that you would like to make to improve language policies?

RO1: I would strongly recommend the EU to find a way through people try to avoid dubbing films and TV and of course you can't impose that but it's obvious that people who come from countries where they grew up listening to other languages they tend to speak better that and you know Italians French Spaniards which dub everything they are the ones whose level of English is the poorest so it will be a very practical recommendation then on the other hand just make sure the languages are studied everywhere even in countries that don't need to like the UK where they recently sort of abolished the need to study languages at GCSE level and the rate has gone down and… 'cause languages are not that fashionable in the UK I think it's a pity that children and teenagers when they are 14 15 and are supposed to learn you know 100 subjects and the intake of information of their brain is so powerful they don't really explore any languages so they definitely should even if it's true what they say that they don't need it they can get by even without knowing Spanish or French all whatever they study but it will be desirable and I think this is something that the EU should encourage countries not to take those measures like abolishing languages in GSCEs level

FZ: Right, OK , do you feel that knowing 3 languages is enough to communicate and participate actively and effectively in the public sphere perhaps all so with reference to what you're involved in in politics democratic participation?

RO1: I disagree with the definition of these numbers but I think it's a bit hypocritical [regulating the number of languages one should learn]. I understand why it's done but if you are you now like from a Hungarian minority and Slovakian and use the Check also is not going to be enough even the you speak Czech and Slovak and Hungarian that's not good of the enough for you are to be part of the public sphere the issue should be you should speak at least your own language and English and if English is your 1st language try and learn another one though you might not need it so for me I think it's great that they're doing that but it seems to me like the product of negotiations not to upset France rather than the reality which is you should learn English and preserve your own language if you can and after that learn as many as you can even all 27 if you want to but with your own and English will probably be fine

FZ: Is there any other issues that you would like to talk about which perhaps we haven't discussed

RO1: Well I think that my dream my vision is that Europe be united politically and for this to happen for elections to be meaningful across Europe we need people to understand that we need to have a language in common we it to be able to campaign and to be understood and again that's why I'm really a fan of English not because I see this as a sort of cultural imperialism because by now English has nothing to do with England any more or with the UK ..it's a language in itself flexible enough to be spoken a different level and if you don't know it well you can sort of put two words together and it makes sense but the same can't be said about French or German for example so it works well… it's a sort of historical chance that it went this way but it's also a chance that's somehow lucky because you can say "I want I need bread" whatever and get it and that is a lot more complicated to say that in German or French to put 2 words together…

FZ: can you just ask you to explain what do you mean by English is no longer related to England do you mean the English identity?

RO1: Yes that's exactly it I don't see it as an imposition of cultural imperatives [?] from the Brits you know by now English is the language of… By now you know if aliens came to the Earth by now they'd probably try and talk to us in English… it's the language of old England is the language of the US but is the language of the EU too…

FZ: Okay I'm aware of time, so , we now got to the end of our interview thank you very much [name] for your time

RO1: thank you for interviewsing me, I hope it helps for your study

FZ: definetly, I'll now stop recording

9.10 Transcript Berlin 1 individual interview

FZ: Hi [name]

BE1: Hi [she laughs] how are you?

FZ: I'm good thanks (.) yourself?

BE1: yes, thanks

FZ: Thank you for accepting to be inter..interviewed

BE1: No problems (…)

FZ: Do you want to tell me a little bit about yourself do you want to introduce yourself I know you are the coordinator of the Berlin group and if you can just tell me how you got to know this organisation and what your role is as a coordinator

BE1: okay so I've got to the Berlin group through research I've done I am an anthropologist and I was studying in the field of 'other Europes' and imagination about Europe

FZ: okay

BE1: so I got in contact with the Berlin group at the end of 2010 and I did my research there about potentials of the NGO in the EU stratos and after this research I got active because I got really impressed by the work they had done yeah and I started sharing this role of coordinator with [name] and so we're doing it together usually there's another person sharing so we're working together and basically it's just about organising the whole thing [laughs] so we are responsible for what the Berlin group is doing yeah and we apply for projects and stuff like this

FZ: yeah it's a lot it's hard work I would imagine

BE1: yeah [she laughs] yeah yeah yeah but it brings also fun so it depends on the group you're working on so and they're really great people here in Berlin so it's nice and I enjoy it a lot

FZ: okay very good thank you, ehm I'd like to find out a little bit more about this idea of transnationalism because this organisation European Alternatives or the TransEuropa network whatever you want to call it describes itself as transnational so obviously there must be something that attracted you in the first place and I was wondering if you could tell me a bit about what transnationalism means to you

BE1: yea, I mean my interest in the group where I decided to be active is the topic of migration and new forms of political participation I was research in this field between 2004 and 2010 and I liked the idea because in my case if you research about migration you can't do it at national level it totally makes no sense and also about social movements concerning topics which are really European it makes sense to go beyond the borders and so that's it it is quite easy what it means to me it's beyond borders and beyond the nation to find a European solution

FZ: yes okay sure but presumably it's not only about physical borders is it? I mean

BE1: no, it's not because borders are made so ehm

FZ: okay so okay so how do you see Europe ...I mean where and what is Europe?

BE1: ehm I see Europe well ehm I have a special view on Europe I think because I don't see it as a geographical space because ehm the things we're talking about we're handling with [sic] are are not geographical if you talk issues of migration for example so ehm [pause] well yeah

FZ: okay yeah so if I were to ask you what Europe means to you [...] what defines Europe of course from a transnational point of view?

BE1: Europe I mean when we're talking about Europe to me it's more really kind of imagination of the wish of how we can live together it doesn't work in reality at the moment but it's an idea we have to go to [...] I think that the idea of this ideal of having a shared place to live in makes me European and yeah .....yeah [pause]

FZ: okay [...] shall we call it a... an imagined community ?

BE1: yeah you can call it an imagined community

I: or is it really about place?

BE1: no no no no it's no no no it's no it's not about place no it's not mmh

FZ: or maybe not a physical place maybe an ideal place as you called it

BE1: it's a kind of utopia if you ask me yeah

FZ: okay [...] utopias are good   [BE1: we should go to

BE1: yes [she laughs]

FZ: and in this...well let's call it utopia then, who can participate I mean can anyone be European [...]? who can be European?

BE1: in the utopia everybody who wants to be European can be European I think [long pause] yeah yeah I think it's more it's a more ...not a geographical or political one it's more about divisions but you know this utopia could be everywhere I also could be talking about the whole world but Europe is a place I can think about Europe is more or less an ideal about it so everybody who's interested in this field is sharing with me this idea of Utopia and they can take part in it [...] yeah I mean the European Union is not a utopia it's not an ideal [...] Europe for me is more well what I was talking about before so it's not a geographical thing so ...ehm m-my Europe, my image of Europe is quite bigger then EU countries and it's really more about this shared ideal of a peaceful shared place

FZ: okay okay and would you say this is what brings trans-Europeans together

BE1: I'm quite sure yes yes

FZ: and do you think you all share a common ideal of Europe

BE1: yes yes but this ideal could be everywhere I mean it could be somewhere in Africa it's just a shared yeah a shared ideal yeah that's it

FZ: that's interesting I mean so you're saying that physical Europe happens to be a place where you can make it happen

BE1: yeah

FZ: okay so okay and do you think it is by chance that it's in Europe physically or are there also historical reasons or ...

BE1: no of course there are historical reasons it's not just about sharing this this utopia it's just place focused you know but I mean this what I well let's call it utopia and this is really about shared values and shared idea of

a peaceful place and this could happen everywhere but of course there's a process in Europe and you have this idea of Europe of this peaceful place after the 2nd world war and of course and it also due to certain issues it is what it is and am happy about it and just to to put it away from this geographical thing [...]mmh, I mean if you if I were living in New York I would engage in the same things I'm doing here I'm quite sure because it's a human idea and yeah what I mentioned before this integration and migration thing of course it matters if there are African people in Berlin, Africa is part of Europe in this moment it's connected of course

FZ: I think what you've said is very interesting and I'm wondering , I'm wondering if you would you call yourself European in this sense you've just mentioned, I mean as being connected to other people..

BE1: ehm yes I would I would on some point I have my problems because I still see quite big differences so I'm not used to something I've learnt for instance in Eastern Europe I've seen I'm not used to sometimes it's hard to call yourself European if you don't have the same experience as the Eastern European countries have had so but I see myself as a European but also as an idea or an ideal of how to how I would like to live together with other people I think that's it

FZ: but you've said that if I understood correctly we're not quite there yet are we?

BE: ehm no we're not and also I am not I think and I work hard on it yeah

FZ: yeah can you expand a little bit on this idea for instance you said you've seen a lot of differences in eastern Europe compared to western Europe I presume I don't know you mean social differences

BE1: and also political ones I mean have never lived in a communist country so these are experiences I've never made so and I think there are differences which are really political

FZ: so if it all how can one reconcile these differences

BE1: well I mean this is what we're working on at European alternatives just that we have different basis and of course they exist and we have to accept that in a way but we're people working together tha really have

targets they want a shared Europe and a shared place and I think to engage people and to to ehm to make them believe in the idea of a shared place called Europe that's what we're all working for

FZ: that's very interesting and can I ask you do you see because obviously on the one hand we are talking integration aren't we it's a sort of levelling if you like where things become sort of all the same but on the other hand we want to keep it diverse and different

BE1: United in diversity

FZ: yes that's a nice way to put it but is it too ideal I'm thinking for instance culture you can't homogenise culture I mean you can but you don't want it this is not what Europe is about but at the same time I think you mentioned this there has to be some kind of political integration if we want to achieve this idea of United Europe I don't know how we can possibly reconcile these tensions do you have any ideas or ideal...

BE1: well I think there are some decisions that can be made just at the EU base what we can do is really to to ...yeah I mean because in the field of social movement it's really to engage people to fight for their rights [?] to form a kind of shared voice that really so yeah that's it it has to be a bottom-up initiative

FZ: but do you think that because of the fact that people can move freely across Europe people will feel more European and I'll try and explain myself here and fisrt of all I consider myself European I wish I could say I'm European full stop. And inevitably people will say yeah but were about in Europe I live in London originally from Italy and people inevitably say your Italian but you live in UK and so on so for me European my European identification only works at certain levels I don't know if I go to the States yes I could probably say yes I am European but within Europe I still have to qualify myself so to speak as Italian British or non-British or whatever so some will say that people will tend to move around is true but they'll take their nationality with and are still which is still some sort of reference for their identity so so that what's your view so what you think this movement of people helps creating a common identity or not...

FZ: Can I ask you what European identity means to you?

BE1: mmh (..) I have a problem with with this identity thi(::)ng (...) mmmh (.)[laughs] because identity always means inclusion and exclusion in a way

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and so (...) mmmh and of course if you ask me yes I'll say I am European but I am so much more mmh in the same way

I: in what way?

BE1: er (..) I mean the question is (.) is (..) is important for you that you are Italian or (.) or you don't mind about or is it just about the others this is the question (..) you know what I mean [hesitates]?

I: yes I think I know what you mean and (..) and my answer would probably be it depends on the context, sometimes I have to call myself Italian and sometimes I chose to and ...

BE1: yes yes I'm sure yes (..) I have difficulties with this identity thing but(:::), mmh [...] could you asked me again and I'll think about it [laughs]

FZ: ok let me see if I can come from a different angle here ...some members said to me what makes one European is about values? probably is ...

BE1: yes also about values of course human rights I mean if you accept certain parts of the world [?]

FZ: okay let's go back to this ideas this idea of nationality that I brought into the conversation earlier so how important is it our nationalities as Europeans

BE1: as Europeans?

FZ: sorry I mean each one's nationality my being Italian your being German and so on as Europeans sorry let me put it this way because maybe I'm not clear ehm

BE1: no I think I've got it

FZ because being familiar with this organisation I know they reject the idea of nationstate and therefore this links into the transnationalism I'm just thinking if you could help me on this

BE1: yes I think for me I don't really identify as being German no not at all but this is also because of the German this is also because the German history they really don't have many good things to talk about but I identify with the really really small 300 people village I come from so this is quite easy to identify with the village I come from and then I identify as a Berliner now because I'm living in the city and I identify more [with Berlin] which is quite strange because it so much bigger as being

European than being German but I think this is really more to do with my work with European alternatives

FZ: this is really interesting because basically you're saying yes you are local and then you sort of bypass this national identity

BE1: yeah, but I think this is really just because of the German identity (..) for example I was so often in Italy before for longer times, and also thought it would be so nice to be an Italian woman, which is strange because it's another nation, but for me they really have [unclear] more positive than the German nationality, for example, (..) I think I just have a problem with the German in a way, due to history, which is quite strange because now, in the crisis it happens quite often that if you are German people say 'come on, but you're in Germany, and you've got money, and you can find a good job, so come on' but really, I can't be proud of it because I see the crisis from outside more than inside

FZ: Am I correct in thinking that perhaps being European is also a way for you to make up for the bad image of being German

BE1: no, no, I never had such a good feeling about being German

FZ: okay

BE1: so, so, no,it's not (..) is not because I feel so strongly European, no it is (..) no (.) I don't know (.) I can't (.)no(..)

FZ Okay that's fine that's absolutely fine

BE1: and what about languages I mean obviously languages are still I think a kind of identity markers and so at the same time if you like they are a way of well they can be an obstacle to integration if you like for communication and at the same time the very important because they are part of our culture I don't know how you see this

FZ: they're really important I mean of course so the people I'm working with they're quite good English speakers so it works quite well so but of course you would expect when in Italy to speak Italian when speaking when I'm in Romania to speak Romanian so ehm and also in the situation when I'm not just talking with the people I'm working but being outside the meeting other people with other backgrounds but no of course they are quite important that we should not dismiss them because it's it's fantastic but yes of course sometimes you have a problem because if you haven't really a shared language like English because if you talk to older people people who are quite shy in talking English they have a problem and you can see it also often in the network people are really shy about talking English people are really intelligent they have good ideas but they don't like to talk because their language

FZ: they're not confident yes yes okay and can I go back to this ideal transnationalism so how do you see Europe as a young transnational space ehm of course borders are no longer there in many respects but do you see any cultural borders existing or do you see them coming down or just wondering what your views our

BE1: I see them of course also I mean also [pause] yes of course borders still exist sure I mean on the one hand you have this huge huge gated I mean Europe as a gated community if you're talking about migration at the moment you have the border which excludes Europe for people coming from outside this is a quite important border but you also have social borders and I don't know if it goes too far but also due to opening this space due to European integration and you have a new nationalism coming up which is quite strange and I mean so then you have new borders also the borders not existing physically

FZ: yeah almost you mean as a reaction to this integration process project we now have nationalistic movements

BE1: yeah of course

FZ: and that makes me think that nationalism is still very strong I don't know if it's within ourselves and you are an anthropologist so you should know better than me but it's almost like a tribal thing and

BE1: yeah I think people are afraid of course

FZ: afraid of what can I ask you?

BE1: ehm but I mean it's just I don't know it's just an idea if you see in Romania there it's quite strong after entering the European Union that people went back to nationalism to really save ....everything [laughs] to save their local money [currency?] tried to save their cultural identity whatever it is go back to really traditional nationalistic thing

FZ: including communism?

BE1: ehm...no no I mean not including communism but you have a lot of old people I mean you have to talk to someone maybe from Cluji I don't know if you got contact from the network but I saw that's really old people talking about Communist in a really really good way and also due to the situation they have now so which is really quite incredible

FZ: okay and do you think that people like the idea of Europe when it comes to advantages such as Schengen fundings money coming in but then they're not prepared to give up something in return

BE1: no no I don't experience it like this because of course this funding I don't know also the Eastern countries have a lot of cultural funding in cultural staff and the Schengen thing I don't think it's emotional enough to change something in the minds about Europe

FZ: okay and what could make people change their minds

BE1: oh [sighs]

FZ: I know it's the one million-dollar question [laughs]

BE1: no I don't know is just to to to ....often it'is just a question of not being informed people are not informed about their rights or about the possibilities to change things in the European union and staff like this I think it's just read about....

FZ: bad communication?

BE1: It is often about bad communication because the European Union is [?] by Brussels and it is complicated and you can't get it anyway but if you think about it to work to react in the field as we do in European alternatives you see which power you can have in such networks and what you can change and this is really important really to to also to see what you can change and your local context which is European and you've never thought about it that's European I don't' know and you have to inform people about their rights and to engage them to participate

FZ: so what is your ultimate goal as an organisation I mean and obviously you can only speak for yourself but being in contact with the whole

network you have an idea of what is the ideal position they would like to be in an ideal Europe if you like what does it look like

BE1: I think quite important equality in a way because being European can mean you're really really really rich and you live in a rich country but also it can mean you read you live in a poor country and my grandmother has €40 to live on for the month so it's incredible I think this is something we had to work really really hard this also means that Germany and to I mean this is my position and if someone gets richer the other one gets a little bit poorer which is totally frightening but I think we have to live... but this [?] just people to recognise what it means to live in a shared Europe as shared place

FZ: okay and in your view would that happen through necessarily through the EU institutions or

BE1: no I think decisions can be made in the EU [?] I can do nothing but what I can do is to fight for my rights and to to to ehm involve other people in this fight and to make pressure on the EU decisions and to form a voice that's what we can do so I think everything has to start in a bottom-up process

FZ: yeah yeah I agree and then you can go up the top level and then you can circulate that is how you create changes I think that's a very good point okay so do you have a possible scenario in mind for the future of Europe

BE1: mmh a possible scenario

FZ: yeah you probably just said because equality is very important to you perhaps a society where well a more equal society

BE1: yes that's it I think and for me also the really important point is that not just academics as I am are talking about this issue so that everybody's talking about this issue is and it means also I don't know but these things they were dying for once also the old people but they don't really get the old idea of why we should have a shared Europe yeah I think that's it

FZ: but do you think that as you know obviously the EU originated from this post-war idea of coming together and stop fighting and do you think that is still in the mind of people is that still an ideal or I don't know has it has been taken over by the markets

BE1: yeah no I think well I think this is.. Rosa Bardotti whom you might have read maybe in this context ....no I think this is a starting point all of our ideal to make it more present in a way because at the moment I mean what does it mean to I mean we're living in peace in a way so there's ...well peace I don't know it's not really peace if you think about how [?] migrants at the European border for instance this is not war but also not peace so ehm but I think it's an ideal we have to go back to and to rethink about it

FZ: okay and and inevitably I'm going to ask you how if you have any ideas on how to sell Europe to the Eurosceptics

BE1: by informing them because I mean you can't do much more than informing them and informing them in a way that is more attractive than I don't know what you can read on the EU rough stuff ...I mean it's not about the EU it's about Europe I think this is going to make a difference there because it goes about this idea and I think that at European Alternatives we've really found lots of quiet effective and nice ways to talk about all these transnational issues

FZ: so you're happy with the outcome so far

BE1: yes yes yeah

FZ: OK just a few more things and then I'm aware of time running almost

BE1: no no don't worry everything is fine

FZ: can I go back to this idea of the European union being different from Europe obviously yes there are differences can you expand a bit on that or.. perhaps you could tell me how do you see Europe compared to other blocks shall we say like America or Asia do you see it as a close space I mean you mentioned this earlier certainly in respect of immigration it is a so-called Fortress Europe but but also culturally do you see it separate from other units let's call it continents

BE1: separate from the United States?

FZ: For instance for instance yes because typically we tend to compare Europe with the US for instance as different ideologies I don't know if that's what you think

BE1: mmh, I mean if you if I were living in New York I would engage in the same things I'm doing here I'm quite sure because it's a human idea and yeah what I mentioned before this integration and migration thing is of course it matters it's if there are African people [?] in Berlin Africa is part of Europe in this moment it's connected of course

FZ: yeah yeah and do you think that transEuropa network is different from other organisations that operate at transnational level

BE1: I would say yes because most I mean of us are volunteers that is quite important and I don't know if you if you if you read about it but last year we were writing our Constitution so we try also to be as much as low hierarchy and as much democratic as possible I think this is really different so we're working all bottom-up so we don't have an hierarchy and here I think this is quite important and yeah we don't cooperate with Europe with political parties I mean

FZ: yeah so obviously an independent organisation

BE1: exactly

FZ: yeah I can think of many other things I would like to ask but I'm also aware of time and I don't want to take too much of your time

BE1: now that's fine

FZ: but I would like to ask if there's anything that you would like to talk about to introduce or to raise any points there maybe we haven't covered

BE1: let me think about [pause] for the moment there's nothing but it'll come to my mind afterwards and I will write you an e-mail [laughs]

FZ: yes absolutely feel free

BE1: actually a personal question about your research project this is your Ph.D. isn't it

FZ: yes it is

BE1: and is it about politics or

FZ: well it's not well actually I always have difficulties in identifying my Ph.D. [laughs] so it's in the Department of applied linguistics and communication so really my approach is I'm looking at discourses so it's about discourse analysis but obviously the topics of my analysis are politics Europe and identity and it's just looking at identity from a linguistic point of view

BE1: yeah yeah super how interesting , let me know how it goes…

FZ: I will, and thank you very much for this very insightful conversation

BE: my pleasure

9.11 Transcript Prague 1 individual interview

FZ: Hello [name] good afternoon, how are you?

PR1:   Good afternoon; I'm fine thanks.

FZ: Good. Good. Erm, okay so erm you sent me erm the consent form back, thank you; I got your email. I also need to give you a erm an opportunity to consent erm erm by voice [laughter]. So -

PR1:   Okay. So I I confirm you that I I consent [happy].

FZ: Perfect, perfect. And I record this interview? Do you consent to recording this interview?

PR1:   Yes, yes of course.

FZ: Wonderful. Thank you very much. Okay and thank you very much for accepting to be interviewed; it's very kind of you.

PR1:   No, no problem [high tone]. It's a very interesting topic, so erm its erm it's like it's really a topic which I am also erm am thinking about. So erm it's really that's why I was very interested in participating.

FZ: Perfect, perfect. Can I ask you, perhaps, to start by introducing yourself a little bit? Basically tell me erm telling my briefly erm how you got in touch, how you got to know this organisation and erm and what you do in erm in Prague?

PR1:   Erm, okay. So erm so I am from France and erm I erm when I finished my my studies erm, in particular my Master in London -

FZ: Hmm-hmm.

PR1:   - somehow I got to know European Alternatives through a friend of a friend [laughter]

FZ: Okay.

PR1:   - I erm I find it very interesting so I contacted erm the director and I told him that I would be available to do any kind of volunteering, whatever was needed -

FZ: Okay.

PR1:   - Erm it was back in September 2010 -

FZ: Right, okay.

PR1:   - and then I went to Romania for some internships -

FZ: Oh right, okay.

PR1:   - Erm in particular in January 2011 I moved to Cluj and I knew that erm that the director told me that there is a a group there, people volunteers. So I got in touch with erm with the coordinator of this group and that's when I really started to get involved. So I attended meetings, etc.

FZ: Yep, yeah.

PR1:   - Yes and then I went -

FZ: Are you based in Prague now?

PR1:   Yes, I moved to Prague because I got a job there [happy + laughter] -

FZ: Okay, good, good for you.

PR1:   - So I'm working as a at the Embassy of France and erm I am a kind of human rights officer and I'm also in charge for the co-operation between the Embassy and the checking banks -

FZ: Okay interesting, very interesting [surprised].

PR1:   Yes. And so I also got in touch with a group in Prague [laughter] -

FZ: Okay. How many of you are there in Prague at the group?

PR1:   Well, it changes a lot but now we are, let's say we are more or less eight people -

FZ: Okay.

PR1:   - but we are really five of us who are really active.

FZ: Right, okay.

PR1:   - really really reactive.

FZ: Very good. Okay, wonderful. Erm the erm the other thing that also I'm very interested in is erm this idea of transnationalism. And erm and I would like you to perhaps explain to me a little bit what what you think erm transnationalism is?

PR1:   Yes. Erm so that's a bit tricky [laughter]. Erm well first of all I I really cannot identify with the idea of of nation and nationalism - not only nationalism as a negative ideology but nationalism as such; whatever definition you give it. Erm I I don't really, personally, I don't really acknowledge the fact that there are nations and they correspond to some kind of criteria. For me it's something which is quite abstract - and I agree it exists as a kind of erm let's say [unclear] use it for erm some research or to analyse something but in the everyday life I cannot actually identify with this concept. So that's why actually transnationalism even though it contains the word nationalism [laughter] -- is closer to how I identify myself. Because it's … it's exactly this transcending this idea of, this very restrictive idea of nations …

I: What's wrong with nations?

PR1:   Erm (pause) what's wrong with nations [surprised/high pitch + laughter]? I don't know what nations are for … I think the problem with nations and especially the way they have been constructed, you know there are different ways they have been constructed but the results are exactly the same to me, - is that they force you to live in this …to identify with this very unique category which is why…they force [you] to identify with the same criteria … and also to act as the person who identifies with this criteria … you know the language and the religion or erm also to identifying with your homeland, you know…

I: would you then identify more with a local or regional community?

PR1:   Well, for sure it is less dishonest. Because I think national identities is…are really dishonest. If I say I…I am French; in a way I am lying because…well I am because, as a matter of fact I am [French I] because I grew up etcetera, etcetera, but I…I mean it means that I identify and that I embrace the French nation. And I…I am sorry, but I do not [laughter]. So maybe I embrace part of it, but not all of it and maybe some…I don't know…maybe not at all you, you know […] so I think at least this more…this more local identification through your city or…or your village

or…or both or region; at least it is more honest. […] you know last time I was having a lunch with a Czech erm partner in Embassy - and…and we talked about this actually and I told him how is it possible to identify with such a big country with sixty million inhabitants, you know as in this idea of imagined community; yes, okay, but how completely can I do it? It's not honest, I cannot do it.

FZ: Okay, so it's really about national identity that -

PR1:   Yeah that's it, national identity, yes.

FZ: - And so you were telling me that erm that transnationalism is a way to try to go over this? Am I right, to overcome this - ?

PR1:   Exactly. Yeah to to overcome this because I I also acknowledge the fact that I don't think we would be able to destroy the nations and I think -

FZ: Okay.

PR1:   - which is going to be used a really, really long time -

FZ: Okay.

PR1:   - and erm and in a way it's also very useful concept. So I think transnationalism is is the way one of the ways. And I think there are others to to overcome this idea that you are from one nation which means that you are this and that and no different.

FZ: Sorry, can…can you repeat that last bit? You are from…?

PR1:   Yes, I I said that erm its sorry it's one of the ways to overcome the idea that you are from this nation -

FZ: Right.

PR1:   - which means that you are this way and that way -

FZ: Oh I see; okay, okay. Yeah, yeah, I understood, yeah. Okay, that's very erm very clear. Thank you. Erm okay, can I also ask you erm about the relation of between transnationalism and Europe, if you like? Erm because clearly this organisation erm is involved with erm European issues.   So, presumably, from a transnational perspective, from a transnational point of view so what's the erm the connection here between transnationalism and Europe?

PR1:   Erm, well I think erm I think in Europe, maybe in other regions of the world but I cannot really tell. But I think at least in Europe there is this this attempt at overcoming erm this this nations and this erm this national identity. So I think that nationalism perhaps it's one of the first erm erm perhaps its perhaps Europe is where it started transnationalism but I I don't know because maybe there are also attacks in other regions of the world. So I don't know. I don't want to someday research it like [08:18 unclear – laughter and overspeaking] you know? [high tone] -

FZ: I know, I know.

PR1:   - but I see it. I mean there is a big, big movement, at least in erm, erm worse on a the grass roots level but also at the erm elite level and the political level to to try to overcome this. So maybe in a year maybe this would be the relation.   But transnationalism as such is not, is not indicative to Europe, of course.

FZ: Okay, no, no, no. But obviously no, I think you're also right when you say that, that clearly there erm if we're looking at institutional level I think that everybody would agree...anyway well most people will agree that the European Union is an attempt to erm to -

PR1:   Yes, yes, yes.

FZ: - to go in that direction. Obviously some perhaps will say "Well it's not quite erm quite there yet" But and -

PR1:   No it's not [overspeaking].

FZ: So how do you see this...so comparing the...the institutional level and the grass roots level?   Erm so comparing the two visions of

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transnationalism, how do you see them erm matching or not matching or to what extent maybe?

PR1:   I I think there are erm…erm…okay I'm not sure if they are matching or not. In any case I think at the institutional level -

FZ: Yeah.

PR1:   - this attempt of transnationalism is completely failing.   Because it's not erm maybe actually at the traditional level nobody wants transnationalism [laughter] I don't know. But I see it erm it's rather you know everybody thinks in terms of his or her own nationality which means that there is not transcendence. Maybe we see…we acknowledge the fact that there are nationalities around us -

FZ: Yeah.

PR1:   - but all institutions, all European institutions they have erm you know okay maybe not the commission but they have representative for each country, you know. So it's very, very much erm nation nation-state centre, you know?   And okay, perhaps the commission would be the [10:29 unclear] which is kind of transcending this because obviously the commissioners are not related to one country but erm well I'm not sure. It it is in process, let's say.

FZ: Hmm-hmm.

PR1:   But I think at the grass roots level -

FZ: Yeah.

PR1:   - I don't know. I think it's erm it's more functioning maybe. People are more thinking and in terms of you know going beyond the border and not thinking only in terms of of nationality -

FZ: Okay.

PR1:   - but still I think, I don't know, if you…if you see concretely how things work in in a group -

FZ: Hmm-hmm.

PR1:   - when you have people with very different backgrounds erm -

FZ: Hmm-hmm.

PR1:   - in terms of of country of origin -

FZ: Yeah.

PR1:   - it…it always comes up, you know?

FZ: Okay.

PR1: Either because they are some…of course because of the backgrounds. So obviously if you have if you are from this or that country you have been raised in a particular way so you have different ideas that's one reason.   But sometimes I have the impression that it's…it's really difficult not to think in this nation, nationalist or national identity concept. And that's why I think it's very it's also the best clever…it's erm it's far from being achieved because you know last resort we always think in terms of nationality.

FZ: Okay, okay. That's very interesting. So basically you're saying that erm despite the fact that erm different members have clearly different cultural backgrounds they're still some kind of erm erm what's the word? It's not empathy but connection if you like. Erm and I'm wondering if if if it's really what erm holds people together, member together?   I don't know if it's a vision or or some values, some some…did you see that? Do you perceive that? Do you feel that erm members of erm Trans Europa Network are erm I mean share clearly something apart from from the from wanting to go beyond borders or is it or is it really that that makes them erm erm corporate? Hello? Hello? Hello?

[Redials telephone]

(……….)

PR1:   Hya, sorry I -

FZ: Okay. Okay. That's okay; no problem.

PR1:   I hope it won't interrupt again [laughter].

FZ: That's okay. Okay erm. Erm, yeah. Right, I'll I'll rephrase my question. Erm so you were saying about erm I think yeah we were saying about this grass roots erm -

PR1:   Yes.

FZ: - activity. And erm I was wondering if…if it's really what erm makes people come together at grass roots level; this idea of erm going beyond erm nation erm or are there any other shared ideals, values erm I don't know whatever you want to call them?

PR1:   Yeah. I think, at least from what I see in Prague because the the particularity of our group is that there is no…no dominant nationality [laughter]. And erm we are like let's say eight about members…I think there is about eight different nationalities [laughter].

FZ: Okay. Oh that's good, that's very mixed.

PR1:   [Laughter] Yeah, I tell you. And we have also non…non-EU members actually. We have someone come from the US and someone from Mexico -

FZ: Okay.

PR1:   - so, so I think what (…) what unites people in this group is really the idea that we share some values and we acknowledge that these values are universal and that we want to spread them or support them; not only in our own country, not only in the country where we live but also erm

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everywhere. And we have a kind of empathy with erm with people from other countries erm having these sorts of issues…facing similar issues (.) and I I think it's really this idea of erm of universalism maybe

FZ: Okay, okay, that's very interesting (.) so basically it's not it's not just European values (..) erm erm because you called you call them erm universal values?

PR1:   Well, I erm (…) maybe, (..) maybe these are European values even though I am not sure I can say that [laughter] because what I think, they might be similar but I think I think it's values which erm we would like to give them this universal so erm erm how to say (..) erm this (…) universal (..) meaning maybe or erm -

I: Okay. Can you…can you give me an example?

PR1:   Yeah I don't know, for instance erm the value erm the principle of equality you know [...] erm so we want…I am not sure (..) I wouldn't (…) [laughter] I don't know what to say it's a European value but it's a value which we would like to see everywhere [high tone] And this is why erm we are all different you know we are from very different backgrounds but still we would like to see these values promoted in the country where we live so Czech Republic and also in in other countries where we have projects or also just in other countries where we I don't know we get information I don't know read the news or feel some…some kind of I don't know empathy for them…for these countries.

FZ: Right. Okay, okay. That's…that's very interesting.

PR1:   To be honest, I'm not sure that erm that the idea of trans…of transnationalism is one of the factor which…which unites us in our group. I am not so sure because I think the national identities are still quite strong and erm I don't know…I cannot really…I cannot really really feel it.

FZ: Okay. So are you saying that because of your own experience, maybe you had come across members who feel particularly erm erm strongly about national identities or - ?

PR1:   Erm, maybe erm I don't know. For instance, what what I notice -

FZ: Yeah.

PR1:   - is that when we talk about a a specific topic, for instance, integration of migrants in the Czech Republic or, or corruption or

whatever topic. Each time we give examples we always come back to our own country [surprised and laughter]. So for instance, the Mexican girl she was...give us an example of Mexico and the Italian girl from Italy and me from France [surprised and laughter]. And I don't know why that, you know.   For me, it's it's one of the...it's shows that we still haven't transcended our own national identities and so we are not bonded by the transnationalist idea but rather by...by the values by other values.

FZ: Okay.

PR1:   And I don't know if it's clear.

FZ: Yeah, yeah it's very clear, very clear. And erm no, it also makes me wonder, makes me think if it's really if it's just a...I don't know how to say it...point of view, perspective. Because clearly we...clearly we can talk...we can see the world from many different perspectives and one could be from our local perspective -

PR1:   Hmm-hmm.

FZ: - but doesn't necessarily mean that erm. Erm so if I'm talking...say of of the of the British reality erm it's because well I live here and that's all I know. But and I don't necessarily identify with this. But yes, on the other hand it could also be that some people are erm have very erm erm restrictive view if you like.   Erm okay, okay.   And so okay...so you think...do you think that some members are more interested in creating Europe, in constructing Europe than transnationalism? Or maybe using transnationalism as a erm as a tool, if you like. Erm -

PR1:   Erm. That's a good question. I think erm...I think in our specific group people are more interested in what happens in Czech Republic [laughter] -

FZ: Okay.

PR1:   - because they live there and also because one of our focus is migration and their own migrants. So they're also very much touched by some issues, you know.

FZ: Hmm-hmm, yeah.

PR1: And erm I'm not sure…yes of course you know why this perspective of of creating Europe but I'm not sure if this is what they want to achieve with with this group.

FZ: Okay, let's put it this way…obviously you can can only speak for yourself…so what's your view of Europe, if you have one erm in terms of an ideal scenario, perhaps?

PR1: What's my view of Europe [high tone and laughter]?

FZ: Hmm-hmm.

PR1: Well… [laughter]…erm (…) Yeah I I like erm I like the definition you gave in the in the paper you send me -

FZ: Okay.

PR1: - this arena where where it starts erm constructing and discussing these identities -

FZ: Yeah.

PR1: - I don't know how far you would erm would find Europe…it's …

FZ: But I mean for instance would you favour the idea of a federal Europe, erm as a possible scenario, as a possible goal for erm for the future or - ?

PR1: You know I am very erm I am, may I say it, I am very divided on on what should be Europe, what should be the European Union, or how should it look like according to me. Because on the one hand erm I would be…yeah…I would be like two of my feelings here which are struggling a bit [high tone and laughter] -

FZ: Yeah.

PR1:   - one would be that this idea of federal Europe, yes

FZ: Yeah.

PR1:   - I I could agree with that. Erm but I would prefer another model which maybe is completely [22:28 unclear] [laughter] I don't know -

FZ: Okay.

PR1:   - which would be rather erm this idea of Europe of regions erm meaning the you know the reinforcing the corporation of erm historical or not necessarily historical but regions which are bound because of several reasons -

FZ: Yeah, yeah.

PR1:   - and the overall structure would be the loser rather than the federal structure, you know.

FZ: Okay.

PR1:   It would be rather some kind of erm international -

FZ: Okay.

PR1:   - or instead super-national. But the region of the structures would be very strong and that and that would be a kind of model which I would prefer -

FZ: Okay.

PR1:   - it's trans-model corporation. And and you know there are some reasons for instance, I come from [23:18 unclear – name of town in France] in Loren and we have…we are part of one of these European region.   We've erm Luxembourg and Tsar region in Germany and [overspeaking] further idea which I would promote.

FZ: Okay, okay, okay, yeah. Erm I'm just thinking, so you tell me that you don't necessarily erm identify with with your own country. Erm I'm wondering if you…well if you feel European erm - ?

PR1: I definitely feel European (.) erm I and I would identify myself as European erm

FZ: Would you define yourself as European only?

PR1:   [Laughter] Well if it's the type of the context, of course, but it's true, for example I had recently this this kind of struggle (..) in the summer I took part in a summer school in Budapest [on the integration of Roma] and erm so of course at at the beginning, the first lesson, the first class everybody introduces himself or herself - So everybody says "Yeah, hello I'm blah, blah, blah. I come from this or that country." And erm I don't know I maybe it's because […] I didn't feel comfortable saying I'm from France; so I said I come from the Czech Republic. Because actually I am currently living there and this is the country where I have just come from. So I felt very (…) and the and the other side I am a French citizen and I grew up in France so it's the country where I spent most…most of my lifetime [laughter] so I cannot I cannot deny it either. But I realised okay why why do we have always to introduce ourselves with a country of origin? Why…what is it the first thing we say "Hi, I'm [name] I'm from France."? You know it's erm why that? So I still haven't come a solution [laughter]. And it's true that most of the time when I introduce myself if…if I have to say erm if it is related to…to nationality, yeah I would say probably I'm from France. But erm I I am still I fight through that in saying it. Then if I have to define myself I would say I I feel a European citizen. But of course, if I meet some other [laughter]…I'm hoping to say "Hi I'm [name], I'm from Europe" I don't know it's a bit ridiculous I think [laughter] -

FZ: No, no that's very interesting. And I sometimes have the same…well not problem but…but the same attitude, if you like erm when they ask me yeah…where…where are you from? I say I'm from London although obviously I was…I was born in Italy and grew up in Italy. So that's…I'm an Italian citizenship if you like, if you ask me. So formally, if I have to tick the box so to speak, I would…I would put myself down as Italian if I had to. And it's often the case that we are erm I think erm constrained. It's not what we erm what we claim to be as much as -

PR1:   Yeah.

FZ: - what others erm erm want us to erm to be. So, yeah, no I understand that perfectly. Okay, but you're clearly...okay you have some sort of emotional investment in... in Europe erm - ?

PR1:   Yeah, yeah, quite definitely, yeah I am [European]. But again, I was also thinking erm that because I I had never travelled outside Europe and I have never been outside Europe so I was thinking that perhaps, the fact that I feel European for me has definitely to do with the fact that I travel and live abroad - erm it definitely shaped (..) shaped my (..) my European identity. But I was thinking that perhaps if I (..) if I spend some time outside Europe perhaps I will change my identity and consider myself as a world citizen [laughter] and I don't know.

FZ: Okay. Now that's interesting, also because I think links into...into another question that I was going to ask you. Because erm from a erm erm okay so from a transnational perspective erm we are all connected in the world aren't we -

PR1:   Hmm-hmm.

FZ: - so it's erm erm we're all world citizens, if you like. Erm but then if we are talking Europe and, from from an institutional point of view, but also I suppose a grass roots level of talking Europe we are erm sort of creating erm defining borders erm because erm inevitably despite the fact that we're taking erm we're taking down the borders internally we're still defining and constructing our side borders of Europe -

PR1:   Yes, yes, yes.

FZ: - so I think in a way well one could argue that we're still erm re...reproducing the nation-state idea, if you like, because...just on a smaller scale but we'll still have bigger states; one is Europe, one is I don't know -

PR1:   Hmm-hmm.

FZ: - America, the other is Asia, the other is Africa...I don't know. So how do you feel about that?

PR1:   Erm I I don't think that we will reach erm I don't…well in a way it's true that we…it seems we are reproducing this…this model of nation-states construction in other European level but I don't think this will ever happen, to be honest. Because erm erm no because there are so many specificities in Europe, in their values of European countries and societies; I don't think there will ever be something that the United States of Europe and which will be like one nation -

FZ: Okay.

PR1:   - you know, where everybody will stand up and…and sing erm the European anthem [laughter]. I don't think this will ever happen.

FZ: Okay.

PR1:   Erm and I think erm when we talk…when we talk about Asia, Africa and Europe in such general terms it's…it's more erm I don't know, a simplified category. But I don't think that we…I don't think that we considerate it as a kind of big nation-state category, you know.

FZ: Okay.

PR1:   I think it is just erm yeah, I don't think so.

FZ: Okay, okay. Yeah, yeah. And erm so could you tell me a little bit more about erm erm the activities that go on in…within this network? Obviously you…well you do campaigns, you…you do debates erm and erm so -

PR1:   Well in Prague or, or - ?

FZ: - well in general…from your experience obviously you've got…you've probably got more experience of the Prague group but also of…of transnational meetings at transnational levels. So you have some idea because obviously you are connected to other networks -

PR1:   Yes -

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FZ: - And erm -

PR1:   Yes, yes -

FZ: - so what really are you trying to do as erm as citizens to change to influence decision-making at nat...at EU level?

PR1:   Yes I think erm...it's interesting because in our group we are also kind of struggling to define who we are and what we are -

FZ: Okay [surprised + laughter].

PR1:   - and that's why we have a debate on this [laughter]. And for me erm the main objective and the main activity of European alternatives along this whole network -

FZ: Hmm-hmm.

PR1:   - it's really to erm to promote erm the participation of citizens -

FZ: Okay.

PR1:   - erm at the grass root level and to...to promote their participation in...in the decision-making process. It's really probably the main...the main definition I would give and I give when I have to give some definition or something [laughter] -

FZ: Okay

PR1:   - like that. So erm I think, yes they are doing that through campaigning, events. What I like in particular is that both of the let's say network level and also in local groups -

FZ: Hmm-hmm.

PR1:   - they always try to have erm very grass roots events. So involving really the active participation of the audience -

FZ: Okay.

PR1:   - and this is something which is really important. Because I think for instance in Prague we haven't had so many activities so far but we had something on on corruption.

FZ: Right.

PR1:   What is important in my opinion is not to gather two hundred people in a big conference hall and one person talks and this is it -

FZ: Right.

PR1:   - but it is rather to have twenty people in a room who are really actively participating, sharing their view, getting ideas erm debating discussing etc.   And I think is something which erm which I really like in Europe alternatives erm because erm it really implies active participation, both of our own views and the audience when we organise some events.

FZ: Right. Okay. That's very good, that's very good. Erm yeah. Erm huh can't think of (...) erm I had something in my mind that I wanted to ask you but it's gone now [laughter]. Do you want to...do you want to erm ask me anything or raise any...any points; maybe something that we haven't covered erm - ?

PR1:   Erm (..........) -

FZ: Erm if not, I'll ask you something.

PR1:   Yes.

FZ: Okay. Erm how do you feel about this idea of erm well basically there is a globalisation process going on and erm which is, in part, related to transnationalism if you like and also...there are benefits because obviously dis...distant people...people that would have been distant once

are now coming together and are ab...are able to erm to link up if you like...like, like...like in this network like members of this network. But, at the same time, erm some will say that erm we're also becoming more erm homogenised in culturally. Erm I don't know, do you see that at all or when you view erm there's still diversity, there's still possibilities to erm to be diverse and erm united at the same time erm - ?

PR1:   Erm yeah. So be...before...before we reply to this last question I...I want to say that I don't really agree when we say that yes there is a globalisation process going on and now we can...we can do or we can connect while in the past it was not possible. I...I...I think -

FZ: Okay.

PR1:   - there has always been this process on for a very very long time -

FZ: Yeah, okay.

PR1:   - just now it's more getting...it's getting faster...faster -

FZ: Okay.

PR1:   - and it's reaching more and more people -

FZ: Okay [surprised].

PR1:   - and it's also easier. But...but I mean people have been connecting...have been connecting for ever and there have been people moving and...and, you know, exchanging ideas etc. for ages but [laughter] okay. I don't know -

FZ: Okay, I appreciate...no, no...I appreciate that point, yes. I should've...should've perhaps said that erm there's been an intensification [overspeaking]. Okay, okay, I take your point.

PR1:   [Laughter] Yeah, anyway erm yeah the question that's later I think it's really important and it's very very tricky because erm yes on the one hand, of course, we...we speak everywhere like...like [36:10 unclear] in

Europe we can…you go to the same shops to the same erm fast food and you erm listen to the same music etc. etc.. But I don't see it really as a threat because erm on the other hand erm I mean there are still a lot of…of specificities in…in values, regions and societies because of the histories of this region and…and…and societies etc. -

FZ: Hmm-hmm.

PR1:   - so there are still erm things developing in a very peculiar way in different countries -

FZ: Right.

PR1:   - and I think also that there is actually a movement against…against this erm this kind of erm homogeneity or…or this process of

FZ: Hmm-hmm.

PR1:   - of homogeneity -

FZ: Right.

PR1:   - Erm…erm I think erm maybe people who are aware of this are erm are touching more and more importance to local initiatives which are very erm which are created and different from countries to countries or from region to region; I don't know. Erm I'm thinking in terms of yeah in terms of music or food or -

FZ: Okay.

PR1:   - for instance. But what is also interesting I think is the fact that erm I don't know I mean it's…it's really…I see it also as very enriching because we are sharing erm we are sharing ideas -

FZ: Hmm-hmm.

PR1:   - and on the basic…on the basis of maybe common ideas and common way of seeing things we can create our own thing in our own way. So -

FZ: Okay.

PR1:   - I…I don't know; I think there…there is still something remaining. I mean after all erm it is also a question of individuality you know?

FZ: Hmm-hmm.

PR1:   Because even if, let's say erm even if I don't know it is homogenifying in terms of food for…for instance you as an individual you can also get creative, you know. And this helps not to destroy the…the diversity. I don't know if it's here but I…I…for instance over here we speak of homogeneity in the whole world or at least in the western world maybe, I don't know. But what about the national level? We have been also homogenifying a lot in…in many countries and people have…I don't know, maybe some people have seen it as a threat but at the end people are happy about that. I don't know if I take the example of France -

FZ: Hmm-hmm.

PR1:   - erm…erm I think, of course, in the sixteenth century probably people were not happy that they had…they were forced to speak French and they preferred to keep their own language, their own culture and etc. -

FZ: Yeah.

PR1:   - but the result is that now there is this erm I don't know, I mean now the French culture, let's say, is part of a more global diversity. You see I don't know if it's still like if there is a kind of transfer skill maybe of level or -

FZ: Yeah -

PR1:   - the case.

FZ: - Yeah, I think I understood and -

PR1:   But I...I don't know. As long as erm as long as people are aware of erm...erm not necessarily of the fact that there is this process of erm of homogenifying but also erm if they are aware of what can be done in a different way erm then there is no problem. It's...it's a question of creativity yeah, I think.

FZ: Okay, okay; that's...that's an interesting erm perspective. And -

PR1:   I'm not terrified by this.

FZ: Sorry?

PR1:   No, I'm...I'm not so scared by...by this thing also -

FZ: Oh okay [surprised] -

PR1:   - Also because I can see, for instance, in erm in post-communist countries; out of that there is a kind of a revival of some products from communism you know [laughter] -

FZ: Right.

PR1:   - and it's not nec...it has...it doesn't have necessarily something to do with the kind of nostalgia of communism but it's simply a revival of some...some products. So it...it is part of erm taking originality [laughter] -

FZ: Okay, okay [surprised].

PR1:   - we can produce and [overspeaking] -

FZ: Okay.

PR1:   - it's interesting.

FZ: Okay. And…and…applying this to erm the field of languages if you like erm so would you…I mean are you…are you comfortable with…with the fact that well we tend to use English, most members tend to use English like ourselves now here in communication. Erm but erm so that…that doesn't affect our…our cultural identity or does it?

PR1:   Erm yeah. I mean it's very tricky also. To be honest erm if…if you had contacted me let's say two years ago [laughter] -

FZ: Okay, okay.

PR1:   - perhaps I would have asked you to do the interview in Italian because back then my English was very poor [high tone + laughter] -

FZ: Okay.

PR1:   - my Italian was much, much better [happy + laughter].

FZ: Your English is perfect now so…so -

PR1:   My…my Italian has completely gone [laughter]. No but it's true…it's erm…Yeah, I don't know it's very difficult.

FZ: Hmm-hmm.

PR1:   I don't know, myself personally I always try to use the erm…if there is not a common language I have with someone -

FZ: Yeah.

PR1:   which is not English then I always try to use it.

FZ: Okay.

PR1:   Erm…but it's…it's not easy. Of course it works when you are two people but when you are a group of people then usually the common language is…is English. So -

FZ: Right.

PR1:   Yeah, erm I don't know -

FZ: Yeah, no I'm just thinking obviously yes there [stutters] …there is tension between the erm the need for communication for practicality and…and the erm keeping…keeping diversity and erm -

PR1:   You know I am just thinking that perhaps the fact that we are using English as a common lang…international language -

FZ: Hmm-hmm.

PR1:   - perhaps it's a threat, not so much to other national languages but rather to English itself. Because obviously I mean the English language from [42:51 unclear] and everything it's…it's much more erm it's much more interesting and much richer than the English we are using in our everyday conversation or communication with…with -

FZ: Oh, I see what you mean; yeah, yeah, yeah.

PR1:   - and erm so I mean okay when I talk with my family, of course, I…I still talk French and I read a lot of books in French or another language which I know. So I keep…I keep these you know I am not losing…I am not losing my French -

FZ: Yeah.

PR1:   - or other languages -

FZ: Yeah, yeah.

PR1:   - which I do. But the English; I don't know. Perhaps it's a threat rather for...for the...for English.

FZ: Yeah you could say so. Yeah in a way yes. Or perhaps you could also say that erm we are seeing more erm Englishness coming out of this erm interaction. So whereby there are...there are many varieties; one called the other day called it erm globe-ish meaning -

PR1:   Yeah.

FZ: - very basic English erm made up of, I don't know, erm one thousand words that everybody erm -

PR1:   Yes.

FZ: - pretty much know and erm and erm yeah. So, yeah, that's another interesting aspect. Erm I'd like to go back to one thing, though, because erm speaking to...to other members erm this issue of social equality or in...inequality that there is in Europe erm came up quite frequently. And I'm wondering if you...first of all if you see...if you see the same way, if you think that...that there are erm social inequalities in Europe and if so, what can be done from...again from a...from a grass root perspective?

PR1:   Erm, yeah. I think, of course, there are a lot social inequalities in...in Europe and erm and not only inside each countries but also among countries -

FZ: Okay.

PR1:   - yeah among countries. And erm no this is really...yeah this is really a big issue probably but not the biggest problem in...in Europe. I don't know -

FZ: Hmm-hmm.

PR1:   - what can be done erm at the grass root level. I think erm all these community based erm initiatives, you know, are very important; like the social markets or sharing...sharing goods, sharing cars, sharing erm whatever you can share [laughter] -

FZ: Hmm-hmm.

PR1:   - all for very little compensation, you know. I think erm this is unfortunately it seems be [bell ringing noise] the only way to overcome it on an everyday basis you know [laughter].

FZ: Hmm-hmm.

PR1:   Because okay there are some policies etc. but erm while these policies are being negotiated, while the loans are being negotiated well people are you know suffering and they cannot make a living [laughter]. So this is erm this is erm…erm a big problem.

FZ: Hmm-hmm.

PR1:   So I…I think what they can do at the grass root level it's really to work on this [46:07 unclear] and it is also their good… the good it's to work on this every day…every day basis. Erm (…).

FZ: Okay. Yeah, no that's very erm -

PR1:   Because of course, yes, then you can do bigger events, campaign and to pressure governments and etc. But the problem is first of all you never know what you will reach because maybe you will pressure the government to make a new law or change it or -

FZ: Hmm-hmm.

PR1:   - to promote a government in the news or -

FZ: Hmm-hmm.

PR1:   - in this kind of things -

FZ: Hmm-hmm.

PR1:   - but quickly what they will do perhaps it has nothing to do with what you were promoting actually -

FZ: Okay.

PR1:   - and I think it is a big dilemma I think.

FZ: Hmm-hmm. Okay -

PR1:   I don't say we shouldn't do it, of course, but erm I think erm I think as…as grass roots activities we should always erm keep in mind the fact that erm why we are negotiating these, why we are taking ages to you know reach this and that, well there is this everyday life which is not waiting. So, yeah.

FZ: Okay. Okay. That's very good, very good. Erm I'm looking at the watch now; it's…it's well yeah, pretty much erm. I said that we would keep it erm within forty five minutes though. I don't want to take too much of your time but if there's anything that you would like to add? Maybe, I don't know, some points that we haven't covered? Erm…erm something that you would like to add about this idea of being interconnected with other people or any other topics really?

PR1:   Well yeah I mean to come back to this idea of transnationalism -

FZ: Yeah.

PR1:   - I think erm I don't know. In a way I have the impression that erm in the mind of people it is more erm how to say; erm I don't for me transnationalism it's really to get rid of our national identity and to get rid of this category of nation. But -

FZ: Okay.

PR1:   - [laughter] I have the impression that erm other people would rather think in terms of erm…erm acknowledging the sum of all

nationalities which is erm composed in Europe. We, in Europe or the world; it doesn't matter. Erm -

FZ: Okay [overspeaking].   Can you clarify, because the line was breaking up a bit. I'm not sure I understood – [confused]

PR1:   Oh okay, sorry. Erm yeah I have the impression that in the mind of other people -

FZ: Yeah.

PR1:   - transnationalism is rather erm putting all nationalities together and making this kind of big sum of nationalities in Europe -

FZ: Ah okay.

PR1:   - or in the world -

FZ: Okay.

PR1:   - rather than overcoming the very…the very category of -

FZ: Oh, yeah, understood, understood. So basically you're saying that we should do away with erm with erm the…the national category - ?

PR1:   Yeah, exactly or at least…at least it shouldn't be so prevalent. Because, of course, we cannot erm get rid of…of the category; categories are also important and to explain certain things and…and of course erm I mean it is important to…to use it as erm…erm oh how to say as…erm….erm -

FZ: Can I suggest a word maybe?

PR1:   Yes.

FZ: Because it seems to me…sometimes it's a convenient erm label erm and it's not necessarily erm it can be used with specific meanings of belonging. But sometimes its…it's just a convenient label for people to erm to quickly communicate and convey some…some kind of info…information. Erm but yes -

PR1:   Yeah, yeah I…I agree with that. I agree with that -

FZ: - erm and sometimes it has a lot of…it can have a lot of meaning because by me saying Oh I am, for instance, Italian, I might imply a lot of cultural background, a lot of things; not necessarily -

PR1:   Yeah.

FZ: - not necessarily good things. Erm but isn't also the way that we are brought up -

PR1:   It is…it is. it is completely but what I -

FZ: - erm -

PR1:   - what I wish is next time I go to a summer school I don't have to [50:59 unclear] to make this normal. Everybody will first say 'Hi, I'm Louise, I'm from France' you know? Maybe we can say something else [high tone].

FZ: Okay.

PR1:   I mean this is…this is something which I really…I really wish that the…the national identity or citizenship…I mean nationality rather than citizenship, have…doesn't have so much space. Erm and erm and as we say of course it's a very convenient level and…and so, yes.

FZ: Hmm-hmm.

PR1:   And then he told me, yes, but look you identify it as European; you're bigger [laughter].

FZ: Yeah…and…yeah, that's very true, also [laughter].

PR1:   Yes, it is.

FZ: So how do you reconcile…how do you…how do you…yeah how do you reconcile -

PR1:   Well, I don't identify as a European, as erm…as Europe as a nation, you know, this is the difference [laughter]. And I identify as a European because I identify myself with values things, from values European societies and countries, you know? I -

FZ: Okay [overspeaking]. So it's not [overspeaking]. Okay, so it's not erm necessarily geographical is it, it's more erm…I don't know if I can say ideological?

PR1:   No, it is more…it is more geographical. Not…not erm…erm I don't consider it as countries so it is erm how to say… -

PR1:   'Well, I don't identify as a European, as erm…as Europe as a nation, you know, this is the difference [laughter]. No, no, I don't consider it as a country, you know […] not a country, not a fixed thing. It's it's a mixture of other things and and this is why I I identify so much with Europe because erm having lived in different countries and travelled and met people from different countries I take a lot of things or I see a lot of things with which I personally identified and agree or support or you know, like positively identify [re add…] I identify as European because there are values things in European cultures and societies which I identify with but in a way it's more erm in a way maybe its more erm erm this combination of erm erm of the local level because, for instance, erm I identify with things which which I saw here in Prague, locally but put together as erm an and rise to a more European level'

I:So -its basically- I don't know if you can call it the combination of these different erm micro environments….'

PR1:   Yeah.

I: 'and still you see them linked together somehow?'

PR1:   'Yes, exactly. Maybe, …. erm maybe it is something which is easier to draw on a map rather than to talk you know […] perhaps if I draw a map I could put erm erm …a lot of points which would be the places where I lived and the people which I met in this or that place. And then you can link it up together and this is ….this is Europe and this is my identity.'

FZ: Okay.

PR1:   And this is what I also told you that perhaps if I would live a long time outside Europe then perhaps…perhaps I could enlarge my identity, you know.

FZ: Okay.

PR1:   Perhaps, I don't know but perhaps I could identify [overspeaking] -

FZ: - In the sense that maybe…maybe you might want to be…you might want to feel more of a…of a world citizen than…than European only?

PR1:   Erm it's…yeah I mean it's not necessarily that I want to. Yes, why not; I'm definitely open to it. The only thing is I don't know if it would happen because erm well if…if I go to live somewhere in I don't know in erm I don't know where in Asia, in different countries there perhaps I cannot identify with it, you know it's…you know I cannot anticipate it if this would happen -

FZ: Hmm-hmm.

PR1:   - for sure erm…for sure the only thing I can say that erm that my…my current plans in the next year is not to go outside Europe. I am definitely not move…stay in Europe…to live in Paris, in other countries -

FZ: Hmm-hmm.

PR1:   - but in Europe. Because I feel…maybe it's because I'm feel I need to…to work on this identity I don't know. But so…so far I don't feel really attracted to erm -

FZ: Okay.

PR1:   - to erm -

FZ: So in a way Europe feels home to you does it?

PR1:   Erm (…) yes. But, again, erm yeah…yeah it feels home but because this is the only think that I know [laughter].

FZ: Okay. Okay.

PR1:   So I don't know. Maybe I can tell you if it feels home or not when…when I have something different to compare it.

FZ: Okay. Yeah, makes sense, makes sense.

PR1:   [Laughter].

FZ: That's very good, very good. Okay erm yeah. Unless you've got something else that you want to add I think we've…we've covered a lot during this talk.

PR1:   Yeah I hope…you know it is…it is still in process [laughter].

FZ: Of course.

PR1:   I hope…I hope it was still…still quite clear but it's….it's not always clear in my…in my mind, my own mind. And it's a topic with…about which I talk a lot with…with friends or colleagues or…or whatever.

FZ: Yeah, yeah, it's fascinating, it's fascinating. Yeah and we could go on erm for hours -

PR1:   Yeah [laughter].

FZ: - perhaps…perhaps we should in a different context erm…erm okay. So while you…while you're on line, if you've got two more minutes of your erm time -

[TAPE ENDS]

9.12 Transcript Berlin 2 individual interview (Italian version)

FZ: Ciao [nome]

BE2: Ciao Franco

FZ: Come stai?

BE2: Bene, sei italiano ovviamente

FZ: Si si sono italiano, si si…come vuoi se vuoi parliamo in inglese o in italiano

BE2: Come torna meglio a te per l'intervista, non se se per raccogliere i dati ti torna più comodo...

FZ: facciamola proprio come viene più naturale dai intanto è proprio una chiacchierata …facciamo in italiano dai

BE2: Va bene

BE2: Ok

FZ: Allora prima di tutto pero devo fare il burocratico e chiederti se hai letto l'informativa e se acconsenti che io ti registri e che ti intervisti

BE2: si Ok

FZ: perfetto …allora intanto grazie veramente tanto perché' sei molto gentile ad avere accettato …sostanzialmente, vabbè intanto mi interessa sapere un pochino di te vorrei sapere come sei entrato a far parte di questa organizzazione e che cosa fai di che cosa ti occupi a Berlino

BE2: sono entrato in contatto con l'organizzazione per caso come tutti ho partecipato ad un loro evento che era stato fatto qua a Berlino, qui loro avevano chiamato diversi speakers dal mondo dell'arte e della cultura in cui io lavoro che mi interessava andare ad ascoltare semplicemente mi sembrava un'associazione strana di personaggi e quindi ho detto vabbè andiamo a vedere non conoscevo assolutamente European Alternatives non sapevo chi fossero andavo proprio a vedere gli speakers che avrebbero parlato....dopodiché mi rendo che [nome] e [nome] sono i due organizzatori di questa cosa mi presentano all'epoca la rivista Europa e a

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quel punto mi sono presentato mi sembrava un giornale interessante con un approccio interessante perché non era solo un discorso artistico andava molto verso il politico usando l'Europa come starting point, come chiave d'accesso a più discipline come chiave d'accesso per guardare non soltanto alla situazione europea ma alle varie situazioni nazionali transnazionali e andare oltre l'Europa stessa da cui poi si è generato il Trans Europa anche un po' per comunicare questa necessita di andare oltre il continente e quindi ho chiesto a loro semplicemente se erano interessati alla mia partecipazione alla produzione del giornale proprio perché' mi interessava il discorso sul contenitore sul giornale e da lì abbiamo iniziato a collaborare io lavoro nell'arte come curatore e stufo in parte di ragionare solo in termini o di galleria private anche nell'aspetto un po' più commerciale quindi anche con una formazione in cultural management ho avuto ho fatto un master che si chiama european diploma in cultural management che quindi aveva già di per se un approccio europeo si è svolto in diversi paesi europei e quindi poi io vivo fuori dall'Italia da 10 anni ho vissuto in Spagna ho vissuto a Berlino e quindi non ragiono più in termini non mi riesce a ragionare in termini nazionali e quindi in Europea Alternatives in qualche modo ho trovato un...partner di dialogo semi istituzionale ma quello che mi interessava era proprio questa dimensione grassroots o almeno indipendente e quindi abbiamo iniziato a dialogare sul ruolo e sulla relazione tra arte e politica , tra cultura e politica attraverso il filtro e la lente dell'Europa, ecco

FZ: ho capito perfetto va benissimo ehm ti posso chiedere che cos'è per te il transnazionalismo?

BE2: Ok questa è una domanda da 100000 dollari...Il transnazionalismo è una condizione credo che ahm quando pensi in termini questo anche per cercare di risalire a una definizione si è sempre parlato di internazionalismo io non è che abbia fatto studi di quel tipo pero

'l' internazionalismo presuppone sempre una relazione a due chiusa mentre [...] il transnazionalismo spinge a riflettere in un modo più orizzontale più rizomatico non sull'uno a uno, una relazione chiusa ma questa idea di attraversamento che mi permette di muovermi pensare riflettere sia geograficamente che culturalmente attraverso più nazioni senza darmi un percorso forzato, senza darmi un modo di andare dal punto A al punto B io posso muovermi tra A e Z in modi diversi e che hanno relazioni nuove e questo parlo naturalmente di relazioni tra nazioni fra comunità fra il locale e il globale questo credo che sia il transnazionalismo credo che sia un modo di pensare

FZ: Si , si naturalmente ho fatto la domanda anche ad altri e ho avuto varie risposte ognuno ha chiaramente la propria interpretazione di quello che pensa sia il transnazionalismo come la vede devo dire che per alcuni ha veramente a che fare con il decostruire o abbattere questa idea di confini nel senso appunto come qualcosa di artificiale che sono lì per motivi più che altro strategici ma che in realtà non sono ...che in realtà sono ostacoli alla comunicazione eccetera non so se anche tu la vedi cosi perché ad

esempio alcuni perché fa parte anche un po' se vuoi della filosofia di EA quello di dire il rifiuto dello stato nazione come contenitore e mi chiedo cosi come domanda provocatoria che cosa c'è che non va nello stato nazione

BE2: credo che, vabbè, i confini siano una costruzione, questo non sono io a dirlo, però sono una costruzione che però ormai esiste, ben radicata, è diventata da una costruzione geografica e politica è diventata anche una costruzione culturale e, quindi, credo che ormai oggi sia difficile andare oltre questa idea ed abbattere lo stato nazione e credo che non sia neanche necessario….succederà' sarà un processo naturale, cioè la disintegrazione dello stato nazione sta avvenendo comunque, e avverrà perché' è un processo biologico quasi (…) e credo che in qualche modo sia anche interessante mantenere questa dimensione nazionale ma non propriamente ma forse nazionale non è proprio la parola che mi piace però una dimensione più più...esiste, esiste un italianità esiste una germanicita' esistono queste dimensioni culturali e non credo che l'Europa debba ragionare nei termini dell'annullarle annullare queste idee neanche di nazione ma di comunità

FZ: Ok e quindi

BE2: E quindi credo che lo stato nazione stia diventano sempre più obsoleto ma appunto per un processo naturale fondamentalmente credo più in un network di città che in un agglomerato di stati nazione

FZ: Quindi se capisco bene questa idea di transnazionalismo è un essere connessi se vuoi con tante altre realtà che possono essere un po' dovunque no? e quindi prima mi parlavi anche al di fuori dell'Europa non necessariamente limitate all'Europa

BE2: esatto credo assolutamente che non sia appunto neanche un discorso europeo vedo lo spazio europeo come un interessante spazio di sperimentazione

FZ: OK, in che senso?

BE2: Nel senso che ha forse la dimensione, la condizione culturale e politica per poter mettere in … per implementare questa questa idea di transnazionalità per adesso solo in Europa perché'….pero secondo me si dovrà sviluppare per necessità di cose oltre il confine europeo allargandosi per esempio allo spazio a sud del Mediterraneo […]molti vedono appunto nell'idea di Europa […] il sentirsi appartenenti all'Europa …. un un primo step appunto per riuscire a sperimentare l'idea di cittadinanza transnazionale oltre appunto a quella della cittadinanza nazionale. […] Io è come lo vedo è proprio come questo spazio per una prima sperimentazione mi piace chiamarlo un primo esercizio di condivisione perché' ha la dimensione geografica per potersi…per poterlo per poterlo per poterci provare diciamo... pero si potrà fare anche fuori

dall'Europa anche se per ora è più facile in Europa perché' le istituzioni ce l'abbiamo già

FZ: Ok si molto interessante e quindi dal punto istituzionale se vuoi ora non so fino a che punto le istituzione europee rispecchiano questa idea di Europa come spazio transnazionale però in parte c'è il rischio di creare semplicemente un super stato se vuoi più grande dei vari stati attuali ma mettiamo i confini un po' più in là e diventa la fortezza Europa se vogliamo non so come la vedi tu …in che misura secondo te le istituzioni europee rispecchiano quest'idea di transnazionalismo ed interconnessione tra culture?

BE2: Al momento lo status quo non credo che lo rappresentino minimamente e questo è uno dei problemi principale che non c'è il …i cittadini europei non sono in grado di andare oltre la rappresentanza e rappresentazione della classe politica nazionale non sentono l'Europa come istituzione è sempre vista come un qualcosa che impone un certo tipo di regole e questo è il messaggio che passa è vista come qualcosa di esterno e lontano che non è possibile influenzare anche attraverso il semplice voto e questo è anche nella disaffezione che c'è quando ci sono elezioni europee

FZ: Si si

BE2: E questo è il dato diretto che fa capire e quindi non credo che esistano al momento cioè le istituzione europee non sono costruite in modo tale che comunichino esattamente questo messaggio e questa possibilità di cittadinanza attiva

FZ: Mentre quello è proprio quello che fate voi come organizzazione quindi partendo dalla base se vuoi appunto a livello di cittadini mi sembra che ci sia questa intenzione di dibattito di creare un dialogo di generare informazione e quindi penso poi anche di creare un sentimento verso l'Europa che sia un pochino più fondato più solido di quello attuale no?

BE2: Si questa è una delle idee alla base di EA non significa che sia un passo semplice

FZ: Ecco appunto quali sono gli ostacoli di andare a parlare di Europa al cittadino medio o anche a chi è disposto ad ascoltare

BE2: Entri una sfera che non è proprio la mia io non sono uno che va in giro a fare campagne ti posso un po' raccontare quale la mia sfera di azione io parlo con artisti curatori il mondo della cultura forse io mi trovo ad agire più che TEN e in relazione con esso è sicuramente una sfera privilegiata di azione e comunque il cittadino non è medio a livello di istruzione e quindi l'idea di Europa è molto più simile alla mia il sentirsi appartenenti all'Europa sicuramente ma come ti ho detto prima andrei oltre l'idea di Europa cioè non c'è questa affezione allo stato nazione e però tutti o molti vedono appunto nell'idea di Europa un un primo step

appunto per riuscire a sperimentare l'idea di cittadinanza formale formalizzata oltre appunto a quella della cittadinanza nazionale.

FZ: E quindi che cos'è secondo te che ci accomuna se vuoi come europei oltre all'essere parte appunto di una comunità civica, cioè che cos'è per te essere europeo

BE2: Io ho un grande problema con questo tipo di definizione non lo so non lo so cosa vuol dire forse è un modo di pensare boh non è neanche nell'essere europeo ti ripeto il mio background è di un certo tipo ho studiato e vissuto in più paesi e quindi credo che sia una formazione in qualche modo che mi spinge a riflettere in questi termini cioè quando curo una mostra non riesco a ragionare sull'invitare un certo numero di artisti per area nazionale secondo me il dialogo è importante e fruttuoso nel momento in cui arrivano contributi da diversi tipi di di di...stati neanche di stati di diverse realtà nazionali e culturali [...] ho un problema di fondo con l'idea di identità e credo che il concetto di european identity sia molto problematico perché' [...] l'idea di identità mi da questo messaggio di qualcosa di statico di immobile, di definizione definita no? (.) di qualcosa che è un identità (.) quindi è chiusa, è fissa nel tempo, e questo non credo che sia un concetto applicabile all'idea di Europa, che per forza di cose deve essere qualcosa in movimento in (.) .e semplicemente non credo che esista non credo che sia possibile creare un contenitore identitario per l'Europ, a credo che sia un approccio non voglio dire sbagliato però un po' un po' forzato non credo che sia l'approccio giusto per pensare l'Europa, non mi chiedere l'alternativa perché non ce l'ho pero ecco.....non credo che l'european identity sia l'idea giusta per pensare all'Europa credo anche perché nel momento in cui proponi un identità europea in qualche modo anche da un punto di vista strategico al cittadino medio usiamo questa bruttissima parola la persona comune nel momento in cui parli di Europa e parli di identità europea in un certo modo poni quasi un livello di competizione con quella che è la sua realtà culturale e nazionale e sembra quasi che ponendo un identità di identità europea vai a sottrarre ti vai a mettere in competizione con quella che è la sua identità nazionale e quello credo che sia un passo falso parlo sempre del cittadino che non ha l'Europa come primo pensiero perché appunto comunque le culture proprio le culture nazionali sono ancora estremamente radicate nei singoli cittadini

FZ: Si sono d'accordo anche se poi in realtà ci sono tutte varie reinterpretazioni di quello che può significare l'identità europea e alcuni riescono anche se vuoi ad integrare l'una e l'altra e quindi a dire sono non lo so prima di Roma poi italiano e poi europeo e quindi c'è questa molteplicità se vuoi di identificazioni ma sono d'accordo ovviamente che l'identità e qualcosa di molto fluido è difficile creare delle categorie cioè è molto facile da un punto di vista ma poi metterci dentro le persone non si può ahm al tempo stesso mi chiedo se in realtà questa idea di una possibile identità europea che significhi andare al di là dello stato quindi non sentirsi più legati ad un identità nazionale ma semplicemente europea può

magari servire al progetto di. Anche perché' ora senza entrare proprio nella teoria ma dal punto di vista delle comunità politiche c'è sempre questa idea del demos no di un qualcosa che lega le persone insieme come un unita immaginata ovviamente perché io cioè non conosco gli altri 500 milioni di persone che vivono in Europa perché lo immagino in quei termini lì e quindi partendo da questa teoria pero non lo so può anche darsi che dobbiamo proprio cambiare paradigma e dire non pensiamo più ad una comunità che fa riferimento a quei valori o magari sentirsi accomunati da qualcosa ma qualcosa ancora di diverso...

BE2: Chiaro pero il fatto e questo non ho una risposta questo pero il punto è quando si parla di valori che ci accomunano veramente esistono questi valori che ci accomunano questa è la prima domanda che sorge credo di no perché questi valori sono diversi tra vicini di casa e spesso e volentieri estendere il valore una morale una radice comune a quella europea credo che sia ancora più complicato e credo che sia un po' un discorso che possa...rischi di finire anche in discorsi più reazionari quando si parla di radice comune cristiana che è comunque un discorso chiaramente esiste

FZ: Si è un discorso che è circolato e ancora circola che pero mi sembra da punto di vista istituzionale si è venuti via penso da quella pero si fino a 10 15 anni fa si parlava di un Europa cristiana

BE2: Non sono molto updated

FZ: No, no, va bene

BE2: Pero non sto dicendo che hai detto questa cosa pero quella del valore per me diventa subito un punto di domanda veramente ci sono valori che rendono comune questa idea di Europa?

FZ: E bella come domanda anche questa è una domanda che ho fatto alle persone intervistate e spesso non sempre c'è stata questa risposta si la democrazia i human rights queste cose insomma

BE2: Pero sulla carta vale questo discorso

FZ: Be come ideale in cui credere

BE2: Come ideale esatto perché poi vai a vedere al singolo stato ok nella vecchia Europa diciamo che ha senso questo valore della democrazia poi se guardi i singoli stati vedi Ungheria cioè questi concetti entrano un po' in declino però è chiaro hai ragione tu la democrazia è sicuramente un valore è uno di questi valori indubbiamente però la prossima domanda è questa la democrazia è un valore europeo? Credo che sia un valore occidentale

Si storicamente si sono d'accordo nasce come valore occidentale

Quindi il mio punto è questo questi valori che noi diciamo sono shared condivisi se è vero che esistono credo che vadano oltre i confini geografici dell'Europa

FZ: Ok quindi ritorniamo tutto sommato al concetto che il transnazionalismo è questa connessione con il mondo se poi vogliamo no e

forse non lo so è come dicevi tu l'Europa è uno stadio intermedio un aggancio, tu l'hai chiamato step mi sembra per passare dal locale al globale forse è proprio quello

BE2: Io è come lo vedo è proprio come questo spazio per una prima sperimentazione mi piace chiamarlo un primo esercizio di condivisione perché' ha la dimensione geografica per potersi...per poterlo per poterlo per poterci provare diciamo pero altrettanto valido credo sia un discorso sul mediterraneo che chiaramente non ha non ha è più indietro perché non ha le istituzioni che abbiamo già in Europa per esempio nonostante non funzionino ma ci sono in parte

FZ: Ecco e dal punto di vista culturale che è un po' la tua area ritornando anche un po' al discorso istituzionale dove da un lato abbiamo questa idea della integrazione e quindi di fatto forse si va anche verso un omogeneizzazione culturale e certi direbbero che tutto sommato è inevitabile perché se vogliamo integrare l'Europa politicamente ci sono inevitabili ripercussioni sociali e nonostante qui Cameron dica no l'Europa deve solo essere un'associazione economica e commerciale e da tutto il resto sociale e politico noi ne stiamo fuori volevo chiederti se secondo te c'è tensione tra l'idea appunto di integrare cioè questa comunità unita e della cultura che eventualmente si omogeneizza oppure e semplicemente una trasformazione come è sempre avvenuto nella cultura

BE2: Credo che sia un'evoluzione naturale non credo che ci sia un rischio di omogeneizzazione almeno come omogeneizzazione europea credo che ci sia un omogeneizzazione che va al di là del discorso europeo che quindi è più un omogeneizzazione del modello capitalista che quindi arriva dagli states e quindi arriva appunto in Inghilterra per allargarsi al resto questo credo che sia il tipo di omogeneizzazione culturale verso cui stiamo andando ma non credo che sia da limitare al discorso europeo

FZ: E proprio sull'omogeneizzazione culturale o no mi viene in mente la lingua dove da un lato a livello istituzionale abbiamo queste politiche linguistiche per mantenere la diversità culturale pero c'è questa tensione con il bisogno di trovare una lingua comune anche all'interno delle istituzioni stesse con l'inglese oppure secondo te teniamo l'identità anche parlando la stessa lingua

BE2: Io credo nel mantenimento delle lingue nel...pero credo che la ricerca di una lingua comune sia necessaria ahm di nuovo credo che una volta erano il francese e l'inglese giusto? Il francese è una lingua che si è abbandonata per una ragione perché il modello capitalista non ha supportato la presenza del francese in qualche modo e quindi credo che ehm quello dell'inglese sia un modello che non ha niente a che fare con l'Europa ma ha a che fare con il globale ..ehm e quindi di nuovo a parlare in questi termini di Europa mi sembra un limite

FZ: Ok chiarissimo bene ok io ti farei ancora tantissime altre domande ma so che mi hai chiesto di stare in mezz'ora pero vorrei chiedere a te se c'è qualcosa che magari non abbiamo affrontato....

BE2: Mmhh al momento al momento no non ho, pero risentiamoci dai

FZ: Volentieri, grazie

BE2: grazie a te, a presto

9.13 Transcript Berlin 2 individual interview (English translation)

FZ: Hello [name]

BE2: Hello Franco

FZ: How are you?

BE2: Fine, you speak Italian obviously

FZ: Yes I am Italian, if you want we can either speak English or Italian

BE2: How best suits your data collection ... for the interview

FZ: let's just go for the most natural it's just a chat anyway... shall we do it Italian?

BE2: Alright

BE2: Ok

FZ: Well, first of all I have to be bureaucratic and ask you if you have read the information and if you agree to it and sign up for the interview

BE2: it's Ok

FZ: perfect ... so thank you very much because you are very kind to have accepted ... basically, oh well I wanted to know a little bit about you I'd like to know how you came to be a part of this organisation and what you do in Berlin

BE2: I came across the organisation by chance like everyone else I suppose I went along to one of their events here in Berlin, where they had called several speakers from the world of art and culture in which I work that I was keen to hear and to me it seemed like a strange combination of characters and so I said oh well let's see I knew absolutely nothing about European Alternatives did not know who they were I went just to see the speakers .... then I realize that [name] and [name] are the two organizers of this thing at the time they introduced me to the magazine Europe and at that point I seemed an interesting newspaper with an interesting approach because it was not only an artistic discourse it actually strayed towards the political side using Europe as a starting point , as an access key to more than one discipline as the key to look not only at the European

situation but the various national situations and transnational and to go beyond Europe itself from where the Trans Europe [festival] generated, to communicate a little this necessity to go beyond the continent and then I simply asked them if they were interested in my participation in the production of the newspaper because I was interested in the discourse of the content and from there we started to work ... I work as an art curator and, being partly fed up to think only in terms of 'private gallery' and the more commercial side so even with training in cultural management - I had a Master's which is called European diploma in cultural management in itself having a European approach because took place in several European countries - and then I've been living outside Italy for 10 years I lived in Spain I lived in Berlin and then I do not think anymore in terms ..I can think in national terms, and then in European Alternatives I somehow found a semi-institutional dialogue partner ... but what interested me was this size or at least independent grassroots and then we started to talk about the role and the relationship between art and politics, between culture and politics through the filter and the lens of Europe, here you are...

FZ: I understand perfectly all right um can I ask you what is it for you transnationalism?

BE2: Ok this is a $ 100,000 question for... transnationalism is a condition ahm I think when you think in terms of ...this also trying to go back to a definition we've always talked about internationalism although I haven't done this type of studies ... internationalism always presupposes a two-way closed relation whereas [...] transnationalism pushes one to think in a more horizontal more rhizomatic way not in a one-to-one closed fashion but this idea of crossing that allows me to move, think, reflect both geographically and culturally through several nations without forcing me down a path without having to go from point A to point B I can move between A and Z in different ways that have new relationships and of course I'm talking of relations between nations and communities between the local and the global this I believe this is what transnationalism is I believe it's a way of thinking

FZ: Yes, yes of course I asked the question to others and I have had various responses clearly everyone has their own interpretation of what he thinks is transnationalism as he sees it I have to say that for some truly has to do with the break down or deconstruct this idea of borders in the sense just as something artificial that are there for strategic reasons more than anything else but that in reality they are not ... that are actually barriers to communication and so I do not know if you see it as well because, for example because it makes some also a bit 'if you want the philosophy of

EA to say the rejection of the nation-state as a container and I wonder as well as provocative question what's wrong with the nation-state

BE2: Oh well I think boundaries are a construct, this is not me who says it, they are a construct, but a well established construct, that, from a physical and political construct, has also become a cultural construct, so I think it is now difficult to go beyond this idea, and to take down the nation-state, and I think that it is not even necessary [...] it will happen, it will be a natural process, I mean the disintegration of the nation-state is happening anyway, and it will happen because it is almost a biological process. (...) and I think in some ways it is also interesting to keep this national dimension, but maybe national is not quite the word I like, however, a more ... more and for me it does exist, there is an Italian-ness, there is a German-ness, these are these cultural dimensions and I do not think that Europe should think in terms of erasing these ideas of I wouldn't say nation but perhaps community

FZ: Okay, and so?

BE2: And so I believe that the nation-state is becoming more and more obsolete, *but precisily for a natural process, fundamentally, occurring more in a network of cities than in a cluster of nation-states*

FZ: So if I understand this idea of yours, of transnationalism is about being connected with many other realities if you will that can be a bit everywhere is it not? and then earlier you mentioned even outside of Europe in that it is not necessarily confined to Europe

BE2: exactly, absolutely I believe that it is in fact not even a European discourse I see the European area as an interesting space for experimentation

FZ: OK, in what sense?

BE2: In the sense that perhaps it has the dimension, the cultural and political conditions for putting in ... for implementing this idea of transnationality for the time being only in Europe because.....although for me it will have to develop by necessity beyond the European space expanding for example to the space south of the Mediterranean [...] many see precisely in this idea of Europe, in this feeling of belonging to Europe .... just a first step in being able to experiment with the idea of

transnational citizenship beyond that of national citizenship [...] And the way I see it is just like this a space for a first test - I like to call it a first exercise of sharing - because it has the right geographical dimension to ... to be able to be able to try it let's say... however it will be possible to do it also outside of Europe although for now it's easier in Europe as we already have the institutions

FZ: Ok is very interesting and then from the institutional point, if you like, now I do not know to what extent you think the European institutions reflect this idea of Europe as a transnational space, because, in part there is a risk to simply create a super state if you want greater than various current states but with a bit more enlarged boundaries and there you have it, fortress Europe I do not know how you see it ... to what extent do you think the European institutions reflect this idea of transnationalism and interconnection between cultures?

BE2: At the moment the status quo dI o not think they represent the least and this is one of the main problems that there is sure ... Europeans are not able to go beyond the representation and representation of national political class do not feel Europe as an institution, it is always seen as something that requires a certain type of rules and this is the message getting across, it is seen as something outside and far away that you can not influence even through the simple vote and this is also the disaffection when there are European elections

FZ: yes, yes

BE2: And this is the direct evidence that shows...and therefore I do not believe they exist at the moment..that is European institutions are not built in such a way that they communicate exactly that sort of message and this possibility of active citizenship

FZ: While that is precisely what you do as an organisation and then from the bottom if you want to just at the level of citizens seems to me that there is this debate going to create a dialogue to generate information and so I then also create a feeling towards Europe is a bit more established more solid than the current one is it not?

BE2: Yes this is one of the ideas behind EA, it does not mean that it is a simple step ...

FZ: exactly ...so what are the obstacles when you talk of Europe to the average citizen or even to those who are willing to listen

BE2: you're entering a field which is not exactly my own I'm not one who goes around campaigning I can tell you a little bit what my sphere of action is... I speak with the artists, curators the world of culture, perhaps I interact more with it than with TEN and in connection with it is certainly a privileged sphere of action, however, the 'average citizen' is not averagely educated and so their idea of Europe is much more similar to my feeling of belonging to Europe but surely as I told you before I'd go beyond the idea of Europe I mean there is no such affection to the nation-state and, however, all or many see precisely the idea of a Europe just a first step to be able to experiment with the idea of formal citizenship formalized more than just that national citizenship.

FZ: So what do you think you have in common as Europeans if you want more than just being part of a civic community, that is what is it like for you to be European

BE2: *I have a big problem with this type of definition (.) I don't know (..) I don't know what it means (.) maybe it's a way of thinking, dunno, perhaps it's not even about being European* [...] *I think that the concept of European identity is very problematic because identity ' gives me this message something static property defined not by definition something that ' an identity ' and then ' closed ' fixed over time, and I do not think this is a concept applicable to the idea of ??europe that inevitably must be something moving in .... and I simply believe that , I do not think it is possible to create an identitarian containery for Europe I think it is a wrong approach, well a little bit forced anyway, no I don't think that's the right approach to think about Europe, so* do not ask me for an alternative because I do not have an answer here but ..... I do not think that the european identity is the right idea to think of Europe as well because I think when you propose a European identity in some way from a strategic point of view to the average citizen, let's use that ugly word, the common person when you talk about Europe and talk of a European identity in a certain way, you set up about a level of competition between his cultural and national reality level and it seems that putting an identity of European identity going to steal you go to put in competition with that which is its national identity and what I think it is a misstep, I always talk of the citizen who does not have Europe as first thought however, precisely because, cultures , national cultures are still very rooted in individuals

FZ: Yes, I agree, even though, in reality there are various interpretations of what European identity means and some succeed, if you want, to integrate the one and the other and then to say, I do not know first I'm from Rome and then Italian and then European and then there is this multiplicity of

identifications but I agree of course that identity is fluid and something very difficult to create categories, in fact it is very easy from a point of view, but then you cannot fit people inside and at the same time I wonder if in fact this idea of a possible European identity meaning going beyond the state then no longer feeling tied to a national identity may perhaps serve the purposes of the European project. Also because now without getting bogged down in theory but from the point of view of political communities, there is always this idea isn't there? of demos of something that binds people together as a united that because obviously because I imagine them in those terms, so I do not know the other 500 million people living in Europe and then starting from this theory but I do not know it may be that we have to change their paradigm and say we no longer think of a community that refers to those values or maybe feel united by anything but yet something else ...

BE2: Clear but the fact is that I do not have an answer but this is the point the point is when one talks of shared values do these values that unite us really exist? This is the first question that arises I do not think they do because these values are different between neighbours and often extending a value, a moral to one common European root I think is even more complicated and I think it's a bit of a discourse that can ... that risks of ending up in more reactionary discourses when one speaks of common Christian roots which is clearly still an existing discourse

FZ: It is a discourse that has circulated and still circulates but it seems to me that from the point of view of institutional we're coming away from that but I think you're right up to 10 15 years ago there was talk of a Christian Europe

BE2: I'm not very updated

FZ: No, no, that's okay

BE2: But I'm not saying this is what you said, however, the issue of values for me immediately raises a question mark are there really values that make this idea of Europe shared?

FZ: Good question which I have asked the people it's a question I have asked other people interviewed , and often , not always, the answer was yes, democracy human rights and so on

BE2 : This applies on paper though

FZ : Well as an ideal to believe in

BE2 : exactly as an ideal because then if you look at individual states in Old Europe say Hungary these concepts become a bit obsolete and sure you're right democracy is certainly a value one of these values undoubtedly however the next question is is this democracy an European value ? I believe it is a Western value I mean

FZ: yes, historically it was probably born as 'western' value

BE2: So this is my point if these values that we called shared do exist I think they do go beyond the geographical boundaries of Europe.

FZ: Ok so all in all we go back to this notion that transnationalism is this connection with the world if we want and maybe I do not know it's like you said Europe is an intermediate stage in an engaging, a step as you called it, it seems to me to move from the local to the global may be just that

BE2: It is as far as I see it just like this space for a first test I like to call a first exercise of sharing because the geographical dimension has to be able to … to be able to In the sense that perhaps it has the dimension, the cultural and political conditions for putting in … for implementing this idea of transnationality for the time being only in Europe because…..although for me it will have to develop by necessity beyond the European space expanding for example to the space south of the Mediterranean […] many see precisely in this idea of Europe, in this feeling of belonging to Europe …. just a first step in being able to experiment with the idea of transnational citizenship beyond that of national citizenship […]

FZ: And from a cultural point of view, and we're back in your area, where institutional discourse on the one hand we have this idea of integration and therefore in fact maybe we're also going towards a cultural homogenization some would say that all in all it is inevitable because if we want to integrate Europe politically there are inevitable social repercussions here and despite Cameron says Europe must not only be an economic association and trade and all the rest of the social and political we're out, I wanted to ask if do you think there is tension between the idea of integrating fact that this united community and culture that eventually becomes homogeneous and or simply a transformation as they have done in the culture

BE2: I think it's a natural evolution, I do not think that there is a risk of homogenization, I mean homogenization at least as European think there is a homogenization that goes beyond the European discourse that is more then a homogenization of the capitalist model which then comes from the states and then arrives just in England to expand to the rest I think this is the kind of cultural homogenization towards where we are going but I do not think that it is kept to a European discourse

FZ: right on the point of cultural homogenisation or not I'm thinking of language where on the one hand at the institutional level we have these language policies to maintain cultural diversity but there is this tension with the need to find a common language even within the institutions themselves with the English, or do you keep the identity even speaking the same language

BE2: I believe in the preservation of languages in ... but I think that the search for a common language is necessary ahm again I think that once were the French and English, right? French is a language that has been abandoned for a reason because the capitalist model did not support the presence of the French in some way and so I think that um that of English is a model that has nothing to do with Europe but has to do with the overall and then again to talk in these terms of Europe seems to me a limit

FZ: Ok ok very clear well I'd like to ask you still lots of questions but I know that you asked me to keep to alf an hour but I would like to ask you if there's something that maybe we have not addressed ....

BE2: Mmhh at the time when no I did not, but why don't we talk again shall we?

FZ: With pleasure, thanks

BE2: thanks to you, see you soon

9.14 Transcript Valencia individual interview

FZ: Right, so you got my e-mail haven't you

VA1: yes

FZ: I also need to collect your vocal consent now so I'm I am going to ask you if you consent to be interviewed

VA1: yes I do

FZ: and also you consent to be audio recorded?

VA1: yes, yes I consent to be recorded

FZ: Perfect, *perfecto*

VA1: [she laughs] do you speak Spanish?

FZ: a little bit *Entonces si prefieres la entrevista podemos hacerla en espanol*

[So if you prefer we can do the interview in Spanish]

VA1: No, no don't worry I will speak English but if you don't understand then I will use some Spanish words

FZ: it's up to you your English is very good but if you feel more comfortable in Spanish

VA1: No, no don't worry

FZ: okay first of all I would like to ask you a little bit about yourself how did you get to know this organisation

VA1: yes, I will tell you little bit about myself and how I got involved with the transnational network, I am a journalist and now also a Ph.D. student in social communication, I did a Masters degree in Corporation development so after that I decided to do EVS, you know, European voluntary service

FZ: yes

VA1: to go abroad you know, to know Europe, so your I went to Amsterdam to do this service in an organisation called United for Intercultural Action and I was in the secretariat mainly doing (..) organizing three huge campaigns against racism and fascism and also in support of migrants and refugees, so (.) in this way it's how I got involved my first time, in an international organisation, but in those (.) in those days (..) I didn't know anything about transnationalism [laughs] I didn't know (.) and with this organisation we did two conferences every year, where we met other activists all over Europe so, that this was for me, you know, the international perspective (.) which I didn't relate with transnationalism because I didn't know what it was (.) so (..) I stay in touch with them when I went back to Spain and I worked with them, and they sent me to a training course to their European centre in Strasbourg ,and there I met some volunteers from other organisations, more or less my same age, and there I met [name] who was working for European Alternatives so (..) and one nights [sic] each participant was presenting his or her organisation and I started to speak with [name] and I and I was interested in working with European Alternatives, and I was really surprised with the concept of transnationalism and how they are trying to develop this concept of democratic system, you know, inside the organisation and she suggested that it would be quite easy to start with a local group and to start working for this transnational project, and then I was back in Spain and, you know, what the situation is here mainly unemployment youth (.) unemployment is really high (..)

FZ: yes

VA1: and I am someone with a good education, and I know languages, I'm supposed to find a job, and it's been already one year working in this Spanish project, so this is something so we started creating this small group here, and we have started participating and supporting the transnational activities of European alternatives

FZ: *perfecto, clarissimo, y ahora te queria preguntar sobre el tema de el transnacionalismo o sea que significa transnacional para ti claro?*

[perfect, very clear, and now I would like to ask you about transnationalism that is what does transnational mean to you obviously?]

VA1: *si, para mi*, (..) for me it's difficult to, to (.) to see the difference, you know, as it's now conceived because you know, yeah, maybe because I don't have this concept of border, I will try to explain myself, (..) Ok I will say international is people from different countries working together but you always have these barriers of bureaucratic staff, laws and economical

predetermined system or whatever no? and I would say transnational for me is one step further when these, these borders doesn't exist [sic] the relations are I would say more, more close I don't know how to explain, the thing that I like of European Alternatives is from me, the thing in every country where they have set up a group or an office and if you want to do an international project you already have your department in another country, you don't have to look for more you know because people (.) because people from the same organisations are in the other place and they already know the context and this is (..) the thing you deal with the working with

FZ: okay

VA1: I don't know if I have explained [hesitant] [laughs]

FZ: yes, but I just (.) I am just wondering in what way [emphasis] is that different from international because, you could still have branches and offices in other countries and still operate internationally, could you not? or is it to do with the fact that this is an NGO and it's not institutionalised if you like and therefore it's easier to connect maybe [rising tone]

VA1: yeah yeah I don't know ...

FZ: OK, perhaps you could explain to me if and how borders mean as barriers or obstacles for instance

VA1: I don't know (...) ehm like immigration controls, for me, I don't know, it's easy to travel whereas a Russian person would need a Visa I don't know maybe I'm going outside of the subject ..

FZ: No, no don't worry it's very interesting...so do you think that this idea of transnationalism helps being European or maybe the other way around, the opposite, being European helps feeling transnational how does it work I mean the relation between Europe and transnationalism?

VA1: VA1: ...the way Europe is now conceived with these economic and and you know and cultural borders ... when some country, for example, Kosovo or Serbia or Macedonia or Turkey like they are still discussing if they can enter or not the European Union, or Europe although they are country that are in Europe, and I would say that for me ...it doesn't it

doesn't eh..it doesn't have to be with this political and economic system and this setup you know it's not democratic you know like I don't think all –all the countries inside the ... the E-European European Union system are treated with the same opportunities so I don't think they have the same voice

FZ: Right, and what about inside the organisation?

VA1: inside EA is different yeah maybe not but all of us have the same ideas but we can discuss it and we can agree something ...whereas...at institutional level the things that Germany says will be that ..(laughter) you know they're not going to discuss with other countries ..but inside the organisation of course we have different views and our opinions are influenced by our cultures and the political system inside each country but in politics at institutional level is different ...

FZ: and could you improve things?

VA1: for me one of the most important things is to work locally because in grass roots things have to start from below ...you've got to make people aware ...I think it's very important for organisations like EA to have this kind of transnational conscience ... to raise awareness among people about values as participation and democracy and respect for others but also at the same time I think it's very important to network you know like you have to work from the most loc-local level to the most international and transnational level it's kind of yeah I am working here but you know things get connected between small groups all around Europe and you know the voice can be stronger of what we are defending or whatever...

FZ: and maybe to talk to institutions?

VA1: yeah exactly because this is the only way institutions can hear you because this is what happens for instance in Spain now, and I know I am changing subject but it's something related ...

FZ: okay

VA1: for instance when elections come, the right conservative parties most of the time win the elections because there are a lot of different left wing parties but they're not able to agree and make alliances and coalitions

because of these small differences all small details …… but instead of looking for and fighting for the same values they all have give more importance to the differences and this is because the other side always wins so this idea of a single voice is like we're all different but we have a process of decision made by participation and democracy and we finally manage to have one voice although each one has their own ideas and this is what makes you heard by institutions because if we were like thousands of different voices what would happen in the end is that we wouldn't manage anything and this is why I was comparing it with the situation in Spain

FZ: so basically this is how-how you can influence decision-making?

VA1: yes this is also what happens with this European citizens' initiative when we all have a common goal and we try to reach some changes in the law and this …and this you can only manage because of the different voices make one

FZ: that's interesting (..) and also (.) going back to what you said earlier, you said you were born in Spain but you don't really feel Spanish, you said that (..) you don't belong if I quote you correctly?

VA1: yes

FZ: so where do you belong is there a place where you feel that you belong?

VA1: but for me belonging means not only a place you know it's also belonging to a society belonging to a certain group of people that have similar values that you have I mean I could say yeah I am Spanish and of course if I compare myself tor if I compare my habits with other cultures or kind of customs if you want to call it by that and other people people from all over the countries of course I am different there is differences but this but this doesn't mean I belong to Spain I don't know if I want to to to grow my roots or something like that I don't know if I want to stay here you know I don't know I don't know if I want to be in South America or in the north of Europe it's not only the city of the building but is also the people is what you give to this society with what you contribute you know I don't know I can belong if you ask me now I belong to my family at the moment and no at the moment I'm not independent yet I don't have a job I don't have my own house hunter and now I don't have more options that

belonging here so I don't know the international experience I had living abroad I didn't feel belonging to that countries [sic] either ...myself I don't know where I belong it's a kind of feeling I suppose I will build I will take a little bit from each experience in my life of course I will I belong to my place where I was born and you know I am a musician I like playing drums so I also belong to my band

FZ: okay that's good interesting it's fine and also makes me think going back to this idea you mentioned before that is not necessarily a physical place but it's also something to do with society but do you feeland I think that you said that, you feel you share something in common with other Europeans

VA1: of course

FZ: can you elaborate on that a bit perhaps I do know if there are specific elements that you feel that you share

VA1: I would say values

FZ: values? ok

VA1: Yes values for instance respect or also I don't know I don't know like love I don't know but now if I'm thinking about my international experience when I was living with people from quite different countries and I hadn't had any experience before and I don't know maybe with this I was living with this [?] and different habits but although we are totally different we have the same values I don't know if I have explained this the same happened to me with these people and also with people like from close to your place like I don't know- don't know so we have this values this things I do know and dreams and the future you know how to explain it'is mainly values the things that make you close to people

FZ: and perhaps could it be values such as democracy and human rights

VA1: of course of course

FZ: and to what extent do you think these values let's say this vision of Europe that you have as a shared place to what extent do you think the EU institutions represent that

VA1: I am sorry but right now I...I mean I would say I want to trust the European institutions you know much more because most of the projects I've been collaborating with and supporting most of the things have come from the EU institutions or related but I will say institutions are 2 sided places in one hand they have good things but in the other hand but in the other hand I mean they stand up for some values but after they don't respect it or they don't support it something superficial but in the deep they don't work for it okay I will give you some example right now for instance the right-wing extremist movements the partisan all these groups all around Europe and the antifascist movement you know right now there is an alliance made by some right-wing party in France made by front National and in the UK BNP and also Atakav [?] from Bulgaria or Jovic [?] in Hungary all of them have made an alliance and are asking for funding from the European commission

FZ: ah really?! I didn't know that

VA1: so now it's going on this huge campaign and the Comission hasn't said yes yet but but they said they have some opportunities to have like these fundings to make their campaigns you know when the thing they are promoting is things that violate human rights and ah racist hate speech mainly and the European Commission at the same time is defending the values of respect and democracy and blah blah blah you know and they are giving money to another organisation I worked for working against racism so these things I don't understand I don't know if in some point the polical system I don't know inside itself I don't know the politicians themselves are not honest I don't know if it's connected also to the economic system everything is made by interest so you know….

FZ:so what you think can be done at grassroots level through an organisation like European alternatives to improve things and to change

VA1: for me one of the most important things is to work locally because in grass roots things have to start from below because it's the same population from some country from some small village or whatever will have to be aware of what's happening to them and they have to build this critical sense to think and analyse situations this is because I think it's very important for organisations like European alternatives and with this kind of transnational conscience like the organisation has to raise awareness among these people about values as participation and democracy and respect to others but also at the same time I think it's very important to networking you know like you have to work from the most

lock local level to the most international and transnational level it's kind of yeah I am working here but you know things get connected between small groups all around Europe it can be stronger the voice you know of what we are defending or whatever

FZ: of course yeah that's very interesting can I also ask you in relation to the development of this organisational network do you think that nations are still in the way I mean they are an obstacle and perhaps more than nations I'm thinking national identity is that something that may stop..

VA1: yes this is what I wanted to say before the difference between international and transnational I realise when I went to a conference that a person from Russia or from Kosovo certain places they had to face more obstacles than that I do yes they have the question of travelling but the same happens with a political system when you have to work could also in certain countries and I will speak again of Russia you really have to work harder to manage I don't know more permissions [permits] or you know you need years and years of work with the political institutions because otherwise they won't allow you to work and also the other border is economic because with European Alternatives the thing that I've realised also now for certain countries like Bulgaria and Romania economies are not the same because with some participants can afford to travel but people from distant countries cannot because they cause of this you know I don't like it

FZ: yes okay so there's still obviously problems with cultural and social differences in Europe

VA1: yes but for me the cultural differences are not a problem because it's different if you have a difference in the economy or in the political and democratic system inside your country as if there are differences like if we cook we use different ingredients to cook pasta or your lunch is like that and mine is like that or your perception of tolerance is that and mine is another we can discuss it you know but a political decisions is not that easy

FZ: and is it not the case that these cultural differences in a way also affect politics so I mean the way there we do politics in different countries the way that we think about society is I think in part affected by our culture set in a way different cultures have different impacts on politics if you like

the other that I would say is at the institutional level no? It's an artificial level because when in European Alternatives we have transnational

meetings or voices can have the same value (..) ehm I don't know if I've explained myself

FZ: no no I understood (..) and can I ask you what your ideal scenario for Europe would be, I mean what would you like Europe to be in the future (..)

VA1: how would I like it? (.) or how it is?

FZ: well a prediction maybe (...) how you see it in the future

VA1: At the moment I'm too pessimist especially with the situation from where I come from now when we feel l the last part of Europe sorry for the word but we feel like shit and also because of our own political system and our own politicians I don't know if it's if the same is happening in the European institution and also you are seeing I am realising now that all the right-wing parties are increasing their popularity all around Europe what's happening in Greece or what is happening in Russia against the LGBT people I don't know what's happening in other eastern country but I don't know at the moment I don't have any trust in politicians I don't trust how the system is conceived I don't trust the economic system I don't see light at the moment I'm in I can see people I can see Europe is waking up and maybe we will be able to get organised or really make the change happen to reach another better society fairer society I mean it doesn't depend only on European people ar European citizens and it's also question of the whole world and how is conceived and connected and I don't know what would be my ideal Europe for me an ideal Europe is an ideal Africa an ideal America you know

FZ: but do you think that having the same political system in Europe might help changing things and make society more equal

VA1: maybe I don't know at the moment I am very pessimistic I can't describe and ideal Europe where borders doesn't exist [sic] where things are made by the community and they all participate in a democratic system and where political differences are not a problem I denied it also depends on people and when you don't have wealth for everyone is difficult for all of us feel at the moment people are worried because for instance in Spain at the moment there are a lot of (..) *desahucios* [evictions] [rising tone] I don't what you call it in English (.) which is when the bank is taking houses when people don't pay

FZ: yeah I know, repossession?

VA1: I dont know what's in English but people haven't have no jobs have no house people are more more scare of a lot of things so it's normal so they're not thinking oh let's build a European identity less welcome all go the migrants

FZ: but do you think these right movements are in a way originated by the fear by people fearing I don't know what but in a way it's about safety a way feeling safe and going back to what we know what they feel it's their roots their familiarity something comforting in a way to them so do you see that

VA1: of course of course they're really related and these parties are also entering the European Parliament I mean it's crazy their discourses play with this we have really populist speech where they touch the feelings of people like okay you are unemployed because migrants are coming and are taking your jobs and look at what they're doing to you and we were here first and you know all this kind of things like you don't have a job because of that you don't have a house because of that it's all you know I don't know like it's now easy for them in the current situation to to attract people because they are defending the most inside values of the country I mean as I was telling you before at this moment people are thinking of their first necessities in in a way it's easy you know

FZ: yes it is quite worrying (...) there's a couple more things I'd like to discuss and I'm aware we're running out of time, and I promised I would keep it within 45 minutes so (...) I won't keep you for too long, but one more thing that I wanted to ask you was, you know, this idea that you mentioned earlier (.) that being interconnected is not necessarily limited to Europe (.) and its obviously a world wide thing ,and in a way I was wondering - and it's a bit of a provocative question if you like - so by constructing Europe the way that we are constructing it, are we not creating borders in a way (.) I mean we are bringing down borders inside Europe, but at the same time we are constructing outer borders if you like, for instance we have this idea of Fortress Europe (..)

VA1: of course we are

FZ: is it not a replication a reproduction of the traditional nation-state model just on a larger scale? and I give you that this is a bit of a provocative question, but I was wondering, first of all if you agree with

this, and then how do you see that this transnational interconnections working from the local to the global if we have borders outside Europe …

VA1: sorry?

FZ: because if we say that transnationalism is interconnection than it should be all over the planet shouldn'it ?

VA1: of course, of course, I totally agree with what you were describing, like we are taking borders down inside Europe although I think borders are still theret because Romanian people can travel to Spain but they can't come here to work, (..)in you know, I mean they get permission to come and live here but not to work(..)

FZ: but I think now it's changed hasn't'it? when they joined the EU they had 2 years before they could travel freely but now I think (…)

VA1: yeah, but last summer, they changed the law again in Spain, so now, because (..) although the international law says one thing, then they also do different things inside the country (..) and how do we get out of this? you know, we decide to quit the permission for Romanians, but they are European,s so it's a stupid thing, but anyway let's believe that inside Europe we're taking down borders, although I don't think so, okay, let's speak about this huge border as you are describing and (.) now it's like a huge European national nation-state against the world, where we have this fortress Europe, for me is totally against human rights, I mean we only have to see all the detention centres, with all the migrants what is happening there ,you also have to look at refugees ,or asylum seekers and , how, how (.) how they try to manage these asylum here and all the few people that manage the refugee status, and also all the migrants that are coming here, from outside Europe, maybe they've managed to enter this border control whatever, but after they also have other kind of risks (..) they need permission to work or to live, and and these people are also frightened because I am speaking now undocumented migrants who can go to these detention centres, and the police can catch them, so (.) I mean this interconnection doesn't exist with all (..) countries with Africa or America b(.) ecause we're building a huge border for them to enter (..) but at the same time we have some economical agreements no? we can go to their places and exploit their natural resources, or we can put our companies there, and use the cheap labour workers there ,you know pay less taxes, and after bring it to European (..) this is what I wanted to say, like there are two different sides of Europe (..) when this is something interesting or a benefit for us is okay, but if we have to give people

universal healthcare or education or whatever then we don't want them (..)

FZ: It's a bit hypocritical

VA1: yes of course

FZ: okay just one last question which is slightly related to this I just wanted to find out your view on the use of language at transnational level because obviously most members of this net.. network tend to use English as the lingua franca, like we do now here so do you feel that is a problem? I don't mean obviously your English is good, it doesn't stop us understanding each other but ,but if you want to keep cultural diversity and if really all languages are equal … isn't this a bit of a problem or is it just a practicality?

VA1: for me it is a practicality (..) I mean language, of course, can be a barrier but it doesn't stop us to understand each other, of course, you can discuss things if you don't have the same language, you can maybe find another one, and English is the first one I don't know why it's like this, and I have to say prefer English to French [she laughs], but for a lot of Spanish people it's really difficult because of our education system is not as good as in other countries, (.) so I feel really ashamed sometimes when I speak to German people, as they know a little bit of Spanish and they know perfect English and (..) maybe they are learning another language or the Swedes or people from Macedonia I don't know (.) they learn Spanish because of the soap operas and things like that, you know ,and Spanish people we know Spanish and that's it, but it's changing you know I will say it's a practical issue (.)it depends also on each person it depends on how much you want to give

FZ: sorry to give? Would you mean to give, to give what?

VA1: I mean … if I believe in this network and I believe in the transnational level then it's a must that I speak English to work in it (..) I'm thinking of a friend of mine who comes from my same village and she never moved out of it and she doesn't want to learn it and I mean I'm now going to say her nothing (..)

FZ: good I like to ask you many more questions but I'm aware of time so I will only ask you if there's anything that you would like to add perhaps any point that we haven't covered or anything you would like to talk about

VA1: well nothing comes to my mind now and all these questions you asked me I've tried to give you my opinions I hope it makes some sense

FZ: yes of course for me it's been very useful thank you very much thank you for accepting to be interviewed

VA1: you're welcome

9.15 Transcript Prague 2 individual interview

FZ: Hello, good evening there [name].

PR2:   Hello, hi, how are you doing?

FZ: I'm very well thank you, yourself?

PR2:   I'm doing okay thanks.

FZ: great, thank you very much, thank you very much for erm, accepting to be interviewed. Erm be…before we go any…

PR2:   ehm I don't know if can offer anything useful, I'm not sure of anything. [slight laugh]

FZ: I'm sure, I'm sure you'll be fine. Erm before we go any further I need to do some erm housekeeping, erm, you sent me the form, er the consent back, well basically you, you consented to erm, to interview, can I also record er your consent?

PR2:   Erm, sure, no problem.

FZ: Okay and erm, and so you're happy for me to er record this interview?

PR2:   Yes, it's not a problem for you to record this interview.

FZ: Wonderful, okay, thank you very much. Erm, erm, I, I like to, to erm, to ask you erm, perhaps to, to tell me a little bit er about yourself, if, if you can briefly erm, introduce yourself and tell me how you got to know er this organisation and erm, and perhaps what erm, what your role involves in, in erm, in, in Prague?

PR2:   Okay sure, erm, okay let's start; well I'm American (laughs).

FZ: Okay.

PR2: I first came to Europe when I studied abroad during my undergraduate degree (..) that was 2004 / 2005 I studied abroad first semester in Prague erm I ended up meeting a lot of good friends, making a lot of good contacts and after I graduated, erm, I was in the US for a couple more years then I moved to Prague in 2008 erm, when I got here I pretty much came, because I wanted to come, but I erm, I ended enrolling in a Masters programme here erm, I did my Masters in Public Policy with a focus on Food Security and Environmental Policy (..)

FZ: Okay.

PR2:   Erm, I first became involved with European Alternatives and the Cancer Open Network um, I guess now, when I think of it, probably two and a half years ago.Erm, I was contacted by er a Stuttgart colleague, er now, now after I've graduated erm, I'm involved with a number of things but my primary job right now, is that I actually work at a small private erm, university here.

PR2:   And I work in Administration.

Erm, so I run a school of about 350 students, as well equally faculty members as part of a larger university even though the university as a

whole is quite small, ahm. [slight laugh] so er my of my colleagues is Slovak and he is erm a lecturer and he also works in some policy think tanks in Brussels and is doing his PhD in the UK and has kind of very active in all these things.

FZ: Right

PR2:   And he had been involved in erm, European Alternatives and they were looking for someone to be the team co-ordinator for Prague for the TransEuropa Festival (..)   And I suppose this was in 2011, because yes, in 2011 erm is when the festival was happening, May 2011, it was the second festival and it was the first time it was happening in 12 cities and so I was asked if I'd be interested in kind of being the city co-ordinator for Prague (..)

FZ: Okay.

PR2:   Erm for me this was quite interesting because er, studying policy here of course er, interested plus learning quite a lot about European policy as well as Czech policy erm, living here now for many years, at the time I'd already been here for about 3 years, when they asked me this it was a kind of the partner organisation that was okay having me be part of it, and was linked to my views even I actually, I'm not European, [slight laugh] I was just living there (..) Erm and so basically I got involved that way, I kind of built the team here, getting people involved in the network and then I erm, chaired the first TransEuropa Festival in Prague.

FZ: Hm, mm.

PR2:   Since then though erm, after probably a year, a year and a half of working with er European Alternatives and volunteering in this position, I was just too busy with other things so now I, I'm a member of the network, but I'm not actively, erm taking leadership roles Prague or in the greater network, I'm pretty much participating in things that other people are organising here (...) erm and still communicating with a lot of people, through the network who I've built relationships with in terms of their interests and what they're working on, project liaison and what I'm doing here.

FZ: Okay, perfect, wonderful, you gave me lots of information, thank you.

PR2:   [Slight laugh] .

FZ: Thank you, (..) erm, I'm very interested in, in, in this idea of transnationalism because obviously as you know er TransEuropa Network defines itself as a, as a transnational organisation and I was wondering if you could tell, er from your point of view obviously what, what transnationalism is, in, in your view, what it means?

PR2:   Well, erm, I mean for me in a lot of contexts like what my understanding of it is, is this, on the European context erm this idea that it doesn't necessarily, um, you, you know it's erm, I'm not actually explaining this very well at all, hold on for a second, (laughs).

FZ: Okay, take your time.

PR2:   Erm, (…) the idea of transnationalism for me really means this idea of that people independent of geographical borders are still coming together saying that we have a common idea, a common voice and we have a common purpose in terms of understanding what is best for everyone. So in terms – and maybe I'm focussing as well on this idea of transnationalism with what we're doing with the European Alternatives with this idea that everyone, you, you're not locked by, by where you are geographically and where you're kind of, home is. Erm, I mean it's especially an issue for me because I guess that though, even though I am not European by birth, living here for a long time I can still contribute in some way and it doesn't matter if I'm living I Prague or I'm living in Berlin or I'm living in the UK, I can still contribute to this idea of a greater overarching community. Erm and…

FZ: Okay.

PR2:   …this is kind of, I don't know if I'm properly answering your question but (laughs).

FZ: Yeah, no, no, absolutely, absolutely, erm, erm, I, I, I also would like to ask you, because you mentioned erm, the fact that erm, erm, that, that there is something that, that brings us together, you know, as members of, of this organisation, which is not necessarily based on geographical er features, or geographical borders, and yes I was wondering if you could perhaps expand a little bit on that er, what is it that unites er members as,

as, well I suppose transnationals, Europeans, or purely, or purely as members, er what brings them together erm as one, you know so to speak?

PR2:   Well it's funny, because this thing comes up all the time of this idea of this shared or common values and what that means, erm, I'm somewhat more hesitant to use this term 'common values', like er, for me it's er, maybe more so this idea of erm, a 'common purpose,' like it doesn't necessarily have to be attached to any set of values even though having a converse purpose oftentimes there are common values of course come out of it.

FZ: PR2:right, right.

PR2:   But this idea about er, people are all working towards the same goal, erm it doesn't mean that we all have the same opinions on all of them, but the goal in terms of working towards a better, in this case, a better Europe and what that means. Socially, politically, erm, culturally, all of these things, of what it means to how we can, we want to get this kind of common idea of making things better.

FZ: PR2:right.

PR2:   And again that has a huge, I mean that, that can go anywhere of how we are making it better. So I think it's this desire to kind of work with each other, erm, and find better solutions to things, and better ways of working and better ways of communicating, better ways of, better ways to just kind of make er this network work.

FZ: Okay.

PR2:   And you know, not in this specific network but kind of the more general network, I think this is what brings the people to-together, it doesn't have to be any, anything more specific than that.

FZ: Okay, okay, erm, can you give me a erm, a erm, concrete example of, of some, some project, or, or something that erm, that erm, shows the, the, the common er, some common ideals that you worked towards together?

PR2:   Hm, mm, erm, well the main question because, being here again and developing a Prague team, the majority of people who were getting involved were not just locals, were not just er Czechs, but also other, other people living here from all over the world.

FZ: Okay.

PR2:   Erm, so one of the issues that we really focussed on here and that er was really helpful within the greater network and working with people in the other cities as well, was um, this issue on migration.

FZ: PR2:right.

PR2:   So erm, of course it was something important to a lot of people in the team that were not from Europe erm.

FZ: Hm, mm.

PR2:   From India, from the US, er we had someone from Morocco, we had people from really all over who were living here.

FZ: Okay.

PR2:   Erm, plus a lot of people who were actually Italian, German, er, Scottish, Irish that were living in Prague and therefore became involved in the network and the Prague local group as well as Czechs and Slovaks. And so it's interesting for me that again we were really from all over, we are living in this one place but we saw the importance for the entire region of how it means for people to move and how it can better people so we organised a number of events, erm, some cultural dealing with kind of, all the different cultures that are here in Prague and then also inviting people from, other people from the network from different places to also come and, and so for that kind of, it become more educational for the fun side, side of culture and our to kind of share that.

FZ: Yeah.

PR2:   But then we also had events dealing with the real issues of migration within Europe, whether it means migrating from Italy to the

Czech Republic or whether that means migrating from India to the Czech Republic.

FZ: PR2:right.

PR2:   Erm, again we were able to really benefit by having er people from the network as well get involved and offer their expertise and ideas about it, as well as the local group.

FZ: PR2:rright, okay yes, that's very interesting, also I'm thinking now, I mean I've done quite a few interviews now and typically yes erm, in each er branch there are, obviously er people from different nationalities, different backgrounds, but typically you get a lot of local of er locals if, if you think, you like, a lot of nationals and then you get the odd er, er, erm so to speak outsider in terms of, of, of erm, er cultural background and er whatever. Erm, in your case I think er it's quite interesting because obviously you've erm, you said you're American and er you, I think you said earlier that you don't think of yourself as European, and correct me if I'm wrong.

PR2:   Mm.

FZ: Erm, but at the same time you obviously engage in this idea of, of Europe and, and, and this and the construction of this er civil society.

PR2:   Hm.

FZ: And erm, I'm, I'm, I'm very interested in this erm, interplay if you like, er so first of all I'd like to know, er about your er national identity in terms of what you see yourself as, if you see anything, er and erm, and, and perhaps if you see yourself as a, as an American how do you, how does this interplay with your er, er commitment to Europe erm?

PR2:   [Slight laugh] Erm, hm, at this point I have to say that erm, I only really feel American when people are telling me I'm American, aha it's not necessarily this very strong being a, you know it's like they say, being outside of Europe, you know, your homeland you feel a lot more attached to it. I mean it's not necessarily the case, like I, I've been here on and off from 2004 and been here and, you know I've been based in Prague and in terms of the expense of travelling and everything like this it's like I don't

necessarily feel, strongly American in the sense of what people understand is American. Er at the same time I also feel that I don't quite feel European either, I feel like it's somewhere, like I feel like I'm very lucky to have like both perspectives and to have experienced both and kind of take a lot out of that.

FZ: Aha.

PR2:   And (…) I don't know it's very funny like my, my one very good friend is Indian and he lives here and he was saying very much, because he's moved all over and travelled so much he really says that he feels more European than he does Indian but also just he feels like he's, this is very kind of the clichéd term, this whole idea of a citizen of the world, of really kind of taking and learning from all of it. I don't know, I think as much I think that, as much as I feel engaged in erm, Europe, and part of the reason why I became more active in these kind of things here than I ever was in the US…

FZ: Hm, mm.

PR2:   …erm is because here it seemed easier to get involved and easier to kind of make change, at first it was just in this like the Czech local level and then also in terms of what's happening in Europe you felt like you could actually be heard and get engaged, whereas it's not really the case in the US so much, at least it was in my experience in New York, it really wasn't, you felt like you were kind of beating your head against the wall trying to get people to listen to you when you're trying to get involved and change anything.

FZ: PR2:right.

PR2:   And nothing really came of it. Whereas here it was much easier to get involved with organisations with people erm, and have your voices and opinions heard and really think that you could actively make a difference.

FZ: Okay, so when you say that it is easier in a way, are you actually referring to possibly the erm, erm, the, the institutional project of Europe as, as a er, as a transnational space erm, (…) or post-national, let's call it, so what, whatever we want to call Europe, I mean probably nobody knowing, really knows what…

PR2:   Yes.

FZ: ...where Europe is at and where it's going more importantly, but, erm, yes, there are some, some kind of narratives around the post-national er which are probably more er relevant er to grassroots level, but still if you look at what's going on in, at the institutional level clearly there are erm, there are, there is an 'experiment', let, let's call it like that.

PR2:   I like that.

FZ: Erm, so but, it, I don't know if, if that makes it easier in a way, er to, to be willing to, to be part of the experiment or, or is it purely a grassroots erm, initiative?

PR2:   I know, I, I, I think it's definitely both, I think you're right it is this kind of experiment to see what's happening and because, because I feel like this, a newness in a lot of ways this idea of people exactly not really knowing and trying to experiment and see what's working. I find that the people I meet here in general are much more interested and willing to kind of, I mean not everyone of course, especially in the Czech PR2:epublic where Czech's are not overly I've found (laughs)...

FZ: Hm.

PR2:   Active in the sense but erm, a lot of people you talk to that are even a little bit engaged in this idea of how we can change things, how we can make it better, er are more willing to try because they feel like there are these different avenues, er that are existing, that are being developed, that people can still get involved in.

FZ: Hm.

PR2:   Erm in the US it's a very, just different situation, like it's just a, a, everyone kind of knows the limitations, everyone knows what you can kind of do to try to make change and everyone knows kind of what the outcome is going to be, erm, in terms of being a smaller organisation or anything, grassroots and trying to make it happen, at least this was my experience there compared to my experience here, with on the grassroots level of course meet oppositions here, but then also we're talking to other

people here through a very much, you know they see the avenues of what they can do to kind of push through different ideas. Whether there's actual, actually a change coming from there or not there's still this idea that, er, in a lot of senses you can make your opinions heard.

FZ: PR2:right, okay, okay that's very interesting thank you. Er and, and can I ask you to what extent do you think, erm, erm, the [sigh] institution of vision of Europe or, the, the current status quo actually reflects and, and, and embodies er this idea and the idea of Europe that er, that er you might have? I mean you personally or as an organisation?

PR2:   Erm, I don't know if I understand exactly what you are asking, can you just…?

FZ: Okay erm, I'm wondering if erm, well first of all do you have a vision for Europe, a, a, and, and here you can answer either personally or as part of a, of a, of an organisation I mean what, what your goals are, where ultimately – okay you say you want to make things better, and, but do you have a, a vision, an ideal scenario for, for Europe, for where, where, where you would like to be, where er? And if so then I'm, I'm wondering if, if you can perhaps compare to, er this vision to er what's actually happening in Europe, especially from a erm, er from the top level?

PR2:   Hm, I, I, I mean…

FZ: Have, have I made myself clearer?

PR2:   I'm sorry?

FZ: Have I made myself clearer now?

PR2:   Yes, yes I think its clearer erm.

FZ: Thank you, thank you.

PR2:   Erm, and it really, I feel like, you know kind of so much potential to, to do things well and if they make it better it's like - er of course there was always talk about, you know, Europe in many ways is very prosperous, this idea there's this kind of, (…) more peaceful, good, social welfare, good

support where people tend to be happy and kind of make things done, you know the idea that Europe is erm – and, and again a lot of times this really for me it's, it's very comparing to the US where er there's potentially that Europe has and is providing and what it can provide for it's people compared to the US where it kind of is lacking on these things in terms of er, creating kind of the quality of life, I guess I'm trying finally to say.

FZ: Okay, okay.

PR2:   Erm, for Europe about making it better is really about looking at what it is doing in terms of quality of life for citizens and people living in, living here. Erm, in terms of like the potential there's clearly a lot of potential of what can change and what can be better in terms of erm, you – institution what you see is that there's this potential that there is still somewhat of a, democratic deficit of sorts in terms of what people want and then people also still getting hung-up on these kind of very local things and I think that's what's changing and that's what's exciting is that people are starting to see past these very local things. Again I'm thinking of – there's a thing in the Czech Republic where people want to spend a long time, you know criticising Brussels and what's happening there and saying they're not happy…

FZ: Hm, mm.

PR2:   …but the fact that they can even say they're not happy and also point out the good that have come of it as well is, is a good change and shows the potential of where it could go.

FZ: PR2:right.

PR2:   Erm, in terms of getting more people erm, to understand this great power they have by all these people kind of uniting, in kind of a common front.

FZ: Okay, okay that's very erm, er very insightful thank, thank you.

PR2:   (Laughs)

FZ: Erm, yes I was also wondering in, in terms of erm, creating a, a better European society erm, er, perhaps I'm a bit provocative here but er...

PR2:   Yes.

FZ: ...I, I, erm, I can see some tensions in, in, in, er this idea of er transnationalism which is about er, erm, er, taking down borders if you like.

PR2:   Hm, mm.

FZ: Er but in a way aren't we just applying that to internal borders of Europe and it just, aren't, and perhaps are we now still creating outer borders whereby we have a bigger, if you like, state or whatever you want to call it?

PR2:   Hm.

FZ: But still quite erm, defined and quite closed in a way and, er so ultimately we might end up with having, I don't know, a, a, one side, on one side we're going to have the US and then we have er Europe and, another big block whatever that might be, and – whereas trans – if you really apply the transnationalism er perhaps we could argue that er the whole world, because, because the whole world is interconnected then it should, shouldn't really, shouldn't be er any borders at all. And, and I give you that this is a very er provocative and er, erm, er question er but I just.

PR2:   Yes, is it – well it's funny because actually I was just er, with some friends on Friday night and this came up because we were talking about er, er I was talking there with a, er a Scottish who was saying, talking about Scottish Independence and all these things, well she was saying about er the difference in the EU if many defen...er countries broke up and became smaller countries it wouldn't really matter because the idea is that the EU as this great organisation, other small countries would still be part of it, so again it wouldn't really matter, erm, and there was a talk about this idea of whether the EU in general could be effective in it's aims even though again, it's all kind of experimental what's actually happening, what the aims of the EU actually are. And this idea of basically like let's say, exactly, like Japan says 'I want to be part of the EU, would this be possible or not?'

FZ: PR2:right.

PR2:   Erm, well this is the thing like er, the, the main dialogue there was saying like they would like to think like yes that would be possible because exactly the EU has this idea erm, er people kind of working together and it wouldn't necessarily matter at all about geography...

FZ: Hm, mm.

PR2:   ... like maybe it shouldn't be called the EU maybe we should be called some other kind of union, and it's just about people who want to work on these things, coming together and finding some kind of alliance to really work on them, erm.

FZ: PR2:right.

PR2:   So I mean at this point like I, I don't really know, I think that of course like in an ideal situation...

FZ: Hm.

PR2:   ...if the whole world can work together and understand this in terms of transnationalism and kind of finding these, these common goals and things, of course it would be better for everyone erm.

FZ: Okay.

PR2:   The question is whether or not there is any real will to do that or, or, or whether you think nowhere near that. I think that if you actually talk to a lot of people erm the idea in general Eur...European experiments people are quite ah, not as positive maybe as, as I'm being (ahem).

FZ: Okay.

PR2:   And therefore er the future in terms of getting into something like that I think we're like very, very far away from, of having kind of more of a global alliance instead of just having the European Union which even though is not...

FZ: PR2:right.

PR2:   ...geographically placed like in a way it is, that's what we were saying as well, like what, we were talking about this with my friend Nick, er about like Turkey and of course that discussion about...

FZ: Hmm.

PR2:   ...whether it's European or not and if it's European just then like, discourse and values or not, this tricky term of values and what that actually means, if there are common values or not or if it is this idea of erm, common purpose, so. I don't think I've really answered that at all, but (laughs).

FZ: No, no that's fine, absolutely fine, I don't think anyone can answer any...er it's, it's a very complex erm, er situation obviously but erm, yes, no, yes, I think it, it's very interesting what you were saying. Erm, eh, also thinking in terms of erm, having a purpose, a common purpose erm clearly, well like clearly it seems to me that Europe cannot just be about er economics, or just a erm, a trade association, despite what some Britons would say, eh, but erm there has to be obviously some, some social erm, erm, engagement and erm, yes and I was wondering what your er views on, on, on this one, I mean in terms of – I mean a lot of people I've, I've spoken to, er a lot of members told me how they are like – they're really fighting for, for, for social er equality which is, you know...

PR2:   Hm, mm.

FZ: ...very important, it seems, it seems to be one of the, the main aims of this organisation erm, yes was wondering if...?

PR2:   No I, I completely reiterate again in terms of this, I mean actually if you talked to I think most people in organisations like they do talk about this idea of common values, I think it's just me personally gets this idea of border values, but erm. In terms of other purposes yes of course, like in terms of social equality, and that's the thing as well the, the social and culture aspects of it are incredibly important erm, I think in terms of understanding this, like if you're just going to be a trading block like (…) er, it'll only get you so far, I think in terms of this, like if you see other er different trade agreements between countries it doesn't mean the same

thing as what er the EU was trying to do in terms of kind of forging this erm, this common thing that would be beneficial to everyone I think, in terms of social equality, in terms of the different countries, in terms of the different people in the different countries and again this maybe extends to something more than Europe, this idea that you're working towards equality for everyone within Europe's borders.

FZ: Hm.

PR2:   Again this word borders is not quite er good but erm, in terms of, it's like the immigrants as well, they've been here and a way to, to make it much more socially equal and, and beneficial for everyone.

FZ: Hm.

PR2:   In terms of culture as well, this idea of sharing cultures, of you know, socially I think it's learning from the best practices and then building from there, culturally it's this idea of learning more about each other because we're realising that there aren't so many differences and therefore erm really education and sharing is, is quite important for this.

FZ: PR2: Right yes, yes I agree. And picking on the erm, er the culture aspect there's also another tension here because the erm, the European project obviously is about integration…

PR2:   Yes.

FZ: …and er on the one hand we have a lot of erm, er well certainly a lot of e…economic and, and possibly political integration but at the same time we don't want er culture integration do we, so it's erm, erm I think it's about reconciling er these, all these aspects and erm one of the issues is erm, how do we go about integrating Europe, becoming a whole, whilst er preserving diversity, erm, cultural diversity, and which obviously has a, a different er facets like er languages and er any expressions of, of culture. Again I was wondering if you could tell me a little bit about how, what, what your views are on this.

PR2:   Well I mean I think that that's really is great, you know this idea of, of finding the balance and not, you know in this, in this kind of quest to kind of see how the integration, how people can work together, exactly not

losing the individual cultures, these individual things and - something that comes up, quite an issue in that erm, I talk to many people about this idea erm, when you become part of this U – United States of Europe in a way and for some reason like I, there's many of course definitions of that, how people see that, but this idea of course the many different countries and, and all kind of working together and of course it's, it's not the same, it can never be the same, it's like er, there's this - a miracle maybe because of the, the vast history which is er amazing here, so many different countries are so different and have all this historical kind of er background and baggage.

FZ: Hm, mm.

PR2:   In terms of you'd reconcile those things, well I think it really is about erm, kind of information for people, I mean I think that's the thing like er, there needs to be certain ideas and certain erm, ha, I don't know what the word it, there are certain kind of er, things like added value…

FZ: Hm, mm.

PR2:   …these individual cultures, I'd kind of give them say like this idea that there are all these official languages, like that is very important you know what I mean, like even if English is going to be very much the working language…

FZ: Mm.

PR2:   …the idea that there are, you know, every, every language is kind of given a certain amount of, of oh, when I say we, but something in…the – I'm losing half my words today, (laughs) erm.

FZ: Okay.

PR2:   But this idea that you know the different, the different cultures need to be preserved in some way and in order to be preserved I think that they need to be erm celebrated more in things, where different, different cultures will learn about the other cultures, you know we were saying that we're all, you know somewhat united in some ways so in order to see someone else and to really know on the one hand all the different culture backgrounds and, and really give, feed them to this as well.

FZ: Hm, yes. Erm, I'm also thinking, (sighs) what, what can be done at, well a lot, a lot of things can be done at, er grassroots level but really what – is there anything that you see in particular as, as the key to erm, erm, to, to a better Europe? You say, you mentioned information, I don't if you, you erm, er ref, refer to the erm, erm, er to communication basically to...

PR2:   Hm.

FZ: ...to inform people, to er, to get the message across what Europe is about and er, erm, or perhaps?

PR2:   I, I, I think this is really, this is really what's key and this is what needs to be developed and this is what is nice about the, the network is working on in terms of reaching out to individual people and kind of informing and connecting, because I think that, you know, in a lot of ways there is a lot of information, ahem, about er this kind of EU project, this EU idea out there, is the idea of getting people engaged, getting people interested and wanting to learn more about the other cultures plus the general project and of course it's like one of these things everyone knows, but in terms of actually getting them engaged in it. And so for me again like this is what I like about the network, that it really is working on this erm, again on a very local level and then kind of expanding from there erm but something that in general I think it, we need a lot more of.

FZ: Okay, okay. And how do you receive, erm, I'm going back to, to this idea of national identities or any identities really, erm, because, again, one, one of the erm, erm, the key messages if you like of TransEuropa Network has been er, er let's go beyond the erm, the idea of nation-state and the idea of borders and er, well provocatively I, I, I'd like to ask, what's wrong with, with both, well with nation-states er and is it really er important to bypass this idea of nationality to construct Europe erm, er do, I don't know, do you think national identity is standing in the way?

PR2:   That's the thing they get, I don't think it's also this idea that you give up your national identity to become European...

FZ: Okay.

PR2:   ...I think that people have many identities, the idea is to really make sure, erm, that European is one of them if you're, if, if you're here, erm because really, I mean I don't think, ah, (...) I don't think that's really ideal

especially in the importance of kind of sharing and also keeping different cultures.

FZ: PR2:right.

PR2:   If you want people to er, if you want it to be an interesting rich society of people from different ideas, different views you need to have them keep their, their, their (…) many identities, not just this idea of a flat kind of European. I mean the idea of European in general it's kind of this idea that it's not flat, right, it's like people from all over from, from different places are coming together. So I don't see that as something where like er, your national identity is necessarily inhibiting that European identity, I think er, first some people that's maybe the case but I think the idea is to kind of reach out to people and have this more of a dialogue where people understand that, that it is possible to have both.

FZ: Mm.

PR2:   I mean if you look at the different countries as well right it's not just, it's not just the national identity, people, you know, have so many different identities based on local regions, based on everything. So I don't they're necessarily erm, are anyway mutually exclusive.

FZ: Mm.

PR2:   The idea of borders in general, I mean, this is really the question, I mean, (…) aha, borders in general are, are really just a imaginary lines right, that's the same everywhere, it's a very er interesting concept this idea of, of what is considered in something, what's considered outside of something because back to this other bit of question about whether or not people outside very far away could be part of this European project, this idea of a union and again define this.

FZ: PR2: Right.

PR2:   I think there's a lot of questions surrounding this and, and really that is one of the, the issues is that er, trying to work towards what the ultimate goals are for the EU.

FZ: Mm.

PR2:   Erm, and defining this but I don't know (...) borders, it's only since I think it's very hard that people naturally want to say that borders are important that serve some purpose but I think it's because we've always had them (laughs) it's like this long idea, the understanding of these borders and I think more and more they are becoming less important and they can become less important in terms of er creating a more sustainable society that's not a local society but more a general society, if that makes sense.

FZ: Yes, no, no, no, er certainly at a very practical level I think er there's a lot going on of late in terms of er, er the ability of being more connected er, to, to, to travel more easily and, and more frequently.

PR2:   Mm.

FZ: So I think that helps a lot doesn't it, er it's, it's, it's a way to erm, erm, yes, to structure the network?

PR2:   No definitely but all they, all they make is like these features about erm, going carbon footprints and terms like that (laughs) networking and er travel nationalism, you can travel everywhere but er whether or not, you know I think where things like this are better in terms of Skype and different technology and what that's offering in terms of people experiencing different cultures, people in the network also talking and communicating and working on these things without actually erm, crossing the world over, so (laughs).

FZ: Okay, okay that's interesting. And also can I go back to erm, what you've mentioned earlier in terms of Europe as being, as that it is not, not necessarily geographic or space I think this space is open to, to anyone who wants to, to er, to join if you like the, this project of, of common erm, er what do you call it, they didn't, they didn't like, they don't like the word er value so, you use erm, a 'purpose', a purpose okay?

PR2:   Yes a common purpose is like so, hm.

FZ: Erm, so is it really a kind of erm, erm utopia so to speak where anyone who can, who wants to be European can be European as long as they, erm yes they, they buy into this, er, er purpose or?

PR2:   Erm, for me personally like I think like yes that is the idea like erm, if there is this common purpose of people working together, people wanting the social equality, people wanting to share cultures, or people wanting kind of erm a certain level or a certain quality of life, if that's what being part of Europe or being a European can mean, like then, then that's great, then there really shouldn't be any borders and this should be erm inclusive to anyone who exactly, er kind of buys into it or wants to really kind of go along.

FZ: Mm.

PR2:   Like they worked with this, I don't think that's necessarily er, a bad thing.

FZ: Okay, okay. And, and, and if you had to pick one word for, for this common purpose, how would you, what would you call it er?

PR2:   Well, (laughs).

FZ: It's a...I, I know it's a difficult question and er and er perhaps there, there are things that you can't really capture in, in, in words but I'm, I'm just wondering, I don't know if you could call it, er I'm, I'm – okay I'll give you some suggestions here but erm, eh, democracy, erm human rights, er equality, erm, phew, I don't know erm, er?

PR2:   Er I mean, yeah I mean like, democracy, equality like all of these things of course are like part of it like I think that's the thing it's this er, - and yet that's what's so interesting and exciting about we'll all agree, that it is, it is something that kind of takes on all of these things.

FZ: Hm.

PR2:   Like a lot of things that, that you can't have without the other, in having a properly functioning democracy equality is quite important, human rights are quite important, to have equality in human rights you're going to need to have democracy and, and these are just the three terms you're throwing out, I feel like a lot of the terms that are representative to me in general about this idea of what's being, being forged here it really, they're kind of very much interconnected.

FZ: Okay.

PR2:   So er.

FZ: Okay, erm, let's see how we're doing with time because I promised I wouldn't keep you from…

PR2:   Yes and actually I'm sorry as, as I said in my message I'm going to have to go in just a minute only because I have a meeting with my landlord now, my schedule's very wild today.

FZ: Okay in that case can I just er send you a, over a file which is a very erm, erm, sorry I'm just going to my erm, it, it's basically a questionnaire which takes literally one minute, and I can send it over erm, (…..) there you are so I'll send it through now.

PR2:   Okay.

FZ: Erm, okay.

PR2:   Okay, I have to be honest my, my work email here is a little slow for some reason in terms of getting these things so I like to make you aware of that.

FZ: Okay, er let me er, okay, (computer noises).

PR2:   Okay.

FZ: So if you can just open it up, it's basically as I said a very – I'm just collecting some socio-demographics so, and for this one obviously I don't need your, your signature erm, so perhaps if you can read it together, can tick er boxed at this end erm.

PR2:   Okay, let me just (……) no, find it here (computer noises) okay, it's opening.

[conversation carries on whilst PR2 filling out the form]

PR2:   and now I have to put down my nationality right? well (..) American it is then (..)

FZ: you didn't sound too convinced [laughing]

PR2:   I mean I have to say like I mean, you know when I was living in the US I never felt very strongly like you know, proud to be an American, yes I mean if anything else – like I understand what it means to be an American and I think that's fine, I think I've understood, er I have a different understanding of (...) what is associated with this idea of being American now that I've lived the US for an extended period of time.

FZ: PR2: right, yes.

PR2:   Erm, and I mean, the funny thing for me is just, is going home being back in the US when I go back for holidays.

FZ: PR2:right.

PR2:   And just seeing the – I mean honestly there is a vast difference really (laughs) which I feel the people erm, that I speak to here and people that I speak to there.

FZ: PR2:right.

PR2:   So that's been quite er, eye-opening in many ways.

FZ: Okay, perfect.

PR2:   Okay.

FZ: PR2: [name] I'd like to thank you very, very much for your erm, for your help, er, your er comments have been, your views have been very, very helpful and erm...

PR2:   Wow thank you (laughs).

FZ: …it's really, I'll erm, I'll see you sometime at er some TransEuropa meetings.

PR2:   Yeah that would be great, like I said I'm really like, I'm very much involved on the periphery right now just because I've been very busy with many other things here.

FZ: Sure.

PR2:   But I'm still a lot networking, keeping up with everything and…

FZ: Sure.

PR2:   The Prague team erm, a little more so, so I look forward to it, it's been a long – it's actually been quite some time since I've gone to a, a network meeting elsewhere so, that would be wonderful.

FZ: I'll look forward to it, thank you very much again for your time.

PR2:   Thank you.

FZ: Thank you.

PR2:   You have a nice night, thank you.

FZ: Okay, bye, bye.

9.16 Transcript Amsterdam individual interview

AM1:   Hello! *[Laughs]*

FZ: Good afternoon. How are you?

AM1:   Er, I am fine. How are you?

FZ: I'm very good, thank you.

AM1:   *[Laughs]* Okay.

FZ: Er, thank you very much for, erm, for your availability, it's very kind of you, I really appreciate it.

AM1:   Of course! *[Laughs]*

FZ: I've got the consent form back Thank you.

AM1:   Oh yeah! *[High tone]*

FZ: what, what I need to do now is to ask you, erm, if you're, well, if you're happy for me to, to interview you -

AM1:   Uh-huh.

FZ: - and to, and to record our, erm, conversation?

AM1:   Yes. That's, that's okay.

FZ: Good. Okay, so I can go ahead then, okay.

AM1:   Yeah *[laughs].*

FZ: Okay, so bureaucracy out of the way!

AM1:   *[Laughs]*

FZ: Okay, thank you very much again because erm I really, I really appreciate your, your time. Erm, basically *[high tone]* what, what I wanted to, erm, to ask you is a few things and erm, erm, perhaps you, you can start by telling me a little bit about yourself and how you erm, how you got in touch with erm, er, European Alternatives, and how you got to know the, the organisation and erm what you do in, in Amsterdam, in, in the Amsterdam group, if, if that's okay with you?

AM1:   Yeah, it is *[high tone]*.

FZ: Okay.

AM1:   Erm, I always find it diff - a bit difficult to summarise *[laughs]* where I am but, erm, well, I studied European Studies -

FZ: Uh-huh.

AM1:   - erm and erm, erm, my major in the studies was er, history but erm after a while I got more interested in er, er, how do you say, yeah, the, the social er side *[high tone]*, so I took a minor in anthropology -

FZ: Uh-huh.

AM1:   - and erm I got really interested in erm, yeah, there, there was this course about multiculturalism and power and identity and, erm yeah, so then I, I started to look more into the, a bit more deeper *[emphasis]* in Europe and not the only history that kind of er -

FZ: Right okay, that's fine, that's fine.

AM1:   Yeah okay *[laughs]*.

FZ: No, that's fine.

AM1:   Erm, and then I erm (…) erm, I did a Master in erm, in Sweden -

FZ: Uh-huh.

AM1:   - erm it was called European Political Sociology.

FZ: Right.

AM1:   Erm and erm yeah, so there was a lot about identity as well, erm, and cultural (…) erm, er, backgrounds and stuff like that (..) and erm I wrote my, er, thesis about, er (…) well, the, the initial idea was to, to look for erm the - yeah, to find out if there is, er, something like Europe-European identity or, or European nationalism, erm and then it became, er, a bit bigger *[laughs]* my question and I had to find a case study so I, erm, er, I looked at Netherlands (..) erm and yeah I looked for, for different concepts to er, erm (…) yeah, as an alternative to nationalism or, er, national identity and (.) I dunno, I, I sent you to the link to the (..)

FZ: Yeah, yeah you did, you did. Erm, I haven't had the chance to look at it to be honest but I, I certainly will, I'll look into it. It looks very interesting. Erm, yeah and, and obviously it's to do, it seems to me that it's to do with this idea of transnationalism erm and perhaps if you could er, yeah, if you could, if you could explain to me what transnationalism means to you. I know it's a very complex issue, er, but if you, erm, if you had to, er, er, to explain it briefly and in, in, in your own words, what, what it really means to you being, er, transnational?

AM1:   Erm (…) well, what I, what I've erm (…) 'cause I know when I was working on my thesis for example that the five concepts, er, which I looked into (..) erm, one of them was transnationalism erm and my conclusion was that it's, that it's the only (…) erm alternative to this really strong, erm, nat-nationalism. For example in, in the Netherlands, er, it became really, erm (…) I don't know if you know about our right-wing parties?

FZ: I've heard a bit, yes, I've heard a bit, yes, yes, yes.

AM1:   Yeah and erm it's the, it's this, it's this thing here we are a small country and when there is something big coming from outside it's, it's always like, "Oh no!" *[Laughs]* it's erm, I don't know how to say it, but I really erm, I never really felt that. I mean I, I observed that people had it and I find it really interesting but I, I always felt like it's, it sounds a bit weird but that we could all be friends *[high tone] [laughs]* and erm, it's erm, and, and I also found that, in, in Sweden for example when I was studying

there, that I could so easily connect with people that are, that have different circles, different backgrounds, because I found something else that we had in common -

FZ: Okay.

AM1:   - and I think that transnationalism means for me as well, like it, it's erm, yeah, connections beyond the borders *[slowly]* that are erm (…) yeah, or institutional borders and, and, erm, yeah *[laughs]*

FZ: No, that, that's obviously very interesting and er, erm, yeah, I think that's, that, that clarifies a lot. Erm, still I, I'd like to know a bit more about it *[laughs]* because it's fascinating. Erm, so you mentioned - so am, am I right in thinking that for you transnationalism is a sort of counterbalancing, er, the, the, the negativity of, of, of, er, nationalism and er, and perhaps nation-states; I dunno if I'm interpreting, because you mentioned the institutional aspect so, so perhaps we could say the nationalism has been crystallised in, in, in the form, in the institutional form of nation-states and is it something that perhaps you're, you're not happy with or you see as erm -

AM1: Yeah it, erm, erm (…..) I, I feel a bit ambiguous *[high tone]* or something about that because I am, I am not really happy about that but it's (…) erm, it is there and it's the strongest connection there is to, erm, between people and institutions (..) and or yeah, between the nation and the states, erm and I, I think that it's not really a, a counterbalance *[high tone]* but it's more that it's the only concept that can ex - that can coexist with erm -

FZ: Okay, so, okay, so for you it is not really in opposition to nationalism but -

AM1: No.

FZ: - it's sort of complementary *[high tone]* or?

AM1: Yeah.

FZ: Okay.

AM1: Yeah, I mean and, and also because I don't think it is, it is for everybody *[high tone]* and it is also different for everybody, erm, erm, to (…) experience some-something with transnationalism *[unclear 07:51]* I guess *[laughs]* and I'm really uhm (…)

FZ: And I'm interested in this idea of collective mentality or in, I dunno, in, er, synergy, I dunno how you word it, but erm, so how, how do you see for instance er being, someone being able to feel nationalist and at the same time er transnational, er, or (…) I dunno, how, how do they interplay in, in your view those two things?

AM1: Erm (…) I think that (…) if you erm (…..) yeah, yeah, that erm, the, if, if you visualise yourself as er (…) being made up of *[slowly]* all these different kinds of identity *[high tone]* (.) erm, then I think even in me the, the (…) no, I'm not sure actually about it but the, the, for example, being, being a girl or being a boy or erm being, er, Dutch or being German or, erm, like all these identities, then of course nationalism can be a really big one.

FZ: Uh-huh.

AM1: Erm, and I think for, for many people it is, but if you erm (…..) for, for example if you're also a student then you can, then you can identify with other students because they have, yeah, the same, you're, you're in the same, er, stage of your life or if you're, er, er (…) if you're a farmer or something you can (…) identify easier with a farmer from another country so I think that - do, do you know what I mean? I *[unsure] [laughs]*

FZ: Erm, I think so, yeah I think so, erm, I think that what you're pointing at the fact that you can connect, er, in many *[emphasis]* different ways -

AM1: Yeah.

FZ: - to start with, with people outside er the borders, erm (…) so in that respect it doesn't really matter whether you're Dutch or, or Swedish but, er, you, you can still connect because of some other *[emphasis]* common element, in -

AM1: Yeah.

FZ: - in this case you mentioned the, the farmer, er, identity or, or the student identity. Okay.

AM1: Yeah, and also and that's what we do with European Alternatives for example is that music and culture and, erm, creative expression that is, that also doesn't need language, that's also a thing like in the, in the nation-states so many erm identities come together because it's geographical, yeah, geographical borders, it's language, it's, it's shared history, erm (…) it, it's your citizenship as well. Erm, so, there are so, so many parts of the, of the (…) er, so many identity parts of yourself *[laughs]* erm, come together in the nation-states so that's why I think it's really strong but I think that next to that there is also, like you can really connect with someone who is into the same music and you can really *[emphasis]* connect to those people like if you're, yeah (…) erm (…) and (..) and there, there is also - now I don't know if I'm going too far or not *[laughs].*

FZ: No, no, no, go on, go on.

AM1: Well, I think there is so many, for, for example, for European Alternatives for now, erm, also are working on trying, trying to find some common grounds on what we, what do we want with Europe and we're writing a citizens manifesto -

FZ: Okay.

AM1:   - erm, and, and we're very aware that, that it's really (…) erm, to find common, common ground but, but I mean there, there are some (…) er, things that a lot of people across borders -

FZ: Sorry, did you say you find this difficult to, erm, to, to find the common ground?

AM1: Yeah, well, so I said (..) that we could go too deep *[laughs]* erm into it because I think that's also, erm, that, that's maybe a mis (…) erm a misconception of how it, how it should work and I'm not sure how we're going to do this because I think that, erm (…) the initial idea that the whole European people wants one thing and of course that's not the case.

FZ: Okay.

AM1: Because you can see that in the European Parliament for example as well like there is, there is groups sitting there according to political ideology and erm, that's maybe, I think the European Parliament is a really good example.

FZ: But isn't it, isn't it also the case that in the European Parliament it's really national interests that drive erm negotiations and, and, and discussions, so maybe we're back to er, erm, to this idea of nationality or?(.) or perhaps

AM1: Yeah, erm, erm (…) *[unclear - 13:10]* a couple of times and I, and my, erm, my, my first, er, job was, erm also, also to do with, with, erm, transnational European political projects and, erm, I really *[high tone]* don't think there, that there, nationality is, is so important (..) I, I think that erm, I mean, I could be really naïve *[laughs]* and be wrong about that, but I really have the idea that there are people.

FZ: Okay, okay (.) I'm sure that your experience, erm, I mean that you got a lot from, from this experience and that your view is certainly, certainly very er, very important. Erm, okay, erm, and from the, from the, from the, erm, the bottom-up perspective, so, let's go back to, erm, European Alternatives and what, what, what you do, erm, in the erm, erm, what (…) what, as an organisation. So, you said that erm it, it's, in a way it's difficult to find some common ground and erm, so I was wondering if you could erm, erm *[sighs]* (…) er, yeah, perhaps expand that a little bit. I'm thinking because in terms of what brings you together, brings you erm, erm, erm, European Alternatives members together is really some kind of, of erm, erm (…) common ground *[laughs]* I would say, a common element or some kind of, er, common goal, erm, and erm, and, and er (…) and I dunno, shall we call it Europe *[high tone]* whatever one interprets it because -

AM1: Yeah.

FZ: - obviously we've got different ideas but er, so, you know, why you perhaps, you're all European in, in this organisation, you feel European, whatever, whatever that means because -

AM1: Yeah.

FZ: - er, so I was wondering if you could help me, erm, unpack this idea of being European; what is it, what for you, obviously you can speak for yourself, and also what you think that you might have in common with other, er, Europeans in, in, inside your organisation.

AM1: Yeah.

FZ: But also *[high tone]* if there are differences please, er, bring them up, I mean, er, it's obviously, erm, equally important.

AM1: Yeah (…) erm okay, if, if I forget all of the questions, so please -

FZ: Okay, so, let's, let's start by this -

AM1: Okay.

FZ: - let's formulate it a bit, a bit more, more formally. Erm okay, do you consider yourself European?

AM1: Erm, yes.

FZ: Okay, and, and, and what, what does it mean to you?

AM1: Erm *[laughs]* to me it erm, what it means to me? *[Confused]*

FZ: Hmm.

AM1: Erm (…..) I think for me it's also got to do like in the same way of feeling Dutch or feeling (…) Amsterdam or, or, something erm I, I think it's got to do with, with my personal history as well *[high tone].*

FZ: Okay.

AM1: Erm that my father is Austrian and his parents were from Latvia and erm Czech Republic.

FZ: Right okay.

AM1:   Erm and I, I was always, yeah, fascinated by that. I mean I never really got to know my family but then I found out, yeah, I'd say that I started to travel myself and (…) erm and so that already kind of (…) er, it feels er, it (…) it feels a bit random *[high tone]* that you're born in one country because *[laughs]* -

FZ: Okay.

AM1:   - erm, God, God I'm, I'm making a lot of hand movements here because I don't really know *[high tone] [laughs]* how to say it but -

FZ: That's fine, take your time, take your time (..)

AM1:   I think, to me it's very interesting because we once did a, erm, I organised a kind of workshop and my father actually was the speaker there.

FZ: Right.

AM1:   It was about storytelling and then the whole group had to tell something, erm, tell their own story, tell something about yourself or what it meant for them to be Dutch even I think and the first person started talking about where he came from, like, like the whole journey that his family made through, through Europe and then everyone did that, so I think that where you're coming from, your own history is really important.

FZ: Okay.

AM1:   *[unclear - 17:57]* for, I think for a lot of, well, for me and what it meant, means for me is erm that my family history is in Europe -

FZ: Okay.

AM1:   - so (…) I feel European and maybe if I, if that wasn't (…) the case, erm, I, I wouldn't have felt that, I don't know, erm and -

FZ: Okay, so is that what brought you to European Al-Alternatives in the first place or erm or (...) are there oth-other elements that contributed perhaps to, to, to, to this idea to look for other people with the same (..) like frame of mind?

AM1:   I erm (...) erm, well, one of the things that I had made the title of my thesis European Alternatives *[high tone]* and when I was looking for *[laughs]* erm if there was already something else called that then I found, found out that the organisation was called that (..) but I hadn't heard of the, of the Transeuropa Festival also and that was actually an idea that I had years ago with a friend of mine as well that we wanted to organise erm, er, a European festival, er, well, it, it was not really concrete yet and we're like, "Now we have to wait" and erm er, and we had also other ideas but it really, it was really similar to the Transeuropa Festival, so I think it's er, for me it felt like, "Oh yeah okay" *[high tone]* so that's, it also kind of feels like my own baby or something *[laughs].*

FZ: Okay *[laughs].*

AM1:   Like now I don't know how to say it but it's erm I can really connect with, with the whole idea behind it (..) because erm, yeah, it had, it had popped in my mind before as well and I think that's maybe also interesting in these times that are, that there are different people in Europe thinking the same idea, like what, er, let's experiment with this European.

FZ: Yes exactly. That, that's the other, erm, point that, that I would like to raise because clearly European Alternatives is also about, er, in a way I think changing Europe or - so they, they, they, they are clearly committed to some kind of, erm, a better social Europe and erm, so yeah, so I was wondering if, if (...) if you have a sort of vision of Europe, er, what, what ideally you would like Europe to be like, erm -

AM1:   Erm, you mean erm (...) socially or politically or?

FZ: In, in any way, in any way *[high tone]* I mean as I said you, erm, I'm sure you joined this organisation because erm, erm, because of erm, of your erm ideals about transnationalism and also erm what you do within, er, European Alternatives, erm, I, I think has some sort of drive, some sort of, er, commitment towards a, er, a goal and perhaps I'm wrong, perhaps it's just about connecting, er but - some people, okay, put it this way, if some people in, within the organisation have, er, a particular vision of

Europe that could go from, I dunno, the political set up of a, of a federal, for instance Europe to a, er, a more equal social Europe, erm (...) yeah, so I dunno, if, if you have an idea of something that you would like Europe to, to, to become, er, through your work.

AM1:   Yeah, well, maybe the first thing that pops in my mind is erm (...) that I would like to (.....) to see people more engaged, you know, er (..) European, Europeans.

FZ: You mean citizens, European citizens?

AM1:   Yeah, citizens.

FZ: Yeah.

AM1:   Erm and, and now it always kind of stops at the national borders even though there are so many things that already transcend the national borders -

FZ: Okay, erm you mean from a political perspective?

AM1:   Yeah.

FZ: Okay.

AM1:   And I think (...) maybe the, the way to do that *[high tone]* is to (...) erm, is, er, to focus on the social and cultural Europe or er (..) erm the cult - and then culture is I think (...) the easiest or the less threatening *[high tone]* for something, erm -

FZ: Right, in what way?

AM1:   Because then you can kind of choose what you like or what you erm (.....) er, I, I think if the political thing always feels forced for people and (.....) erm, for example you already see there are so many music festivals er, in the summer all, all over Europe and there are so many people travelling then from one city to another *[high tone].*

FZ: Right.

AM1:   And they really get to know the cities and the people, the people there and also people from other countries that come there, I think that's also what I meant with erm, that, that part of your identity where you can find, er, a, a connection with other people *[high tone]* erm and then I think -

FZ: When you say, sorry, when you say connecting with other people you mean connecting with their, with their culture as well?

AM1:   Erm yeah, well, er if you're in that country but I, I think maybe it's more people, erm (…) that (…..) that, that, that share the same interests.

FZ: Okay.

AM1:   Erm (…) yeah maybe culture is really - oh God, I'm a bit stuck! *[Laughs]* Erm (..) it's just I think music in general as culture and yeah (…)-

FZ: Okay, (..) No, no, no, that's very interesting what you're saying and I can see how, yes, I can see the, the, how that works, er, connecting people through, through er, for instance through music. Erm, that's clearly from a, from a bottom-up perspective.   From, from a, from an institutional perspective, erm, I'm thinking perhaps the image that we have of, er, Europeans coming together is more of a, erm, homogenisation, if I can use this word.

AM1:   Yeah.

FZ: In the sense that we are becoming because it's *[sighs]* there's clearly some tension er in, in wanting to integrate, er, people and society at political and economic levels but then you also have, er, social and, and cultural aspects that are more difficult to integrate -

AM1:   Yeah.

FZ: - and in fact, and perhaps you don't want to integrate it, them at all (..) So erm, and that perhaps is one of the, er, erm, the, the negative images if you like of, of Europe at the institutional levels. I dunno if you agree with that or?

AM1: Yeah, yeah, I do, but that's, that's the whole thing I think when, when I, when I try to talk about it I get stuck sometimes because there is, there is the ideal and I, and I know it's not erm (...) er, oh what's the English word (...) it's not erm, realistic *[unsure].*

FZ: Yeah okay, yeah.

AM1:   And erm (...) and, and maybe it shouldn't be the ideal, like it's, erm - no *[laughs].* When, for example when I, when I looked for my thesis, when I looked for those five, when I was looking at those five concepts, one of them was also multiculturalism like maybe that is a concept, you know, that it's (..) really, erm, strong that Europe can use like we're multicultural and that is what unites us. Actually that, that's kind of the slogan *[laughs]* -

FZ: Right.

AM1:   -erm or yeah, kind of, but erm (...) erm, that's not, it's not, that's not really something to (.....) -

FZ: So, do you believe in unity in diversity?

AM1: Well, I'm (.....) erm (...) well maybe, yeah I do believe in it but in a very complex way in the, in the way I think there was this erm, erm this, erm (...) in Dutch television there is now this TV programme erm and it's called the *[unclear - 27:07]* it's like the, erm, the box man, like he puts everybody in, in, in their little box -

FZ: Okay.

AM1:   - *[laughs]* in a box or something. Maybe it's a bit difficult to explain *[laughs]* but he was looking for, erm, who are Dutch people, like is there something, erm, really typically Dutch and then he travelled through the Netherlands like he was travelling through erm, I dunno, the undiscovered, erm, Africa or something -

FZ: Okay, okay *[laughs].*

AM1:   - and it was really funny because the, the, you, you wouldn't say that, "Okay he's Dutch and he, he's Dutch" but everybody felt Dutch.

FZ: Okay.

AM1:   You know there, they, they maybe didn't have anything *[high tone]* in common with each other but they, they all had that same idea, "Yeah, that I am Dutch and I have my own reasons for that" and maybe that's something -

FZ: But do you see that this could be a, the same way, the same model *[emphasis]* that can be used to erm, to construct Europe, erm, because, erm, clearly what, I think what, what, what makes a lot of people feel Dutch or Germans or Italians or whatever is the, the cultural, er, reproduction, if you like of, of their nationality -

AM1:   Yeah.

FZ: - which includes obviously different aspects, it includes the culture and so on, so, and, and that, that's how you worked in the past in, erm, with, in, with all *[high tone]* the nation-states in Europe.

AM1:   Yeah, with the regions.

FZ: Okay, so how do you go about this new Europe that you want to erm, create, I mean do you replicate the nation-state model or (..) or..

AM1:   Ah, yes, there's (..) there is this this concept (..) *schaal verharding* (.) no, what, what's it called in English, concentric circles idea [slowly] [unsure] or the, the, that you up the scale [high tone] that you go from, from one (...) community to a bigger community erm (...) in Dutch it's schaal you know (...) scale enlarging [rising tone] (...) erm (...)

FZ: I don't know, unf .. unfortunately I don't speak Dutch (..) but how do you spell it? I can look it up..

AM1: Erm, schaal is er S-C-H-A-A-L -

FZ: S-E-H -

AM1: No, sorry, S-C-H-A-A-L *[high tone].*

FZ: S-C-H-A-E-L? is it

AM1: No, it's S-C-H-A-A-L

FZ: oh, sorry [slowly whilst typing] S-C-H-A-A-L , ahh there you are, found it *[laughs]* it says schaal verharding [hesitating] that, that's er, oh yes , it's enlarging, yeah, scale enlarging (..) I see (..) Okay okay and (..) I mean how does one feel connected at European level, I mean what is it that makes you European in this (..) upscaling as it were?

AM1: That you go from, from one (…) community to a bigger community erm (…) that also, you know the, the idea that when aliens attack the world then we'll have one worlds or something. Do you know what I mean? *[Laughs]*

FZ: Oh, I'm very interested in this, now I want to find out more *[laughs].*

AM1: that, it's the idea that if you can erm increase that scale in your head from, from a region to a nation then, then you should also be able to (…) see it erm in a, in a bigger scale, and I think that (.) that there, it's, I think it is erm (…) it is really the, the borders that you, that you have in your head [laughs] I would say that (…) erm (…..) that after, after your your nation-state the next logical step is Europe because that's the continent you are on or something and after that it's the world but I dunno if it's the final step [laughs] perhaps we could go to, to a different planet!

FZ: Okay, so, okay and this is the way you see it, it could be potentially achieved by starting from, erm, you, you tell me again, sorry, because I'm, I'm talking but -

AM1:   Yeah, well I think that is one way and that is also the way that for example that you, erm, kind of you, okay so you're a, you feel Dutch and, erm, I mean before you had nation-states erm you had all these regions and they were, erm, they had a strong identity as well and in some countries they are still stronger than in others -

FZ: Right.

AM1:   - and I see now with, with erm, kind of falling away of the national borders because of the EU -

FZ: Uh-huh.

AM1:   - erm but in, in Holland for example you see that, er, the provinces, the, the peripheral, peripheral provinces *[high tone]* -

FZ: Uh-huh. Uh-huh.

AM1:   - they, they erm, their identity is, becomes more important to, to them.

FZ: So it would be a bit like the er, the Flanders region in Belgium -

AM1: Yeah.

FZ: - feeling more connected with the southern part of erm, erm, the Netherlands or even the whole of the Netherlands maybe?

AM1: Yeah, I think with, with the southern part *[high tone]* erm, definitely.

FZ: Okay.

AM1:   I also have the idea that, that Flanders and, and the Netherlands are now *[slowly]* now kind of like the, the last years connecting more in general but that's also a language thing *[high tone]*.

FZ: Okay.

AM1:   And also an historical thing of course but erm (…) it's, erm -

FZ: Okay and again, could you tell me (..) in, in this model how, how does one feel connected at European level, what connects Europeans?

AM1:   (…) erm (…) that, it's the idea that if you can erm increase that scale in your head from, from a region to a nation then, then you should also be able to (…) see it erm in a, in a bigger scale, and I think that that there, it's, I think it is erm (…) it is really the, the borders that you, that you have in your head *[laughs].* It's, it's er (…) erm -

FZ: Okay.

AM1:   Yeah, that, that, as I said erm (…) then, then after, after your region is your state and then next is Europe and after that it's the world Yeah, I think so that that's, that that would be the next logical step but that is so, er, incomprehensible [high tone] for people, the world is so big - that erm in, in, in Europe people can find erm (…) er, we say they could (…) er, Europe kind of (.) is the new (…) the, the new frontier

FZ: Okay, and then if if we follow this kind of erm model, er, then er, we would have to go out of Europe into the world then as in, as in the final step -

AM1: Yeah, but I dunno if it's the final step, ah *[laughs]* maybe we could it's another planet!

FZ: so we are all connected with the world, aren't we?

AM1:   Yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah , erm and I think that in this - I, I should say this is only one theory and erm I, I notice that I am talking about the theories more than, than what I think of it (…) myself because I know that, I know that, I know that this is, this is a theory *[high tone]* and of course the European Union for example erm, er, made these borders more concrete because erm people that are, er, a member of the European Union they are European citizens -

FZ: That's right.

AM1:   - and they have a right to vote (.) and they have all these, like citizenship is also really im-important in this (..) erm, erm, beyond there, there is no other, erm yeah, international or super national erm concept besides Europe *[high tone]* where people can, can actually vote and have (…) -

FZ: And do you think that it would be feasible to have a, a, I dunno, shall we call it a, a, a world government or, or (…) erm -

AM1:   I am - yeah – oh, I don't know about that *[laughs]* but I think, no, I think that would become so much more erm (…) er, er, complicated. I have also done a couple of MUNs *[high tone]* like the Model United Nations.

FZ: Uh-huh.

AM1:   There you really *[emphasis]* see that it's nat.. - that, that it's each nation for themselves *[emphasis]* like they have to represent their nation and I think Europe is more erm (…) er (…) that - like it focuses more (…..) or, or tries to erm see Europeans as one nation, er, and, and with different states, like what we have in the Council -

FZ: I think the UN model is very much the international model.

AM1:   Yeah exactly.

FZ: It's very, yes, yes.

AM1:   Yeah and, and Europe has the, the, the super national model *[high tone]* like the European Commission and then you have the international one *[high tone]* with the Council and the transnational one is er Parliament and erm -

FZ: Yeah. So, so, to what extent *[emphasis]* would you say that er the European institutions, so the EU, actually, er, reflect this idea of er (…) of interconnection and er, and scaling shall we call it?

AM1:   Erm, how do European institutions reflect that? *[High tone]*

FZ: Yeah, if they do at all, yeah, I mean this idea that - because clearly this is what erm idea-ideally you, you would like to see the, er, the interconnection but realistically the, the best that we've got today is the EU I think, that's the only, erm, as you called it, as you called it earlier, an experiment of er, er, I dunno if you, if you were referring, when you used the word experiment I dunno if you were referring to the existing institutions or, or perhaps what you're doing, er, in the organisation, so I dunno if it's the bottom-up or, or it's both maybe *[high tone]*.

AM1:   Yeah, I think it's both -

FZ: Okay.

AM1:   - and I think that erm, erm, the, when first steps were, were, were made for the European Union it was really erm top-down of course -

FZ: Uh-huh.

AM1:   - and may, yeah, maybe that's the thing. What I'd like to see with European Alternatives is, erm, well we want to encourage people to also start this experiment from the bottom up -

FZ: Okay.

AM1:   - because it's, there is, there is this gap and we've been talking about that for, for years, but there, there is but there are so many possibilities in between.

FZ: A gap you mean between the bottom-up and the, the top-down level?

AM1:   Yeah.

FZ: Okay.

AM1: Yeah, and it's always and that, well that, that's what I, what I was taught that erm in every, also the building of nation-states you had the, the nation building and the state building that, you know, the different, that it's different in, in different er countries, how, how the nation-state came into existence -

FZ: Right.

AM1: - erm, but the, er (...) at first there was always, there was always this, this, this top-down erm idea and then they had to get the people behind them to legitimise the idea.

FZ: Right.

AM1: And, and I think erm (...) erm yeah, in the process of building the European Union they forgot *[laughs]* they forgot the people -

FZ: Right.

AM1: - erm, well they, well, and, and I know that they tried to, to get the people behind them in the right way because it has to also live inside people, it has to come from the bottom up as well that erm (...) I'm trying to say too much at, at once but it's (...) erm (...) I think what a lot of people feel is, "Yeah, you want us to feel that but we don't so, er, never mind".

FZ: Okay *[laughs]*.

AM1: And er, I find er, I really find that a shame because there are so many possibilities if, if there is more erm, if more people would, would see that they have, they have these really special rights beyond the, the nation-state that, er, they don't, er - national elections are always so big and then erm, you know, every other, every four years or, well, in the case of the Netherlands every two *[emphasis]* years or something government changes and it, it's, it's not the only erm decision-making body in our lives *[high tone]* like there's also the EU -

FZ: Uh-huh.

AM1:   - erm, and, I, I think if people would be more aware of that it, that it's erm not working against them but also for them, if they would, you know, empower the, erm, the European Parliament more or, or if they worked together (...) more to see what we can do, erm, you know, together. I would, I would name the example of farmers again because that's a really clear -

FZ: Yeah.

AM1:   - group in every country.

FZ: Yeah.

AM1:   If they would cooperate they can get so much more done than in their own country only. You know what I mean? *[Laughs]* It's -

FZ: Yeah. No, no, I understand, yeah.

AM1:   And erm, and I, and I really understand that for a lot of people it's not in their everyday or they feel that it's not something from their everyday lives that there is also a European, erm (...) er, space but (...) if they would see that (.....) erm, if they would see the possibilities (...) more then I think Europe could work more for them *[slowly]* and erm (...) it has to come from the bottom up.

FZ: Okay, makes sense, yeah, yeah, I agree, I agree. Erm, erm, a couple more, a couple more questions if it's okay with you, er, I'm, I'm aware of time and I promised I would keep it within, er, 45 minutes or something like that so erm, if, if it's okay, a couple more questions that I'd like to ask you. In fact I'd like to ask very many *[laughs]* questions but as I said I'm aware of, I'm aware of time.

AM1:   Yeah okay that's fine

FZ: Yeah, I'd like to go back, this, this idea erm that you mentioned at the, er, at the beginning of erm sometimes - well, you, you said you have many things in common with, with other Europeans but also, er, there are some, er, differences *[high tone]* -

AM1:   Uh-huh.

FZ: - and I was wondering if you were referring to, I dunno, particularly erm some ideological erm differences *[high tone]* or (...) what else?

AM1:   Erm, I dunno if there, in, in European Alternatives, I am sure there are many ideological differences *[high tone]* but in a political way.

FZ: Uh-huh.

AM1:   I think, I think that, er, that we are mainly progressive and (...) erm, a bit more to the left, middle to the, to the left.

FZ: Sure, yeah.

AM1:   Erm (...) that, I, I do see that there is a difference in the culture of working *[high tone]* for example *[laughs].*

FZ: Okay.

AM1:   Yeah I dunno if it's er *[unclear]* but I - there are a lot of, erm, Italian, er, people -

FZ: Uh-huh.

AM1:   - erm, and, er, they are really erm - and, well you can really tell the difference. I, I also found it out when I was erm studying in erm, in Sweden, erm, erm, that, that it's a bit more chaotic in, in the south, the way of working!

FZ: Okay.

AM1:   And *[laughs]* erm, and erm, the, I really see the difference like our last meeting wasn't brilliant and then it's restructured and -

FZ: Okay yes, I think that diff-different time management, different concept of time and time management, yeah okay.

AM1:   Yeah. Yeah and -

FZ: Okay but apart from this, I mean presumably you're able to overcome these differences, and, er, and er work together in, in, in the end -

AM1:   Yeah.

FZ: Okay.   And can I ask you about language because that, that's another area that I'm looking into. Clearly erm, clearly we're, we're, we're a multilingual society and erm most of us speak erm more than one language so that, that often there's no problem, er, communicating. Er, I don't know if, er, in your experience if, if you, if you found that language is, is a problem *[high tone]* or can be a problem or and how do you - and also given that English has effectively been the, the, the, the lingua franca in, in the organisation but also in Europe *[high tone]* I'm wondering how you feel about that considering that languages can also be seen as an expression of culture.

AM1:   Yeah.

FZ: So, I dunno.

AM1:   Yeah. I think that, I, I remember this one class *[high tone]* I had in the, when I was doing my Masters and we were erm discussing, erm, yeah, what, what would be the final erm (…) erm, er, thing to unify us or something, when would we really feel (…) erm European.

FZ: Okay.

AM1: And, and we were thinking about, well, actually the answer was really clear, it was erm we can travel across the borders no problem and we can pay with the same money and if only we spoke the same language, er, you know, that, that's really the last (…) erm, the last problem I think because I find it, I, I find that now because *[laughs]* I, I haven't been away for, for so long and I have to get into another (…) er in another language *[high tone]* so I find it more difficult to express myself, but also that there

are these really fine, like it's there are really, there, there are also these differences in like nuance with *[unclear - 46:29]* it is kind of hard to (..) to express yourself the way you -

FZ: Okay and do you see a common language as something coming again from bottom up, I mean, er, something almost, I dunno, I, I use the word natural but in a, in a metaphorical way -

AM1: Yeah.

FZ: - something coming out of a, of a mutual agreement, almost out of practicality as, as it has been happening probably -

AM1: Yeah.

FZ: - er, or would you see that again something top-down as a, er, as a way to erm (...) promote, encourage, er, a better feeling er, of, of European-ness?

AM1: Erm (...) yeah I, I was gonna say a top-down will never work because then people won't do it but maybe, maybe it, it's the only way that then you can implement it in schools and -

FZ: Hmm.

AM1: - and yeah, create a generation of people that, that speak the same language. I, I -

FZ: Would you have a preference for er, as for which language or?

AM1: Maybe er, Es-Esperanto, I don't know.

FZ: Okay yeah.

AM1: Or another different, another language altogether but then it's, yeah, no, because I think if you, well, now it is the, the unofficial language is, is English but you -

FZ: Yeah.

AM1:   - see that everybody speaks their own English *[laughs]* -

FZ: Hmm yeah.

AM1:   - so -

FZ: But I also like the, erm, the, what, what, what you said earlier, er, speaking about culture which in a way is a, er, a common language or (...) erm (...) sorry music, erm, erm, I dunno if I remember correctly but I think you said something like that at the beginning, so erm promoting, er, culture in the form for instance of music, that is a common language isn't it?

AM1:   Yeah but that, that was the erm, the, the funny thing with erm the European anthem for example -

FZ: Yeah.

AM1:   - it has no words because what (...) yeah, what, what words would it, would it have? It's only music and it, it can kind of connect with the whole (...) I think language is really important to ex-express yourself also in, in music and I know erm (.....) yeah for, for example, an, an anthem or something you have to sing along and as, that, that is what connects you and I think that's really not, well, now it's not really possible or it can (...) I mean it erm (.....) yeah it's (...) -

FZ: It, it's obviously very difficult because as, as you said that will probably be the last, er, the ultimate, er, evidence that *[laughs]* Europe is unified if, if we had a, a common language.

AM1:   Yeah.

FZ: Erm, erm, some say that when we, erm, I dunno, when we use English (...) we're probably capable of separating the identity aspect and saying, "Okay, this is purely for practical reason -

AM1:   Hmm.

FZ: - I'm, I'm speaking English but that, that doesn't mean that I'm connected with, with the, the English values, er, say or, or Brit-British values".

AM1:   Yeah.

FZ: And, and er, I, I dunno, I dunno, er, some people probably see it that way and some others are more, er, worried that it, it's a kind of erm hegemony, erm some kind of, er, domination.

AM1:   Of, of erm the UK? *[High tone]*

FZ: Yes, in general and in general of the capitalist, er, system, er -

AM1:   Okay.

FZ: - erm but you, you, I'm sure you've got different views! *[Laughs]*

AM1:   Yeah *[laughs].* I don't, I really don't think so. For me it feels really like a practical thing, if I talk English I, I don't feel that I'm - actually yeah, I don't feel that I'm erm talking *[slowly]* like me now expressing myself through another culture or another system a capitalist.

FZ: Okay.

AM1:   And I think and erm it, it's really er (…..) no, I think it's, it's really a practical (…) thing. For me it's disconnected with, with, er, er yeah, the, the British or the American culture or something. Or was that not what you meant?

FZ: Sorry, say again?

AM1:   Or was that not what you, what you meant with, er?

FZ: Yeah, yeah, no, no, absolutely. No, no, no, I was just asking and, er, yeah *[high tone]*.

AM1:   That, that is kind of interesting though because I think that erm (…) erm the moment people like when we are all sitting together as European Alternatives our language is English and there are a lot of people that now are learning more languages of which I'm always really jealous *[laughs]* but erm, erm, yeah, when the, enough people then start to talk again in their own language and you find that it's (…) maybe also a bit, erm, more freeing *[emphasis]* them, it's, it's not the words maybe *[high tone].* That sounds a bit too dramatic but it's (…) erm it, it's easier to express yourself.

FZ: Okay and, and, and how do you feel; do you feel excluded *[emphasis]* when they, er, (…) when they talk in their own language or?

AM1:   Erm, yeah, I mean here I think we, European Alternatives, we are really aware like the second someone else, er, steps in that doesn't speak the language you start talking in English again *[high tone]* -

FZ: Uh-huh.

AM1:   - but when I was studying abroad for example I was, er, there were, I was on a trip for a week with six Polish people *[laughs]* and erm then yeah, I really felt erm excluded *[emphasis]* erm, at times because it's (…) erm, yeah, you're not a, you're, you're not a part of the conversation *[high tone]* and of the erm (…) the - it's really, then it's really clear that it's -

FZ: Okay and from a, erm, erm, from another point of view do you feel that this situation er, I mean the, the, the lack of er, erm, understanding, er, could be an obstacle to the creation of - sorry, to, to civic participation erm to creating a European public sphere?

AM1:   Yeah.

FZ: Erm do, do you think so?

AM1:   Yeah, I think so actually. The more *[laughs]* I have thought about that erm a lot, but yeah, when we, we talk about it like this I really, yeah, I think it's an obstacle.

FZ: Okay. Okay.

AM1:   And I always, erm, we always make erm for the festival we make a journal *[high tone]* -

FZ: Uh-huh.

AM1:   - erm as well and like the introduction and the, the more general things are written in English and then the *[unclear]* pages are in our own language and we in the Netherlands we always also write it in English because yeah, I dunno why *[laughs]* because for us maybe the, erm (…) er you know a lot of Dutch, Dutch people know English anyway *[high tone].*

FZ: I know, yeah.

AM1:   But in other countries they, they write in their own language and I think that's also erm it excludes other people from reading it *[high tone].* I don't know, it's, for their own people it erm, it makes the (…) er the, the threshold or something a bit lower *[high tone]* but it's erm, I think it's always, it's always standing in between a little *[laughs].*

FZ: Okay, okay, that's very interesting. Thank you.

AM1:   Erm, yeah and I, I also when I had my own idea about, erm, before I joined European Alternatives, when I had my own idea about the, the European festival I had also other ideas like they could have a franchise of erm European cafés in every city and -

FZ: Okay.

AM1:   - erm and maybe like some kind of newspaper *[emphasis]* you know, you, you can think of so many things to erm -

FZ: Okay. I was at a conference er recently and erm a presentation was about this café in erm Sweden but I can't remember where, whereabout in Sweden but it was, I think it was called something like Euro Café -

AM1: Uh-huh.

FZ: - I don't know if you've come across, er, this.

AM1: No.

FZ: But it was a case study and er, erm, yeah, perhaps I should go and, and look back at it and if I can, if I find it I will send it to you.

AM1: Is, is their idea as well to?

FZ: Yeah, yeah. It's actually something that's been run for some time -

AM1: Yeah.

FZ: - and, and they were presenting the erm, yeah *[high tone]* the results of erm what's going on.

AM1: Oh okay, yeah.

FZ: Right okay -

AM1: And then it was also things like if, erm, all people in erm, in Europe at the same time read the same news *[emphasis]* for example, you know, you have your own, you have a European newspaper or something like that then there is still this (…) this language thing and erm, yeah.

FZ: Yes, yes it's true and, and, and also erm, there's always, I think there's always, I mean all news is presented from a national perspective, so say for instance say a meeting like the erm, the, the budget meeting they had erm yesterday would be commented on, er, differently, say in Britain they would say, "Oh yes, it was good because our interests were erm, er safeguarded" and er, and so on, so there, there will always be national

perspective, I dunno *[high tone].* It makes me think that erm if, I dunno, if, if we ever get, we'll ever get to the stage where we, we will think only in European terms and er -

AM1:   No, and I, and I think that, to get back to the beginning I think that it can coexist but I'm not, I don't think we, and, and also in Brussels nobody is to be so naïve to think that it can replace nationalistic -

FZ: Okay but, but the way you see it, you see these different erm (...) I dunno, affiliations or interests, erm, coexisting, erm, do, do you see them coexisting in a, in a kind of hierarchy, do you understand, so erm top and down, so at the bottom there is the local er affiliation and then erm okay, let me put it this way because there are different, now I'm going a bit into, into the theory, different conceptual models, and one tells us that for instance our loyalty or our identity, er, the core identity is local and then as, as you go outside, as you go out, er, it becomes less relevant, so you have local and then national and then European which is, I dunno, but then you've got other models erm, erm say that, that perhaps they interact differently. So, I dunno how you see it because you said they coexist, er, but I'm wondering if you, if you have an, an, an idea *[high tone]* of how they coexist erm -

AM1:   An ideal or an idea?

FZ: Both *[high tone]* an idea er -

AM1:   Okay *[laughs]* erm (..........) I think it, it really erm -

FZ: Because, put, put it this way, sorry, a practical example, erm *[sighs]* budget okay and er from a, a national point of view, er, the argument is, say from a Dutch point of view, why should we pay for, to subsidise, er, cows as they put it in France or in Poland, okay?

AM1:   Yeah.

FZ: And then you've got the European argument, because we've got common market, because the, the milk that's produced here gets sent there but it's still part of the same market and dah dah de dah dah and we want er, er, Poland, I dunno, to grow to the same level of income as France,

er, or, or as the Netherlands *[high tone]* because we, we want a more equal European society.

AM1:   Yeah.

FZ: So, clearly, clearly -

AM1:   So solidarity.

FZ: - the different and, and, and er contra-contradictory if you like erm arguments -

AM1:   Yeah.

FZ: - how, how do you go about reconciling these two aspects?

AM1:   Erm, well I think you can (…..) this is, yeah, this is maybe where it all comes together because it's erm (…) I have the, the whole answer in my head. It's, it's erm (…..) for example in, in, in the Netherlands there is erm one *[unclear - 59:45]* I don't know which one, that is really poor and everybody pays the taxes and the money gets redistributed and nobody really thinks about it because we're all Dutch and there is this (..) so there is this solidarity ..

FZ: So every-everyone is happy you think?

AM1:   Yeah, well sometimes. I mean there is always erm (…) you know, the, the, now I find the last years you see that solidarity becomes a really erm difficult *[emphasis]* concept for people, it's, it's each for their own and, or each region maybe for their own, but that, but that is the idea of -

FZ: Okay, but by and large, okay, they're, they're all happy to contribute for -

AM1:   Yeah, and then the European argument is of course, well, you can, well, it's, it's the scale thing again, like how it works in a nation-state, it can also work like that in, in Europe, the, the countries that have a bit more

money *[high tone]* they re-redistribute that to parts that are erm more (..) ehm poorer

FZ: So, basically it's about scaling up again….

AM1:   Yeah, but then what you ask of your people *[high tone]* is that they feel solidarity with those other countries and it's easier for those people to feel solidarity for a region in their own country, because everybody feels, yeah we're Dutch, we have this history together and erm, yeah, we speak the same language or, you know, we, you, people accept more that they're erm, er, fellow citizens and erm in Europe this erm the, the institutions are, and the laws and everything erm (…) also put that in place for all European citizens and erm we have the right to vote but people don't accept *[emphasis]* that because they don't feel, yeah they don't feel it. It's like I noticed er, there was erm last year, it was ten years after the euro *[high tone]*.

FZ: Uh-huh.

AM1:   And erm I went to this, erm, yeah, event kind of where we had our Prime Minister of then and the, the Ministry, Minister of, er, Finance *[unclear - 1:02:01]* erm and they looked back at how, how it then went with, with, with the, with the euro -

FZ: Okay yeah.

AM1:   - and they thought there was also the idea, the initial idea of the EU was erm well we can just start with the practical things, you know, erm it may be economics or something that doesn't really, er, erm, er how do you say it, that doesn't really (…) like erm (…) money doesn't really (…) *[laughs]* what's the word? People don't really care about money. The, the moment you start with more symbolic things or, or with identity then people get really erm upset if, if -

FZ: Okay.

AM1:   - if it is decided from the top-down. But then they said, you know, it's really strange actually because maybe it works the other way around that erm, erm, when, when do people start sharing their money that's when they really trust each other like when you, for example, when you're

with a group of friends you only want to, or with, with two, like if you're a couple, if you're in a relationship, you, you, you, when you get your bank account together then it's really *[emphasis]* big because then you have to completely trust each other with that money.

FZ: Okay.

AM1:   And what they did in Europe was they started with that, they, the, yeah, just, just trust us with your money *[high tone]* and erm (…) er and it, yeah, you know what I mean?

FZ: Yeah, yeah, I like it, it's a nice metaphor er, yeah, the, the, the family so it's, it's er - although if you look at what's happening erm, well, for instance the British don't feel like that so they, they've said, "No, we're not going into, into that erm, erm bank together with you" *[laughs]*.

AM1:   Yeah.

FZ: Erm yeah it's er -

AM1:   Yeah I think that's, that's maybe -

FZ: And, and do you think that er to get to the stage when we feel more er (…) part of, of the same community, er (…) I mean this is what you're doing basically as an organisation isn't it to promote *[high tone]* this idea of erm solidarity, of community and, er, connection I think from, from the bottom up.

AM1:   Yeah.

FZ: Am I, am I right?

AM1:   Yeah. Yeah, I think that, erm, maybe I wouldn't go as far as saying everybody should, should be friends *[high tone]* but it really helps like from my year of studying in Sweden there, erm I got a connection with Sweden as a country. I didn't meet so many Swedish people *[laughs]* because I was on the international campus but there were a lot of Polish people and a lot of Spanish and Italian and erm when I came back, when I

heard something in the news about Poland it, erm, it meant more to me and I would maybe erm (…) erm (…) er -

FZ: Maybe you were able to connect better with that, er, with the news and yeah.

AM1: Yeah I would erm yeah (…) how do you say it? Like grant more now, it's not (……….) oh, it's a Dutch word, it's er (…) and it, it wouldn't be as much of an effort for me to (…) er, to give them money, I don't know how you say that -

FZ: Okay.

AM1: I, I, yeah, because I, I know about, about people that are living in that country now.

FZ: Right okay. Okay *[high tone]* no, it's really -

AM1: Yeah, the way, way to say it, but I think it's, it's, everything is more interconnected than has been thought from the top-down. It's that money is not only a practical thing, it's got a lot to do with trust and (…) and solidarity, and you don't feel that with anybody, you have to have a reason to or, or maybe a concrete example of a person.

FZ: Yeah. Perfect! *[High tone]* No, that's very good, thank you. Thank you. We've covered a lot of issues haven't we? a lot of data to analyse here [laughs]. is there anything else that you want to add?

AM1: ehm (…) there's plenty but maybe another interview [laughs]

FZ: very good then, thank you so much for your contribution

AM1: thank you Franco I hope it has been helpful

FZ: most helpful indeed, Bye now!

AM1: bye

9.17 Transcript Sofia Individial interview

FZ: Hello

SO1:   Hello

FZ: Hello [name]

SO1:   Erm, can you hear me?

FZ: Yeah I can hear you fine, can you hear me?

SO1:   Yes, yes, er its okay, but tI cannot see you yet

FZ: That's fine, I've switched the video off….

SO1:   All right, okay.

FZ: Also because the camera takes a lot of er memory so …

SO1:   It's fine, it's okay. Yeah, we can, yeah, that's right, that's right yes don't worry…

FZ: Okay.

SO1:   Yeah, [clears throat] yeah so it take, took a while to, to connect with you …

FZ: That's fine, that's fine, that's fine erm

SO1:   All right.

FZ: So I, I, first of all I would like to thank you for agreeing er for accepting to er, to be interviewed, I, I really appreciate it, thank you very much, it's very, it's very kind of you.

SO1:   It's okay.

FZ: Erm, and first also I would like to erm go over erm the consent form. I know you already sent me an email, basically that's your written consent, erm, I'm also going to ask you a few things so that we have a, a vocal consent, if, if that's alright with you

SO1:   SO1:Sure fine.

FZ: Okay. Er basically erm, I…you're confirming, confirming that I made you aware of, of erm, of this interview, er, that you've been informed about the nature of the study and er and that you consent to take part in it and erm and also you understand that the interview will be recorded and er, and the content of the interview will be kept confidential. Erm you can withdraw from the study at any time and you confirm that you're over 16 years of age. Do you?

SO1:   Okay, yes I can.

FZ: You confirm, okay that's fine.

SO1:   Right.

FZ: So er we can record this then.

SO1:   Right then.

FZ: Er, it's a bit boring, sorry but that's the protocol

SO1:   Yeah, that's okay, I understand.

FZ: We got, we've got to do it. Okay.

SO1:   Er yeah.

FZ: Okay, so basically erm, yes, I've approached you because, obviously you're a member of erm, erm, of er European Alternatives and I'm very interested in, in what you have to say about er Europe and in general about er, er about the organisation. So perhaps if you erm, if I can ask you to start by er telling me a little bit about yourself and how you got involved with erm, er European Alternatives and erm, and er what you do basically er in the branch, er. I'm, I'm not entirely sure if you if you're in Sofia or er anywhere else, so you…perhaps you can tell me a little bit

SO1:   Right er, er I talk, [clears throat], about my, myself, I'm, I'm 28 years old, I'm er a PhD student in Philosophy and Gender studies, basically it's a programme in Feminist Philosophy. I did my Masters in Macedonia.

FZ: Okay.

SO1:   In Skopje, I do my PhD in the same establishment, in the same field. Er, right now I don't live in Macedonia any more, I live in [unclear] in Slovenia, erm, I'm having a Fellowship here doing my PhD erm, that's about it. As for TransEuropa erm, er at European Alternatives, er, Trans Europe is the festivals I go and erm they actually tend to look for, er I go erm, I got involved in these er, er in 2010 okay? Er, sorry 2011 er, or in 2011 when the, the Sofia group was er, er was created so, Sofia was invited by France, we also got invited by other people et cetera, et cetera so we just, erm, they sort of erm, gave an important link between us. Then we formed the group, er, initially the group in, in Sofia as, as with the other groups in, in other cities, sort of, er because of er, the organisation of the first tour which was erm, until recently the main activity for, for the entire activity centre, which is, which is, which I think is changing right now. So basically this was the, the beginning.

FZ: Okay, that's fine, okay, that's fine. Erm, the other thing that I'm obviously very interested in, erm, the organisation describes itself as a, as a transnational er organisation and I was wondering if you could tell me, er from your point of view, what, what transnationalism is?

SO1:   Erm, it is, okay erm, I, together with other people from the Sofia collaborative, I should say first this thing before I, that it could apply to the question then.

FZ: Yes.

SO1:   We got a rather, a conflicting opinion sometimes with the, with other groups.

FZ: Ah ha.

SO1:   Er, the network and, and with, with some of the architects of the, of the organisation let's put it like that.

FZ: Okay.

SO1:   Ah so we've challenged many times, so for er what does that, that mean er, what o…on, on, oh so, so before I, I sort of talk to what you say, what you're asking, I will answer it directly but I have to say this, er, the…from my experience and my generation is the Sofia Group, they are part of erm, has a lot disagreements with erm – has had a lot of disagreements in the…and now really influence the way er, the European Alternatives function erm with different criticisms, that is to say basically we…the Sofia, the Sofia group didn't quite like the, the way to erm, sort of copycat the federalist macro structure of the EU and, and project that on to a micro activist level.

FZ: Right.

SO1:   So we had, we had, we had problems with this all along, we still have problems with, with the, with the, with this er, with sort of erm, erm, I don't know, er bureau, central bureaucratic er, organisation of, of, of European Alternatives.

FZ: Right.

SO1:   Er, it, it's kind of for us, it's kind of critic, it's er, we understand why this is er, being made so et cetera, et cetera. So this is one way in which we basically challenged I think, so for the er the transnational dimension organisation I am speaking, of the, of, of, of that establishment, European Alternatives itself. So as for the er erm, meaning of transnationalism, er this I should answer individually, not as a group, erm, that's right, er yes?

FZ: Yeah absolutely, yes, yes.

SO1:   Okay, kay, erm, just to confirm that. Well erm (…), for me transnationalism is erm, the new, sort of how to say this, the new speak ah, as I would say of er, of a, of an older word er, which is internationalism. I, I do tend to think transnationalism as, as a way to, to speak about an old phenomenon which is being reframed conceptually in the EU agenda.

FZ: Okay.

SO1:   Er, I think er this is rather problematic, I understand why it's being done, er, there are many countries transnationally, or internationally who currently are at odds with er, erm, er ex-Soviet past for example, when this is against it et cetera, et cetera so, so I understand this is the mmm, the general framework these days to speak of a, a European co-operation erm literally et cetera, et cetera and a ways to solidarise, solidarise in between countries and different groups ah however er, I, I, I just think it's a new blanketed er phrasing of an old phenomenon.

FZ: Hm, mm.

SO1:   erh, my, my worry about transnationalism has always been that erm, it sort of ehr, um zeros in on to the socialist past for example of the Eastern Block countries that are involved in European Alternatives Er, but that's, but I think that that's also a bigger problem for the entire EU er, micro sector not just for the activist collective of er, European Alternatives. So basically to wrap it up I think, *I think transna…transnationalism is, is a way to erm, the, the, the, to, to reignite again er practices of er co-operation between er, pretty much oppressed er groups ah or groups that are involved in the oppression of other groups ah, that are involved in, against the oppression of other groups, erm, and ways to ehr, uhm rearticulate er (…), a global group of policies* erm, this is, this is my general perception.

FZ: Okay, yes that's very interesting, now that…also I'm very interested in what you said about er, I think you called it a, a new speak?

SO1:   Yes.

FZ: So can you clarify that a bit …

SO1:   well (..) this was just a metaphor of, of saying that erm, erm, uh, that erm, transnationalism is a sort of er, is a sort of work which has been erm, how to put this, erm, agreed on er in a way that it doesn't compete with erm, the er, bureaucratic framework of the European Union.   I'm saying this because er, European Alternative is indirectly funded by a programme such as youth connection (..) which, which also er, my position in European Alternatives as a [?] administration as er, as an entity which would be very much a worry about erm, how they interact with, with its funder and, and its policies (..) so, and (.) so in this context er, saying that er, transnationalism is a new speak for internationalism er might sound a bit mean-spirited when I say it (.) erm, although I didn't intend it because I think that why it is, this is just my way of criticising ah, the, as I said zeroing in on the, ah, all the aspects of internationalism (…)

FZ: Okay, no, no that's fine, that's good.   So if I understand correctly basically erm, you're erm, er well, you don't think that the er EU represents er your vision of Europe, am I right?

SO1:   Or that, that's a big doubt yes, ehr, I'm not Euro.. I'm not a Euro sceptic, ah ok erm, I, I should say, erm, I do prefer the, like that of course, I do prefer globalisation instead of nationalist, national, national policies, er, et cetera, et cetera, this is why erm, I'm sort of a member of er, of this network.   Erm, my worry, er, my worry with it's erm, is such as is, you know everybody's else's worry erm, on the one hand er the is a process of opening the doors to citizen activities and, you know, so-called citizen networks fine, and you know, ah, making it all for er easy and et cetera et cetera on the other hand there is a process of concentrated power er in the European Commission et cetera et cetera so when you're, when I as, as a member of European Alternatives tends to say I have, pretty much um sort of federalist conception of how Europe should be like, erm, I do, I do see a token of cross purposes and, and, and the way er the macro, the macro politics, erm politics of the EU functions, you know, like just er for example, just the, the example that I just gave, you know (…) erm so that kind of makes me sceptical, for it makes me sceptical towards the means to achieve, er of er, some of sort of unified they say oh, policies on whatever subject, erm, and I don't buy in, in into the national politics ah, ah, ah on these cultures although I do believe that ah, a lot of the features those issues kind of filter through to national policies for obviously to, er collaborating, you know certain values and through European Law and you know other European you know good examples and et cetera et cetera.

FZ: Okay, and (..) and linking onto what you've just said about nationalism, obviously one of the erm aspects of erm, a European Alternatives is that er they reject er the idea of nation-state so erm, I was wondering, and, and obviously it's a very provocative question I'm asking but, what is wrong with er nations, ha?

SO1:   Ah okay, er, hello?

FZ   Yeah, can you hear me?

        [Bangs in background]

FZ: Hello?

SO1:   Sorry.

FZ: Yeah can you hear me now?

SO1:   Yes, yes.

FZ: Yes, er I don't know if you erm, if you heard my question? Shall, shall I repeat it?

SO1:   No, no I heard it; I just lost you for a second.

FZ: Okay.

SO1:   Ah first of all I mean er, I think I didn't use nationalism but I would reply to that, I said national policy and policies.

FZ: You did indeed yes, it's, it's my interpretation, yes sure, yes, yes, um.

SO1:   Er I understand why you go in this question of course, erm, er I, I'm not sure that er, the aim of European Alternatives is to take control of the nations, the nation-states, I don't think this is in the agenda, I think it's er, it might be in the agenda in the long run, er::hm (.), so I should say this, a,

a, a, our training is completed, I'm not joking, erm, but the, you know, in, in a sense what, what European Alternatives does, I'm not sure if all, all the members realise that or not, is very much in the direction of sci-fi you know, sort, sort of er, you know, world government thing, you know, et cetera et cetera, so er. I mean this is how logically the whole project of European Alternatives looks like to me, you know, in the long run, you know. So yes, that would, that would, that would involve the abolishment of nation-states as much, now it wouldn't, er it wouldn't however, and it could not or it should not rather er involve er the erasure from, from sort of national presentation, I don't believe this is going to happen soon.

FZ: Okay.

SO1:   And I was speaking, speaking of sci-fi it's okay then, er in, in other terms now. Ahm, so erm can you repeat the second question that followed nation-states?

FZ: Yes basically yes, it was er a provocative question and erm, I was wondering what, what's wrong with nation-states, why, why should we, should we move on er from, from the idea of nation-states?

SO1:   This question for me should be entrenched, er yes I'm going to reply I guess, and um, and well, um this question should be more entrenched in circles of ah, nationalists, you know (..) you know (.) these are the people that, who you have to ask basically, er, I don't want to reframe your research of course I'm just er being witty I guess but, erm, they are to me the answers is, the answer to this question lies more in the actions of nationalism et cetera et cetera. Er, you have to ask them, we have to know them, you know, people who are not very sympathetic to, to, to nation-state policies et cetera et cetera, we have to know what -

FZ: Okay but, but still, I mean from, from your point of view erm, shall it call it a transnational point of view, erm, why erm, you can, I think if, if you can try and give me a, an answer to that erm, why is transna, transnationalism better than, than, than nationalism? Or sorry, first of all, er is transnationalism just a projection of nationalism on a er, on another level or, or what is it?

SO1:   It could be er, I don't think it is such per se, erm, you know, I said, what I said about nationalists this was an impromptu towards my valid answer so I didn't mean to avoid the question but I think er transnationalism could be easily used for erm, our transform projects and

nationalist purposes, I don't see any problem that, you know, I, I think you know, the fiscal compact is a very good example of that …

FZ: Hm, mm.

SO1:   I think it, it's, it's like a national domination of, you know, erm Germany has nationally (..) through a national agenda, you know, I wouldn't call it nationalist but it's certainly national, you know. So, so we can, this for me is a very good example of you know training transnationalism into erm, into nationalism of some sort, I guess. Erm, um, well what's wrong with the nation-state er is erm, that give in away of the idea of national presentation um, erm, on the one hand I don't think it's commendable at this very moment of, of, of Europe's development as some sort of unified federal structure from that. Erm, rrr…the wrong thing with the nation-state um, how to erm, phrase this, arr with the nation-states in general is erm, ah if they did some, it, it, it certainly erm, er doesn't function erm pretty well economically (..)

FZ: Okay.

SO1:   Er these days erm, it cannot just, how to say this, it cannot just erm, erm, you know turn back time and go into erm, you know, state capitalism on the one hand or *laissez-faire* capitalism on the other, I mean in certain national contexts now because, it adds value, I mean the premium borrowers of the EU are, you know, we can find them all in [unclear] mobility and goods you know. So erm, I should say I, if I have to choose between the mobility and immobility of goods I would always go for the mobility of goods, if we are somewhat behind the mobility of people of course, et cetera et cetera, so I'm, I think the mobility of goods is, you know, much more privileged than the mobility of humans in the European Union you know et cetera et cetera, so it is er, it is a questioning for me. Basically erm, I was, I was trying to [unclear] my team, you know for, for anti-capitalists not just me, you know, erm but I yeah, I'm saying that the wrong thing with the nation-state is that of course we have to get rid of the cliché that you know we have to fight capitalism and then we have to you know, fight for a more national er stable economy and blah, blah, blah and I, I don't believe in this matter of anti-capitalism or ehm 'I, I hate capitalists' you know et cetera et cetera. And then, this is a bigger thing you know, if we have you being critical towards you know certain capitalist agendas and neo-liberal policies and policies et cetera we are to be critical you know. We, perhaps the first thing to do, you know, is to erm you know sort of consent that this is the bigger problem you know and then if we want to achieve anything beyond that, you know, maybe we can, yeah

maybe we should change priorities, yeah, so I don't know if I, if I answered because it took too many, but.

FZ: No, no, no, no, it's absolutely fine, no, no, that's fine, that's absolutely fine. Erm.

SO1:   The language, buzz word is on economy you know er and I tried to explain why.

FZ: Yes, no that's very good, thank you. Erm, I, I'd like to move the discussion onto a slighter different subject now, because as you know my, my research is also to do with the er, with identity. Er so first of all I would like to ask you if you erm, if you um, identify yourself as, as European, erm and er and if so what erm, what that means to you?

SO1:   Ah look ah okay, erm, (..) erm, I'm, er I (...) I do identify as European at one level on another level I do identify as a Balkan, ah you know, as somebody from the Balkans, er and that's kind of important for me and it's important er perhaps because I don't feel the, I don't feel the Eastern leg of the European Union is very much integrated in, in what it is supposed to be integrated, erm so yeah, yeah I do feel yes European with that note in mind (...)

FZ: Okay can, can you expand on that erm, a little bit ?

SO1:   Well for, for what it's worth erm, yeah, erm, erm, the big thing of being in, part of ah, er in the EU as such erm, that is a Bulgarian in my case is that that yeah it's all quotas and identification that, that, that's why I very much questioned before the actual membership (...) er, this is one thing erm, so we talk this anyway willy nilly, erm, as soon as it gets, as soon as you're a member, well you know, travel is easier and how they move on, you know another one on borders and da, da, da, it's one thing. On the other, er, you know, er very few people in my country of origin erm, doubt the, the membership of, of, of okay it was anything different from just you know, it being done for a political process you know, for economic purposes basically. Erm, er, this is why, yes that's returning on the economy thing again, erm, this is why I said that I, I question the integration of, of Bulgaria for example in, in the EU as such erm, ahm, on, on everyday level I think there is a sense of identification in me and other people in general, er which is pretty much er okay these days for our, on, on the market level I think there is um, I wouldn't call it even disappointment, I think it's some sort of er, you know just sort of

realisation of, of it's why countries such as Bulgaria and Romania are in the EU. So I think, I think while Bulgaria and Romania are part of the EU because of, you know of conjuncture reasons et cetera et cetera and dare I say economical reasons, you know people benefit in some sort of um coincident, er accidentally you know, within it, whether you know, the, the, the idea of European identification that I do follow, I develop it, you know sort of like because of erm, you know it's just there, it's just optional because Bulgaria is in the EU, you know and I'm like, why not, of course I will develop this identification focus.

FZ: Right.

SO1:   But, but back to the...to, to, to organise my identification as European you know, even in administration with the reservation that I'm pretty much aware I think other people should be aware of this er, that is a country er, um, er as an, you know as a country Bulgaria is erm, um you know one of the sort of you know, erm, powers in Europe and er because they are open to subjecting itself you know. And we became an active, an active member you know which is the, you know, very perception of Bulgaria anyways in the European Union, so that's about it.

FZ: Okay, okay, ah that's very interesting because erm, yes so er, would you say that it's erm, on one level er yeah people are keen to, to reap the benefits of, of the tangible benefits of er being in the EU like er free movement and, and er the single market er but then when it comes to erm, erm, feeling part of the er, of this in terms of erm, erm, having a voice in, in the change or the er or the direction is, is much less so, er, I don't know if I've ..?

SO1:   Well ah yes I think you could say that, I think you could say that and also that erm, erm, yes basically erm, I don't think, let me put it that way, I don't that erm, anyone is er you know, I mean it, it has to be merely er a certain right-wing you know typical nationalist or to, to, to avoid er this sort of identification and even, you know, Bulgarian nationalist and right-wing also are having problems with that because you know at the end you know, Bulgarian nationalist politics is, is contradictive, ehm contradictory thing you know, these people organise their identity in a, in an international setting. So that's why they call it prime international blah, blah, blah. But, erm, yes I think it's silly to avoid this way of identification it's just er not realistic to say erm, ah, not realistic to say that it influenced er me through in politics ...

FZ: Hm, mm.

SO1:   You know infl.. influence is bad for daily life for people in Bulgaria and that's the problem so, so in a sense this, this isn't er, this is one privilege, why I'm saying that you know national representation is not yet absolute because I think it's, it, it takes a lot of time for people to, to realise that along with, you know the accidental as they call them, you know benefits of being European, you know, they have in the main, er you know, belonging and identification as European ways to the more formal…

FZ: Yes.

SO1:   And erm, such as er I don't know like in erm, er so-called federal project as, you know, as it's first [unclear] in Bulgaria as it yeah, I mean I, I also hate you know, a big, a being managed from a Brussels citizen and they do, you know, for given days, you know so, so I think that formalisation of the feeling of identification is your still, still being questioned, it's not taken as a, it's not, er, it's not er some perceive it as a serious thing, it's, it's just you know, erm, you know yes I like to travel, I love the beach here and there, you know I like to visit my friends here and there or friends here and there but, but for them you know, people wouldn't just sit back and, and er write a decent er project for I don't know, whichever er programme that could, could fund their ideas, you know, and that's quite the same for, for, for the perception of the EU in Bulgaria.

FZ: Okay, okay, erm, I, I was also thinking er about erm, in a way, I mean I don't know how erm, it works for you and how you feel in terms of belonging but erm, many people erm, not necessarily only in Bulgaria but of course er in, er all over the EU their interpretation of being European is exactly like that so, and that's, er that was just some theorists are there who are saying that has been the impact er of erm er the EU on ident, on national identities. Rather than becoming European we er, it, it's our identi, our national identities have become just Europeanised meaning they erm, we've taken on some er elements or some convenience elements of er European as, and just er, er reconciled them with er, er with national identify. So I was wondering erm, erm, from your point of view, personal point of view, you think this hypothesis, of I don't know if it's the case with you, but then if it's acceptable er in terms of, is it really what Europe should be, then if it's an ideal, even if we're not there yet, erm, this European identity is it really what erm, I mean what we want erm, erm, or should be something more, something else, something different, er I hope I have made myself clear on this?

SO1:   Um, I understand the first part of the question, erm I did not understand the second part …

FZ: Okay so you told me a lot about er what people think in Bulgaria, I was wondering erm, from your point of view, your personal point of view, if you feel European because what Europe means for your Bulgarian identity?

SO1:   Actually erm, er yeah I think, I think I have kind of answered this (..) but anyway It would be a, a detail for European with certain reservations, for me to do other people like this and et cetera et cetera so if you're asking [coughs] (..) interesting that I could answer with, with your impromptu to the question and now because what you said about this, the state areas about which employs as well, you know the national erm, the national, the transnational, the local or the global, blah, blah, blah, erm, I don't know whether, whether you or your, you are over viewing according to other people's criteria's and et cetera et cetera, is, leading this to the, you know realisation that you know, the Europeanisation of er, Europe erm, is, is a certain way of er, bringing nationalism back, you know, this is one, one, one way of proceeding things and, and I think it's quite true, you know because people erm, er, er I mean, I don't know how to explain it because I can't really speak about other people, but then I have different interpretations so maybe I should consider it on my interpretation, I don't know how you want it, but erm. On the one hand erm, I think it's quite true, you know I think er, I think a lot of people, especially the ones that, or that were not Euro sceptics before er expansions and et cetera et cetera erm, did realise later on erm, including people in Bulgaria that I know, that, that, that the EU expansion er, erm, will open questions that they, they, they have never thought of, you know. Erm and then and then this would lead to a resurgence of nationalism et cetera et cetera.

FZ: Okay.

SO1:   So, so my answer personally here, and of what it should be is that erm, erm, in the long run I, I, I expect and I want to er, to perceive er, a European Union which is aiming at the different structure of the nation-state.

FZ: Okay.

SO1:   This is, for me it's, it's very important. I erm, I think however that this impossible with the recent er Nuremburg [?] politics especially the security politics you know. Erm, I think there is a lot of people questioning people down there erm and, and that people which is quite saying on the way erm, (...) I'm speaking it from this and speaking of no good, around things like that you know. Erm, that's quite saying on the way er, the EU is erm, you know shifting concepts and paradigms of security for example in different national contexts which already affirms the national context.

FZ: Right.

SO1:   Yes, but then that's the third problematic you know, er, the thing to do, er if in the longer run the European Union has a project to, to develop [?] as a nation-state you know because I mean, what does it mean if it doesn't, in the EU as, as, as such doesn't mean to anybody it's a nation-state, it only means that you know, that the main purpose of, of that you know, hyper structure you know, that it's ground structure is to you know, you know just exchange goods you know et cetera, I mean, yes in the longer run basically to wrap it up I, I, I think erm, I think more er on (...) I would say er, okay that, that's kind of forging it but a more sort of er, er spontaneous erm citizenship should be, should be enacted erm, not, not in, but not in a, in the way it's being done right now, you know, with the example I gave previously about it, you know erm, the erm.

FZ: Can I ask, sorry, can, can I ask you er to clarify this idea of erm spontaneous citizenship?

SO1:   Um, yes, er what I mean by that is, is er, basically I don't want to, other than, I guess I'm just going to give, give an example, er instead of t, t, theorising this, you know. I don't want to, to organise a referendum nationally in Bulgaria if I want to you know propose, seeing if we can change you know, like for example, I found here in in Sofia we organise ourselves in, I don't know, transnational workshops and because we want to change this and that we then realise we have to do er, a fucking referendum in order to change something and then we're going to do the referendum and then we're not even sure that this referendum is going to change anything because the European Commission has too much power.

FZ: SO1:ight, okay.

SO1:   So this is what I mean by spontaneous citizenship, I don't want to go through thousands of pages er, of paperwork, me and my group identity

you know, you know to, to change anything and, and the way erm, the logical structure of Europe in the end is organised er is capable also of spontaneous things. And I don't want, and I don't think that anyone, er beyond Western Europe, you know, I'm sorry for the clarification but it's important for me, I don't think that even in Western Europe er citizens have the nerve really to go through this er.

FZ: Okay, okay no that's fine, that's fine. So and so, in, in this erm, future Europe er shall we say, erm, er when, where states are being constructed erm, what, what do you see, er holding people together er, what sort of values because clearly in erm, erm in nations, er well at some point there was a lot of discourses on ethnicity and other, and other er, and other values. And I'm wondering if erm, erm, if you could tell me if you have an idea what, erm, what you think of the er that holds Europe together as a, as a transnational erm space, erm.

SO1: Yes well erm, do you hear me?

I Yes, yes, I can, yes, yes.

SO1: Okay, erm, first of all I didn't say that the abolishment is going to happen any time soon.

I Okay.

SO1: Er, so I think its, it's going to be a very long course and its, it's not going soon, it's not going to happen anytime soon and it's going to take quite a lot of time because there are other countries to be integrated. Erm, so, some are not very enthusiastic about the abolishment that has been made so far, er but if you, if you imagine the people there now.

I Yes, yes.

SO1: Well okay, er, I mean it, it's a kind – a certain thing to say but unfortunately my, my direct answer to your question is what cannot call people together er erm, what cannot pull people together is the er, erm.

FZ: Right I'm thinking, I'm thinking of erm, well quite a few things actually, erm, ethnicity, er coun, country differences er, resistance to what is – might be perceived as, as a, as, homo, homogenisation process erm.

And we had some examples, er, erm, I er, I'm talking the country I, I live in, the UK, I think er, gradually over the years there I think they're going quite Euro sceptic and one of the arguments er rightly or wrongly, I'm not getting into, into that debate now but is, is, erm, we er well, Brussels so to speak is taking away our cultural identity, we're becoming er all the same and we er, we're taking away our sovereignty and people over here have little to do with, er I don't know, people in Cyprus or, or Bulgaria for instance, and is just an example obviously but. And, and then there are tensions inevitably, so erm, yes so that will be probably er something to reflect on in, in er.

SO1:   This is what I say, what I wanted to say is er, I don't think the main line of identification ah and er think that holds people together in the future of the EU is, is negative, I don't think it's positive.

FZ: Ah okay, okay.

SO1:   Yes this is why I wanted to, to answer it by, you know of, by a negative approach, and my…I wanted to say I'm, I'm actually that what, what binds together people in the next few, few years er and (..) in my perspective ah is, and I'm not saying because it's I'm an activist or something or anti-capitalist or whatever, I'm just saying you know as I see, er, is that erm, people will be and are already against er is the paradigm of making politics out of the economy (..) so basically I think that, that the mobilisation line that could lead to any sort of trans, um, transnationalism, internationalism or abolishment of national borders is actually the, you know, the, the dispersal, the er the dissemination of er, of, of, of ideas against this European parliament you know er because I mean that's the whole problem then. If you ever think more now you know, I mean government economic unity which, which, which you know emanated in a product of cultural differences being politicised, you know, and that's a very formal thing you know, it, it's successful here and there but not everywhere. So this is, this is why I think, I think people, people will be addressing this problem more rather than ethnicity or tolerance or, er and et cetera et cetera because, because the anti-economic sentiment, you know, of er, the..there is no blood in this sentiment, instead of e- even in wasting you know such blood, so, so much blood you know and so much boiling of energy yes, erm.

FZ: Yes.

SO1:   This is my perspective and, and, and that's er and I want to add two things you know here, the, the first thing is like er, that will develop under

that sort of sentiment for me, er is already abolishing the national and transnational, so. I, I mean the term itself transnationalism is, is somewhat, somewhat paradoxical you know because er the term itself, I know it sounds kind of Marxian and blah, blah, blah, but the term itself is er, is, is, is a contradiction in itself, you know which could lead to it's own abolishment you know. I, I don't think that you know, the development of Europe and sentiment, the true transnationalism should only confirm transnationalism you know. If we speak in 20 years about trust and entire nationalism then what's the point of doing it?

FZ: Yes, okay, okay.

SO1:   And the thing I wanted to add is erm, you know the feeling of being the same, you know that, that you're talking about erm, and of course it's not an English thing you know, it, it's a very common thing in different er country contexts you know. Erm, I, I think the problem, the position problem here is a, yes, obviously when a mass scale of people think that they're becoming the same and, er this is a loss of identity and blah, blah, blah this is bullshit, this is not true, this is not true. What of our people, people are afraid of something and when people are afraid of, you know certain national, er nationalists contexts in my opinion is that they're being, they're, they're loathe to see citizenship become vulnerable. A lot of people are afraid of is a vulnerability as such erm.

FZ: Okay, that's…

SO1:   So basically what people want to avoid you know, is, is that sort of vulnerability, it's like, it's like in a love relationship, you know er, er, you cannot have a, have a real relationship without staying vulnerable, you know.

FZ: Okay, okay that's a nice way to put it, yes okay and I can see that (…) Rght, okay erm, perhaps I'm going to ask you one more question because I'm aware of time and I promised I would keep it within 45 minutes. Erm, and, and the question I wanted to ask you erm, is this, erm, if we think of transnationalism erm, and this is my suggestion, of, of interconnectedness so er we'll all interconnected therefore it doesn't make much sense to talk of borders or, na…national borders. Erm, again I, I, if we do, if we assume that erm, I'm not doing, I know we're doing something wrong in er, er in constructing Europe as again something with borders. So basically yes we, we, we've demolished the internal borders if you like but we're still creating outer borders of er Europe and in way where there's missing the interconnectedness that we have with other erm,

spaces, I'm, I'm not using the words – countries er, other spaces where they've, it's er, I don't know to the East to the West, South of whatever, erm. Do (…), I don't know if you have any er ideas on this?

SO1: Okay, how will you…this is a sort of comment, it's, I don't see the question so clearly.

FZ: Well er I just, well – first of all I, I, I don't know if you agree with this idea of erm, being interconnected er as, as, as an aspect of, an essential aspect of transnationalism, erm and, and er if so then er what about the problem of er, because wan…wanting to construct Europe as er as a cohesive space when in reality you can't stop interconnections at, at borders. So if, if there's no national borders then why should there be er European borders, erm.

SO1: .. just putting the argument forward yes, but er yes, er I understand what you are saying and er you should look at, just an example [coughs] sorry, to look at, you know the activities in, in, in European Alternatives they're quite the same, I'm not criticising them just saying you know, erm, I'm not involved in everything, you know but I, but I, but I follow what's going on in the network you know.

FZ: Yes.

SO1: It's like, if you look at the activities in the last 2 years, you know more and more activities do not involve European countries, they'd involve er you know, erm, North Africa and some, you know people from the [unclear] and they involve China, you know, ah, so erm, what you are saying basically, and with expanding you know the one, you know transnationalism beyond Europe er is why retain European identity at all. The other thing you're saying is er and, and, and I agree with this very much er, you know, from just speaking you know, erm, is the formalisation of Europe as the EU ah not transforming Europe as a continent into, into a, administrative ghetto, er of itself. That, I mean it's, it's a, it's a funny way to say it but I guess it's like you know, if the whole of what is Europe continentally is, is one type of mega-structure, then it feels like this structure becomes it's own type of potential secretariat you know, it's like, at some point in all these continents it's going to end up like, you know, being its own secretary. I don't know if, if it's a good thing to do, er, you know. But er, it, but, but again you know er I, I don't quite believe in, in, in, in the, in the erm, sort of, you know quickness of, of, of abolishing even Europe in transnationalism as one big identity just, er, I'm, I'm going to expand my argument here as well, you know, er, er just what, as we with

the national, er, er representation argument you know er it could, I mean in the long run we cannot ah avoid er the EU identity not the Europe identity politically you know, erm, you know politically, geo-politically because this er freaking world is not ready for the world governance you know, back to the sci-fi thing you know.

FZ: I see.

SO1:   Yes, erm, I know it sounds very abstract and et cetera et cetera but your questions and comments are also quite abstract as well. So er, this is, so, so I quite agreement with what, whatever you're saying ah yes my, my worries in the EU, you know, just as you wrote it, you know EU slash Europe, you know is, is, is, is basically its own ghetto you know. But, but, but the larger problem is it then becomes the ghet, it, it, it, it creates ghettos in itself you know and this is why we're not down with national politics.

FZ: Okay, okay, no, no that's good and obviously I was trying to er, to be provocative and er and erm, and obviously there are no right or wrong answers here I'm just interested in different views. And also it's a reflection of erm, of er, erm, a few other interviews I've, I've conducted recently and er, and some people erm, have said to me but erm, but anyway outside the, the political project, so one is European because of other erm, er elements and perhaps one could also look at it in that way. So if you leave aside the erm, the, the political erm, erm, (…) um side if you like, er some will say er there's enough to make us European in terms of culture, er I don't know history or whatever, erm, and perhaps I should, I should have asked you this question, so coming from that angle er so Europe as a cultural and erm, social er if you like and historical site er do you see er something there that erm, erm, people share if you like?

SO1:   Yes but, yes I see, I see but they share it some, somehow [slight laugh] erm, the er, back to the 'Balkan' thing er they share it somehow one-sidedly you know because I mean if in, yeah, I guess you need examples and speaking with examples I'm, because I'm also involved in publishing and I'm doing publishing you know.

FZ: Okay.

SO1:   That you know, a,a, you know I quite follow what happens in my areas and the things I'm interested in and like why one-sidedly? I don't, I, I, I think like Eastern Europe there for example erm, perhaps other, er same

the referral areas with Europe as well, not just Eastern Europe people in these areas are, do have a more universal perception of what Europe is rather than so-called old Europe, you know very often why...

FZ: Yes.

SO1:   Just the, I don't know, project results are for, it's a European literary programme you know, and erm, there is a big deal of integrationists.   Researchers for example are in between Eastern European countries, this, this is a good example okay? But I, I don't see the influence of this literature in the old Europe you know, like I don't see applications of those organisations you know, for the big old you know hardcore EU countries who do that, who apply for projects, for Eastern European scholars, different writers and et cetera et cetera so this is, I'm sure a very one-sided process, I'm not saying it's going to end up like that, what I'm saying is, you know, it's going to take a lot of time to you know, ah believe in cultural difference er and variety as, as a unifying thing you know. I think this is less persistent than the economic aspect, you know unfortunately, you know. I mean I'm obviously much more interested in the culture and the literature than the economy itself, I'm dealing with the economy because it's impossible not to, if you want to achieve something, you know. So yes erm, I, I'd love that the case would be that cultural difference is, is, er beyond national borders is with unif, unifying [unclear] there is the potential of it, but sadly it's more, potentially it's more for tension.

FZ: Okay, okay yes, erm. And er, I mean and er, language is, is clearly one case in point here because if we are looking at er the variety of languages in, in Europe erm, well, diversity is at, at institutional level is celebrated and er and encouraged but erm, that we know about, er really it's, it's, it's a, er it's a linguistic market aha, so erm, there's a erm, well there's basically er English which is very hegemonic and erm, and all other languages are er, er dominated er if you like so. And this is another example of, because I mean you could say that erm, on the one hand er having one language would be good for integration, for communication, for dialogue debate in the, the public sphere and, and the political sphere but er, also if you want to keep it as varied and as er culturally different as possible so erm, you know there would be another tension I suppose.

SO1:   Can I just reply to this?

FZ: Yes, sure, sure, yes.

SO1:   A, er, and I don't have more than 5 minutes but I just want to reply to this. Er, you know o, o, is very important for me or if, even you want for my European identity or transnational identity whatever, is very important for me that er, mm, I, I don't see in the European Union project erm, er a real political will to, to change er what European enlightenment and modernity is. I've done this because it's a very tangible thing you know, it's not just some historical weapon it is, you know, it's still influences a war and the national language thing that you mentioned, it's too early for this thing. I don't want [emphasis] to avoid English for example, I don't believe in anti-hegemonic policy, per se, er, I think that, you know, you know, gramscian anti-hegemony and stuff like that, you know, I believe in this, this sort of er theories and I, and I er and I'm not against er, you know, the materialisation of certain languages a proxy you know.

FZ: Okay.

SO1:   Er, that's okay, the, the question is, er when I go to a conference and I say ah, listen guys you should learn languages you know, and not just Western European language, then they call me a racist.

FZ: (Slight laugh) Okay.

SO1:   You know, and that's, that's, that's not the European modernity you know. I know what European modernity is, you know, I'm, I'm not averse to it you know, I mean I know, I know that it's a very straightforward but narrow concept but that here it's not going to happen any night soon, the way, you know European politicians claim it should be or it is if, if they don't you know, er spontaneously or you know frankly address this particular issue and, and, and it's a very political issue, it's a very conceptual issue we have. So yes I mean if (...)

FZ: How, how would you resolve it, I mean if you had the possibility, if you have the er the opportunity to er?

SO1:   I don't know what to say, er obviously the only to do this is to, I don't know, do, this could be the whole thing in European you know structures and organisation and personal contacts and blah, blah, blah. But should I bother myself with this? Shall I try to find a proxy for all this sort of cause or process just to frustrate some European bureaucrat that they should give away more money for translating Bulgarian or Macedonian or Romanian philosophy into that for example?

FZ: Hm, mm.

SO1:   Actually, I'd prefer this because instead of them produce it, I could translate three books

FZ: Yes.

SO1:   Yes, so it's like you know, like I'm working with a, a bunch of people in Sofia you know and right now it's easier for us to organise, collect money between ourselves and produce a single book without any sort of European funding whatsoever.

FZ: Yes.

SO1:   You know and it's easier, much easier than the whole amount of work I have to put in to produce a single book with European funding.

FZ: Yes.

SO1:   So you know that's my answer.

FZ: Okay, that's very good thank you, thank you. Right so, well o, obviously there's so many other things that I would like to talk about but I'm aware of time so I, and erm, yes and erm, so I think we should erm, perhaps erm, wrap it up, and is, is there anything that you would like add, maybe any points that we haven't er covered or?

SO1:   Just to wish to luck and with the research.

FZ: That's perfect thanks.

9.18 Transcript London individual interview

FZ: [talking about using two microphones] I'll leave that there, maybe here, and this one here next to me. Okay, so well, first of all thank you very much again -

LO3:   *[Laughs]* That's okay.

FZ: - because it's very kind of you to accept this and erm as you've probably realised I'm, I'm not looking for er right or wrong answers here, I'm just very, er, very interested in genuine opinions, erm so, and er, in particular erm from you as a member of erm, erm this organisation erm and then, an-anyway as someone engaged with European issues erm, first of all I would like to ask you to briefly introduce yourself, just tell me a little bit about your background and how you got involved erm, with erm, er, European issues.

LO3:   Yeah. Okay, so erm, yeah I, I moved to London about er in 2008 so about four or five years ago and helped out my father who at the time was Chair of the European Movement erm pro-European campaigning organisation, erm with er, with an event at Parliament, I can't remember exactly what it was. It might have been er a kind of re-launch actually, they were in the process of rebuilding the movement, erm, and there I met a couple of er people from the Young European Movement who erm, were interested to kind of get me involved, so since then I have been, er, very low level involved with the Young European Movement. I've seen a lot of er different groups taken on erm and I've sort of seen it but I've been not very good at keeping up *[laughs]* -

FZ: Okay.

LO3:   - and being very active. Er and then through working, erm, helping out in the European Movement office I met er [the directors] -

FZ: Oh yeah.

LO3:   - at European Alternatives.

FZ: Yeah, yeah.

LO3:   Erm, I can't remember exactly how I got involved with that. I just remember sort of knowing them and then I must have gone to an event or, or something, erm, possibly one of the, the Festival of Europe.

FZ: Transeuropa Festival -

LO3:   Yeah.

FZ: - yeah, yeah, it would have been -

LO3:   As it used to be the Eu - Eu -

FZ: - 2010 maybe?

LO3:   Yeah. It used to be the European Festival of London I think.

FZ: Okay.

LO3:   Erm, and so I think I'd been to a couple of those.

FZ: Okay.

LO3:   Erm and then yeah and so again was involved a bit with them. Er again, sort of dropped the last couple of years, been not as active -

FZ: Okay.

LO3:   - just different things getting in the way, but I'm really keen to get back involved particularly in the lead up to the elections, erm, as they could be the last ones that Britain takes part in! *[Laughs]*

FZ: Hmm, true, very true.

LO3: And I think it could be a really good opportunity for the Transeuropa and erm the Young European Movement, or the European Movement generally to link up -

FZ: Okay. Okay.

LO3: - erm because it's something that won't be erm, a kind of (…) within the political system; it, it won't be a left/right divide at all. There are cert - only certain things they can link up on erm -

FZ: Okay, so do you see they share similar goals, similar, erm, objectives or -

LO3: Yeah, I think so.

FZ: - the two movements?

LO3: I think so. I think there are definitely similar, similar, I think they then diverge but I think there's a lot of crossover, erm, particularly in the UK where, erm, there aren't that *[emphasis]* many pro-Europeans, erm that, but, I, I also see them being quite different in that the European Movement is erm (…) both cross party, so it doesn't, it doesn't have a particular political agenda within the sort of left/right spectrum, but it's quite openly supportive of the European Union.

FZ: Okay.

LO3: Whereas the European Alternatives is, I would argue, I would see them as much more left *[emphasis]* wing sort of in terms of, on, if using the left/right spectrum.

FZ: Yeah.

LO3: And also very much not decided on the European Union. They don't see the European Union as necessarily a good -

FZ: No.

LO3:   - thing. They're much more -

FZ: No. They are -

LO3:   - against it so -

FZ: - more critical, sometimes they can be more vocal about, er, certain views -

LO3:   Yeah.

FZ: - of the European Union.

LO3:   Yeah.

FZ: I'm thinking of the, the Roma case -

LO3:   Oh absolutely *[high tone]* yeah.

FZ: - and so on, but am I right in thinking that they're both bottom-up erm organisations?

LO3:   Yeah. Yeah, absolutely.

FZ: And is, is the European Movement a bit more structured or a bit more institutionalised *[laughs]* or?

LO3:   Yes.

FZ: Okay.

LO3:   Absolutely yeah. It's erm, I mean it's a lot smaller than it used to be but it emerged, I think it really developed and grew in the '70s, the last referendum -

FZ: Right.

LO3:   - and yeah it's very much focused. It's got erm a federal committee and it's got the local groups erm that come together, yeah, the structure is very - I think a lot of these erm (…) like democratic reform groups seem to have that structure, like they're very much heavily focused on structure because for them they're sort of all democrats and they're all (…) they're all federalists generally -

FZ: Yes.

LO3:   - and so that's the, that's the, the, sort of the only fair way *[slowly]* to structure an organisation.

FZ: Okay. Okay, just a thought now, yeah, clearly the European Movement is more focused on as you said a federalist aspect if you like -

LO3:   Hmm.

FZ: - whereas the Transeuropa Network is more loose in that respect erm -

LO3:   Although - sorry, also -

FZ: Oh, yeah, yeah, yeah.

LO3:   - the European Movement, within them they have different groups so some are European federalists.

FZ: Right.

LO3:   Some simply just want to see er Britain in Europe so there's, because the, because it's not like say, I think the European Movement in Germany say would be much more about building a federal Europe.

FZ: Right okay.

LO3:   In the UK you have a sort of slight divide between the European Movement and say federal Europe, er, federal union which is much more explicitly, we want to see a federal Europe, whereas the European Movement is, it want, it (...) that's not a primary, I mean I don't actually think it's a primary, erm, goal as -

FZ: Do you mean er Transeuropa?

LO3:   - European Movement.

FZ: Oh okay.

LO3:   I'm not sure that they, I'm not sure there would be agreement amongst all the members of the European Movement that they want to see a federal Europe.

FZ: Okay, I'm with you. Okay, okay.

LO3:   Yeah.   It's more about making sure that Britain stays in, the European Movement, that there's fair debate on it -

FZ: Right.

LO3:   - that Britain plays an active role in the European Union.

FZ: Right. And what about this issue of ... if you want to sip your coffee .. it's fine ..

LO3:   *[Laughs]*

FZ: Erm, what about this issue of transnationalism because one, one of the reasons why I got interested in this organisation is really this idea of transnationalism, which I knew a little about er when I, when I approached them and I, I got involved in it and er I now, I now know a bit more. Still, it, it's obviously a huge topic -

LO3:   Hmm.

FZ: - and I was wondering er what your view of transnational-transnationalism is and also in relation (...) erm yeah to the European Movement, but er you can speak from, from both sides or.

LO3:   I mean yeah, it's, it's er, it's a funny, it's er (...) it's er an interesting word. To me it, it counter-poses with internationalism which suggests that you, you only work through states, so, to me internationalism is about, you know, different countries coming together and you're English and you're working alongside it, whereas transnationalism to me is a more, you know, sense of peoples working together, er, a sense of relationships between people without the need of the, the state sort of intermediary.

FZ: Okay.

LO3:   Erm and so -

FZ: So, how does things work in transnationalism, erm so do (...) do you like the idea of bypassing the state as an institution and going, perhaps go from the local to the, the global or -

LO3:   Uh-huh.

FZ: - you connect through?

LO3:   Yeah, I think, I think that erm it's all the, the different levels. I think that it's, it's about appropriate levels.

FZ: Okay.

LO3:   I'm also involved in the World Federalist Movement.

FZ: Oh yeah, okay.

LO3:   Erm, which is, yeah, much more about global governments erm and actually I, I, I sort of get a bit er anxious by people who are European

federates but not world federates, because I kind of see it as, er, just extending nationalism to the, to the level of a European which really *[emphasis]* concerns me. So, I think, but I think transnationalism I think you've got both culture and politics erm and I think they're quite diff, like (…) I like Transeuropa for the fact they focus on both in that, the sense of er European identity is a nice, it's just more interesting I think *[laughs]* purely for that, for the aesthetic. It's more interesting to think of European culture than it is simply to think of British culture. Not *[high tone]* to remove British culture but to see it as part of a wider, erm wider, especially when you look around you see the merging of all of our cultures anyway. Erm (…) but then on the political it just, I think (.....) er (…) I dunno, I mean I think also coming from a family that has a lot of family all across Europe -

FZ: Yeah, you mentioned your father is -

LO3:   Yeah, so my father was, erm my father's mother was half-Belgian, half-French, erm, so he's half, you know, French-Belgian and grew up erm, well (…) they, he was born in Brussels and moved to France for a bit and actually, I mean he grew up in the UK but his sister was about a teenager when they moved, erm, so very much feels like, yeah, that we've got these, that Belgian - he's always, er, he always supports Belgium whenever he can in any sort of football event or -

FZ: Okay, okay.

LO3:   - sports event or - so it feels very much like that's a part of his identity.

FZ: Belgian at heart!

LO3:   Yes *[laughs].* Gets very upset when anyone says they can't mention famous Belgians!

[Laughter]

FZ: Okay. That was recently on the radio, yeah, yeah, yeah. In respect of erm, in respect of Depardieu wanting to take Belgian citizenship -

LO3:   Oh yeah, yeah, yeah.

FZ: - before the Russian. It says, it implies that, well, he would be the first famous Belgian because

LO3:   Erm (…) er (…) so yeah, so I think that that, sort of, yeah.

FZ: Okay, erm, I'm gonna ask you a very provocative question now -

LO3:   *[Laughs]*

FZ: - just -

LO3:   Yeah, of course!

FZ: - for the benefit of the tape. Erm, what's wrong with nation-states?

LO3:   *[Sighs]* What's wrong with nation-states? It's a very good question. I think that erm (…) it's, it's the rigidity of them. What's wrong with nation-states? It's a very good question. I think that erm (…) it's, it's the rigidity of them. It's the fact that there's this, this border that, that's been decided that that's, that's what your identity is erm and (…) and that it's pitting different nation-states against each other and, and suggesting that there's a, there's an interest for people within it that is, that is opposed to people's, er the interests of people outside it erm …and, and it is arbitrary, as I find as er (…) you have increased erm cross-border markets and environmental concerns, er, I think that (…) I'm not suggesting the nation-state becomes less powerful, erm *[laughs].* I've just written an essay for my, I'm studying about whether or not globalisation will affect the nation-state *[laughs]* -

FZ: That's interesting.

LO3:   - and I think that for my conclusion, I have no idea how well I'll do *[high tone]* I don't er, I think the argument clearly isn't that nation-states are getting less powerful but I do think there's a lack of, there's a, a reduced legitimacy of nation-states -

FZ: Okay hmm.

LO3:   -given the fact that you have transnational corporations, you have global climate change, you have all these issues that are being avoided by nation-states because they can say, they can kind of claim powerlessness and claim that it's not in their interest to do something, because if they do something and no one else does then obviously that [unclear] competitiveness.

FZ: Yeah. Yeah. It's probably kind of overlapping if you like and shifting maybe erm in remits of erm, and, and responsibilities erm -

LO3:   Hmm.

FZ: Okay, erm, I was going to ask you something, while you were talking something came to my mind er it's now gone. Erm (…..) oh yes, erm, another provoc-provocative question! Erm, this idea of interconnectedness and coming together of people if you like, er (…) is it not also a (…) homogenisation -

LO3:   Hmm.

FZ: - of cultures after all because erm aren't we all becoming the same, aren't we all seeing the same things everywhere, isn't Europe becoming a bit of a, er, of a, er cultural erm (…) flattened er land?

LO3:   I think it has but I don't think that's actually the interconnectivity, the interconnectedness of people, I think it's the, the development of transnational corporations. I think that similarly in the UK, towns across the UK have become identical because you have the same chain shops and you have the same, so I think, yeah, there's definitely h-h-homogenisation but I don't think it's because of migration, people moving, and people sharing ideas.

FZ: Right.

LO3:   I think that is highlighted more by takeaways *[high tone]*. The fact that we have all these different types of food that we've got and, erm, and different - yeah, I think food's a good example of, yeah, we've got all these different types whereas (…) certainly the similarities is the, the, the chain shops and restaurants and everything that, now, you can be in any city

across Europe and know *[high tone]* that you'll cer - see a certain, certain type of er -

FZ: Okay, that's very good, very good, thank you. Erm, l also I like this idea, erm, this, this point that you raised about the fact that, erm, despite perhaps, erm, tearing down borders within Europe, maybe we create a, er, an outer border and therefore we have fortress and therefore yes we're still, we're just shifting boundaries here from erm, from er, erm, from (...) within states to er blocks if you like, Europe against, I dunno, America or wherever.

LO3:   Yeah.

FZ: So, that's another interesting point. I like this idea that er, what, what did you call it, the World Federal?

LO3:   The World Federalist Movement.

FZ: Could you expand a little bit on that?

LO3:   Yeah *[high tone]*. It's erm, I mean within that, there's also similar *[slowly]* erm, sort of difference of opinion. I mean I wouldn't, I, again got aware of that through my father, erm, and when I, I first went to one of their meetings I kind of wasn't sure, it felt a bit like, I, I wasn't, I didn't even know what a federalist was and I'm still sort of only just like - I mean obviously I know bits and pieces, but erm I'm not sure I'm (...) I came at it from a more pragmatic perspective than necessarily, you know, we absolutely *[high tone]* have to have this as humanity. I kind of felt, well, you know, if everyone could solve everything and live in their little community then that might be fine *[high tone].* I'm, I'm quite agnostic as to what the, whether or not it's ultimately *[emphasis]* the best solution but I think that increasingly as there are, there are issues that are being (...) dealt with and, and need to be dealt with on a global level the only real (...) all the global institutions we have at the moment, they're entirely undemocratic, erm, and say the G20 or the Security Council of the UN erm (...) and, and so (...) we, we've already got certain of those institutions, so what we needed to do was actually get more democracy.

FZ: May I ask in what way are, are they er undemocratic because they're not representative *[high tone]* of er the people or?

LO3:	Yeah, erm the G20 because it's only, so it's the 20 top economies representatives -

FZ:	Oh, of, of the whole world you mean? I was gonna say, sorry.

LO3:	Yeah, yeah, yeah. Yeah, no they're not, erm, and also they're representatives of, er, governments so (...) even, even within those 20 countries, I mean I don't, like it's a diff - it's a slightly *[high tone]* different issue although not entirely, but I mean I don't really feel represented by my government, er, so (...) I don't really feel like sending off the er Finance Minister is necessarily representative.

FZ:	Okay, okay, thank you very much, that was good. Erm (.....) I'd like to bring this, bring up this idea of - well, idea, this notion of identity, and some people have issues with that, because the other day I was talking to someone, I interviewed someone who said, "Oh well, identity I don't really like it because what, what is it after all?" so, but erm and it's something that I'm trying to erm (...) to look into and to, to understand. So (...) well, first of all I would like to ask you if you feel European at all er (...)

LO3:	I, I do (...) erm (...) I do feel European although I am limited *[slowly]* by my lack of (...) I have - I don't have much er foreign language *[high tone]* so I've got sort of a bit of German and a tiny bit of French, like my - a terrible lack of other languages so although I feel European *[laughs]* I also feel like I couldn't just travel, like whenever I meet fellow (...) Transeuropa people or European Movement people from around Europe I always notice about how English I am *[high tone] [laughs]* by my lack of language.

FZ:	Okay.

LO3:	So, that's purely something that's fixable, but in terms of identity, yeah, I, I feel European I think. The fact that I have so many relatives who live in different parts of the country, in different parts of Europe, erm, that it's just how I was brought up I think (...) to feel European and sort of linked with the history that doesn't necessarily come from the UK, and yeah *[softly]*.

FZ:	So, what is it that makes you European, erm?

LO3:   Partly *[high tone]* I'm sure it's an aspect of not wanting to just feel British *[laughs].*

FZ: Okay so -

LO3:   So a slight, a slight kind of feeling of wanting to be other than being British *[softly]* I'm sure that's part of it, erm, partly relatives so family history.

FZ: Okay.

LO3:   Erm just a, an, an openness to, sort of, feeling similar - seeing similarities between different erm countries, like, I feel that when meeting friends from Germany say and just sort of having a really similar sense of humour or from Scandinavia, Norway and just kind of getting on and just feeling so like, feeling the sense of, "Oh, okay we're really not that different". Definitely *[high tone]* feeling compared to Southern Europeans, "Oh, we're, we're very different *[high tone]* to them over there" but in the same way that you have a north/south sense in the UK; just that kind of sense of closeness with people from other, er, other European countries.

FZ: Okay and do you think that erm, that link, erm, if replicated, I mean, if anyone of us feels that would that be enough to er create a community and to, to, to, to hold a community together?

LO3:   Erm y-yes, although (...) I think, I think it would if everyone felt like that.

FZ: Okay.

LO3:   Erm, I think that there's a, there is a danger in the UK that erm (...) that people are being (...) er, the, the reason I do think we need a referendum on Britain's involvement in the EU is that it's all very well telling people about all these opportunities and the sense of solidarity and togetherness and all of that, but if it's not felt *[emphasis]* then there is a, there is a gap and that gap has to be addressed. And I think that it's all very well just (...) telling people, yeah, all of these ways in which the EU is good for Britain and if people don't feel it I think, it doesn't *[high tone]* we don't automatically *[emphasis]* need to address it, but I think that now in Britain there is a sense of alienation from er -

FZ: And why, why is that, why do you think that?

LO3:   Well, because I think a lot of the benefits of the EU are for people who (…) are of a certain (…) either type or wealth to en-enjoy it. So, if you go to university you can enjoy erm, the erm (…) er (…) Erasmus course, but if you don't go to university what does the Erasmus course mean to you, you know, if you've got a business that is then able to -

FZ: It probably works better (…) one way and not the other, for people who want to come to the UK.

LO3:   Yeah, well yeah *[unsure]* possibly, but I mean I think that it's prob - this must be the same all across Europe that there is a, there is a, there are groups of people that are enjoying all the benefits that the integration has, but there are some that are only seeing (…) aspects that perhaps aren't great for them like immigration. Erm, if someone is struggling for, to get a job and they, even if they're, they're made aware of the, even though say, erm, the ability to, the Commission to offer them a job abroad is there, they may not want to choose it, to take it, 'cause they may not want to go and live in another European country. And I think that there needs to be some sort of sense of that people see it as a good thing for -

FZ: Okay.

LO3:   - others in their national community even if they then don't want to take it, and I think that's a big issue that doesn't get discussed -

FZ: Okay.

LO3:   - by pro-Europeans, erm -

FZ: Right okay, so is it about bad communication *[high tone]* in part or?

LO3:   Sort of. I mean I think it's partly bad communication. It's partly not about (…) I think it's partly a shift in focus from, we need to educate people in all the opportunities that are there for them.

FZ: Okay.

LO3:   Shift from that question or how do we, how do we let people know that there are opportunities for them to the question of, how do we (…) what do we do for the people who don't want to take those opportunities? What, what, what, you know, is it still (…) what's their relationship with the EU if they're not taking advantage of any of the opportunities.

FZ: What can Europe do for you, that sort of?

LO3:   Yeah. In a, in a, if it's what can it, what can it do without them having to, say go to another country *[laughs].*

FZ: Okay and er, is - do you see that er a bottom-up process or (…) how do, you know, because I'm thinking at political, at institutional level there's not much er willingness to do that I think, it seems to me -

LO3:   Yeah, I think -

FZ: - that because of political issues, I mean, erm, so (…) I'm wondering if erm (…) and, and this is in part what er Trans Europa Network are trying to do to-

LO3:   Oh absolutely, yeah.

FZ: - to, to promote the debate, to, to erm -

LO3:   I think definitely, I think it's a mixture of both. I think that erm for the majority of these kinds of discussions it is good, I mean, you obviously want it to be er, erm, bottom up in the sense of erm the outreach really getting to people, but I also think that there needs to be some sort of leadership from pro-Europeans within the political, British political system -

FZ: Right.

LO3:   - to actually kind of make the case and not just the business case, not just the economic c-case, because that only *[emphasis]* benefits certain

groups of people. It's not necessarily going to, it's not gonna benefit someone who's unemployed.

FZ: No.

LO3:   Erm, so I think that there needs to be a (...) yeah, a wider, I mean the most terrifying concept is, is the idea of staying in the EU but losing the social project, I mean that is just the most, the worst *[emphasis]* thought, and the idea that Ed Miliband isn't - oh actually no *[high tone]* in his defence he was speaking out against that this week and saying, you know, "You can't have that without the social project because otherwise it's just, just setting people up to be -"

FZ: *[over speaking]* association just, just, hmm.

LO3:   Yeah. Erm, so I think -

FZ: But that's really what scares people isn't it in this country, I mean, I think?

LO3:   Yeah, yeah, yeah, they are scared of the social projects (...) hmm.

FZ: (.....) Erm yes and also thinking in terms of what could potentially develop European identity within people is, well, clearly mobility I think er, could, could do a lot, although sometimes I find that the very fact that one can move around er (.....) is not necessarily a, erm, an indication of being or the fact that one will feel more European, because some people will still take their nationality along if you like and just move it from, from one place to another but still feel er national at core if you like.

LO3:   Uh-huh. Uh-huh.

FZ: Erm, I dunno what your view is, on, on this but er -

LO3:   Yeah. It, it's er, I think that there's er a balance, in that I don't think people when they move country should feel that they have to leave their nationality behind entirely. Erm, I think that that's part of the - it's a nice part of having people who live in different places and - or you know

different people and then you have, you're sharing the culture with other people.

FZ: Okay.

LO3:   Erm, I think it can go too far such as er British people in Spain like on the Southern Coast er who feel that, you know, have properly *[emphasis]* brought their culture with them and refuse to integrate and just want it to be Britain but with sunshine, erm, although increasingly *[high tone]* they're trying to sell their houses and they can't, which is the funniest thing! *[Laughs]* Terrible thing to say *[high tone]* but it's very funny when they're just and they can't, you know, but erm -

FZ: So, what, what's the best compromise that you see can happen with reconciling   er   nationality   and   then   European-ness   and   er transnationalism?

LO3:   Yeah *[softly].* I don't, I mean I don't know, I think it's the (...) I don't know. I, I, it's er -

FZ: Ideally. Do you have an ideal or no?

LO3:   I don't *[unsure]* I really don't know actually. I mean (...) it's the classic issue of multiculturalism. I, I don't, erm, I really don't know. I think that a sense of openness to, primarily I would say the openness to the culture that you're moving to, there needs to be a sense of that because you're starting as a guest somewhere, but similarly not being expected to deny who you are *[high tone].* So, I guess it's that, it's that you're (...) you're both, yeah, you're open to the culture that you're moving to but similarly not forced to kind of ignore who you are.

FZ: I think in many ways nationality can still represent a powerful business card when you're out of your environment if you like, so this is me, and, and it is, it's an easy and convenient way to say who I am and er, I am Italian but erm (.....) hmm.

LO3:   Yeah.

FZ: I don't know, erm -

LO3:   It is funny, whenever you have these erm meetings, conferences between people, whether it's across er Europe or across the world, stereotypes are there for a reason *[laughs]* 'cause they are true *[laughs]* -

FZ: Okay.

LO3:   - and it's very funny that erm, when you find that people live up to the way that they're sort of, I mean not *[high tone]* always obviously, it's not, but you, you do find that there are these certain (...) certain ways in which like you'll go for a meal and (...) the person from Germany is there dead on time and the person *[laughs]* from Argentina is like an hour late *[laughs]* and there is just like these certain things that you see, okay, there are these, these senses but it's about like seeing characteristics, but not in a negative way.

FZ: Okay.

LO3:   Seeing, seeing difference.

FZ: Okay. Well, isn't it true that the more interaction, the more transnational interaction, the erm, the boundaries of culture, let's, let's call it culture because I, I agree that there are cultural features that are different from Argentina to Germany.

LO3:   Yeah.

FZ: But isn't it true that they are blurring or they are -

LO3:   Yeah *[slowly].*

FZ: - kind of blending and er, I mean these days you could erm, you could call someone British in every respect because he, he is, he or she is a, is a British citizen and then it could be someone that ethnically is black and erm, and culturally was brought up in South Africa and erm, so -

LO3:   Yeah.

FZ: - defining British-ness in one word and then -

LO3:   Yeah. I mean I think that that's erm (…) I think that it's (…) yeah, I don't know what, erm (…..) I, I see it that there is a similar development from when you'd have different people from different towns, certain aspects of the different parts of the country, erm and (…) that, that has got merged into, erm, you know, feeling British, like, I think it's a sort of inevitability. I don't think it's something that necessarily *[emphasis]* is a bad thing to - I, I, I think if it naturally happens and you start the, the definitive idea of what it is to be a certain type of person becomes blurred, I don't know that that's necessarily a, a bad thing. I think if it's forced, if there's a sense of denial of you're not allowed to be a certain way, obviously that's not a good thing -

FZ: Okay.

LO3:   - but I think that it's just a natural thing that happens erm, and I think to stop it would be quite regressive.

FZ: Okay and what about then erm when someone says, "Oh well, I'm British and therefore I cannot be European" or?

LO3:   Hmm erm (…..) I think that (…) I think it, it's, I mean, obviously people are entitled to the, the way they think. I think it, it doesn't entirely make sense *[high tone]* erm that, that there's a sense that being British is any way different to (…) I don't know, I, I mean there are, it, it's a perfectly fine thing to say. I mean, I'm not sure what it means like to be, "Oh, I'm British, therefore I can't be European" like, you have to set pretty clearly, okay this is what it is to be British, this is what it is to be European, but I don't know if they have [unclear] meanings.

FZ: So you think they are, the two things are compatible?

LO3:   Yeah absolutely *[high tone].* I mean I think that, it all depends on what, what you're taking as your definitions for these two concepts erm and -

FZ: Okay. Okay, let's say from a erm (…) perhaps, I dunno, perhaps we could make a, erm, distinction between the political, erm, perspective and the cultural perspective (…) erm (…) I dunno if you could argue that

perhaps culturally there are differences between continental Europe and Britain, but then again you've got differences between France and Germany, between -

LO3:   Yeah, yeah.

FZ: - erm and then erm, well, politically you're looking at this, er, strange unidentified political object, as Jacques Delors called it, which is the EU and er, and er (…) and different people have different ideas of, as to what Europe is or, or should be.

LO3:   Uh-huh.

FZ: Er, so you've got the federal idea of, of a, er, a federal Europe or you've got the, this idea typically British I would say of a, a trading union, but no more than that.

LO3:   Uh-huh.

FZ: Erm (…) I dunno how you see it, er it's -

LO3:   Yeah, I mean I, I think that, yeah, in terms of how the (…) structure within *[slowly]* I mean, yeah there's, there's certainly a difference of, of opinion, erm (…) I think, but then I mean you have difference of opinions within the UK of how, how the British political system should work, you know, some people want there to be much greater powers at a local level, some see that as an irrelevance and everything should be in Westminster, we had a big debate about electoral reform and what voting system and I think it's just a similar argument to that. There are differences of opinions.

Erm, I think that erm, I can't see (…) there being a - Britain being part of a federal Europe any time soon unless there was some sort of catastrophe or that something, something that made the case really clear. But erm, I think to see the EU without British influence is absurd, given that Peter Mandelson was the Trade Commissioner. I mean I think there are certain aspects that are just nonsensical to suggest that, you know, the EU and Britain are something separate, because Labour sent a guy to go and really *[emphasis]* cement the liberalisation of the market and he was, and, you know, he was at the heart *[emphasis]* of EU policy. So, to deny - to suggest that the EU is something over there and that Britain is here, you know, is

completely nonsensical, erm, so I think that there are different elements. Yeah, I, I don't know how, erm, how (...) there are different perceptions in Europe, erm, but I think that they may not be so different as to (...) positions across Europe *[slowly]* within countries across Europe. I'm sure there are similar discussions; it's just that the majority is probably in a different place than in the UK.

FZ: Right.

LO3:   Erm, I don't know if that's - I'm sure there are, yeah, there will be groups in Germany calling for the same thing that Eurosceptics are here, but just they're much *[emphasis]* more of a minority.

FZ: Yeah, I go by what I read and, and if you look at statistics, erm yes, I think the, er, the UK is much more Eurosceptic on the whole -

LO3:   Oh yeah, absolutely.

FZ: - on the whole and erm -

LO3:   Yeah, yeah, hmm.

FZ: - yeah. So, what, what's your ideal scenario, future scenario for er -

LO3:   I don't know *[high tone]*.

FZ: - well, I wouldn't say for Europe, for the world.

LO3:   Oh, for the world? Er (...)

FZ: And then, and then for Europe.

LO3:   For, yeah *[laughs]*. I, I would see, er, I mean it depends, in terms of an ideal, er (...) there would be some sort of erm World Parliament or Parliamentary Assembly of the UN, I mean probably a World Parliament if there was an ideal but in terms of a measured *[emphasis]* ideal, in terms of a practical step -

FZ: Okay, okay.

LO3:   - it would be a UN Parliamentary Assembly, something that was, in the same way the European Parliament that or even more, even if with transnational (…) sorry, transnational political parties at a global level -

FZ: Okay, okay.

LO3:   - erm, would be vital I think *[laughs]* for erm dealing with certain issues and holding states to account and holding international institutions to account.

FZ: So, what are the obstacles to, to achieve that?

LO3:   Erm, well -

FZ: If, if there are at all! *[Laughs]*

LO3:   - well, states, the people in power don't want, the people in government, with governmental power don't like parliaments having greater power *[slowly] [laughs]* so I mean the people in power have to give it away, so, which is the, the very, very *[emphasis]* big problem.

FZ: Hmm, ceding sovereignty.

LO3:   Ceding sovereignty exactly, erm, yeah.

FZ: Okay, okay so erm (…..) maybe a bit un-unrealistic but not impossible.

LO3:   No.

FZ: Okay.

LO3: Erm, and in terms of a much more near, er, what I would like to see in the UK is in the lead up to the European elections is, erm, there was discussion of having transnational lists erm system.

FZ: Okay, that's interesting, yeah.

LO3: Erm, but I think that that's apparently like even illegal against EU law or something, it's not, it's not really possible, but I would like to see erm (…) MEPs talk about their transnational parties. So, I would like people in the UK to have more understanding of the fact that when they elect an MEP, their MEP doesn't go and sit with all the other British MEPs and talk about British national interests in the parliament, that they sit according to whether or not they are a Conservative or a Socialist or a Green, and I think that that's one step to be able to highlight to people that (…) you know, that the parliament is something other than just deciding whether or not Britain -

FZ: So, so, for instance erm, from, as a citizen I could vote for a Finnish MEP or erm -

LO3: Uh-huh. Oh no, well no, no, that's the transnationalism, no, I mean much, not even a change in any system, purely a communication issue that, erm, at the moment the MEPs sit according to party lines -

FZ: Oh I see, okay, okay.

LO3: - so the Socialists all sit together, but just explaining that to people because at the moment I think that most, if you ask most people they would assume that all the British MEPs sit together -

FZ: Uh-huh.

LO3: - erm, and, so when they're voting, you know, they're voting for their British political party -

FZ: Right.

LO3:   - and they're voting for British interest in the European Parliament rather than suggesting that there's actually, you know, manifestos that are decided by all the European Socialists and that they all vote.

FZ: Okay.

LO3:   So just a sense, to give a sense that, that they share their ideals with other (...) people across Europe. So all the Conservatives across Europe are voting for the same party -

FZ: Right.

LO3:   - erm, just show some sort of sense. It, it's not even, yeah, it's not a change in anything, it's just a communication issue.

FZ: Okay, just erm highlighting that.

LO3:   Yeah.

FZ: Okay, let me just check how we're doing for time because I promised I wouldn't keep you for more than 45 minutes.

LO3:   Yeah, that's okay.

FZ: Erm yeah, I'd like to pick up on the point that you raised earlier on erm, foreign languages and you said erm, if I remember correctly, maybe you phrased it differently, but erm that a limitation to your feeling European is the fact that you don't know many languages.

LO3:   Yeah.

FZ: Could you expand a little bit on that?

LO3:   Yeah. Well, partly a practical aspect of, you know, not being able to just confidently go and travel around France or Germany or Spain because I don't have the language, erm, and partly it's er, it's an embarrassment of

(...) partly er fitting to British stereotypes of not being able to speak anything other than English.

FZ: But what, but, Eng-English is enough isn't it?

LO3:   Well, no *[high tone] [laughs]* because it's, well it, it, it's true, it is the, it's the (...) the language that is used at most conferences, erm (...) but it, it highlights an arrogance of forcing everyone else to speak your language *[softly]* rather than - and going to erm, er (...) conferences, or I went to a seminar in erm, er, in September actually on er Ventotene, the island -

FZ: Where, what was that?

LO3:   Ventotene.

FZ: Oh yeah, yeah, Ventotene, si.

LO3:   Yeah, and I erm, so I went there and most, and it was all in English and most people spoke English and for a lot of people it was but there would be people who would speak French to each other and they would all want to practice their languages, so if they, most of them spoke like three languages so they would want to practice their French, the German guy 'cause he knew English and it wasn't exciting to speak English, he wanted to speak Spanish and -

FZ: Yeah but that -

LO3:   - er and it's just erm, it's just a sense of (...) I dunno, like having friends that you don't make an effort with, making them always come to your house rather than you go and visit them, that kind of thing. It's that sense of -

FZ: Okay. Yeah, it, it's a very controversial issue, erm, the language issue and erm, there are, there's even an argument that erm different languages in Europe, erm, are an obstacle to integration -

LO3:   Hmm.

FZ: - erm, not necessarily in, in the sense of cultural integration but even purely from a communicative point of view to, for the creation of a transnational, a trans-nationalised European sphere if you like, er, and so some people will say, "Who cares, let's just, everybody learns English and we'll all be happy and, and, and -

LO3:   *[Laughs]* and then Britain will leave and -

FZ: - it's easy to understand each other".

LO3:   Yeah.

FZ: Of course there are advantages and disadvantages because mother tongue will have a, er, would have a, erm, an advantage.

LO3:   Yeah.

FZ: Erm, so, but on the other hand if you look at institutional erm (...) say multilingual policies, erm, they are about multilingualism but in fact they tend to promote er selected languages if you like, primarily English, French, a bit of German and ultimately it's a, erm, some would say it's a reproduction of the, erm, er, of national identities through languages, so it, it's a very controversial issue. Erm and erm (...) yeah, I, I don't know if you've got experiences of of transnational meetings, sorry, sorry, meetings at transnational level with, with er European Alternatives, again, English tend, tends to be the erm -

LO3:   Yeah, yeah.

FZ: - erm, the lingua franca if you like.

LO3: Yeah, yeah.   No, it, it, every, I mean I've not been, I think occasionally you'll have erm some European Movement International or the Federalist, European Federalists meetings that will be in French but nearly always they're in English, erm, and I think it does make (...) it, it, it does make sense to a certain extent that most people do have as their second language English, that is predominantly, but I think then any decisions can't be made by the English. I think that's, that's, you know, if English is your primary language it's not down to you to decide whether the conference is in English, it's for others to make the pragmatics -

FZ: Yes. Somebody was saying the other day the irony of the UK wanting to leave, er, the EU is that if they do, do that, er we'll be then left with, er, a, erm, Europe speaking (...) English which is not even an official language anymore! *[Laughs]*

LO3:   Yeah, yeah, oh, except for the Irish.

FZ: Well, yeah, oh yeah.

LO3:   Yeah, which is the only thing that the Irish, er, Ireland would stay so there would be that -

FZ: That's, that's a good point.

LO3:   - but I mean a tiny, tiny island *[laughs]* would be, er, yeah.

FZ: Erm -

LO3:   But yeah.

FZ: Okay, so we covered a lot of points here. Erm, what about Esperanto, is it, is it viable?

LO3:   I, I think that's something that is a, erm (...) homogenising aspect. I feel it's more like we have lots of languages and, and there's no need to sort of lose everyone's language to create this new one, you know, let's not, well, not waste time, but spend our efforts learning a new thing when we could actually be learning each other's language.

FZ: Right.

LO3:   That feels like something that is picking and, picking something and, and, I, I feel, but I mean I don't feel particularly strongly about that.

FZ: Okay, that's fine, just, just -

LO3:   Yeah.

FZ: Okay, erm good, okay, lots, lots of erm data here.

LO3:   *[Laughs]*

FZ: Erm, is there hasn't anything that erm I haven't mentioned, haven't brought up -

LO3:   Erm -

FZ: - any points that you would like to, er, to raise that we haven't covered?

LO3:   No, I think that's, I think that's covered most of - yeah I think we've covered it, yeah.

FZ: Okay, so I think we can stop here.

LO3:   Yeah. Well, thank you, it was very interesting.

FZ: Thank you. Thank you very much. Press stop and -

[END OF RECORDING]