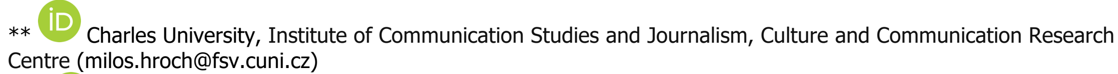
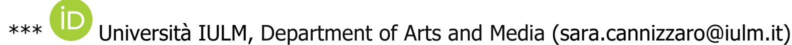
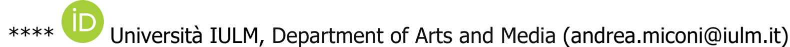
Bridging the Discursive and Material Dimensions of Europeanity and Europeanisation: A Participatory Semantic Map Approach

Nico Carpentier*, Miloš Hroch**, Sara Cannizzaro***, Andrea Miconi**** and Vaia Doudaki*****

* Charles University, Institute of Communication Studies and Journalism, Culture and Communication Research Centre (nico.carpentier@fsv.cuni.cz)


** Charles University, Institute of Communication Studies and Journalism, Culture and Communication Research Centre (milos.hroch@fsv.cuni.cz)


*** Università IULM, Department of Arts and Media (sara.cannizzaro@iulm.it)


**** Università IULM, Department of Arts and Media (andrea.miconi@iulm.it)

***** Charles University, Institute of Communication Studies and Journalism, Culture and Communication Research Centre (vaia.doudaki@fsv.cuni.cz)

Abstract

The article aims to capture the significatory diversity of the concepts of Europeanity and Europeanisation, through the development of a semantic map in order to visualize the different concepts that define Europeanity and Europeanisation, and their interconnections. Embedded in the field of Communication and Media Studies, but with multidisciplinary ambitions, this semantic map combines 19 different approaches, structured through one main dimension, the discursive versus the material, which allows bridging the major rift in the conceptual reflections about Europeanity and Europeanisation. Moreover, the semantic map uses two support dimensions, with the discursive dimension intersecting with the essentialist versus relationist dimension, and the material dimension intersecting with the socio-spatial versus politico-spatial dimension. In order to construct this semantic map, phases of both general and targeted literature reviews were combined with a participatory theory-building method, which was grounded in collaborative knowledge building and collaborative theory construction approaches.

Keywords: Semantic map; Europeanity; Europeanisation; Discursive; Material.

Introduction

The concepts of Europeanity and Europeanisation (E&E in short) are highly complex notions, that are also deeply contested, given their political-ideological load. This contestation is partially situated in academia itself. For instance, Vink and Graziano (2007, p. 3) write that "The concept of Europeanization may have been, and perhaps still is, essentially contested as to its usefulness for the study of European politics." But more structurally, Europe itself, what it means to be European ("Europeanity") and what it means to *become* European ("Europeanisation") are also contested notions. Delanty and Rumford (2005, p. 68) summarise this briefly, by saying that "European identity exists on different levels, cultural and political, and is contested."

In a slightly longer version, Heinlein et al. (2012, p. 14) write that:

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> "The Europe of today has become the major arena in which the hegemony of a Western modernity and its economic, political, and cultural claims to global dominance are being fundamentally contested."

As is often the case, this significatory diversity and intrinsic discursive struggle has produced extensive taxonomic responses, with the work of Olsen (2002) and Harmsen and Wilson (2000) as prime examples. Our answer will not be different. But many of the existing taxonomies of E&E are still deeply rooted in their disciplines, which tends to mean that these—already extensive—taxonomies are still reductive. Moreover, these taxonomies tend to find themselves lodged in a position on one side of the discursive-material divide (or dimension, as we prefer to call it), which—as we want to argue—deeply structures (and divides) the theoretical field of E&E. In practice, often one finds oneself either analysing the more culturalist-discursive components of E&E, or analysing the structural-material components of E&E, but hardly ever do theorisations and analyses of E&E do both.

Our research objective is to construct—through a more multidisciplinary approach—a taxonomy that respectfully integrates both the culturalist-discursive and structural-material components of E&E (and their interactions), allowing for the diversity of taxonomic elements to increase drastically. Still, we should immediately add that the author team of this text is still embedded in the field of Communication and Media Studies. This has repercussions for the taxonomy that we present here, as in a number of cases—taking our expertise into consideration—we have still opted for a number of approaches that are related to the media field. For instance, we focus on the media industry, and not on industry in general. Whenever we have used this—admittedly, still reductionist—strategy, we have flagged its consequences in a footnote. At the same time, the communication dimension is integrated in a taxonomy that aims to generate a much broader overview of the meanings allocated to E&E. An exclusive focus on the communication dimension would be too reductive when dealing with the significatory richness of E&E.

In order to cope with the diversity of / behind E&E, and to capture this diversity as much as possible, which is the strength of this particular taxonomy, we have chosen to use the notion of the semantic map, and the methods related to semantic mapping. Given the complexity of this enterprise, we have also developed a more participatory theory-building method, activating the strength of an entire research consortium—EUMEPLAT.[1] In the first parts of this article, we will explain the semantic map concept and the methodology we used more in detail. Then, we will discuss the main structure of the semantic map, with its discursive-material dimension, and its two subdimensions. This overview of the structure is then followed by discussion of the 19 approaches that together constitute the semantic map.

[1] https://www.eumeplat.eu

The concept of the semantic map

Semantic maps, or semantic webs, have been developed and deployed for reading comprehension since the late 1970s and early 1980s (Pearson & Johnson, 1978; Freedman & Reynolds, 1980; Cleland, 1981), and they have been used in a variety of academic fields (see, e.g., Simon-Vandenbergen & Aijmer, 2007, for its use in linguistics). The process has been described as a "process for constructing visual displays of categories and their relationships" (Freedman & Reynolds, 1980, p. 677), resulting in "a representation of meanings or uses and the relations between them" (van der Auwera & Plungian, 1998, p. 86). In these older versions, one particular question was centralised in the visual display, with so-called 'web strands' then providing the main answers to these questions, 'strand supports' providing clarifications to these strands and 'strand ties' interconnecting these different strands and their supports (Freedman & Reynolds, 1980, p. 677–678).

The semantic map (model) that is being used in this text moves slightly away from these older ways of representing semantic maps, partially inspired by the concept of the field of discursivity. It is a concept used by Laclau and Mouffe (1985, p. 112), which has been used before in order to visually represent particular fields of discursivity (Carpentier, 2005). In Laclau and Mouffe's discourse-theoretical approach, the structural contingency of discourses is emphasised, where a discourse is seen as an always-particular articulation of a series of elements (or signifiers), held together by privileged elements called nodal points. Visual representations of these discourses (and their articulations), with nodal points connecting to the other elements that constitute a discourse (see, e.g., Walton & Boon, 2014), are remarkably similar to semantic maps, which is very useful for the purpose of this text.

At the same time, the concept of the field of discursivity adds two important ideas to the semantic map method. First, articulations, disarticulations and re-articulations are seen in discourse theory as objects of political struggle, which means that, at one particular point in time, some elements are activated (or articulated) in a particular discourse, but others are not. There is, in other words, a surplus of elements, not yet articulated, which may become articulated and thus affect the meaning of the entire discourse (or they may never become articulated and remain disconnected forever). This is why Laclau and Mouffe (1985, p. 113) refer to the "infinitude of the field of discursivity", where this field can be seen as an endless reservoir of elements, the site of possibility and the location of the optional. This has implications for the creation of semantic maps, as this can be read as an invitation to also bring in those meanings that are less obvious, namely those that used to be important but became disarticulated over time, those that are not part of a dominant mainstream but are situated at the fringes, and those different options that are (still) engaged in a discursive struggle over dominance.

This brings us to the second (and related) idea: Discourses are "an attempt to dominate the field of discursivity, to arrest the flow of differences, to construct a centre" (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985, p. 112), which means that they are also object and site of struggle. Some meanings are hegemonic, but still actively resisted by counter-hegemonic projects that attempt to dethrone the former. This is not restricted to the field of politics, but these struggles can be found in a variety of societal fields—including academia—where one particular discourse (e.g., on Europeanity) is struggled over fiercely, with different actors and traditions defending particular definitions and interpretations (of, e.g., Europeanity). As these discursive struggles are often located along particular axes, these dimensions can be used to structure semantic maps, moving beyond the mere connecting of elements and thus adding more analytical richness to these maps. Given the

clear presence of these axes in the semantic field of Europeanity and Europeanisation, this strategy—of adding dimensions as structuring elements—has been used here as well.

The methodology: the creation of a semantic map

Creating a semantic map of complex concepts, such as Europeanity and Europeanisation, is a fairly complex process in its own right. Methodologically, this work was grounded in, and inspired by, taxonomy building methods (Bailey, 1994; Nickerson et al., 2013) and traditional qualitative textual analysis techniques, with particular attention for hermeneutic analysis, and the iterativity that is captured by the notion of the hermeneutic circle (Shklar, 1986). All literature—theoretical and empirical[2]—we analysed, was coded for their definition(s) of E&E and its characteristics, first using open codes, and later connecting and aggregating these codes through the practice of axial coding (see Saldaña, 2009). These coding processes eventually yielded the dimensions used to structure the semantic map of E&E and allowed to identify 19 distinct approaches.

In order to do justice to the semantic complexity of E&E, care needed to be taken that the paradigmatic and conceptual preferences of the authors of this document did not overshadow (and restrict) the semantic richness of these concepts. This legitimated the deployment of a participatory strategy, to enrich the interpretations of the authors with those of other researchers and to have the latter provide further validation of the outcomes. Inspiration for this approach was found—apart from the more common peer debriefing quality enhancement methods for qualitative research (Spall, 1998)—in a field that is described as collaborative knowledge building (Stahl, 2006) and collaborative theory construction. In these approaches, the emphasis is on transactive dialogues (Azmitia & Crowley, 2001, p. 58), which are "conversations in which partners critique, refine, extend, and paraphrase each other's actions and ideas or create syntheses that integrate each other's perspectives." Or, in other words, as Stahl (2006, p. 230) writes: "Collaborative knowledge building is structured by the intertwining of group and personal perspectives. The role of individual minds should be neither ignored nor fixated on but instead seen in interaction with group understandings."

Process-wise, the starting point was a series of separate literature reviews, guaranteeing sufficient interpretative diversity from the onset of this project. These literature reviews,[3] which contained embryonal (textual) versions of the semantic map, were then presented at a workshop (which took place in Milan, Italy, on 1 September 2021), which was also the location where the next steps of the analytical strategy were decided. In a second step, the main author of this text produced a first visual representation of the semantic map, which was presented at a second workshop (in Barcelona, Spain, on 25 October 2021), discussed and reworked afterwards. In this group discussion, the authors and a small but representative group of the

[2] As our objective was to produce a map that functions at the conceptual level, we analysed the emperical literature for references to the different approaches to E&E, and did not focus on the data this literature presented.

[3] These were the four texts presented at this seminar: 1) The European assemblage, by Nico Carpentier; 2) Dimensions of Europeanization: A literature review, by Andrea Miconi; 3) Europeanization: An annotated bibliography - A working paper, by Miloš Hroch; 4) On EU-ization, by Stylianos Papathanassopoulos.

EUMEPLAT research consortium[4] members focussed on the core structure of the semantic map, and on possible gaps that might have been left.

In a third stage, in total 45 EUMEPLAT members were invited to provide further feedback on the draft semantic map. In this stage, we worked with two substages. In a first substage, the visual representation of the semantic field of Europeanity was recreated on an online platform (Miro). All approaches (to Europeanity) were mapped on this visual representation, but in addition, definitions were added to each approach, providing a brief description of each approach. All EUMEPLAT research consortium members were given access to this online platform, and they were asked to mark on the map (which allowed for additions) three things:

(1) how they used particular approaches in their own work;

(2) critiques on the approaches (and their definitions) included in the (draft version) of the semantic map, and

(3) approaches (or elements of approaches) that were, according to them, missing.

After a series of additions in the online platform Miro, the semantic map was again adjusted, and then printed and brought to a face-to-face workshop, in Athens, Greece, on 13 December 2021. While part of the EUMEPLAT research consortium members were attending the workshop online, a small group of consortium members were physically present, and discussed the version of the semantic map that was presented to them, using post-its to add their comments on the map. Also after this workshop, the semantic map was adjusted (still in Miro).

After the Athens workshop, the author team consolidated the semantic map, with its 19 approaches to Europeanity and—in the last phase—turned its attention to deepening the theoretical grounding of the 19 approaches included in the semantic map, through a last and more targeted literature review. This resulted in the overview of the 19 approaches, discussed in this text.

The three main dimensions of the semantic map of Europeanity and Europeanisation

The final result of this semantic mapping exercise can be found in Figure 1. It situates 19 different approaches to the concepts of Europeanity and Europeanisation on a map that has one main dimension (discursive versus material) and two support dimensions, with the discursive component of the discursive-material dimension intersecting with the essentialist versus relationist dimension, and the material component of the discursive-material dimension intersecting with the socio-spatial versus politico-spatial dimension.

The main discursive-material dimension captures a major rift in the conceptual reflections about Europeanity and Europeanisation. There is a considerable body of work (e.g., in Political Studies) that focuses on material structures and institutions, but also on material bodily practices. If we momentarily zoom in on Europeanisation[5] and take Olsen's (2002, p. 923–924) overview as illustration, we can find what he terms "five possible uses" of the Europeanisation concept: "Changes in external boundaries", "Developing institutions at the European level", "Central penetration of national systems of governance", "Exporting

[4] This number excludes two of the authors of this text, who set up the Miro platform consultation. A first group of 36 members were invited on 17 November 2021, the nine others later.

[5] A similar type of argument can be made for the materiality of European identity and Europeanity, but has been left out for reasons of space.

forms of political organization", and "A political unification project". Similarly, Harmsen and Wilson (2000: 13) refer to "eight usages of the term Europeanization", which they label as "Europeanization as the emergence of new forms of European governance", "Europeanization as national adaptation", "Europeanization as policy isomorphism", "Europeanization as problem and opportunity for domestic political management", "Europeanization as modernization", "Europeanization as 'joining Europe'", "Europeanization as the reconstruction of identities" and "Europeanization as transnationalism and cultural integration" (Harmsen and Wilson, 2000, p. 14–18). With the latter component referring to the interactions of everyday life, or—as Borneman and Fowler (1997, p. 497)—write, the situations "where peoples of Europe engage in face-to-face encounters with each other" (which is also a materialist approach), only one component (namely the reconstruction of identities) refers to the discursive.

In contrast, the discursive side of the dimension focuses on the meanings allocated to Europe, using a more culturalist perspective. Of course, the concept of discourse can be understood in a variety of ways, ranging from discourse-as-language to discourse as-ideology (Carpentier, 2017), but these many different conceptualisations of discourse all focus on Europe as an idea. As Rietbergen (2015, p. xxxv) writes—Europe is "a political and cultural concept" that gives meaning to "the western edge of Eurasia, the earth's largest land mass." In this sense, it is remarkably uncontested. Fornäs (2012, p. 5) comments,

> "it can hardly be replaced—being inherited since antiquity, not seriously questioned or contested by any alternative name, and therefore not an object of political choice. Other geographic names may well be questioned—think for instance of Macedonia or Kurdistan. But there is an evident consensus on how to name this continent, even though its external boundaries are not fixed."

Europe as an idea moves beyond the meaning given to a particular space, as it also allows to connect different people(s) to this space, articulating them as Europeans, and offering them (or interpellating them, in Althusser's (2014) terms) an opportunity to identify with this political space, also generating affective connections. This discursive side of the dimension has not always been very prominent, even though, already in 2007, Wilson and Millar (2007, p. 5) wrote that "the question of European identity has been a topic of significant interest in the last decade." Of course, debates about a European identity—which is an important part of this discursive component—have a longer history; Wilson and Millar (2007, p. 5) cite (section 22 of) the *Declaration on European Identity*, from the 1973 Copenhagen European summit, where nine member states of the enlarged European Community wrote that "The European identity will evolve as a function of the dynamic construction of a United Europe."

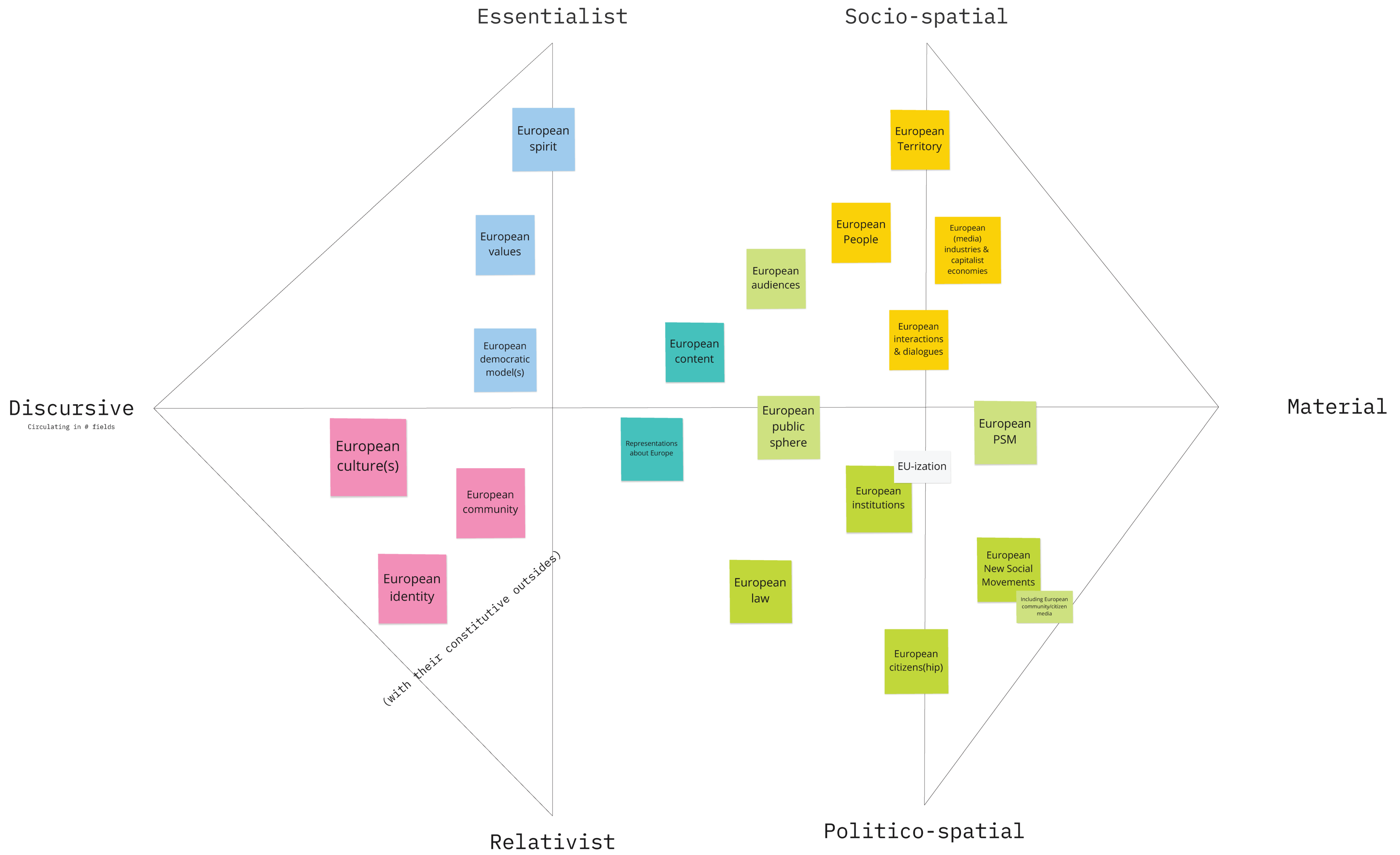
It is important, though, to emphasize that the discursive-material dimension is not a dichotomy. This has two implications. First, there are a number of approaches (to Europeanity and Europeanisation) that explicitly combine elements from the discursive-material dimension. In particular, media (studies) offers an important contribution here, as the production of (what is discursively constructed as) European media content and media representations of Europe (which also materially circulate) show how these components overlap. Second, as one of us has argued (Carpentier, 2021), the discursive and material components are entangled or knotted, which is why the notion of the European assemblage was introduced. Even the above-mentioned reference to Rietbergen's work already indicates that our thinking about Europe combines discursive ("concept") and material ("land mass") components. Creating a hierarchy between the discursive and the material would deny the intimate and incessant interactions between these two components, ignoring the

capacity of the discursive to produce meanings about the material, and for the material to invite for particular meanings and to dislocate others through its own materiality. Still, from an analytical perspective, it remains useful to distinguish between these two traditions, as many of the approaches are situated on this discursive-material dimension, clearly tilting towards one side or the other.

The discursive-material dimension intersects with two subdimensions. First, the discursive component of this dimension intersects with an essentialist-relativist subdimension. This (part on the discursive component of the) text has a constructionist (and thus relativist) angle, but this does not nullify the acknowledgement that some approaches that are discursive have clear essentialist claims. These essentialist approaches articulate particular constructions of Europeanity as fixed and stable; in other words, some elements of Europeanity are seen as necessary and even obvious, without which Europeanity could not exist. In contrast, relativist approaches see meaning as contingent and necessarily unstable, constructed in relation with other meanings and identities, producing fragile equilibria of meaning. This does not mean that—in a relativist approach—everything is seen as utterly flexible and caught in a hermetic drift of meaning (Eco, 1994). The universal and the essential do exist, but these always particular positions have been produced, or, in other words, essentialised and universalised. As Butler (1997) argued, foundations exist, but they are "contingent foundations".

The second subdimension that intersects with the discursive-material dimension, and more particular with its material component, is the socio-spatial vs the socio-political dimension. Both components of this subdimension refer to the notion of European space (Jensen & Richardson, 2003; Steinmetz et al., 2017), given the always spatial dimensions of Europeanity. Institutions, organisations, companies, people are localised within, and contextualised by, this European space. Still, different approaches to material Europeanity emphasise different *types* of materiality, and, arguably, they can be classified through the reference to a social versus political subdimension. The political is defined here in a broad sense, as the "dimension of antagonism that is inherent in human relations" (Mouffe, 2005, p. 8) or as the "context of conflictuality" (Mouffe, 2005, p. 9). (Institutionalised) politics is seen as a significant part of the political, but the political cannot be reduced to politics. The socio-spatial component of the subdimension, in contrast, refers to those material structures and interactions that have no (clear and explicit) political characteristics, even though some (e.g., Laclau, 1990) would argue that the social consists out of sedimentations that can always be activated and politicised. Even then, not everything is political all the time, and "Any political construction takes place against the background of a range of sedimented practices" (Laclau, 1990, p. 35).

Figure 1: The semantic map of Europeanity and its 19 approaches



Source: Authors

The semantic map with its 19 approaches

This part will give an overview of all 19 different approaches to E&E that have been identified and have been added to the semantic map (Figure 1). *Grosso modo*, this overview follows the main structure of the semantic map, as captured in Table 1. At the same time, in order to keep this overview more readable—which is quite a challenge with 19 approaches—this order is sometimes slightly altered. Moreover, the European media content and media representation approaches are bridges between the two components of the main discursive-material dimensions. This idea also intervenes in the structure as suggested in Table 1. Together, these 19 approaches give a fascinating idea of the multitude of meanings attached to E&E, and the complexities behind any analysis of E&E.

Table 1: The main quadrants of the semantic map

Discursive – Essentialist	Material – Socio-spatial
Discursive – Relativist	Material – Politico-spatial

Source: Authors

1. *European spirit*

The approach to E&E that we label here the European spirit is a deeply essentialist discursive construction of E&E, which has a long tradition. Even though this idea of Europe can also be seen as European identity, we prefer the notion of spirit (or 'Geist') because of its essentialist load. This is well-captured by Sulstarova (2013, p. 68) who refers to the "unchangeable European essence or spirit". What characterises the European spirit approach is that it assumes that the *idea* of Europe is stable and homogeneous, emphasizing the achievements of the European civilization, often by inferiorising other civilizations, which Shore (1993, p. 792) calls "a kind of stereotyped 'occidentalism'".

First, we find this approach with some key philosophers. For instance, Jaspers (1947) explicitly talks about the "European spirit" and states that Europe is "the bible and antiquity". According to his words, being European concerns "an immeasurable wealth of spirit, morality, faith" (Jaspers, 1947, p. 9). Jaspers also offers a second route to know Europe, which is for him captured through three keywords: freedom, history and science. Sulstarova (2013, p. 68), analysing the writings of Albanian intellectuals, refers to the importance of particular historical narratives, about when "they think Albania was attached to European civilisation or culture", which is constructed in opposition to "the rest of history", which is then referred to as "inauthentic, unfortunate, a 'dark age' or accidental to the true European spirit of Albanians." These essentialist politics of the signifier also have their presences in the political realm: Shore (1993, p. 792), analysing the European Community's definition of Europe, writes that these definitions incorporate "an increasingly fixed and monolithic conception of 'European identity'" that is "if not quite a 'primordial condition', then at least something organic, fundamental, historically given and bounded."

2. *European values*

The European values approach to E&E is also positioned on the discursive/essentialist side of the map and argues that particular values characterise Europe. An example is in Milan Kundera's (1984) argument that the cultural foundation of Europe is deeply rooted in Latin Christendom, humanist values and liberal democracy. The essentialist

idea of Europe becomes articulated through the prism of Europe's values,[6] as, for instance, Judt (2005, p. 798) writes: Europe is "a paragon of international virtues: a community of values held up by Europeans and non-Europeans alike as an exemplar for all to emulate."
An exhaustive list of European values is difficult to produce, as there are many grey zones. Clear examples are: (1) Human dignity, including the right to life and integrity (2) Freedom (of thought, expression, information, mobility, …), (3) Equality (in relation to gender, LGBTQIA+, ethnicity, age, ...), and its links to non-discrimination, equal opportunities and respect for diversity, and (4) Solidarity, and its connection to (social) justice, as is, for instance, institutionalised in the welfare state, with its material institutions and redistributive infrastructures. Sometimes a commitment to peace is added to this list.
These enlightenment values—as Hasan, 2021, labels them—can also be defined as fundamental (human) rights and have been articulated in a number of key European Union documents, such as the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union (2012[2000]), or the Treaty of Lisbon (2007). European society as described (or prescribed) by these values features in institutional communication strategies such as the images posted by the European Commission on its official Instagram account (Barreneche, 2021), but versions of it, including contested ones, inevitably feature in media content circulating on global media platforms.

3. *European democratic model(s)*

This approach to E&E defines Europe as characterised through its democratic nature and practices. Despite these European democratic practices' diversity, their transversal presence is seen as characteristic for the entire continent. One illustration is (the first part of) Fligstein's (2008, p. 178) statement: "if Europe stands for anything, it is the completion of the Enlightenment project of democracy, rule of law, respect for the differences of others, and the principles of rational discourse and science."
This approach is partially grounded in a historical approach through references to the 16th-century Italian republics and in particular by referring to Athenian democracy, considered the 'cradle of democracy'. Although so-called Athenian democracy cannot be compared with modern democracy as a whole, it shares with (late) modern versions of democracy a high level of citizen involvement in the political process and public administration. European democracy can be understood as a system of clearly defined institutions (with a separation of powers) that operate according to a set of legal rules (within what is called the rule of law), with a particular balance between popular participation and the delegation of power (Held, 1996) and the protection of citizen rights (European Union, 2012). It is important to note that the European democratic model(s) approach is positioned on our semantic map as close to the relativist axis. The more essentialist approaches, which still have a significant weight, define European democracy as an essential characteristic of Europe (which brings us close to the value-based approach). In contrast, others argue for a multitude of European democracies (Crepaz, 2017) or point to the problems related with democracy in Europe, in particular the democratic deficit in the EU (Steffek et al., 2008). It is sometimes also emphasised that European democracy is not necessarily guaranteed (Kratochvíl & Sychra, 2019), and can thus become disarticulated from the construction of Europe. These different—more critical—variations allow for more relationist articulations of European democracy.

[6] Of course, more relativist approaches, for example those studying representations of Europe (as shown on our semantic map) would argue that these particular European values have been hegemonised.

4. *European culture(s)*

In this approach, E&E is connected to (a) European culture(s), which is placed on the discursive/relativist side of the map. In contrast to its more essentialist versions of E&E spirit and values, this approach is characterised by an emphasis on the diversity, openness and contingency of European culture, with culture defined as the network of meanings, representations and imaginings (Lewis, 2008, p. 18). This is also the reason why sometimes the plural ('cultures') is used, to indicate that there is not one fixated and homogeneous European culture. European culture(s) refers to a multitude of societal (sub)fields: the cultural configurations of particular groups, frameworks of knowledge (e.g. history or science), a diversity of practices (e.g., food preparation and eating), and more institutionalised fields (e.g., media, literature/arts, religion, and academia).

European culture(s) is a relativist concept, which means it is seen and acknowledged as a construction, but still with its rigidities and stabilities. Much like representations of E&E, European culture(s) become constituted through antagonistic relationships with 'constitutive outsides', but the borders between inside and outside are (seen as) fluid and changeable, and the outside can be present within Europe.

An example is that of technological innovation, since a 'European scientific culture' is a place in which specific visions of Europe become inscribed in particular designs for technological systems (Misa & Schot, 2005). Linking innovation to Europeanisation, Cassata and Leorenzini (2019) explain how technology serves as a grid to interpret Europe in action and as a powerful index of a trans-national history of scientific cooperation, integration and excellence (see, e.g. large-scale technological projects like Airbus, Ahrens, 2020). However, Queirós and Carvalho (2019) outline the tension between the pursue of 'excellence' in European science, and that of the 'integration' of the 'peripheral' countries. Furthermore, constitutive outsides within this scientific culture are nothing less than the European citizens, often represented in policy as passive and rarely described as innovative knowledge-producers themselves (Chakraborty & Giuffredi, 2019).

5. *European community*

This approach to E&E is grounded in the definition of Europe as an imagined community, similar to the way nations have been labelled imagined communities, to capture the sense of belonging that characterise national communities, and their constructed nature, even when its existence at a European level is often contested (see Oleart & Van Weyenberg, 2019). This places the concept on the discursive side of the dimension.

The concept of imagined communities was coined by Anderson (2006) for the analysis of nationalism. He saw the nation as an imagined political community, "imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (Anderson, 2006, p. 6). It is imagined because "The members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion." (Anderson, 2006, p. 6) This issue of scale also arises at a European level, as Toplak and Šumi (2012, p. 21) write: "No European can ever begin to hope to meet and know all the rest of Europeans."

Crucial to this approach is the focus on the affective link between the community and those who connect to it. There is a sense of belonging, that matters in this approach. Anderson, (2006, p. 7), for instance, speaks (in relation to national communities) about a "deep, horizontal comradeship", even though different intensities are possible. As Lähdesmäki et al. (2021, p. 28) indicate in their chapter on the politics of belonging, this also applies to Europe: "the concept of belonging allows us to understand diverse social processes that shape the individual's sense of

belonging and relationship to a specific entity, such as Europe, also based on the ideas of citizenship, participation, and membership."

6. European identity

This approach to European identity is positioned on the discursive side of the E&E map, and can be seen as the relativist pendant of the European spirit approach. In the European identity approach, European identity exists, but it is seen as constantly constructed, invented and negotiated (Delanty, 1995; Hall & du Gay, 1996; Krzyżanowski, 2010). It represents a sharing of spaces, histories, cultures, religions, languages, …. European identity can thus be apprehended as (the construction of) a shared space, which is geographical, territorial, linguistic, symbolic, cultural, historical, and/or institutional (Sassatelli, 2009; Risse-Kappen, 2010; Miller & Day, 2012).

In this non-essentialist approach, European identity is seen as constructed in relation to other identities in a dynamic and dialogical fashion. This points to a diversity of constitutive outsides (such as non-European agents of colonialism, Islam or the undemocratic Other, for instance, in the form of the Soviet Union, and later Russia) (Delanty, 1995; Hansen, 2002), that have played a role in the discursive construction of this European identity. Moreover, this understanding of European identity does not reject the existence of, and belonging to, multiple collective identities, but incorporates co-existing regional, national, supra-national, religious, linguistic and other identities (Delanty & Rumford, 2005; Checkel & Katzenstein, 2009). This also implies that identities are object of political interventions and negotiations (Rumelili, 2008) (in the broad sense of 'political', see Mouffe, 2005), with different actors deploying a diversity of strategies, working from their particular interests.

These dynamic processes do not exclude conflict. Conflict and difference are seen in this approach as integral components of European identity-building. What is crucial is whether difference becomes a starting point for inclusion and diversity (with European integration and cosmopolitanism), or for intolerance, discrimination and exclusion (as the European history of colonialism and Nazism has shown), and whether conflict is part of a constructive process for social change (see Mouffe, 2013; Lederach, 2003) or it becomes antagonistic, destructive and violent.

7. European territories

With this approach, we move into the more materialist perspectives. Here in particular, E&E is grounded in the existence of a European territory, which is a geographical (therefore very material) space occupied by those people considered Europeans. The geography of the European territory is the land-mass of the European continent, even though its boundaries, in particular to the east, have never been clearly set (Barreneche, 2021): "Since the east–west axis has shifted so many times in European history, it is not possible to specify where 'Europe' ends – or where it begins" (Delanty & Rumford, 2005, p. 35). Still, there is a materiality to the continent and the (nation-)states tend to privilege concentration of their citizen-bodies within these boundaries (Clark & Jones, 2009).

In this approach, E&E can be seen as the (re)organisation of territory, where Europe is made up of sovereign states neatly occupying the European continental space, or those prescribing horizontal (as opposed to strictly hierarchical) interactions among national, subnational, supranational and transnational actors, including non-EU states and non-EU organisations. Theoretically, the expansion (or contraction) of the European territory can also be seen as a form of (de-)Europeanisation, which builds on Marciacq's (2012) argument that Europeanisation is a deeply politico-geographical concept.

Moreover, E&E also becomes articulated with material trans-border mobility and transnationalism (Gille & Ó Riain, 2002, p. 275), with the European territory as its theatre, and with the activities of migrants traveling to entertain their own communities in recipient countries, and thus working as the antithesis of globalisation (Portes et al., 1999). This mobility generates contact zones, as well as social and material spaces within the territory where (European) cultures can meet and interact.

8. European people ('Europeans')

This brings us to the related European people approach to E&E, which argues that Europe is constituted by its people, materialised as bodies who share the same territory. This also explains the proximity of this European people approach to the European territory approach, in the same socio-spatial / materialist quadrant of the semantic map.

Theoretically, European people can be conceptualised as "spatial identities of human beings" (Paasi, 2001, p. 25). Ostergren and Le Bossé (2011, p. 8) write, in their book *The Europeans*, that they "prefer to define Europe for now as a uniform denoted region, a realm whose people share a cultural tradition that sets them apart from peoples elsewhere in the world." Later, they continue to point to "Europeans and the unique physical settings in which they live, both now and in the past", which is "basic to understanding how Europeans live their lives and define the limits of their everyday space." (Ostergren & Le Bossé, 2011, p. 39)

These European bodies are attributed particular characteristics. In some cases, these differences are material as well. Again Ostergren and Le Bossé's (2011, p. 76) book is an illustration, when they write that: "Europe also has the oldest population in the world. People across most of Europe enjoy important advantages in health care, diet, and working environments, and they are living longer lives." When Keinz and Lewicki (2019, p. 3), in their work on European bodies and the embodiment of Europe, raise the question "whose body epitomises europeaness", they take the diversity of bodies on the European territory as starting point, but immediately argue that some bodies are considered "normal / desired / legitimate" (Keinz & Lewicki, 2019, p. 1), while others are not—see Cantat (2015, p. 18) on Europe's racism. Even when 'Europeans' is a potentially open category, "whiteness, secularism, legitimate class and gender performances" (Keinz & Lewicki, 2019, p. 1) play significant roles in deciding who is considered to be (a legitimate) 'European'.

The discursive component plays a significant role in these politics of definition, which is why Sassatelli's (2009) book is called *Becoming Europeans*, but the European people approach, in its materiality, is still relevant as it points to the importance of the presence of European bodies, their material practices, and particular socio-demographic characteristics (e.g., age distribution).

9. European interactions and dialogues

In this approach, E&E is seen as constituted through the diversity of interactions between European bodies. In this sense, the notion of the European community, driven by a sense of belonging (situated at the discursive side of the model), is complemented by a more material component, which is the material performance of this belonging. These European interactions can be communicative and/or bodily. European interactions and dialogues can be performed at macro-levels or micro-levels (or both), as Borneman and Fowler write. These situations "where peoples of Europe engage in face-to-face encounters with each other" (Borneman & Fowler, 1997, p. 497) illustrate that E&E can also be located at the very micro-level of embodied practices.

For instance, these bodily interactions can consist of European travel and tourism, as analysed by Jacobsen (2003, p. 72) who looks at intra-European holiday travel and transnational mobility of bodies as E&E forms. Another example is Erasmus+, a programme of student exchanges (see Van Mol, 2018) which is based on the expectation "that a sense of European citizenship and identity can be fostered by bringing young Europeans together" (Van Mol, 2018, p. 449–450).

When European interactions are communicative and dialogical, these interactions can be mediated, interpersonal or in groups. These different versions can sometimes overlap, for instance, when European bodies gather for the collective viewing of the *Eurovision song contest* (ESC) – which can be framed as a media event presenting a pan-European platform that attracts hundreds million viewers (Motschenbacher, 2016, p. 3). Although virtual, the ESC voting system through which the audience evaluate contest participants can be seen as another form of European dialogues and interactions, which are deeply material (with their discursive components). Motschenbacher (2016, p. 34) describes it as "an indicator for the degree of integration into the European community" and a tool for amplifying the voice of immigrant minorities.

10. European (media) industries and capitalist economies

The E&E approach focussing on media industries and capitalist economies is situated in the material/socio-spatial area of the semantic map. E&E is seen as characterised by the presence of capitalism, with its potential negative effects countered by the welfare state. As Schmidt (2002, p. 14) argues, Europeanisation has acted both as a conduit for global forces and as a shield against them, opening member states to international market competitions at the same time as they protect them through monetary integration and the Single Market.

Still, there is not one European capitalism but there are *many*. According to Schmidt (2002), there are three ideal types of capitalism (market; managed; state capitalism). In Europe, we can see different varieties of these models, with Amable (2003) distinguishing between Anglo-Saxon, Scandinavian, continental European and Southern European model, with the latter also being approached by Central and Southeast European countries.

As to the connection between the media and the European roots of capitalism—which is a well-discussed issue—a pattern emerges, regardless of specific interpretations of such connections. According to Weber's (2002, p. 64–76) analysis, decisive innovation would spread in the XVII century, with the effects of the Reformation and the alleged rise of a new entrepreneurial spirit in Northern Europe. Wallerstein (1974, p. 68), instead, points to the 1450–1640 timespan—the "long sixteenth century"—as the period in which Europe created its first "capitalist world economy". More radically, Braudel (1979, p. 57, 112–113) dates the origin of world-systems in the classical ages, with capitalism blooming in the Italian XIII century.

All these interpretations show the importance of capitalism for E&E, but also how Europe's leading position has come to an end *before* the age of contemporary media, which have spread after the re-centring of world economy and the rise of the USA. While European domination could rely on the press as a symbolic form (Briggs & Burke 2002, p. 122–138), the other technologies have appeared during the period dominated by the USA; the weakness of European media systems arises as a consequence of this long-duration process.

11. European public service media

Public Service Media (PSM) are considered to be a typical European form of media organisation, and part of what Syvertsen et al. (2018) call the 'media welfare state',[7] providing a corrective for European capitalism in the media field. Originating in Europe in the 1920s and 1930s, PSM is characterised by features as the universal diffusion of the signal; an ambition to be comprehensive; a generalised mandate; the pluralism of contents; and non-commercial goals (Blumler, 1992, p. 7–12). Also a highly normative approach is usually considered to be part of the PSM mission (Van den Bulck et al., 2018, p. 96–97). This material approach to E&E thus focuses less on the market component of the European economic order, but sees the social correctives of this order—as exemplified by the material-organisational presence of PSM—as 'typically' European.[8]

Nevertheless, the role of PSM fluctuates according to the degree in which the state is accepted as a regulator. In Western Europe, PSM has gone through a golden age, before—in the 1980s and 1990s—the explosion of mass advertising and commercial competitors (Bourdon, 2011, p. 35–36). In the UK, the BBC found a balance between the American and the state-driven European model, resulting in PSM showing an "adversary attitude towards" public officials and still keeping the distance from purely commercial solutions (Hallin & Mancini, 2004, p. 233). In what once was socialist Europe, PSM did not exist in the strict sense, as public media were controlled by the state. There too diversity existed, with Mihelj and Huxtable (2018, p. 84–87) discussing three patterns, determined by the strength of communist parties and the closure of the system: the "market state socialist", the "reformist state socialist" and the "hard line state socialist" system.

Some attempts of experimenting with European PSM can also be detected. For instance, there are the French-German channel ARTE or the European Broadcast Union (EBU) programs, from *Jeux Sans Frontières* to the *Eurovision Song Contest*. The development of European PSM is difficult, though, as a pan-European audience is not always easy to convince (or find) (see below). In all countries there is a low interest in European / EU issues, when they are not related to national problems (Trenz, 2004, p. 293), and trust in PSM also varies significantly from place to place (Balčytienė & Juraitė, 2015, p. 26–27). European media in general are stalling, with no clear orientation about how to report European news, and questions about whether (or not) to play an advocacy role for EU (Papathanassopoulos & Negrine, 2011, p. 155).

12. European media[9] content

European media content is an approach to E&E that refers to the media content produced by European media organisations and industries, e.g. pan-European television channels (Chalaby, 2002). The focus of this approach is on the more material media *products*. We can distinguish European (media) content from content consumed in Europe, with the latter referring to, for instance, Hollywood films screened in European countries. As Muscio (2008, p. 181) writes: "there is a concrete 'Europeanization' of media productions through an array of policies and institutions." European content can also be produced by national media organisations that are then defined as

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[7] Syvertsen et al.'s (2018) book focuses on Northern Europe.

[8] Again, our focus on media and communication processes hides the existence of organisational correctives in other fields. One (still related) example are public libraries.

[9] Our special attention for media and communication-related processes hides the existence of many other European products, some of which have been produced through transnational collaborations. The earlier mentioned Airbus example (Ahrens, 2020) is only one of many.

European, for instance, focussing on co-productions (Drake, 2018), or on content financed through European institutions (e.g., the MEDIA sub-programme of Creative Europe).

Ideas regarding the remit of public service media, also in promoting a European public sphere, combined with efforts to counter a feared US-cultural imperialism, led in the 1980s–1990s to the establishment of transnational European media projects. For example, Euronews, launched in 1993, is a multilingual transnational news broadcaster with a remit to bring a European perspective to news and current affairs (Garcia-Blanco & Cushion, 2010; Machill, 1998; Polonska-Kimunguyi & Kimunguyi, 2012). Also, ARTE, established in 1991, is a transnational multilingual broadcaster producing European media content, mainly consisting of documentaries, films, series, news, and art programmes, promoting European culture(s) (Kościński, 2019; Brüggemann & Schulz-Forberg, 2009). This approach also highlights collaborations between national broadcasters, in producing European media content. European television, audio-visual and film co-productions (and distribution) are supported among others, by the European Broadcasting Union (EBU) and by the EU-funded Eurimages. In the period 2010–2015, film co-productions accounted for one-fourth of the overall film production volume in Europe (Talavera Milla, 2017).

Examining these efforts and projects to produce European media content, scholars have addressed issues of mission, sustainability and fragmentation, but also of the promotion of elitism (Kościński, 2019), and the lack of support for (the creation of) a European public sphere (Rothenberger, 2012; Garcia-Blanco & Cushion, 2010).

13. Representations of Europe

While the European media content approach to E&E focuses on the material programs that are produced, the representations of Europe approach focuses on whether and how Europe is represented[10] *within media content*, which brings in a discursive approach. Together with European media content, this approach forms a (media) bridge between the discursive and materialist components of the map's axis, even though this particular approach is tilted towards the discursive side. This approach thus considers how media texts *construct* Europe (and E&E), emphasising certain features whilst omitting others, and generating contested or partial representations in the process.

The construction of E&E through media representations can occur in a wide variety of ways (as this semantic map also shows more in general), also relating to, for instance, ethnicity, religion, gender, immigration, history, eating and drinking, science and technology, arts, music, architecture, and literature. If we take religion as one of the many possible examples, then we find that, for example, Nelsen and Guth (2016) argue that religion plays a key role in the production of the idea of Europe. The Catholic Church occupies a privileged social and media position within the European society, with the Pope's visits constituting media events across various media platforms (Evolvi, 2018).

However, this representation of E&E through the lens of religion relies on two representational strategies i.e. 1) creating constitutive others, and 2) not representing certain features or events. In this respect, Asad (2003) explains how E&E representations often favour Christianity at the expenses of other faiths. In particular, Islam is one of Christianity's oldest constitutive outsides (Carpentier, 2021), and is often represented as a threat in media cultures across Europe, for example across Scandinavian countries (Lundby et al., 2017) and the United Kingdom (Cannizzaro & Gholami, 2016). In regard with representational omissions, Evolvi (2018) lists the media stories that are often overlooked, namely those representing the perspectives of Muslims, atheists, and Catholics (e.g.

[10] Sometimes the concept of mediation is used here as well.

protesting against freedom of speech, same-sex unions or abortion), who constitute the non-hegemonic facets of European religiosity.

14. European audiences

The bridge between the European people and European media content are the European audiences.[11] The focal point of this approach, European audiences, can again be defined in different ways. For instance, they can be termed 'European' through the shared behaviour (or artificial aggregation) of audiences in European national states (a people-centric definition), or through their exposure to European media content (a content-centric definition). European audiences with their material media consumption behaviour are still located on the material side of this axis, but they do have their links with the discursive component. This link to the discursive component originates from the different definitions of audience: They can be seen a pre-existing aggregation of people sharing similar views–an imagery (Morin, 1962)–or as a latent collectivity through the similarities in their consumption practices, with this (cultural) content able to transform it in an imagined community, by replacing the role played by the novel and daily newspapers in shaping national identities (Anderson, 2006).

Even when this approach emphasises the Europeanness of these shared views or consumption practices, pan-European successes are more the exception than the rule. As Sassoon (2006, p. 1193 and 1356) puts it, Europeans prefer their own fiction or fiction imported from the USA. Similar evidence can be found in the movie market, where national movies are more commonly watched (with Hollywood standing as a "special resource"); and for TV – to the point that even *Jeux Sans Frontières* was more popular in the national versions than in the European format (Bourdon, 2011, p. 109 and 149).

As the fragmentation of audiences is mirrored by the fragmentation of distributors (Higson, 2015, p. 137–138), efforts in EU co-productions also struggle with finding a common European taste. An European audience is visible only in the case of media events, which by definition are rare: This may be the case of sport competitions and royal weddings, and even more that of the fall of the Berlin wall (Dayan & Katz, 1992, p. 21–22). The latter (media) event was seen to offer a chance to strengthen Europe, which—at least in the media field—has only materialised partially.

15. European public sphere (EPS)

The European public sphere (EPS) approach to E&E focuses on the practices of European citizens, engaging in (allegedly rational) decision-making, providing them with an opportunity to be politically active at a European level. The EPS is also seen constituted by public discussions on EU (or European) issues in the national media of EU-member states (Walter, 2017, p. 87).

Again, the focus of this approach is on the more material component of decision-making, which places it on the material side of the axis (this time with a politico-spatial focus), even when we look at Habermas's (1974, p. 49) definition of the public sphere, as "A portion of the public sphere comes into being in every conversation in which private individuals assemble to form a public body." Moreover, the EPS's materiality is in its infrastructure. The EPS consists of interconnected media structures that allow European voices to materially circulate and engage in

[11] European publics is also used to label this approach, but this connects them more to the European public sphere, which will be discussed later.

interactions. Still, the EPS approach also runs into the discursive side of the axis, with references to the nature of the content being distributed.

In this approach, the focus of the current debates is very much on the degree in which EPS is realised, which is usually seen in terms of the synchronisation of issues, either in a transnational or cross-national version (de la Porte & Van Dalen, 2016). There is considerable scepticism that there is much of an EPS, though. Interest in EU issues peaks when national politics or economies are directly affected by them (Trenz, 2004, p. 293; Peters & de Vreese, 2004, p. 5; Barisione & Ceron, 2017, p. 95). In other words, the vertical connection between EU member states and the Union is rarely matched by a horizontal sharing of ideas among the countries (Koopmans & Erbe, 2004, p. 3; Machill et al., 2006, p. 60). The absence of a strong EPS is explained, in this approach, by a combination of both long-duration and recent processes. In the first case, as Europe is made of many countries, integration is considered unlikely to emerge (Todorov & Bracher, 2008). The second strand is defined by Castells' (2002, p. 236) flows/places dyad: While technological and financial innovation fosters the globalisation process at the EU level, people are seen to increasingly shield themselves underneath domestic identities, either national or regional (e.g., Catalan independentism, or the Brexit). Here the weakness of EPS is considered hardly surprising, as the majority of people would prefer a local form of identity, as a response to the spread of supra-national flows.

16. European (political) institutions

In this politico-spatial material approach, E&E becomes focused on the political-institutional component of European governance, which includes the creation of supra-national political institutions (e.g., related to the EU), but also refers to privileged collaborations between national actors (e.g., national welfare state institutions). For some authors, it is the key component of Europeanisation processes and the construction of Europeanity. We already referred to Olsen (2002, p. 923–924), who, for instance, defines five uses of Europeanisation: "Developing institutions at the European level", "Central penetration of national systems of governance", "Exporting forms of political organisation" are among these five and relate directly to this approach.

Questions that are raised in this approach are about how (part of) Europe is be governed, how authority and power is distributed, exercised and controlled, how institutions are organised and how they, and their representatives, communicate (Valera-Ordaz & Sørensen, 2019), often also adding a normative dimension (e.g., Seoane Pérez, 2013). In many cases, these debates are about EU-isation, which focus on how policies are created and then become (or not) part of the policy regime of the EU member states. EU-isation retains the analytical focus on the EU and the transfer of rules, policies and practices between the supranational EU and Member States, candidate states, potential candidate states, and their actors (Smith, 2013, p. 5).

EU-isation partially differs from Europeanisation because of its "focus on the EU and because it is predominantly concerned with 'political encounters'" of the EU and Member State representatives (Flockhart, 2010, p. 790–791). There is also a particular form of resistance against EU-isation, sometimes labelled Euroscepticism, with a Eurosceptic as "someone who is opposed to the powers of the European Union" (Brack & Startin, 2015, p. 239). The latter concept captures distrust in EU institutions, reluctant experience of European integration and dissatisfaction with EU policies (Buturoiu, 2016; Ohler, 2018).

17. European law

E&E processes and transformations are institutional and connected to, and supported by, legal transformations. This includes the creation of a European law and governance order, the convergence of national legal systems, and what Snyder (2000, p. 4) calls the "juridification of politics", for instance, through the creation of the European Court of Justice. This approach has a discursive element, in the sense that law and regulation are also discourses, but simultaneously, because of their implementations and enforcements, they are acknowledged to be also material. Similar to discussions in the European political institutions approach, we find here a focus on the creation of a European (EU) legal order, combined with the partial convergence of national legislative frameworks. As Ferreira (2009, p. 171, italics removed) writes about the Europeanisation of law: "In a narrower perspective, it can be understood as the coherent body of rules (iuris corpus) of a supranational character that binds the Members States of the European Union (EU). In a wider perspective, it can be understood as the influence of EU principles and concepts over Member States' legal orders in pure national cases, whereby EU European law is an autonomous source of inspiration." In particular in the latter case, there are many convergences and divergences, also depending on the different legal areas.

Moreover, we should be careful not to focus exclusively on the EU. The EU did indeed develop itself by building a corpus of Union law, but it did so in dialogue or conflict with the Council of Europe, which developed its own body of Conventions. In relation to the media field, there are, for instance, the CoE's "European Convention on Transfrontier Television" and the EEC's Directive "Television without Borders", both in 1989, which have a nearly identical scope. The ongoing struggle over which institution is 'in charge' of the media field led to the situation where in 2011 a fully worked-out revision of the CoE Convention was scrapped.

18. European new social movements

The European New Social Movements (ENSM) approach to E&E moves away from an emphasis on formal political systems, and focuses on "Europeanisation from below" (della Porta, 2020), where the self-organised citizenry—including grassroots civil society organisations and NGOs, but also more fluid mobilisations—is acknowledged to present and perform alternative visions and practices of 'another Europe'. This includes pleas to increase solidarisation, stimulate dialogue, cooperation, and interactions among European citizens, and to strengthen European civil society. Within an EU context, ENSM are seen to represent an opportunity for European citizens to become politically engaged, which also includes their ability to contest the European Union's policies (della Porta & Caiani, 2009).

In ENSM, with their material-organisational structures, issues of human and citizen rights intersect with ideas about European identity and politics, and the main debates concerning Europe. Their narratives of alternative European futures are often expressed as an opposition against the EU project. For ENSM, the EU project is often at odds with the forms of cosmopolitan solidarity that they defend, as the EU project is considered to promote institutionalised forms of exploitation, marginalisation and discrimination (Cantat, 2015; Fominaya & Feenstra, 2020), as manifested in the EU's neoliberal economic logics and handling of the economic crisis (Bieler, 2011; Bieler & Morton, 2004), of migration and the environmental issues (Fominaya & Cox, 2013; van der Heijden, 2010).

Considered typical for ENSM is that they are rhizomatically connected with diverse groups and organisations (della Porta & Caiani, 2009), which renders them different from the arbolic structures of the state (see Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). This rhizome also includes media organisations, more in particular citizen media (Rodríguez, 2011), community media (Howley, 2009) and protest media (Casero-Ripollés, 2020) that are sometimes affiliated with particular ENSM, or that are ENSM in their own right (e.g., Community Media Forum Europe and AMARC, see

AMARC-Europe, 1994). Diverse in form, these media organisations have as their main characteristics that they serve their communities and their protest causes, publish content alternative to mainstream media and are managed by their members in participatory, horizontal and democratic ways (Carpentier et al., 2003; Howley, 2009; Casero-Ripollés, 2020).

19. European citizens(hip)

The European citizen approach is the politico-spatial version of the European people approach. As a concept, citizenship describes the relationship between the members of a polity and the nation-state, delineated through rights and duties (Kivisto & Faist, 2007; Isin & Wood, 1999). European citizenship then describes the political relationship between these members and the supra-national European structure (Cesarani & Fulbrook, 1997; Guild et al., 2019; Menéndez & Olsen, 2020). Formally, this relationship generates rights and obligations for European citizens and thus incorporates these citizens into a legal (European/EU) order, aspiring to establish a form of political membership beyond the nation-state. But this relationship also empowers European citizens as political actors, who engage in struggles, including the one over Europeanity, and who might even reject this latter position (and identity) (see, for instance, the politicisation-of-Europe debate, Hutter et al., 2016). To capture the complexity of overlapping/multi-level citizenships in the European framework, scholars working with this approach have sometimes referred to citizenship as post-national citizenship (Delanty, 1995; 2007; Soysal, 1997).
European citizen rights are largely equated with EU rights, described through detailed legal frameworks (Guild et al., 2019; Menéndez & Olsen, 2020), which span the entire spectrum of civil, political and social rights (see, Marshall, 1992). These include freedom of movement, rights in education, employment, economic activity, the right to vote and get elected, etc., and they are, to a large extent restricted versions of, and subservient to, nation-state citizen rights. The delineation of European citizen duties is fairly limited, as many citizen responsibilities (e.g., taxation, military service) remain at state level.
Supra-national or post-national forms of citizenship are sometimes associated with cosmopolitan and/or radical apprehensions of citizenship (Delanty, 1997; 2007; Cantat, 2015), which relate to a sense of collective responsibility oriented more towards fellow-citizens than to the state or to institutions. Under this (sub)approach, European citizens engage in collective action for the rights and prosperity of citizens of the world, which include migrants and non-nationals. Hence, European citizenship becomes constructed in a dynamic fashion emanating from both below and above, where European citizens are not simply constructed by European institutions and socio-political conditions, but also construct both themselves and the European political spaces (Bellamy et al., 2006).

Europeanisation and the time dimension

So far, we have postponed the discussion on Europeanisation and privileged the development of a semantic map on Europeanity. This is because we now want to argue that Europeanisation is a concept that articulates Europeanity with a temporal dimension and a process of intensification, which necessitates an additional discussion, but also builds on the semantic map on Europeanity. Europeanisation, in other words, captures a *becoming*, and less a being or a state (see Figure 2). Different authors refer to this becoming in different terms, and in relation to different fields and approaches. To give a few examples: Featherstone (2003, p. 3) calls Europeanisation a "variety of changes within European politics and international relations", but then specifies that it needs to be a "process of structural change, variously affecting actors and institutions, ideas and interests." Triandafyllidou and Spohn (2003,

p. 6) refer to "the modes and degrees of the Europeanisation of nation-states and their change over time." And Delanty and Rumford (2005, p. 1) use the concept of 'emergence', when (critically) evaluating the uses of the Europeanisation concept, for instance, when writing: "Current theorizing on Europeanization is primarily concerned with conceptualizing the emerging shape of the European […]."

This change process varies, though, in many different ways, which has produced considerable conceptual vagueness, but also political (discursive) opportunities. Nevertheless, this vagueness has brought Delanty and Rumford (2005, p. 4) to the following warning:

> "The discourse of Europeanization is dominated by superficial metaphors suggesting a teleological project legitimated by grand EU narratives, such as 'widening' and 'deepening' or 'ever closer union'; vague, if not inaccurate, sociological terms, such as 'integration' and 'inclusion', and morphological metaphors such as 'multi-levelled' governance."

One way to capture the many differences in the object and nature of change, incorporated in the concept of Europeanisation, is to return to the semantic map, and its main dimensions. On the one hand, the discursive-material dimension allows us to see how at the discursive level, Europeanisation captures the increased presence and discursive weight of the Europeanity discourse. In more minimal versions, it captures the creation or establishment of a European identity, European values and European culture(s), and the discourse of Europeanity itself, making them available for identification and providing meaning to Europe as a cultural space. But Europeanisation can also capture, in more maximalist versions, the hegemonisation of Europeanity, victoriously concluding the discursive struggle with other – competing – place-based identities (Delanty & Rumford, 2005, p. 20; Sassatelli, 2009, p. 1). This is what, for instance, Risse-Kappen (2010, p. 10) refers to as the "Europeanization of national identities".

When we bring in the more essentialist-relativist (sub)dimension, we can also see how the more essentialist discursive formulations are strategic attempts to hegemonise the Europeanity discourse (see, for instance, Alpan, 2014, p. 4). For instance, the idea of the European spirit presupposes, validates and normalises a particular discourse on Europeanity, often driven by notions of superiority. Even when we cherish some of the values in/behind the European values approach (and the European democratic model(s) approach), we should still acknowledge that their central position is constructed, and that different articulations of these values, different performances of these values, and even different (central) values always remain possible (but not necessarily desirable).

On the other hand, the discursive-material dimension also allows us to acknowledge the material component of Europeanisation. Here, the notion of change gains different meanings, with, in some cases, simple absolute increases of presence. For instance, in the European territory approach, or the European people approach, an absolute increase of the volume of land or people has been labelled Europeanisation. One example here is the enlargement of the EU (Preston, 1997; Schimmelfennnig & Sedelmeier, 2005). The same applies for the presence of European governance, regulatory, legal or capitalist structures, or particular entities, with, for instance, the presence (or absence) of European media organisations or industries, European civil society organisations, or European (political) institutions. In other cases, Europeanisation concerns a relative or proportional increase, where national structures or entities often act as reference points. Here, for instance, Europeanisation captures the proportional increase of European media organisations in relation to media organisations that function at national or regional levels. Similarly, an increase of co-productions—collaborations between national media organisations—is seen as the Europeanisation of media production (Mitric, 2017; Hammett-Jamart et al., 2018). Yet the same

argument could be made for the proportionate increase of interactions and/or dialogues between European people, or for the proportionate increase of rational deliberations between European citizens on matters of European concern.

The mere emphasis on volume—either in absolute numbers or as proportions—is an important component of material Europeanisation, but it needs to be complemented by a variety of other components, such as resources and capital (e.g., Vos, 2021, p. 8), status and prestige, power and influence, and quality of life (Hristova et al., 2015, p. 3). Arguably, this extension still (partially) concerns volume, with, for instance, the increases in volume of the budgets of European (political) institutions in comparison with national (political) institutions, either individually or aggregated. But this extension also moves us beyond the merely quantifiable, as Europeanisation is also seen to relate to increases in the reach (or impact) of European structures or entities, on diverse political and social fields.

This brings us also to a second extension, which moves even further away from quantity-based approaches. This extension focuses on qualitative (material) changes, where the similarities between structures and entities, situated in different parts of Europe, are seen to increase (possibly in relation to one or more external reference points, or constitutive outsides). Featherstone's (2003, p. 3) opening questions about Europeanisation—in his edited book *The Politics of Europeanization*—bring the notion of convergence in this debate: "Does it mean convergence across Europe? How and why do differences remain?" Here, material Europeanisation refers to the processes of homogenisation, harmonisation, convergence, or synchronisation.[12] Of course, these concepts all carry particular normative loads—in particular homogenisation—which sometimes tend to problematise Europeanisation, but they all capture, in their own ways, the idea of increased similarities, never all-encompassing and totalising, but always situated at one or more particular levels or domains of the social.

This more extended definitions of material Europeanisation also bring in the European assemblage idea (Carpentier, 2021), as we can see, and need to acknowledge the interactions between the discursive and material components of this dimension. Then, discussing European material structures and entities, it is hard to escape from the politics of definition, and argue that for material structures and entities to be considered as European, they need to be *defined* as European, and thus be articulated into a European assemblage, with both discursive and material components. Similarly, discourses about Europeanity and Europeanisation cannot do without their material components—otherwise there would be nothing to signify. Moreover, that materiality also has its own agencies, impacting on the discursive component of the European assemblage. For instance, if (or when) European citizens materially decline the invitation to perform Europeanity, also the discourse of Europeanity itself becomes affected (and potentially dislocated). Similarly, if (or when) European civil society organisation succumb to the lack of resources, and disappear, then the discourse on Europeanisation from below also weakens.

This also allows us to sketch a (working/operational) definition of Europeanisation (see also Figure 2), which is seen here as a concept that refers to the (1) structural time-based changes (2) to the European assemblage, which (3) consists out of an entanglement of discursive and material components (4) that perform being European—or Europeanity—(5) in a diversity of ways. As argued before, the discursive components are structured on an essentialist/relativist axis, while the material components are structured on a socio-spatial/politico-spatial axis.[13]

Before closing this discussion on Europeanisation, and its time / change dimension, we also need to be aware of the possibility of *decreases* in the weight of the Europeanity discourse, or in the presence of European material

[12] The inclusion of synchronisation has been inspired by Hamelink's (1983) notion of cultural synchronisation.

[13] Given the complexity of Europeanisation and Europeanity, analytical interventions can use the map in a variety of ways, e.g., focussing on the whole, on one dimension, on one component of one dimension, or on one approach.

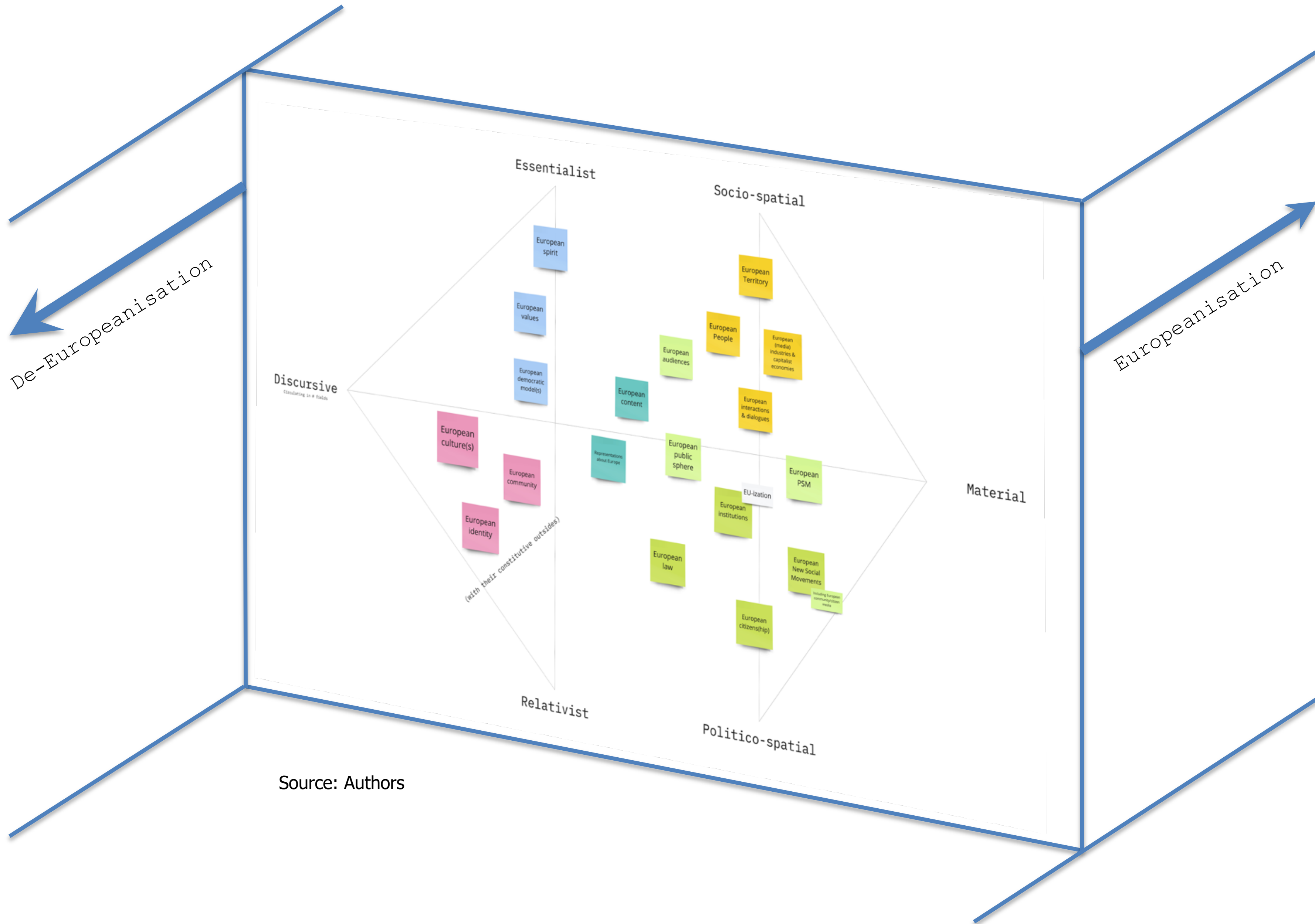
structures, a process which is labelled de-Europeanisation (also see Figure 3). For instance, Müller et al. (2021, p. 521), referring to (EU) foreign policy processes, mention the following definition of de-Europeanisation:

> "It describes a contemporary reality in which EU foreign policy-making runs against the grain of certain member state declared values/interests, where member states are less willing to engage in collective policy-making and where the results of that policy-making are, on occasion, explicitly undermined by member state practice up to, and including, regular and even systematic use or threatened use of the veto. In part, this is argued by policy makers to be a function of a broader contestation of core values."

They then continue with describing three key elements of the nature of de-Europeanisation—in relation to (EU) foreign policy—namely, the "reconstruction of professional roles" "in exclusively or predominantly national terms" (Müller et al., 2021, p. 524), the "repudiation of fundamental norms" and the "structural disintegration of collective policy-making institutions" (Müller et al., 2021, p. 525). Smith's (2021, p. 638) comment, that "there is a strong link between processes of national political change (in particular the rise of populist or nationalist political forces) and the phenomenon of de-Europeanisation", also brings in the notion of the discursive, and in particular the notion of discursive struggle, in this case in relation to the struggle between Europeanisation and de-Europeanisation discourses. Smith (2021, p. 648) makes this point, in relation to the "foundational norms of EU foreign policy", in the following terms: "there is evidence of discursive challenges to foundational norms of EU foreign policy, but this is at least matched by evidence that discourse and rhetoric have not bled through into consistent or cumulative defection from the normative framework."

Shifting more into the discursive analysis of de-Europeanisation processes, and away from the EU, Delanty (1995: 63) discusses an older example, namely how Russia, after the Communist revolution of 1917, moved away from (the signifier) Europe: "Also paradoxically, the communist ideology, which was a western import, severed Russia from the West after 1917. This de-Europeanisation of Russia was also reflected in the choice of Moscow as capital and the renaming of St Petersburg, first as Petrograd and, after Lenin's death in 1924, as Leningrad." He also adds that, in the post-communist period, the resignification of (part of) the "Eastern Bloc" as European, can be seen as a form of re-Europeanisation (even if this ignored the also-existing sentiment that Central Europe has always been European). Delanty (1995, p. 137) writes: "For many, the Central Europe project is potentially a means of 're-Europeanisation' and reintroducing some of the values and aspirations eliminated by the Soviet system."

Figure 2: Adding the (de-)Europeanisation time dimension to the semantic map



Source: Authors

Conclusion

Creating taxonomies—or semantic maps—is a treacherously complex task, which is bound to run into limits and obstacles. Our combination of a multidisciplinary approach, with a structural reflection on the discursive-material divide (and how to bridge it), and with a participatory theory-building strategy has nevertheless produced an impressive set of approaches, each still distinct from each other.

The multitude of approaches is an important indicator of the complexity and contested nature of E&E. Our aim was not to select the 'right' way of representing E&E but to map their diversity, also in order to better understand how these different approaches constitute an arena for discursive struggle. This struggle is partially situated in academia, where different scholars and disciplines seem to privilege particular approaches and (components of) dimensions, which reduces multidisciplinary dialogue, theoretical elegance and analytical strength. One example here is the surprisingly deep rift between the approaches that privilege the discursive and those who privilege the material. We hope that this semantic map will facilitate a more intense academic dialogue, that will allow us to bridge this rift more and better.

But these discursive struggles are not confined to academia. They are much wider distributed. Arguably, they are pervasive throughout Europe and beyond. These struggles are not so much struggles over which (types of) approaches should be privileged, but they are struggles about what Europe is, and what it should become. Here, the approaches show us the discursive and material tools that are used to (de)construct Europe in always particular ways, what Europe actors might try to hegemonise, and what kind of visions, structures and behaviours about Europe they might try to downplay and/or eliminate. The many approaches thus also show us that different 'Europes' are possible, in an endless set of combinations and balances. We can have a Europe from above and/or from below. We can have a Europe of discourses and/or material practices and structures. We can a Europe defined by the EU, and/or by a broader geography. And we can have a Europe with rigid and fixed identities, and/or a Europe that sees itself as contingent. All these are political choices, and (thus) object of intense and prolonged discursive struggle.

Still, we should keep in mind that semantic maps are always living entities, trying to capture this ever-changing diversity of meanings, which requires almost-permanent updates. In this sense, our semantic map offers a precious overview of the diversity of meanings allocated to E&E, but at the same time, it is also an invitation to other scholars to reflect about the taxonomic choices and the changes that are bound to occur in the meanings of both Europeanity and Europeanisation, in being European and becoming European, which are—we should add—both, in the end, constructed forms of becoming.

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