

University of Peloponnese
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Final Dissertation:

**Comparative evaluation of the Union for the Mediterranean and the North – South Center of the
Council of Europe Political Discourse' in Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia through recent
Democratization Programs Initiatives.**

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Abstract

This dissertation is examining the active contribution and political engagement of two regional international organizations, namely a.- the based in Barcelona Union for the Mediterranean [UfM] and b.- the based in Lisbon North – South Center of the Council of Europe [NSC], regarding their interaction with the European Union’s Neighborhood Policy and the Maghreb countries of Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia during the recent sociopolitical developments, more specifically before, during and after the Arab Spring¹, through Critical Discourse Analysis – CDA methodology.

During the last decade, the Union for the Mediterranean and the North South Center of the Council of Europe’s political discourse have been engaged in different projects, in cooperation with the three aforementioned Maghreb countries. Within this perspective, the two regional international organizations Union for the Mediterranean & North South Center of the Council of Europe are contributing to Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia’s capabilities, towards their overall engagement in the political, social and civic society stakeholders’ aspirations, in concordance with the political discourse of the European Union’s European Neighboring Policy for the Mediterranean and the Council of Europe strategic framework guidelines.

According to relevant public opinions (MALKA, 2012) (De Battista, 2013), press announcements (INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION for MIGRATION, 2012), specialized studies (HULIARAS, 2013) (TSATSANIS, 2012) and focused analyses (GHILES, 2007) (EUROPEAN COMMISSION, 2018) (TETI, 2012), this medium–long term coaching development process, which followed by both Union for the Mediterranean and the North South Center, added on impetus to democratization procedures and better governance, enhanced economic sustainability and further littoral cooperation, without significant spill offs in the regional security or backfires due to differentiated cultural dimensions (HOFSTEDE, 2010).

¹ Arab commentators differ on whether the ‘Arab Spring’ is a suitable description for the series of events started from Tunisia in late 2010 and erupted in one form or another in most other Arab countries in early to mid-2011. Some see the term as a western invention derived from earlier uprisings in Central and Eastern Europe, notable Prague, Warsaw and Kiev and reject it because it does not capture the Arab state of affairs. However, there seems to be no consensus on whether to call the phenomenon an ‘awakening’, the ‘Second Arab Awakening’, the ‘Arab revolutions’ or the ‘Arab intifadas. Therefore, hereby the term ‘Arab Spring’ has been adopted, precisely because it is the term most commonly used in Europe. (Hollis, 2012) https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/224396/evidence-rosemary-hollis-europe-and-the-arab-spring.pdf

The first research question of this dissertation -analyzed in the methodology segment hereafter- is to examine the focus of the three “D” keywords group axles -“Democracy / DZ”, “Development / DM” & “Dialogue / DLC”- concepts and active engagements, expressed thoroughly through political Discourse in the texts of selected strategic documentation of the European Union and the European Neighborhood Policy as well as in the Annual Activities Reports of the Union for the Mediterranean and the North – South Center of the Council of Europe along with the Maghreb countries.

Furthermore, using Critical Discourse Analysis, the dissertation has to prove whether the existence of the focus on the three “D’s” axles, occurs from the EU & ENP -the policy demand side, as does the relevant support from the two regional organizations part, vis a vis the supply or “policy delivery” side, characterized by an omnipresent transversal “acquis” nurture cradle for economic and social progress.

Consequently, by combining the results from both questions, the dissertation will show the nature of those two regional intergovernmental organizations’ contribution to the overall enhancement of the Maghreb area to the European Union and the European Neighboring Policy and Southern Neighborhood policy mainlines.

The discursive power effectiveness study of the North South Center of the Council of Europe and of the Union for the Mediterranean, regarding democratization processes, embedded rule of Law, economic empowerment and social cohesion indexes is going to be carried out by *salient frequency analysis*² of the three “D” axles pertaining specifically selected keywords and relevant metadata cross-tabulation from the Annual Reports on joint projects of the aforementioned organizations.

² https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Salience_%28language%29#Policy_making

The Actors

Overview

The MENA area narrative that the majority of the western pundits have had half a century ago was crystal clear: Harness the spread primarily of the USSR-derived policy priorities and keep the anti-semitism (Pipes, 2007) under controllable terms, in one hand by abiding (Hinnebusch, 2018) to a series of backdrops in democratic standards towards corrupted, “corporate praetorianist” or authoritarian regimes of the region (Perlmutter, 2014), while in the other avoiding negative spillover effects from the North Africa decolonization process.

At the same time, the ideologies of Arab nationalism and mundane modernization have degenerated and gradually failed. The Arab youth has been mobilized, but to a great extent to regenerate the Muslim faith and its envious position claimed in political (GERSHMAN, 2016) and social life (Harrison, 2013), after many years of clandestine activity of the Muslim Brotherhood and other Islamic non-affiliated networks, most of them under of the authorities’ radar, within the MENA region.

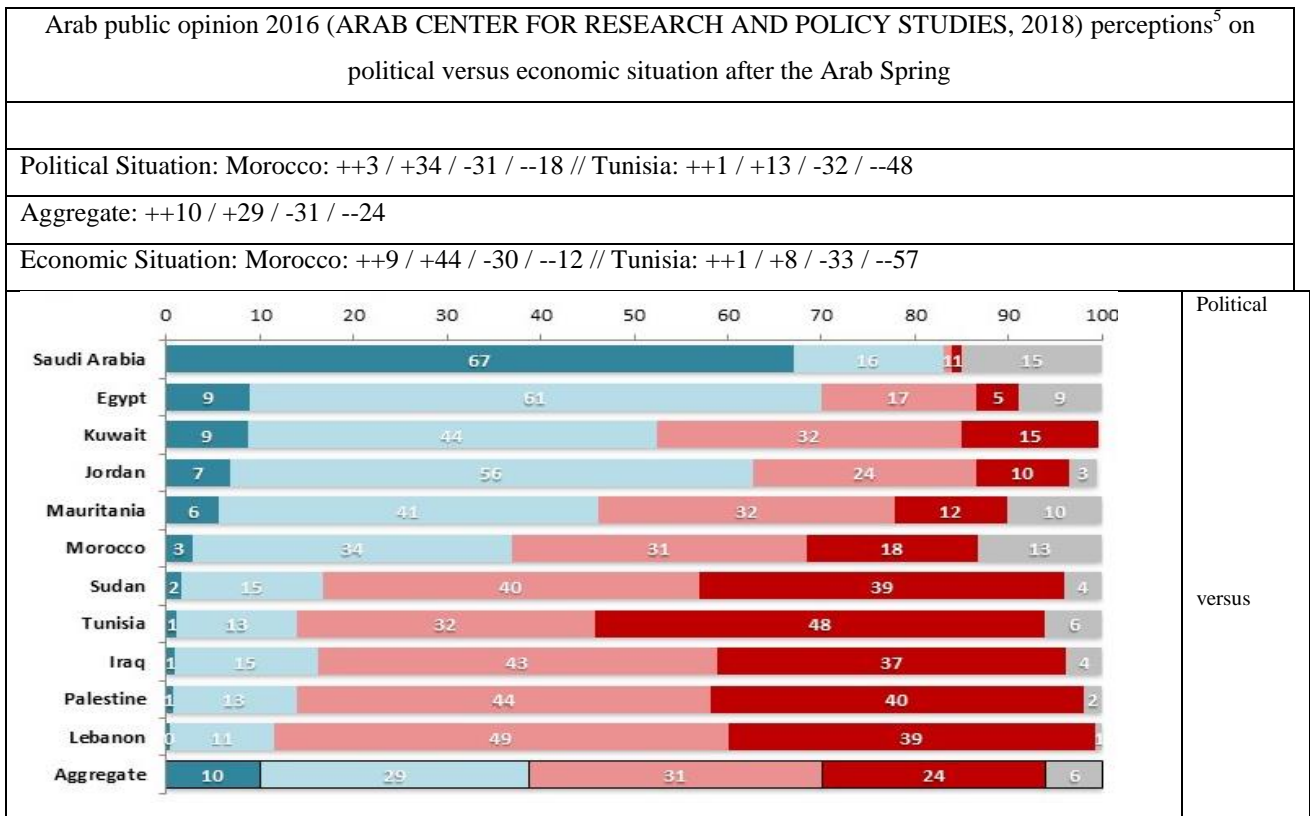
In front of Nasser’s and Qaddafi’s Arab socialist “grandiose” realms, an astonished (SARTO, 2016) West neglected to consider the self - evident: The linear course of history with the legitimate religious retreat, along the aforementioned regional systemic and governmental deficiencies, boosted the 2010 uprising, or the Arab Spring events.

When the jasmine revolution broke out in Tunisia, many analysts presupposed that popular protests against corrupt and authoritarian regimes would eventually bring democratization and liberation of the Islamic world (Ghezali, 2012). In fact, the last secular, or relatively secular regimes of the past (Arab-Socialist) as well as the pro Islamism ones, were collapsing (Sibley & Ramadan, 2011).

The inability to predict or even conceive what Islam means in modern times and which were its demands in the public sphere, proved to be a great discomfort for the West, especially for countries that have acquired large Muslim populations (KEFALA, 2015).

Islamism that appeared in the countries where the Arab uprisings took place, revived as a reaction to European colonialism, and in the modern era of post-Cold War "neo-colonialism," the same

pattern is repeated on a global scale. Within the framework of this specific development, serious opportunities for engagement in an alternative Islamic world system are created, without extremes of fundamentalism: Ecumenical Islam, with over one billion believers and dozens of Muslim states, clearly has the dynamics of an invaluable geopolitical and geopolitical depth. Among other things, it aims to reverse Orientalism³ and Eurocentrism⁴.



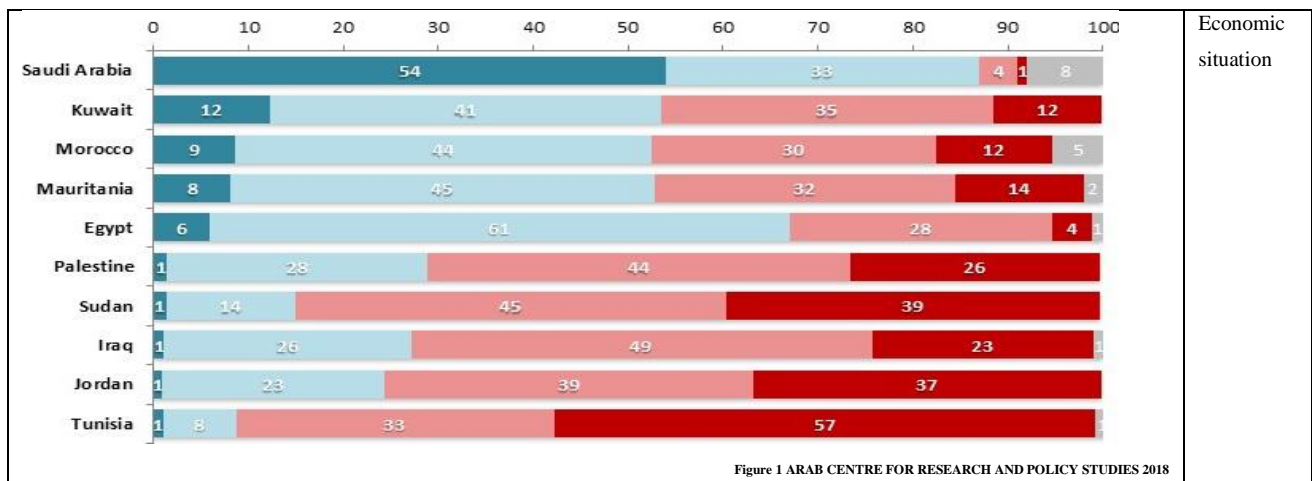
³ distorted images-self-projections made by the West for the Islamic East

⁴ a worldview that fits into the Western-European historical experience separating mankind into the hierarchical dipole "the West and the rest ".

⁵ ARAB CENTER FOR RESEARCH AND POLICY STUDIES:

<https://www.dohainstitute.edu.qa/EN/Research/Pages/Arab-Center-for-Research-and-Policy-Studies.aspx>

The 2017-2018 Arab Opinion Index: Main Results in Brief: The 2017-2018 Arab Opinion Index is the sixth in a series of yearly public opinion surveys across the Arab world. The 2017-2018 Arab Opinion Index is based on the findings from face-to-face interviews conducted with 18,830 individual respondents in 11 separate Arab countries: Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iraq, Jordan, Palestine, Lebanon, Egypt, Sudan, Tunisia, Morocco and Mauritania. Sampling followed a randomized, stratified, multi-stage, self-weighted clustered approach, giving an overall margin of error between +/- 2 % and 3% for the individual country samples. The overall samples guarantee probability-proportional-to-size (PPS), ensuring fairness in the representation of various population segments. With an aggregate sample size of 18,830 respondents, the Arab Opinion Index remains the largest public opinion survey in the Arab world.



By 2017, several relevant researches (Ben-Meir, 2015) (Hanlon & Kasee, 2015) (Associated Press, 2012) (ACHY, 2012) (Karthikeyan, 2015) (Alaoui, 2016) (Tirman, 2012) (Cornell Academic Staff, 2018) suggest that the Maghreb, due to geopolitical, social and cultural reasons, attained a relative “Pareto optimum” from the uprisings, therefore the Arab Spring tagging would be more appropriate.

The big picture in the European Union and North Africa Countries’ relations

By the end of the cold war, the need for enhanced relations among the EU member states of the South - especially of the Mediterranean and the northern African countries surfaced, because of the political necessity to address the establishment of stability, peace and prosperity in the broader Mediterranean⁶, as a proof of successful political and economic relations in the broader area of interest as well as a complimentary policy balance narrative (Cianciara, 2017) to the EU enlargement eastwards.

The holistic approach of the EU⁷, as applied via the EMP⁸ and the “mare nostrum” historical and geopolitical legacy, with its emphasis on non-military factors and on stability -instead of security⁹- has clearly emerged as the approach that fits willingly & successfully enough, within the Mediterranean state of affairs and organizational culture.

⁶ <https://www.mfa.gr/en/current-affairs/statements-speeches/third-rhodes-conference-for-security-and-stability-rhodes-21-22-june-2018.html>

⁷ JOINT STAFF WORKING DOCUMENT: Partnership for Democracy and Shared Prosperity: Report on activities in 2011 and Roadmap for future action / Accompanying the document: JOINT COMMUNICATION TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, THE COUNCIL, THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMITTEE AND THE COMMITTEE OF THE REGIONS / Delivering on a new European Neighborhood Policy / Brussels, 15.5.2012 SWD(2012) 121 final.

⁸ JOINT COMMUNICATION TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, THE COUNCIL, THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMITTEE AND THE COMMITTEE OF THE REGIONS: A new response to a changing Neighborhood / Brussels, 25.5.2011 COM(2011) 303 final.

⁹ <http://greekdiplomaticlife.com/2016/10/06/rhodes-conference-for-security-and-stability-a-political-vision/>

Designed to deliver strategic outcome and smart power in the Eastern Southern Neighborhood and based on the need for enhanced security in the Mediterranean conveyor belt, the Organization for the Security and Co-operation (OSCE) in Europe's idea of the three-basket theory¹⁰ of human rights, security and economic sustainable development, was used as a backbone transplant to the "Mare Nostrum" area by Italy and Spain (Aliboni, 1999), especially because it is considered to be the craftier itinerary for a differentiated and variable geometry of involvement among the participating countries, as a long term political "leitmotif" discourse for the development of the broader region (Galanis, 2018).

The EU initiatives aim to become important nurseries in the broader region contributing to:

1. the elaboration and development of the EU Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP);
2. the implementation of Partnership-Building Measures (PBMs) in different sectors and thematics, having in mind that the Maghreb countries cooperation channels should be multiplied in several sectors;
3. a successful economic growth and social liberalization agenda widening the areas of projects undertaking;
4. the establishment of a joint patrimony human values dimension system, in order to make it possible to set up human rights and democratic rules baselines, which would support common pillars on policies joint declarations and thematic projects

The Middle East Peace Process [MEPP] works in tandem with the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP) and the European Neighborhood Policy to serve the priorities of the multilateral European Union policies. Both initiatives correspond to regional toolboxes, within the broader strategy of the European Mediterranean policy and the Barcelona Process.

¹⁰ "... The OSCE theory of the three baskets: One basket deals with human rights, because it is critically important that the countries respect the rights of their citizens. Another basket deals with security because you cannot have human rights unless you have a secured country that protects the security of its people. The third basket deals with economics and environment because you cannot have a secure country and you cannot have human rights unless there is economic opportunity for your citizens and you respect the environment in which we live". <https://www.csce.gov/international-impact/press-and-media/speeches/osce-model-middle-east>

The two regional intergovernmental institutions:

The Union for the Mediterranean

Established in Paris on July 13, 2008 at the Paris Summit for the Mediterranean, after an initiative of the French President upon consultation with Germany, the Union for the Mediterranean consists of 43 participant members, the 28 European Union member States and 15 countries from the MENA area, extending its regional impetus to about 800 million people.

UfM General Secretariat¹¹ located in Barcelona, with a staff of 60 persons from more than 20 nationalities, including the permanent presence of senior officials seconded from the European Commission, the EIB, and CDC.

The institutional architectural pillars of the UfM are:

- The Euro-Mediterranean Parliamentary Assembly (EMPA)
- The Euro-Mediterranean Regional & Local Assembly (ARLEM)
- The Alexandria based Anna Lindt foundation for Intercultural dialogue (along with the UN Alliance of Civilizations) is in charge of the cultural dimension of the Union for the Mediterranean and publish the intuitive [Intercultural Trends Survey](#) in the Euro-Med Region.

Funding for the organization is contributed by:

- The EU budget, namely the European Commission via the European Neighborhood Policy Instrument (around 72 mln Euros during 2009-2010) of a total budget of 15,4 bln Euros for the timeslot 2014-2020.
- The European Investment Bank the amount of 500 mln euros for project support after June 2012.
- The InfraMed Infrastructure Fund, a French-Moroco-Egyptian-Italian agglomeration, the amount of 385 mln euros for infrastructure projects, after 2010.
- The World Bank allocated 750 USD for the renewable energy, via the Clean Technology Fund.

The forum discusses regional strategic issues, based on the principles of shared ownership, shared decision making and shared responsibility. Its main goals are to increase the north – south

¹¹ <http://ufmsecretariat.org>

integration in the Mediterranean region as well as the littoral states cooperation, targeting to support the participant countries socioeconomic development and ensure *stability* and *integration*, through two main pillars of action: *fostering human development and promoting sustainability*.

Focus of the UfM member states is mandated to 6+1 sectors of activities, as follows:

- Business Development & Employment
- Higher Education & Research
- Social & Civil Affairs
- Energy & Climate Action
- Transport & Urban Development
- Water, Environment & Blue Economy, plus
- the Euromed Heritage Program, as a result of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership, active since 1998¹².

The decision during the November 2008 meetings of the 43 Ministers for Foreign Affairs in Marseilles, put ahead *six concrete projects*, which target specific needs of the Euro Mediterranean region while at the same time enhance the visibility of the UfM, namely:

- De-pollution of the Mediterranean.
- Maritime and land highways throughout the Euro-Mediterranean region by improving its ports, and building highways and railways.
- Civil protection, with the ultimate goal to "bring the Mediterranean Partner Countries progressively closer to the European Civil Protection Mechanism".
- Alternative energies: promoting the production and use of renewable energies, turning the Mediterranean partner countries into producers of solar energy and circulating the resulting electricity through the Euro-Mediterranean region, developing the long-term strategies "Mediterranean Solar Plan" and "Desert Power 2050".
- Higher education and research: Inauguration of Euro-Mediterranean Universities in Slovenia and in Morocco.
- The Mediterranean business development initiative.

Safeguarding that the *acquis* of Barcelona is accepted and maintained by the Union for the Mediterranean, with its declared purpose to promote "Peace, Stability, Prosperity" with the

¹² Euromed Heritage Program aims to identify the cultural heritages of Mediterranean states, promote their preservation, and educate the peoples of partner countries about their cultural heritages.

objective to establish a Free Trade Area in the Euro-Mediterranean region by 2010 - and beyond. Projects at a regional level, supported by the UfM, are focused on:

- Youth unemployment and inclusive growth
- Women empowerment
- Sustainable development

The Value-added Activities and its institutional architecture are the biggest innovations of the Union for the Mediterranean. Regarding the activities, *the Regional Dialogue*, which encompasses at least 20 ministerial meetings, more than 200 conferences and experts' fora workshops, within 10.000 stakeholders span, is acting as a catalyst for projects and initiatives.

The North – South Center

The North South Center of the Council of Europe¹³, was established in Lisbon in May 1990, with the purpose of promoting dialogue between North and South, fostering solidarity and raising awareness of global interdependence, upon a proposal from the Portuguese government to set up a European Centre for Global Interdependence and Solidarity, which was supported by the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly in a recommendation, adopted in January 1989. The North – South Centre is still based in the Portuguese capital working with a permanent staff of ten members, headed by an Ambassador from the Portuguese Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

The Centre fulfils a dual political role of representing "the voice of the South" within the Council of Europe and of promoting and transmitting the values of democracy and human rights, that are central to the Council of Europe's mission in neighbouring regions. Furthermore, the Centre strives to promote gender empowerment, youth participation and democratic consolidation through intercultural dialogue in cooperation with civil society, local authorities, governments and parliaments.

The Centre's new statute entered into force on 1 June 2011 and comprises the following:

- the Centre acts as an interface between the Council of Europe and countries in neighbouring regions which are interested in cooperating with the Organisation, by offering a platform for structured cooperation at different levels (governments, parliamentarians, local and regional authorities, civil society) also known as the "Quadrilogue".

¹³ <https://www.coe.int/en/web/north-south-centre>

This approach helps to bring the different players in North–South cooperation closer, thereby creating constructive synergies. "Quadrilogue" is a unique North–South Centre concept coined to explain a partnership which brings together representatives of governments, national parliaments, local and regional authorities and civil society to ensure good governance of the Centre representative of all the relevant stakeholders.

- Management of the North–South Centre is overseen by an Executive Committee, which is the single decision-making body of the North–South Centre, that is composed of members representing each of the components of the "Quadrilogue."

- The relationship with the European Union has been reinforced, through the introduction of the EU Committee of Regions as a new stake-holder.

- The priority areas of education, youth, intercultural dialogue that the Centre deals with are confirmed, with an increased focus on the promotion of Council of Europe principles and values beyond the European continent: dialogue, partnership and solidarity.

- the Centre's multilateral activities contribute to processes of democratic consolidation in member states and in neighbouring regions, mainly through education to democratic citizenship and intercultural dialogue, strengthen civil society, in particular with regard to facilitate the development of policies and structures for youth and women participation, particularly in Europe and Africa.

Joint management agreement with the EU

North–South Centre of the Council of Europe and the European Commission have agreed to combine their efforts – as key players European in the field of global education – to promote development education and youth action in Europe and beyond, raise awareness of global interdependence and solidarity through global/development education and youth cooperation in Europe and beyond. Funding issues of the NSC are also tackled within the Joint Management Agreement.

Programs

1. *Youth Co-operation*: The Youth Co-operation Programme is designed to provide training and capacity building for young people and youth organisations as well as to facilitate their participation in decision and policy making, in the framework of Quadrilogue initiatives. The Programme is composed by three main dimensions:

- 1.1. A Euro-Arab and Mediterranean Dimension.

- 1.2. The Network of Universities on Youth and Global Citizenship.

- 1.3. The Africa-Europe Youth Co-operation activities in the framework of the “Joint Management Agreement” JMA.
2. Women: The program on "Women" aims to strengthen the role of women as developing actors in the southern and eastern Mediterranean region, and to enhance women’s empowerment at all level of governance, with particular attention to Morocco and Tunisia. The programme is based on the following dimensions:
 - 2.1. Women’s participation in politics
 - 2.2. Prevention of the violence against women and adoption of the CoE’s Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence (Istanbul Convention).
 - 2.3. Women and media
 - 2.4. Euro-Med Women Network
 - 2.5. Prevention of the human trafficking
3. Promotion of Global education activities
4. Cultivation of an open and fruitful dialogue on Migration, Religion and relevant humanitarian issues, under the general umbrella of the Council of Europe values and with the UN platform “Dialogue of the Civilizations.
5. Lisbon Annual Forum:
 - 5.1. Organised annually since 1994 by the North - South Centre of the Council of Europe, the Lisbon Forum is a distinctive platform bringing together high - level participants from Europe, neighbouring regions and other continents to share experience, good practice and expertise. Themes of the Forum have been closely related to the core mission of the Council of Europe, to promote democracy, human rights and the rule of law.
 - 5.2. In light of the events of the 'Arab Spring' and of the changes in the countries of the region, recent editions of the Forum have sought to address key challenges faced by Arab societies and explore possibilities for renewed cooperation with Europe.
 - 5.3. During the latest years the Lisbon Forum was hosted in the Aga Chan Ismaili Center Headquarters, in Lisbon.
6. North–South Prize:
 - 6.1. The North-South Prize has been awarded every year since 1995 to two candidates, preferably a man and a woman, who have stood out for their exceptional commitment to promoting North-South solidarity. The candidates, must have distinguished themselves in the following areas: protection of human rights, defence of pluralist democracy, public

awareness raising on issues of global interdependence and solidarity, and strengthening the North-South partnership.

A Critical profile of the two Organizations

The two regional intergovernmental organizations are selected for this dissertation, on the following rationale:

- Both Organizations have recently updated mandates and statutes, which give them the adequate flexibility on building up broader synergies and set up further initiatives, in a variable geometry output, with the support of the major possible stakeholders available.
- To further highlight their activities' portfolios, which complements and enhances the regional stability and security with practical on the field turn key solutions and a spirit of consensus and mutual understanding.
- Although their results are considered marginal, without adequate public presence and exposure, both organizations are striving hard to implement best practices and rules in the region, which would further enhance stability, cooperation and development.
- To emphasize on turn-key solutions with soft power-oriented projects, which provide all the shareholders with the positive angle for further impetus. Many of the soft power related projects that were managed or marketed through the Union for the Mediterranean or the North – South Center of the Council of Europe, were not studied extensively, especially regarding the positive multiplying effects that they are pivoting towards the political discourse and the crucial policy orientations of the whole region and the ENP.
- Because of their subtle nature of geographical proximity, toolbox flexibility, goals orientation: Based in countries of the European South, the Union for the Mediterranean in Barcelona, Catalunya in Spain and the North South Center in Lisbon, Portugal, both have substantial comparative advantages in dealing with the Maghreb area, such as deeper cross-cultural understanding, wider consensus in unanimous selection of projects, better opportunities for complementary activities axes and vicinity headquarters for further coordination.
- Major challenges, which both the organizations are trying hard to address are structural socio-economic issues, namely the high rates of youth unemployment – around 30%, the weak participation of women in the labor market – less than 25%, the weak regional and economic integration and further development stalemates.

The three countries of the Maghreb

The three countries of the Maghreb region — Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia — are bound together by long cultural & linguistic ties and by a shared history during French colonization and occupation period (Sakthivel, 2016). More in focus:

Algeria

Although the larger country in Africa, 80% of its surface is desert. Algeria, with a predominately Berber legacy, is still the poorest among the three countries in focus of this dissertation and the one with an imminent economic peril, due to the high dependency of its GDP to the exported fossil fuels downsizing trend (ZOUBIR, 2018). Moreover, the country is the bigger military power in the Maghreb and Sahel regions, but it seems that, in foreign policy and power terms, still suffers (VOLPI, 2013) from the ideological dilemma of a hardline policy principles of non-interference and opposition to foreign interventions - even in front of an internationally sponsored responsibility to protect, as was the case in Libya- and the need for an adaptation in the overall followed Algerian policies *pe se* (Boukhars, 2013).

Albeit the international community contributed on considerable efforts to address a number of lurking issues related to the country, such as the territorial west Sahara impasse between Algeria and Morocco, ISIS cells activities, cases of human smuggling, drug trafficking networks and other deficiencies, overall outcome is still fragile and in order that the bigger picture balance to be called satisfactory is coming closer in a very slow step, but it remains in distance. However, gradual openings of the Algerian society include cooperation projects in the cultural¹⁴ and educational type Erasmus + programs exchanges, as well as local authorities' activities in promoting SME, youth vocational and technical training and women empowerment courses to better combat unemployment rates and gender representation (USA Central Intelligence Agency, 2018)

Morocco

Morocco is considered a *stable ally of the west* because of the years long foreign policy exercised by the Morocco royal family, plus for geopolitical reasons, the aperture to the Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea. The issue of the western Sahara status and the complicated relations with

¹⁴ <http://ufmsecretariat.org/medthink-55-forum-algiers2018/>

bordering Algeria dominates the Morocco's foreign policy (Global Security, 2018). In early 2011, King Mohammed VI responded to the spread of pro-democracy protests in the region, by implementing a generous reform program that included a new constitution, passed by popular referendum in July 2011, under which some new powers were extended to parliament and the prime minister, albeit ultimate authority remains in the hands of the monarch.

Those prudent and moderate political changes and social evolution attributed to the further stability and prosperity of the nation. In November 2011, the Justice and Development Party (PJD) - a moderate¹⁵ Islamist party, with name similarity to the Turkish Erdogan's AKP - won the largest number of seats in parliamentary elections, becoming the first Islamist party to lead the Moroccan Government. In September 2015, Morocco held its first ever direct elections for regional councils, one of the reforms included in the 2011 constitution. The PJD won again the largest number of seats in nationwide parliamentary elections in October 2016. (USA Central Intelligence Agency, 2018)

Tunisia

Back in December 2010, *demonstrating Tunisia triggered the Jasmine revolution*, after a series of protests in the country over high unemployment, corruption, widespread poverty and high food prices against the cronyism, oppression, corruption and repression exercised to the people by the Ben Ali regime. Public opinion was also spurred by the 220 leaked "confidential" documents, published simultaneously on Nov 28, 2010 by Spain's El País, France's Le Monde, Germany's Der Spiegel, the United Kingdom's the Guardian, and the United States' The New York Times.

In January 2011 the situation within the Tunisian streets aggravated and the escalation culminated in rioting, which in turn led to hundreds of deaths, mostly of civilians. In January 14th 2011, Ben Ali - after 23 years in power - dismissed his own government and fled to Saudi Arabia. By late January 2011, a "national unity government" was formed. The drafting for a new constitution begun in February 2012 and was finally ratified in January 2014. Parliamentary and presidential elections were held at the end of 2014 (Wiki Tunisia portal, 2018).

Although focused on bolstering exports, foreign investment, and tourism towards E.U. - the main economic partner, Tunisia's economy – structurally designed to favour vested interests (Moody's Analytics, 2017) – faced an array of challenges exposed by the 2008 global financial crisis that helped precipitate the 2011 Arab Spring, especially in form of persistent high unemployment

¹⁵ <http://ufmsecretariat.org/islam-women-priorities-reformist-approach/>

among the country's growing workforce, particularly its increasing number of university graduates and women, whose long - established rights, are unmatched by any other Arab nation.

Albeit the labour emigration pattern from the sixties towards the European industrial countries, the ongoing lack of job creation and skills mismatches could contribute to future unrest. Most probably, this tendency would be anticipated in the future with a sustained low fertility rate, which will shrink future youth cohorts and alleviate demographic pressure on labour market hurdles. Tunisia's government remains under pressure to boost economic growth quickly in order to mitigate chronic socio-economic challenges of this nature, along with quasi elementary competency vis a vis tackling human trafficking and relevant shortcomings, functioning as a transit country from the Sahel area to Europe.

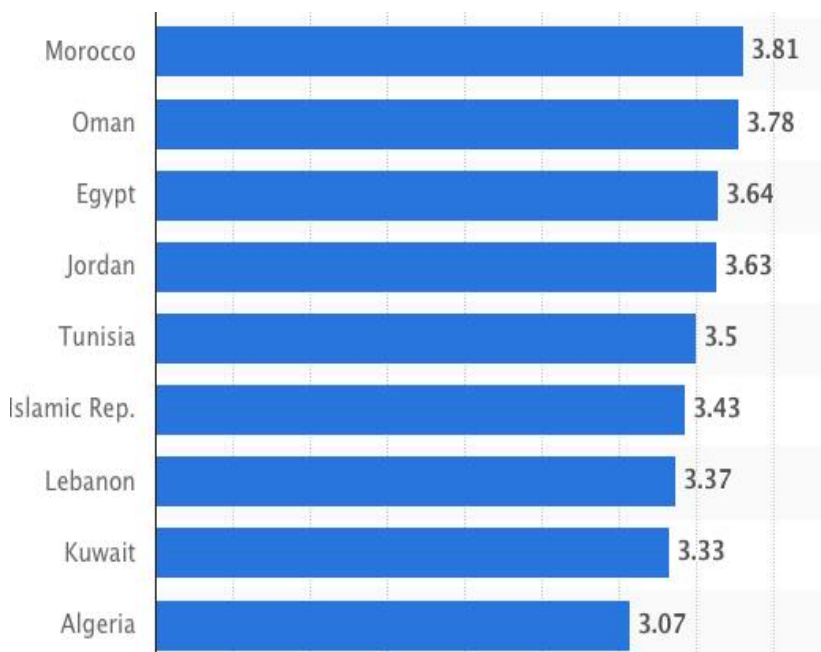
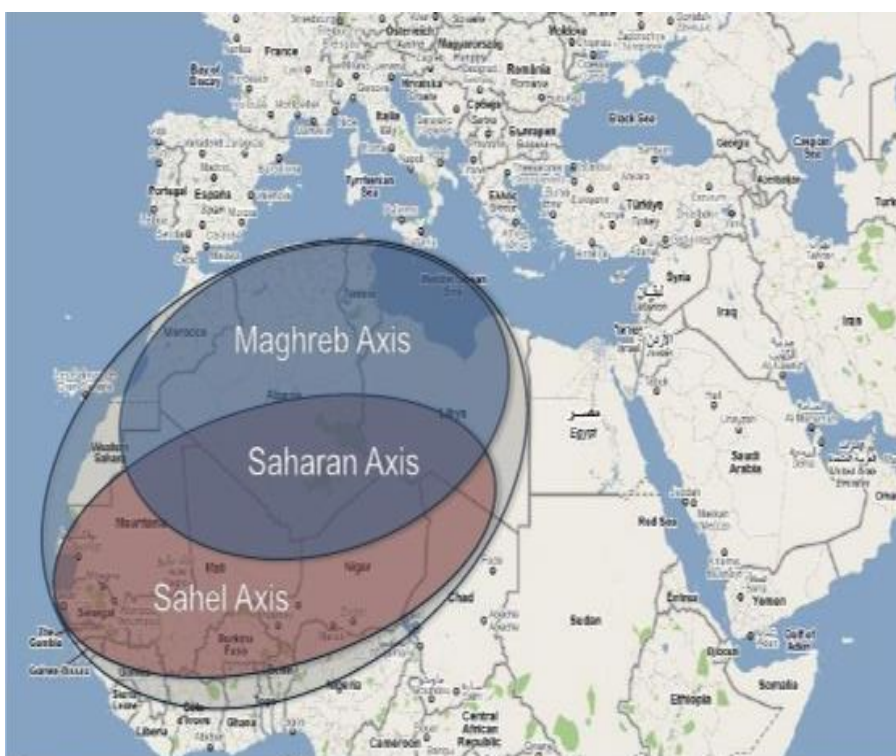


Figure 2 MENA Competitiveness TFCI index in 2017 Index

With 39 active partnerships out of a total of 50 carried out as part of Euro-Mediterranean cooperation, "Tunisia is at the heart of any Mediterranean project owing to its geostrategic position and deep relations with Maghreb, eastern Mediterranean and European countries," as the Secretary



General of the Union for the Mediterranean (UfM) Nasser Kamel (Agence Tunis Afrique Presse, 2018), pointed out in August 2018.

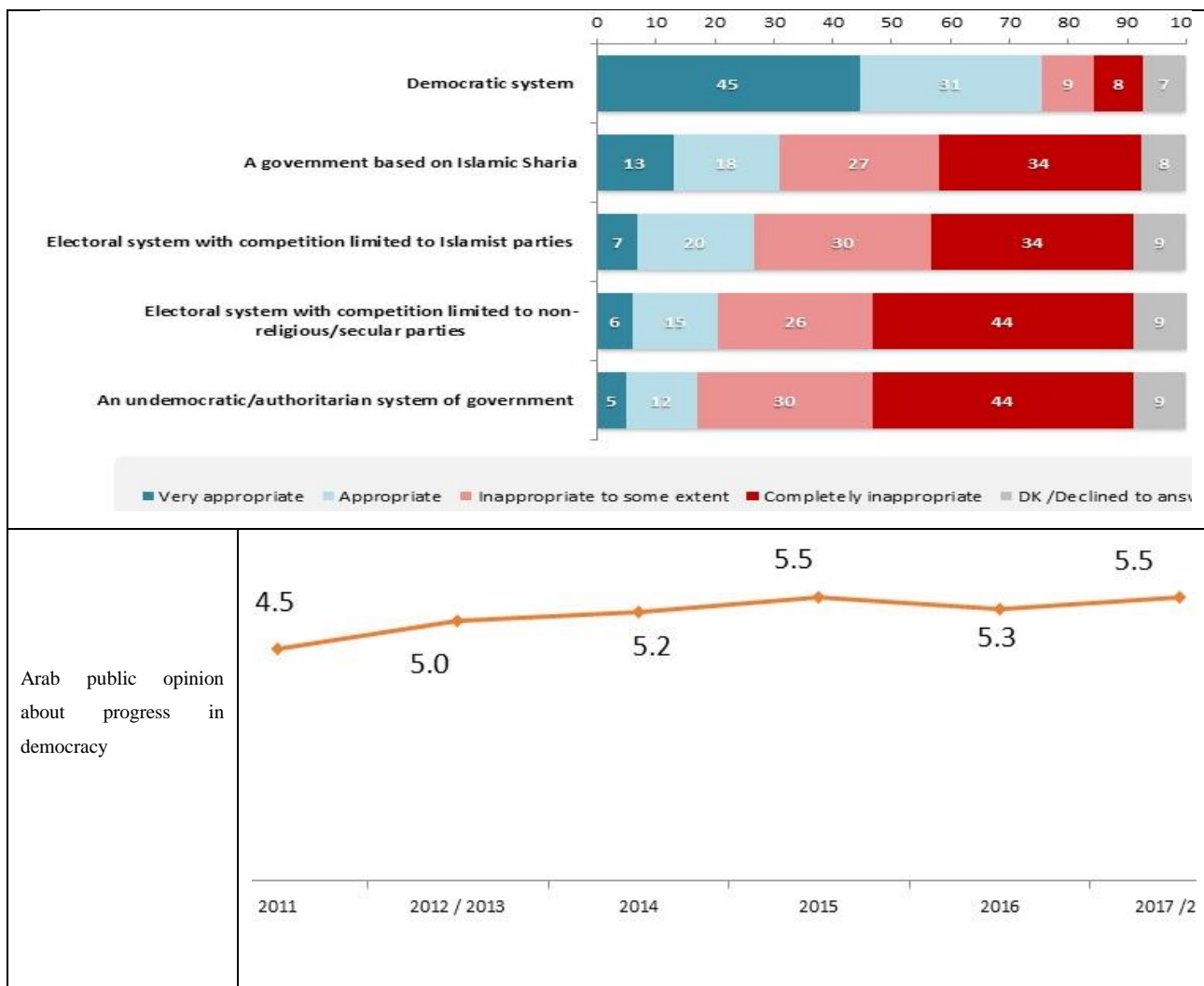
After Africa's official decolonization in the mid-

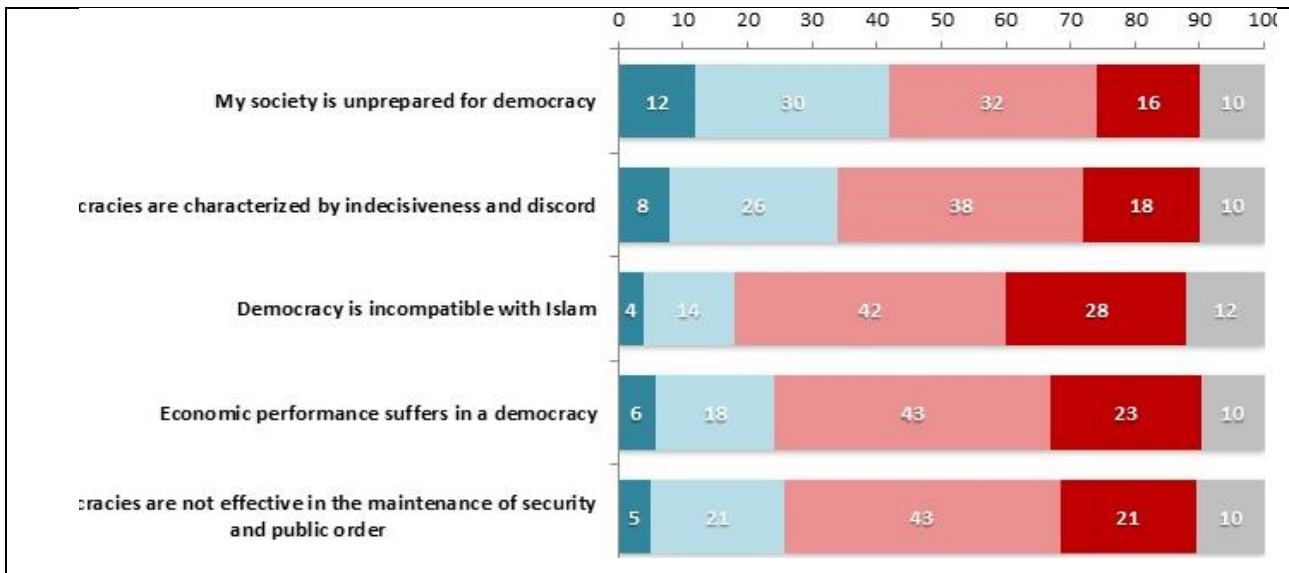
fifties, Maghreb has remained a close and intense sphere of European, more specifically predominately French and to a lesser extent Spanish past influence (MONTENAY), which attributed to them a relatively comprehensive advantage in facing current challenges, sometimes due to their strong national aspirations in a variable geometry process framework.

Being littoral countries of the Mediterranean, common regional issues pop up regularly, related mostly to geography and natural hazards or infrastructures -roads, ports, water scarcity, railroads among others- energy consumptions due to high urbanization rates, plus educational, public health, development, regional policies, which have to be addressed in a holistic and comprehensive way.

Arabs' perceptions on Democracy, Governance and the rule of law
(ARAB CENTER FOR RESEARCH AND POLICY STUDIES, 2018)

Figure 3 Maghreb Sahel Sub-region © slideshare.net <http://www.slideshare.net/TheMoorNextDoor/maghrebsahel-geopoliticsdiagramsmaps>





Perception of Arab populations for the “rule of law” within the timeline 2011 – 2017/18

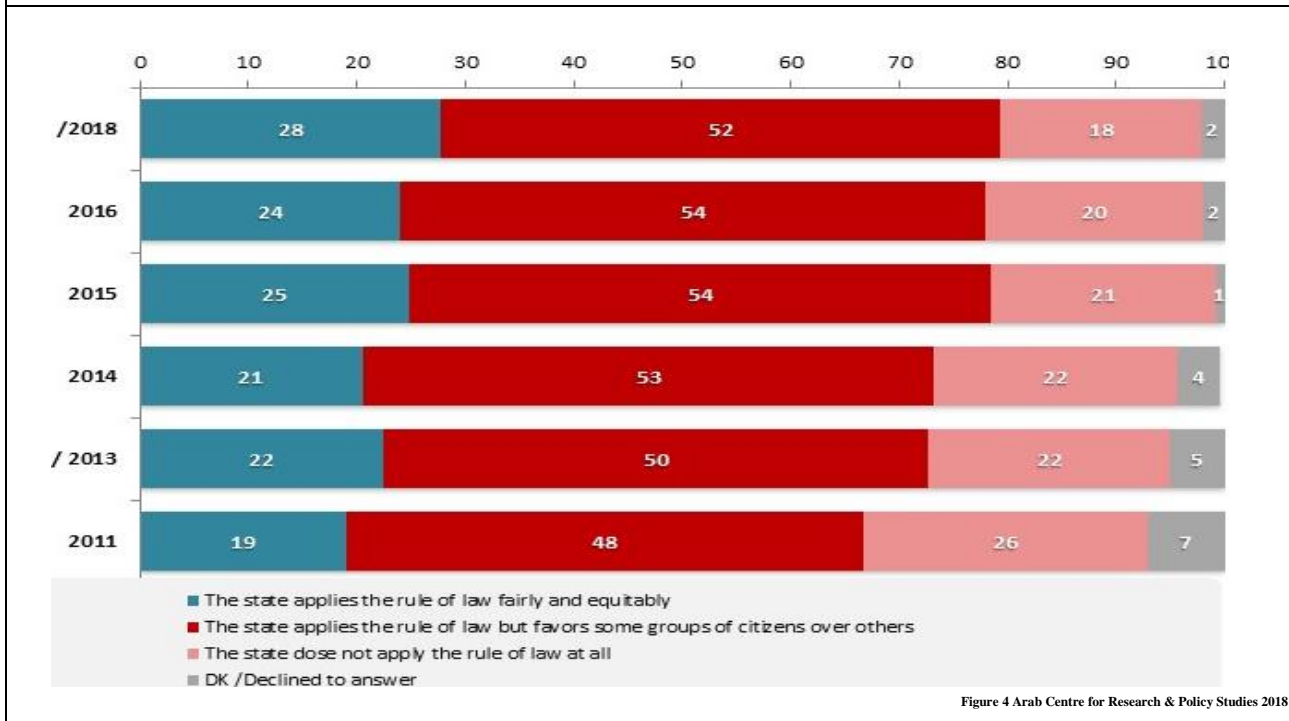


Figure 4 Arab Centre for Research & Policy Studies 2018

According to the MENA Competitiveness TCI index in 2017 (see [Figure 2 graph](#)), on a scale of 5 as the best record, Morocco ranks 3.81 while Tunisia gets a 3.5 and Algeria presents a modest reliability of 3.07 - ranked second from the end.

Chart legend: Countries Comparative Indexes compiled by the author from the World Bank <https://data.worldbank.org>, the [CIA World Factbook](https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook), the <https://www.numbeo.com> and <https://www.passportindex.org/comparebyPassport.php?p1=dz&p2=ma&p3=tn&p4=gr&p5=mr&fl=DZ,&s=yes> show.¹⁶

¹⁶ Egypt & Libya are included in the data matrix for comparative and concise understanding purposes of the region.

Countries / Indexes 2018	Morocco Rabat	Tunisia Tunis	Algeria Algiers	Egypt Cairo	Libya Tripoli
Crime Index [worst= 85,18]	53,8	37,85	51,81	54,73	60,02
Cost of Living [cheaper= 23,92]	35,68	26,53	33,44	25,68	n/a
Health Care [best=85,45]	40,73	60,78	n/a	42,72	n/a
Safety [best rate=88,26]	46,2	62,15	48,19	45,27	39,8
Government type	Parliamentary Constitutional Monarchy	Parliamentary Republic	Presidential Republic / People's Democratic Republic of Algeria	Presidential Republic	In Transition
Surface (sq.km)	446,6	163,6	2.381,7	1.001.450	1.759.540
GDP (USD BLN)	103.61	42,06	159,05	237,1	31,33
GDP annual growth rate	1.2	1,1	3,3	4,2	171,5
GDP/Capita	8.612	11.911	15.150	11.583	7.998
Population (mln)	35,28	11,40	40,61	95,69	6,2
Women	50,5%	50,6%	49,5%	49,4%	49,6%
Youth/median age	29,3%	31,6%	28,1%	23,9%	28,9%
Unemployment rate	10,7%	15,9%	11,2%	11,3%	13%
Internet Users	58,27%	50,88%	42,95%	39,21%	20,27%
Mobile Telephony / connections per 100 citizens	131	125	94,2	107,17	148,19
2016 Fraser Institute Economic Freedom ¹⁷	115 - 6,37/10	121 - 6,29/10	159 - 4,99/10	149 - 5,72/10	161 - 4,74/10
Poverty rate	15%	15,5%	23%	27,8%	30% est.
GNI/capita PPP USD World Bank	8.063	11.250	15.050	11.360	19.940
UNDP HDR 2016	123/188	97/188	83 / 188	111 / 188	102 / 188
Gender Inequality Index 2014 - UN	117	48	85	131	27
Global Peace Index 2018	1979 / 71	1998 / 78	2182 / 109	2632 / 142	3262 / 157
World Happiness Report 2015 - 2017	5254	4592	5295	4419	5566
Economist Intelligence Unit – Democracy Index	Rank: 101 Score: 4,87	Rank: 69 Score: 6,32	Rank: 128 Score: 3,56	Rank: 130 Score: 3,36	Rank: 154 Score: 2,32

Comparison Chart from Economic Indicators of the Arab Countries, 2005 (Africa Development Bank, 2011)

	Population (Million)
Algeria	32.9
Libya	5.9
Morocco	30.2
Tunisia	

Source: World Bank (2008)

Critic

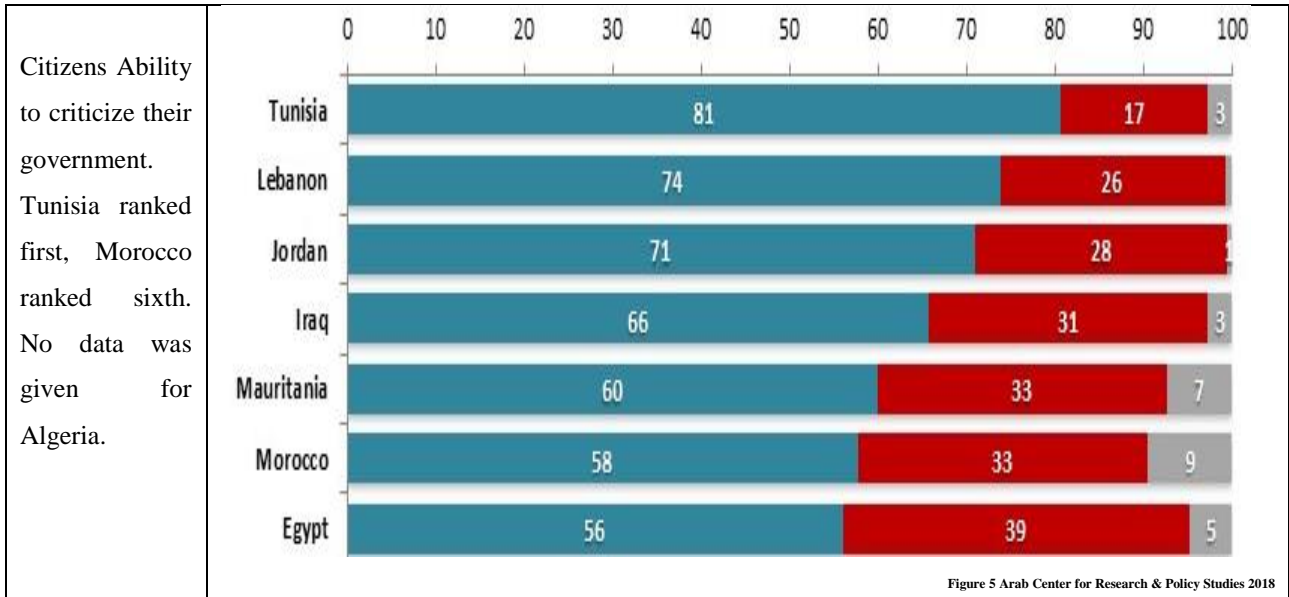
al assessment

A combined assessment of statistical data, official reports and media articles lead to the following scheme: The country in which the Arab Spring has the more positive effect by far is Tunisia¹⁸, due

¹⁷ <https://www.fraserinstitute.org/economic-freedom/map?geozone=world&year=2016&countries=MAR,DZA,TUN&page=map>

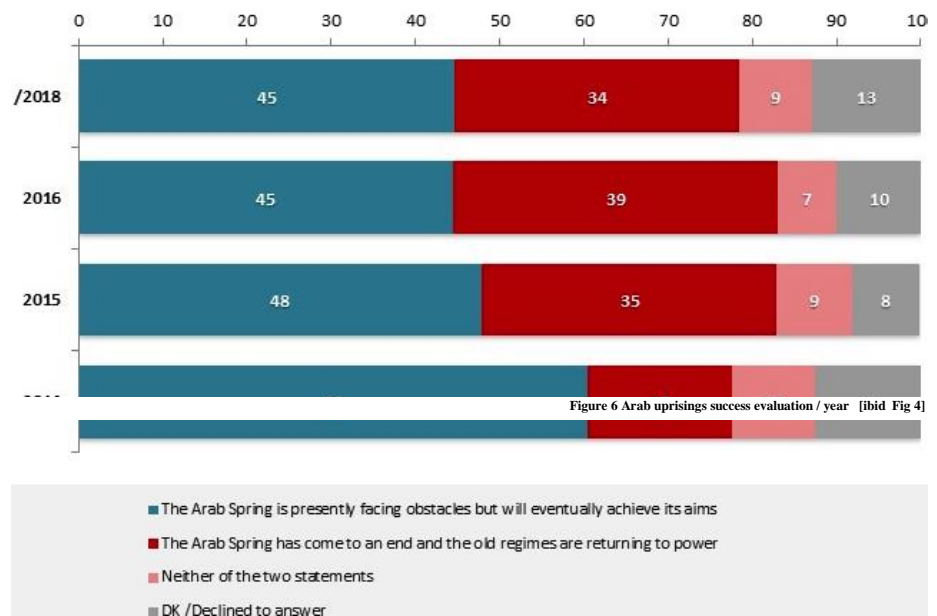
¹⁸ <https://www.tap.info.tn/en/Portal-Politics/10442185-tunisia-at-core-of>

to the better scores from the other countries in a series of comparisons, namely the [political situation](#) which is considered “Parliamentary Republic” combined with a high [EIU Democracy Index](#) rank, the GNI/capita combined with the GDP/capita and the [MENA Competitiveness TTCI index](#).



Moreover, Tunisia boasts a series of everyday life positively ranked indexes, as the cost of living and the health care, safety and the crime indexes.

The Kingdom of Morocco, characterized as the *stable ally of the west* is following Tunisia very closely regarding the economy, the core statistics and the general situation of the country, having opted for a



progressive improvement of the socio-economic structures and political representation legislation, in order to productively and peacefully accommodate undissipated Arab Spring derived demands from the youth part of the society. According to S.P. Huntington, revolutions “are most likely to occur in societies which have experienced some social and economic development and where the

processes of political modernization and political development have lagged behind the processes of social and economic change” (Huntington, 2006). Protests can be interpreted as a shift from populist authoritarianism, which actively incorporated the masses, to a more exclusivist post-populist authoritarianism, in which inequality and cronyism rose, that usually have been ascribed to the imposition of economic liberalization policies and unsustainable debt crises.

Like in much of the Arab world, the underlying grievances were both socioeconomic and political, a phenomenon characterized by academia and pundits as the “uneven modernization”. Especially in regions like North Africa, rapid socio-demographic change was accompanied by inadequate and slow economic development coupled with resilient, stagnating or even regressing political modernization (Korsten, 2018).

Finally, Algeria, still with unsolved burden on structural governance issues in the economic sector and in her strategic prioritizations, is ranked third.

The geopolitical background

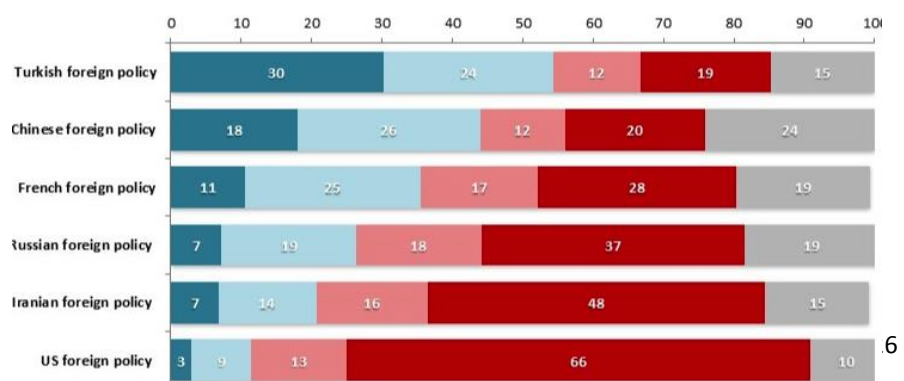
Regional Relations Outlook

Relations among the European heartland and its periphery with the Gibraltar chock point and the Maghreb area were characterized by:

1. The existence of the Mediterranean Sea, which correlated to a water border between Europe and Africa; at the same time the same connotation implied the different realities of a commercial juxtaposition of new opportunities or a hostile crossing.
2. The Roman “Mare Nostrum”, inaugurated on the commercial ancient Greek colonies cities ports network and further developed by the Venetians, the French and the British, since the end of the WW II.
3. The Mediterranean “conveyor Belt” theorem, referred to the choke points of Mediterranean, from the Gibraltar straits till the Suez Channel and the three consecutive ports of the islands in between: Malta, Crete and Cyprus.
4. The different religious preponderance of the population in the adjacent shores: Sunni Muslims prevailed in the southern shores of the North Africa countries, versus an overwhelming majority of Christianity in Portugal, Spain, France and Italy.
5. Political Geography differences further contributed to the distinction where political rules and practices followed a democratization process, in an earlier more stable pacesetting, compared to the sultanates, khalifs, authoritarian rulers and colonization in the North Africa.
6. Poor Economic cooperation, bilateral instead of multilateral relations, combined with rentier state apparatus and traditional – mostly nonproductive - responses in everyday living issues described a non-satisfactory pacesetting benchmark.
7. During the last two centuries, a common denomination of the whole MENA area was the “orientalism” as a utilitarian western relations set up, which after the inauguration of the cold war incorporated the soviet threat of a social Arabism, due to the regimes of Nasser and Qaddafi.

Figure 38: Foreign policy assessments.

The launch of the EMP in 1995 has been a turning point and a real challenge to the previous European



initiatives towards the region.

There were many interrelated factors behind it, such as Southern European protagonism and the political, economic, social problems in the Mediterranean that culminated in soft security threats for the European Union.

Stability “uber alles”

Stability of the Mediterranean has become a significant variable for European security in the post-cold war era. Therefore, the European Union had to stabilise its Southern periphery through exporting its political and economic values, which had proved to be successful in the establishment of peace and prosperity in Western Europe. As a consequence, the EU committed itself through the European Mediterranean Policy for their establishment in the Mediterranean region as well.

On an overall outlook, EMP has had a modest performance since 1995. Its most outstanding success has been the sustaining of dialogue even in difficult political circumstances. Nevertheless, EMP is ‘a process of international learning’(Perthes,1998:3). Moreover, it was a gradually evolving process with a long-term vision whose real effects are to be observed in the long-run.

However, within its framework, there are certain obstacles for an effectiveness Partnership. As an outcome of CFSP, the EMP reflected its ‘capabilities-expectations gap’ weaknesses. Moreover, it was far from being narrowed due to the lack of developments since 1995. The best demonstration of this gap is the lack of institutionalisation resulting from the failure to adopt the Charter, without which the EMP lacks the necessary capabilities to achieve its target. Another factor widening this gap was the lack of commitment of the Partners from both shores.

The Barcelona Process, as one of the most ambitious initiatives within CFSP, reflected the active role of the EU in its southern neighbourhood in the 1990s. However, its success in establishing of ‘a shared zone of peace, stability and prosperity’ was disputed, on lack of credibility grounds.

The “More for More” EU strategy

Lisbon Summit provisions produced an equally ambiguous stance, mainly because of the poor policy mix towards the core values of the EU mirroring to the countries of the region, combined with elementary and mostly bilateral conditional economic policy of perks and benefits which did not deliver positive messaging to the peoples of North Africa.

A regional players' tactical approach

After the transition effects of the Arab Spring which affected the EU public image in the region, the situation regarding ISIS and other active terrorist cells in the area and the augmented migration and refugees flows since 2013 towards Europe, the situation in the ground concludes that political pressure against rentier states policies increased from the civic society and other actors and further governmental and legal framework changes should be prioritized.

A great deal of the burden of this huge task is still carrying out by the two aforementioned regional organisations, the Union for the Mediterranean and the North – South Centre of the Council of Europe.

The Narratives

The European Neighbourhood Policy typical objectives are the trireme of the interests of Stability and Security plus the core value of Democracy (Cianciara A. , 2016). This trireme has also a narrative dimension of the European Neighbourhood Policy, which shifts depending on changes or crises from both external and internal factors. External factors are conditioned to the status of international affairs, but internal factors have to reciprocate with the general legitimation of the European Union different bodies and institutions.

The “Narratives” pivot

‘Narratives are stories people tell to make sense of their reality’ (Andrews M. .., 2015). A ‘narrative turn’ would a consequence of crisis of confidence in positivist social science, but the post-structuralist narratives shape actors’ worldviews and constrain behaviour. Furthermore ‘narratives’ depict tools that political actors use strategically.

Definition of “Narratives”

A narrative is a framework that allows to link apparently unconnected phenomena around a causal transformation, thus giving determined meaning to past, present and future. In interpretative social sciences narratives are conceived as cognitive resource that can be deployed strategically by actors and are particularly useful in times of uncertainty (Biegoń, 2016).

The “Narratives” toolbox

Narratives should be acknowledged not only as reflecting reality but as being constitutive of reality. They provide means for political actors to construct a shared meaning of past, present and future of international politics in order to achieve political objectives, especially in terms of influencing perceptions and (consequently) behaviour of other actors, functioning as legitimisation tool, i.e. justification for a policy, a political project, policies or actions (Murray & Manners, 2016)

ENP “Narratives”

The narrative of the European Neighbourhood Policy constructed by EU institutions aims at legitimising EU policies in third countries, but also aims at contributing to internal legitimisation of the EU as an integration project. As a result, EU decision-makers turned to foreign policy to produce a legitimating narrative that could compensate for internal deadlocks and shortcomings.

Coupling Values with Interests

Confronted with multiple facets of internal crisis over the last 10 years – constitutional, euro zone sovereign debt and resulting legitimacy crisis of EU institutions and European integration project – actors actively search for new opportunities in order to boost EU credentials and home legitimacy. The EU narrative of a successful economic project that provided well-being for all its members and citizens was no longer as credible and viable as before. Whereas euro zone crisis significantly contributed to reducing EU output legitimacy, EU actors sought to explore alternative policy areas more actively.

Neighbourhood policy provided a promising field to pursue EU normative agenda at the time when local developments seemed less conducive to the realisation of European transformation ideals. In response, legitimacy-seeking actors produce a narrative shift and adopt a strategy of downgrading ambitions in order to refute accusations of ineffectiveness (Nitolu, 2013).

This strategy may include stricter prioritisation by presenting fewer goals and actions, but also framing desirable outcomes as more dependent upon actions of other actors, than EU institutions. The focus was on final results, whereas democracy would be translated into achieving stability, which diverted attention from complexities of the transformation process and entailed a linear perspective.

Application of “Narratives” within the EU external relations challenges

Although “Good governance” or “rule of law” were used extensively in 2014 and 2015 as an Arab Spring echoed “Risorgimento”, that was not the case in previous years 2011 and 2013, when the ‘prosperity’ tune faded out because of the euro financial crisis. “Stabilisation” of the neighbourhood became a top priority followed by the “security” that preceded the objective of fostering ‘good governance, democracy, rule of law and human rights’ (Cianclara, 2016).

On the other hand, the EU exploited Arab uprisings to prove as “a powerful “narrative storyteller”, capable of generating a degree of external legitimacy for its supposedly missionary intentions of exporting EU governance schemes’ (Schumacher, 2011).

From the Critical Linguistics to the Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis was developed from the scientific field of the Discourse Analysis, which was elaborated in the first place by Ferdinand Saussure's structuralist linguistics. Saussure argued that the meaning of the words consists of two correlated element layers, the form (signifiant) and the content (signifier) and that their correlation is arbitrary (Kemmer, 2009).

Ferdinand de Saussure: Language as a “function machine” towards variety and change

Language is not considered the only channel to communicate mental descriptions, ideas, behaviours or world facts. According to Saussure, language is a social ‘function machine’ that generates “significants”, resulting to a constituency of “signifiers”, extending to social identities and social relations.

Meanings & Morphemes

Saussure saw the morphemes production and structure as a social institution, therefore variable & changeable over time, depending on the social changes. The relationship between language and reality is also arbitrary, a point further developed in later structuralist and post-structuralist theories (Saussure & Varenne, 1992).

Social Change & Social Reality

Meanings correlated to the morphemes are not inherent per-se, but derived from social conventions. Changes in discourse proclaim a function probability, by whom the social “universe” is changing. Diversifications, animosities, empathies are contributing at the discursive level, **to Change** - as a time lag parameter; **to Variety** whereas analysed as a cognitive depth parameter, reproducing the social reality (New World Encyclopedia, 2018).

Critical Theory

The term “Critical” refers to social phenomena open to critical investigation, to be challenged and not taken for granted, influenced from the Critical Theory of the Frankfurt School (Bohman & (ed.), 2016) and Jürgen Habermas (Corradetti, 2017). Critical Theory is based on Max Horkheimer essay of 1937: Social research should aim to a critical stance towards society's changing as a whole, juxtaposed to the Traditional Theory, requested to understand or explain the praxis of social phenomena (Wodak & Meyer, 2009).

Critical Theory argues **that society's dominant culture creates systems and institutions that generate "hegemony," or "status quo."** Even negative or rebellious reactions to the "system" are called **"counter-hegemonic"**, because objects are still mentally referred to the hegemonic perspective (The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2015).

Core concepts of Critical Theory:

- Scientific research **includes the whole society in its historical perspective.**
- CT's aim is to **improve the understanding of society, by integrating all the major social sciences**, including economics, sociology, history, political science, anthropology and psychology.
- **Intellectual and emotional ability to walk away from the hegemonic perspective and generate actual counter positions against its way of interpretation and thinking, via criticism, behavior, lifestyle choices, economic clout, is the seed of evolution and the beginning of a deep-rooted change.**

Discourse Analysis

Discourse Analysis can be conceived as an extended meditation on the broader methodology about how to intelligently and systematically characterize observable public debate. Points of intersection of the Discourse with other theoretical perspectives and exploration of concrete approaches to the analysis of discourse related to **various cognitive concepts such as framing, ideology, narratives, civil society, culture, storytelling and gender issues.**

Moreover, Discourse could be described as a particular way of talking about and understanding the world (or an aspect of it) as a public stream of consciousness observed in a systematic way, as a branch of reproducible and socially productive knowledge, i.e. a social science.

Postmodern scholars of International Relations (Herakleidis & Huliaras, 2015), as Der Derrian, Walker, Campbell, Ashley, Shapiro among others, detract, double-read and present the power of knowledge in various themes such as international anarchy, armed violence, borders and symbolic significance, sovereignty, individual and collective identity, security, diplomacy, geopolitics, and conclude about their constitution of social constructions-narratives (Tuathail, 1999).

Discourse Analysis Approaches

Different approaches to discourse analysis were introduced – Ernesto Laclau's (Hancox, 2015) and Chantal Mouffe's (Shahid, 2016) Discourse Theory, Discursive Psychology and Critical Discourse Analysis.

All DA approaches share the starting point that our expressing modes do not neutrally reflect our world, identities and social relations, neither their characteristics are authentic, fixed, pre-given or

determined by external conditions. Our discourse plays an active role in creating and changing them and their “hegemony”, their power projections and semantics (Craftwork, 2016).

The principal proposals

Four principal propositions are embraced by the three approaches:

- A critical approach against taken-for-granted knowledge.

Knowledge about the world and social phenomena should not be treated as objective. In Discourse Analysis terms, they are the products of discourse (Andrews, 2012)

- Historical and cultural specificity

Humans are fundamentally historical and cultural beings, therefore peoples’ views and knowledge about the world are ‘products of historically situated interchanges (Gergen, 1985). Consequently, worldviews and identities could have been different and over time they can change.

Discourse is a form of social action that contributes to:

a./ the social world producing process – including knowledge, identities and social relations – and

b./ to a re-shaping of social patterns, via a time span continuum.

- Link between knowledge and social processes

Understanding of the world is created and maintained by social processes. Knowledge is created through social interaction and competition on true and false, through which “common - hegemonically expressed- truths” are constructed.

- Link between knowledge and social actions

Within a particular worldview, some forms of action become natural, others – in a hegemonic context - unthinkable. Different social understandings of the world lead to different social actions and patterns, therefore the social construction of knowledge and truth has social consequences (Burr, 1995).

Discursive Psychology

Social psychology studies by Michael Billig (Billig, 1999) and [Rom Harré](#) gave a direction towards the concept of “advocacy coalitions”. Since 2005, a broad discussion on socio-scientific discourse analysis surfaced in France and in Germany.

Originally called as the post-behavioral revolution in the second half of the 1970s, it was later referred to as an "inter-paradigm debate" (Hofman, 1987), between the three different approaches: (1) the realism (Hale, 2017) and neo-realism (Korab-Karpowicz, 2017), (2) the pluralism (Connolly, 2005) or liberalism (Mises, 1985) and neoliberalism (Davies, 2017) -juxtaposed to the economic neo-liberalism (Monbiot, 2016) - and (3) the structuralism (MAMBROL, 2016).

Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse analysis emerged in the late eighties at the University of Lancaster, spearheaded by Professor of Linguistics [Dr. Norman Fairclough](#) - born in 1941, as a paradigm development from interdisciplinary approach and a joint area of scientific thinking, examining the ways power is related with discourse, when, via the discourse per se, hegemonic outcomes are produced as well as positive or negative support towards ideologies.

Critical Linguistics Studies examine how power is exercised through language as form of social practice, which is always political and always interconnected with Discourse. Common research ground for the Critical Discourse Analysis includes discourse, critique, power and ideology. According to (Parker, 1992) , **a Discourse is a set of statements which construct an object.**

Critical Discourse Analysis systematic goals

1.- Explore relations of causality and determination between:

- A.- Discursive practices, events and texts in micro or middle level.
- B.- Wider Social and Cultural Structures, relations and processes, in middle or macro level.
- C.- A systemic transversal interaction among the above, on a macro level.
- D.- Identified dominant discourses, which show how reality is been socially constructed.

2.- To investigate how such practices, events and texts are surfacing, being ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power.

3.- To explore the canvas of relationships between discourse and society as a securing power and hegemony factor.

Main characteristics of the Critical Discourse Analysis

All discourse studies deal with discourse and have at least seven dimensions¹⁹ in common (Bourdieu, 1999):

¹⁹ **The Seven Common Dimensions Cross Check list for Discourse Studies & Analysis**

• an interest in the properties of 'naturally occurring' language use by real language users (instead of a study of abstract language systems and invented examples)

- 1.- CDA deals with social sciences.
- 2.- Power relations are “discursive”.
- 3.- Discourse constitutes and re - shapes society and culture (Jørgensen & Philips, 2002).
- 4.- Discourse is a carrier and agent of Ideology.
- 5.- Discourse is “historical”: event[s] wise, power wise, results wise.
- 6.- The connection between Language and Society is Mediated by Governments, Mass Media outlets and Pundits / Public Personalities.
- 7.- CDA can be either interpretative, or explanatory.
- 8.- Discourse is a form of social action.

Representatives Pioneering at the Critical Discourse Analysis

- Michel Foucault

Foucault, a French philosopher, innovator and activist in literature, politics analysis and other fields of power structures and mechanisms; many considered him the primary proponent of "post-structuralism," or "post-modernism" (FOUCAULT, 1982). Postmodernists introduced the idea that critical theory is ultimately a meta-narrative. According to Foucault, **power generates knowledge and vice versa**. He proposed a time lag framed approach to history in order to reveal how certain "truth regimes" -dominant and hierarchical power structures- dominated others, not just within politics, but within the whole canvas of knowledge.

In this context, **the term 'discourse' refers to institutionalized patterns of knowledge that become manifested in disciplinary structures and operate by the connection of knowledge and power**. Foucault's perspective concentrates on institutional contexts of the production and integration of knowledge, where the subject mainly appears to be determined by knowledge and power.

Foucault introduced the notion that modernity and its associated ideas were by any means natural or

-
- a focus on larger units than isolated words and sentences and, hence, new basic units of analysis: texts, discourses, conversations, speech acts, or communicative events
 - the extension of linguistics beyond sentence grammar towards a study of action and interaction.
 - the extension to non-verbal (semiotic, multimodal, visual) aspects of interaction and communication: gestures, images, film, the internet, and multimedia.
 - a focus on dynamic (socio)-cognitive or interactional moves and strategies.
 - the study of the functions of (social, cultural, situative and cognitive) contexts of language use.
 - an analysis of a vast number of phenomena of text grammar and language use: coherence, anaphora [referrals], topics, macro-structures, speech acts, interactions, turn-taking, signs, politeness, argumentation, rhetoric schemes, mental models, and many other aspects of text and discourse.

correct, independent of historicity: ““systems of thought and knowledge ("epistemes" or "discursive formations") are governed by rules (beyond those of grammar and logic) which operate beneath the consciousness of individual subjects and define a system of hegemonically positioned conceptual possibilities that determines the boundaries of thought and language use in a given domain and period.” (Whisnant, 2012)

- Jacques Derrida

According to Derrida (Turner, 2016), the world is constructed as a text (because all theories are expressed in texts), in the sense that the interpretation of the world corresponds to the concepts and structures of the language. The world cannot be captured with traditional scientific research, but only be interpreted. **Derrida analyzes how the texts are made, proposing as a strategic analytical tool the text deconstruction and the "double reading"** (Lawlor, 2018). Supposedly stable meanings and relationships within the language are essentially social constructions, often placed in hierarchical superior / inferior *bipoles*²⁰: **“By applying and exercising text deconstruction, the social construction will come to light and will seem to be anything but natural, given or objective”**.

- Norman Fairclough

Norman Fairclough’s analytical approach assumes that **language helps the creation of change** (Fairclough, 1989). Therefore, it can be used to change behaviors and could be used as a tool of power²¹. He presupposes **consciousness of what is discoursed** and he developed a three-

²⁰ Bipole: A juxta positioned container linguistically charged with two power notions or meanings, dedicated to react under circumstances and present – most of the time quantitative - results.

²¹ *Basic dictums of Professor Fairclough include:*

- All forms of language represent communicative events. Sociolinguistic practices have a dual relation to power:
 - a.- incorporate differences in power and
 - b.- project and influence particular relations of power.
- *Critical Language Awareness*
The awareness of language choices and images of reality that they empowered linguistically selected social environments is called Critical Language Awareness. Thus, the speaker becomes a critical and selective user of language, choose to promote the ideological message she/he wishes to convey.
- *Texts value according to interpretation and social experience, which is knowledge based.*
The language is a social practice and for this reason language is analyzed as a continuous speech, not as a simple text. Texts have not an absolute “per-se” value, but carry an add-on value, on the basis of the interpretation drawn from their knowledge baggage and social experience.
- *Speech incorporates ideologies, legitimization and social inequality patterns*
Various types of speech incorporate ideologies which legitimize and maintain the kinds of existing social inequalities, because people produce and interpret a text based on already known social structure, reproduced through its expression[s].
- *Reasoning as asymmetric power distribution relationships process*

dimensional tool framework for studying discourse, combining “micro”, “meso” and “macro”-level interpretation, (Karlberg, 2005) where the aim is to map the three separate analysis layers onto one another:

- At the micro-level, the analyst considers various aspects of textual/linguistic analysis, for example syntactic analysis, use of metaphor and rhetorical devices of (spoken or written) language, text, either speech or writing, images and how the ideas are being described.

Discourse is the collection of words and grammatical characters when we speak or write.

By choosing certain wording, we are showing and expressing our attitude towards the issue, constituting Social Events.

Discourse is about a language used by a certain linguistic group, a community. Therefore, any text contains interpretation.

- The meso-level analysis or "level of Discursive Practice" involves studying issues of production and consumption, for instance, which institution produced a text, who is the target audience, processes of text production, distribution and consumption and analysis of discursive events as instances of sociocultural practice.

In Discursive Practice level the analysis is processing the interpretation of the previous text level and pinpoints the reactions due to the production of Texts or Constitutional Texts: “The way we are talking about the subject can change our view about the subject, the wording we select to use is open to interpretation, language is not neutral, but it contains values and assessments to be conveyed to the recipient”.

- At the macro-level, or Social Practice level the analyst is concerned with [intertextual](#) and interdiscursive elements and tries to take into account the broad, societal currents that are affecting the text being studied. Standards of a given society or organization are examined,

Reasoning is used to establish asymmetric power distribution relationships, directly or indirectly. Thus, **political speech is like a "class of speech", constantly changing and modified within the framework of changes in the wider social and economic contexts cultural data.**

- *Intertextuality: Texts property to be integrated and merged or be rejected by the Speech*
Intertextuality for Fairclough is the property of the Corpus texts to integrate and merge into these other parts of speech, which a text either assimilates, accepts or refutes them, rejects them. Intertextuality can be obvious or constitutive. Obvious intertextuality refers to texts that are incorporated into the generated text to enhance, develop or safeguard the faithfulness of new ideas and relate them to the contextual prime frame.
- Social Pluralism integrates the originally produced text into a new intersectional context. So, the Corpus text is refocused and its interactivity is increased since the Corpus text is now interpreted in comparison to the other texts.
- Re-accentuation is exacerbated by the linkage of language practices of the various institutions with different textual species, resulting in creation of interchained links.

in other words the social structure and the Social Norm level is examined, creating Ideology: “Language creates opinions and characterizes our attitudes. It creates social relations and practices. Language is associated with power. Communication is a social event and discourse is creating a context of this. Multinational corporations are using the projection of an adequately strong culture”.

Fairclough model is considered a useful model to examine and analyze the recipients’ behavior to the Sender message. It applies differently from culture to culture, especially when low or high Corporates content are examined and when research importance is attributed to the more ambivalent features of non-verbal communication.

- Teun Van Dijk

Van Dijk’s points out that Critical Discourse Analysis would be rather perceived as a shared perspective in doing linguistic, semiotic or discourse analysis’. The heterogeneity of methodological and theoretical approaches would tend to confirm that CDA is a shared perspective of a scientific paradigm, which allows the use of various “discursive toolboxes” (Namara, 2018) depending on the written or oral language structures regarding political issues. Instead of researching Fairclough’s ideological and power patterns on the “how’s and why’s” social rationale, Prof. Van Dijk’s (Dijk, 2016) research focused on what really happened, revealing sources of social issues such as Power, Dominance, Inequality and Bias, employing a three-dimensional methodology: Ideology analysis with main focus given to the Discourse, Socio-cognition and Socio-analysis (Van Dijk, 1993).

- Ruth Wodak

Dr. Wodak, a Professor in the University of Wien, worked together with her former colleagues and Ph.D students in Vienna, Austria and elaborated the Discourse Historical Approach, an interdisciplinary, problem-oriented approach to analyze the change of discursive practices over historical time. Wodak’s²² main research agenda focused on the development of theoretical approaches in discourse studies (combining ethnography, argumentation theory, rhetoric, text linguistics); organizational communication and construction of regional and national identities in the media and in fiction; identity politics and politics of the past; language and/in politics; racism, prejudice and discrimination. Her edited volume “Memory and Justice” (De Cillia & Wodak, 2018), co-edited with Gertraud Auer (Kreisky Forum, 1991) was published in November 2009, dedicated

²² <https://lancaster.academia.edu/RuthWodak>

to European and more global, transnational aspects of commemoration and to the modalities that societies deal with traumatic pasts.

Research Methodology

Overview

The concept to apply discourse analysis in this dissertation requires the development of a methodology that focuses on analyzing official public documentation (Strategy Papers and Annual Reports) from which the research tries to pinpoint changes, similarities and patterns. Moreover, to explain how dominant or floating ideas are expressed, reproduced, modeled, in order to integrate them into existing socio-political context and synergies of political power and discourse hegemony. The literature review section on Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis in the previous pages is followed, where the fundamentals of different scientific approaches are highlighted.

The design of the research

The main question of this dissertation deals with the extension to which the narratives of the European Union and the European Neighboring Policy, are expressed through the strategic documents of the corpora in focus:

- a.- Correspond to realities and at the same time create a fertile space for actions & initiatives
- b.- are creative and productive, regarding their wider focus to the broader area and
- c.- have a multiplying impact to the discursive narrative of the two regional organizations, the Union for the Mediterranean and the North – South Center of the Council of Europe.

More specifically:

Q1: Which are the core axes and themes, intonated and amplified from the European Union and the ENP strategic documentation corpora to the narrative of the Union for the Mediterranean and the North – South Center of the Council of Europe, as expressed in their respective annual activities reports documentation from 2010 till 2017?

Q2: Is there a “follow up pattern” of further enhancement, in terms of the narrative in the policy orientation, before, during and after the Arab spring events, expressed with salient frequencies of the selected specific keywords concepts?

Q3: In the modus operandi and in practical terms, would it be possible using the critical discourse analysis paradigm to pinpoint positive deliberate initiatives in the field line of activities of the Union for the Mediterranean and the North South Center?

In order to address these questions, the following research protocol is followed:

- A matrix concept of fifteen preponderant and relevant “keywords”: Fifteen keywords from the political discourse, context related to all the corpora of the organizations involved in the research are selected, after thorough and critical reading (Bryman & Burges, 2002), of the European Neighboring Policy respective Reports²³, the EU Strategic Review Dec 2015 Executive Report²⁴ documentation, the Union for the Mediterranean²⁵ and the North – South

²³ EU & ENP Documents corpus include:

- JOINT COMMUNICATION TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, THE COUNCIL, THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMITTEE AND THE COMMITTEE OF THE REGIONS: A new response to a changing Neighborhood
[http://aei.pitt.edu/39644/1/JOIN_\(2012\)_14.pdf](http://aei.pitt.edu/39644/1/JOIN_(2012)_14.pdf)
- JOINT STAFF WORKING DOCUMENT: Partnership for Democracy and Shared Prosperity: Report on activities in 2011 and Roadmap for future action Accompanying the document JOINT COMMUNICATION TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, THE COUNCIL, THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMITTEE AND THE COMMITTEE OF THE REGIONS Delivering on a new European Neighborhood Policy
http://www.eeas.europa.eu/archives/docs/enp/pdf/docs/2012_enp_pack/pship_democracy_report_roadmap_en.pdf
- Annual Reports:

JOINT COMMUNICATION TO THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL, THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, THE COUNCIL, THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMITTEE AND THE COMMITTEE OF THE REGIONS: A PARTNERSHIP FOR DEMOCRACY AND SHARED PROSPERITY WITH THE SOUTHERN MEDITERRANEAN / Brussels, 8.3.2011 COM(2011) 200 final
https://ec.europa.eu/research/iscp/pdf/policy/com_2011_200_en.pdf

JOINT STAFF WORKING DOCUMENT Implementation of the European Neighborhood Policy in 2012 Regional Report: A Partnership for Democracy and Shared Prosperity with the Southern Mediterranean Accompanying the document: JOINT COMMUNICATION TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, THE COUNCIL, THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMITTEE AND THE COMMITTEE OF THE REGIONS European Neighborhood Policy: Working towards a Stronger Partnership
http://eeas.europa.eu/archives/docs/enp/pdf/docs/2013_enp_pack/2013_southern_mediterranean_en.pdf

JOINT STAFF WORKING DOCUMENT: Implementation of the European Neighborhood Policy in 2013 Regional report: A Partnership for Democracy and Shared Prosperity with the Southern Mediterranean Partners Accompanying the document: JOINT COMMUNICATION TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, THE COUNCIL, THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMITTEE AND THE COMMITTEE OF THE REGIONS Neighborhood at the Crossroads: Implementation of the European Neighborhood Policy in 2013 / Brussels, 27.3.2014 SWD(2014) 100 final http://eeas.europa.eu/archives/docs/enp/pdf/2014/regional/pdsp_en.pdf

JOINT STAFF WORKING DOCUMENT: Implementation of the European Neighborhood Policy Partnership for Democracy and Shared Prosperity with the Southern Mediterranean Partners Report - Accompanying the document: JOINT COMMUNICATION TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, THE COUNCIL, THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMITTEE AND THE COMMITTEE OF THE REGIONS - Implementation of the European Neighborhood Policy in 2014 / Brussels, 25.3.2015 SWD(2015) 75 final
http://eeas.europa.eu/archives/docs/enp/pdf/2015/enp-regional-report-southern-mediterranean_en.pdf

JOINT STAFF WORKING DOCUMENT Towards a new European Neighborhood Policy Accompanying the document JOINT COMMUNICATION TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, THE COUNCIL, THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMITTEE AND THE COMMITTEE OF THE REGIONS: Review of the European Neighborhood Policy
http://eeas.europa.eu/archives/docs/enp/documents/2015/151118_staff-working-document_en.pdf

JOINT REPORT TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, THE COUNCIL, THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMITTEE AND THE COMMITTEE OF THE REGIONS - Report on the Implementation of the European Neighborhood Policy Review / Brussels, 18.5.2017 JOIN(2017) 18 final https://eeas.europa.eu/sites/eeas/files/2_en_act_part1_v9_3.pdf

²⁴ The European Union in a changing global environment: A more connected, contested and complex world
<https://europa.eu/globalstrategy/en/strategic-review-european-union-changing-global-environment>

²⁵ Union for the Mediterranean Annual Reports and other relevant documentation
<http://ufmsecretariat.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/UfM-Annual-Report-2017.pdf>
http://ufmsecretariat.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/2016-Annual-Report_-UfM.pdf
http://ufmsecretariat.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/UfM-Activity-Report_FINAL_WEB.pdf

Center²⁶ Annual Reports [UfM: years 2014 up to 2017 // NSC: years 2009 up to 2017 // Fully reviewed documents corpora can be found in the digital Appendix I of the dissertation].

These selected fifteen keywords are the following: *democracy, government, rule of law, stability, equality, development, empowerment, transparency, accountability, poverty, dialogue, human rights, gender, women, youth.*

Every keyword is representing a specific discursive power morpheme for both parts of the bipolar scheme, the EU, the ENP in one hand, and UfM & NSC, the two regional international organizations in the other.

- Three policy-oriented Concepts Axles construction, that interlacing the main discursive trends: Within these three policy-oriented axles, the fifteen keywords are accommodated and distributed “discursively”, resulting to the attribution of five relative keywords to every policy-oriented axle.
 - The three “D” key axles concepts are in concordance and correlate to:
 - a.- **Democracy process [DZ]** – a Political Progress pillar, which correlates with the keywords: *democracy, government, rule of law, stability, equality.*
 - b.- **Development [DM]** – an Economic pivot Pillar, which correlates with the keywords: *development, empowerment, transparency, accountability, poverty.*

http://ufmsecretariat.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/Report_web_FINAL.pdf
<http://ufmsecretariat.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/UfMS-Progress-report-on-Women-Empowerment1.pdf>
<http://ufmsecretariat.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/UfM-Women-Empowerment-ENG-Leaflet1.compressed.pdf>
http://ufmsecretariat.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/UfM_progress_report2016.pdf
<http://ufmsecretariat.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/VA-to-promote-gender-equality-in-the-Mediterranean-Web-low.pdf>
<http://ufmsecretariat.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/UfM-Roadmap-for-action-2017.pdf>

²⁶ North – South Center Annual Reports

https://rm.coe.int/2017-nsc-report-of-activities/168077f6b5	https://rm.coe.int/168070e560
https://rm.coe.int/168070e563	https://rm.coe.int/168070e55f
https://rm.coe.int/168070e562	https://rm.coe.int/168070e55e
https://rm.coe.int/168070e55d	

- c.- **Dialogue Civic Capacity [DLC]** – an enhancer for narratives on social change, which correlates with the keywords: *dialogue, human rights, gender, women, youth*.
- Fairclough [Meso level analysis](#) is applied to all the research corpora, identifying quantitative salient frequencies (Khan Academy, 2018) of the preselected keywords in every corpus. That way, preponderance and [“hegemonical”](#) power triggering keywords are clearly identified.
- Sub-sums of the similar keywords identified in the “demand side” corpora, the European Union and the European Neighboring Policy are produced, as well as from the “supply side” corpora of the Union for the Mediterranean and the North – South Center of the Council of Europe.
- A cross examination function of the two subsums is going to investigate the identities of the multiplier agent[s], that constitute a clear indication of [hegemonical](#) power discourse pattern within the given time frames.
- Cross reference between the keywords from the corpora of the European Union and the European Neighborhood Policy and the corpora of the Union for the Mediterranean and the North – South Center is further indicating strong commitments, or power discourse prioritizations from both participants of the bipole, the “demand” and the “supply” side of the Discourse.
- [Macro level](#) of the Fairclough analysis is going to be applied in order to further analyze the results of the three timing variables.
 - In the macro level analysis, power discourse channeling, namely the power transfer grid levels of the “power to”, the “power with” and the “power within” – expressed by the keywords or axles discourse transfers or multipliers from the EU & ENP corpora to the UfM & NSC corpora, as well as discourse multipliers from the three “D” axles – categories, combined with their numerical dimensions are going to be presented.

- Axles – categories presentations introduce the gradient stop-over correlation between the strictly “closed” spaces of the security and neighborhood documentation of the EU towards a “by invitation space” of the ENP and finally a “claimed space”, which is created according to the discursive power of the DLC axle.
- All keywords are examined via the AdTaT quantitative frequency analysis macOS application, in three different timeframes, before, during and after the Arab spring incidents, namely -before = 2009-2010, during = 2011-2013 and after = 2014-2017 - by using four different corpora of documentation, corresponding to the respective organizations in focus.
- Cross tabulation of the data results from three “D” key axles concepts during the three different time slots -before (2009-2011), during (2012-2014) and after (2015-2017) the Arab Spring events- is proving if multiplying effects of the Discourse narrative exist, either in positive or in negative terms. Moreover, the single word queries run through the [AdTat 1.5](#) permits to locate whether analogy or trend patterns are established, that eventually would boost the three “D’s” further, along with the civic emancipation processes -among the main issues of the Arab Spring.
- Furthermore, using Critical Discourse Analysis, the dissertation has to comment whether the focus among the three “D’s” axles, occurs from the EU & ENP documents corpora-the policy demand side, as does the relevant support from the two regional organizations part at the Annual Activities Reports of the Union for the Mediterranean and the North – South Center of the Council of Europe, vis a vis the supply or “policy delivery” side towards the Maghreb countries, characterized by an omnipresent transversal “acquis” nurture cradle for economic and social progress.
- Consequently, by combining the results from both questions the dissertation will show the contribution of those two regional intergovernmental organizations to the overall enhancement of the Maghreb area to the European Union and the European Neighboring Policy and Southern Neighborhood policy mainlines.

Research parameters

The discursive power effectiveness study of the North South Center of the Council of Europe and of the Union for the Mediterranean, regarding democratization processes, rule of Law, economic

empowerment and social cohesion indexes is going to be carried out by salient frequency analysis discourse of the three “D” axes pertaining specifically selected keywords and relevant data cross-tabulation from the Annual Reports on joint projects of the aforementioned organizations.

Corpora

Selected documentation corpuses under analysis and examination include the following texts [see full corpora in Digital Appendix 1]:

- The European Union’s official documents on external relations:
 - The ESS 2008 document is used as a Discourse Analysis comparison baseline, regarding the selected keywords matrix set.
 - The EU Strategic Review Executive Report document, published on Dec 2015, for a comparative keywords’ correlation with the ENP official annual reports for the years 2011 – 2015, downloaded in pdf format from the respective websites.
 - [The four Annual Reports of Activities for the years 2014 – 2017 of the Union for the Mediterranean](#), published on the respective website, under “References” section.
 - [The Annual Reports of the North – South Center of the Council of Europe for the years 2009 – 2017](#), published in the respective website.

The Software Toolbox

The pdf documents included in the research corpora are processed using the Wondershare PDF Element 6.5 Pro²⁷. To ensure flawless data availability, all pdf texts are downloaded in a proxy located private files server. Consequently, all pdfs are converted to text documents, in order to eliminate any text formatting, keeping only the basic transcripts with words sequence. Therefore, text corpora are ready for correlation processing with the elementary processing capabilities - albeit freeware - application from Adelaide University “AdTat 1.5”²⁸.

Keywords input processing variation

Letters capitalization was preserved to monitor the formal setups, correlations, public events titles, names or titles of related local, regional or international entities or official texts. Doubled keywords research run with capitals and lower case first letters is applied during the corpora processing with the [AdTaT](#), to safeguard the accuracy of the results.

²⁷ <https://pdf.wondershare.com/pdfelement-mac/>

²⁸ <https://www.adelaide.edu.au/carst/resources-tools/adtat/>

Research Results

Q1 Comments

According to the salient frequency quantitative analysis with [AdTaT](#), the main “keywords” present in the two groups of corpora in focus, before, during and after the Arab spring events are the following:

1) Positive Messaging Saliency / intonation attributing to the Public Discourse before and during the Arab Spring:

a) From the “demand side” – i.e. the EU & and the ENP corpora- the common keywords are:

“Development”, “Dialogue”, “Human Rights”.

Five prime keywords selection, <i>before and during</i> the Arab Spring	From the ESS 2008 Executive Report:	From the ENP 2011-2013 EU Annual Reports
	development/D = 13	development/D = 76
	stability / S = 7	dialogue / D = 68
	human rights = 6	democracy / D = 35
	dialogue / D = 4	human rights = 28
	rule of law = 4	women / W = 18

b) From the “supply side” – i.e. the UfM & the NSC corpora- commonly present keywords are:

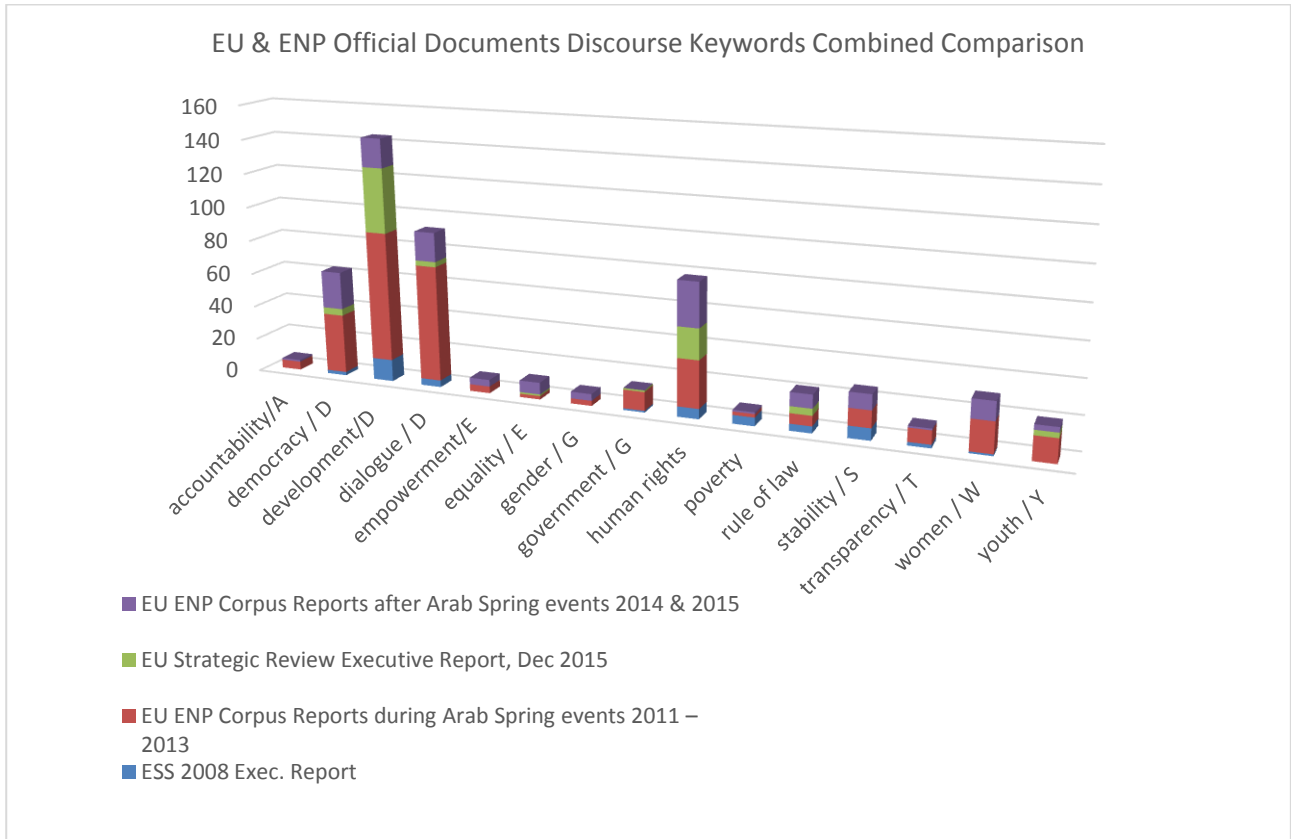
“Development”, “Youth”, “Women”, “Dialogue”, “Empowerment”.

Five prime keywords selection, <i>before and during</i> the Arab Spring	From the UfM Annual Reports:	From the North – South Center
	development/D = 262	development/D = 183
	youth / Y = 85	youth / Y = 224
	women / W = 124	women / W = 27
	dialogue / D = 124	dialogue / D = 0
	empowerment/E = 46	empowerment/E = 5

c) Overall, keywords with multiplying effect in the Public Discourse are:

“Youth”, “Development”, “Women”, “Dialogue”, “Human Rights”, “Democracy”.

Keywords comparison, before and during the Arab Spring	From the ESS 2008 Exe. Rep.	From the ENP 2011-2013 EU Ann. Rep.	NSC Corpus Reports before Arab Spring events 2009 –2010	NSC Corpus Reports during Arab Spring events 2011 - 2013
development/D =	13	76	183	86
dialogue / D =	4	68	0	48
democracy / D =	0	35	13	20
women / W =	0	18	27	116
human rights =	6	28	37	48
rule of law =	4	0	6	7
Youth / Y =	0	17	224	336
stability / S =	7	0	1	0



d) Avoidance Refrain Keywords from the demand side:

“Poverty”, “Accountability”, “Empowerment”, “Gender”, “Equality”

Five less used keywords selection, before and during the Arab Spring	From the ESS 2008 Executive Report:	From the ENP 2011-2013 EU Annual Reports
	poverty / P = 5	poverty / P = 2
	accountability / A = 0	accountability / A = 5
	empowerment / E = 0	empowerment / E = 2
	gender / G = 0	gender / G = 3
	poverty / P = 5	poverty / P = 2

e) Avoidance Refrain Keywords of the Public Discourse from the supply side:

“Accountability”, “Transparency”, “Poverty”, “Rule of Law”, “Democracy”

Five less used keywords selection, before and during the Arab Spring	From the UfM Annual Reports:	From the North – South Center of the CoE
	accountability / A = 2	accountability / A = 0
	transparency / T = 2	transparency / T = 0
	poverty / P = 3	poverty / P = 2
	Rule of law = 0	Rule of law = 6
	democracy / D = 1	democracy / D = 13

The discourse analysis of the Arab Spring during the timeframe 2009- 2013 reveals the focus in the specific Discourse keywords / themes, as follows:

- a) From the “Demand side” Power Discourse:
- i) positive preponderance on: “*Development*”, “*Dialogue*”, “*Human Rights*”
 - ii) negative preponderance on: “*Poverty*”, “*Accountability*”, “*Empowerment*”, “*Gender*”, “*Equality*”.
- b) From the “Supply side” Power Discourse:
- i) positive preponderance on: “*Development*”, “*Youth*”, “*Women*”, “*Dialogue*”, “*Empowerment*”.
 - ii) negative preponderance on: “*Accountability*”, “*Transparency*”, “*Poverty*”, “*Rule of Law*”, “*Democracy*”.
- c) **Results** guiding the course of action during timeframe 2009-2013:
- i) Common ground avoidance Discourse: “*Poverty*”, “*Accountability*”. Along with the keywords “*Rule of Law*”, “*Transparency*” & “*Democracy*” are not going to surface substantially, in the supply side corpora, therefore are not taking part in the discourse hegemonical power transfer.
 - ii) Common space with multiplied positive preponderance on Discourse about: “*Development*”, “*Dialogue*”.
 - iii) Supply side Discourse preponderance with specific Initiatives, towards: “*Empowerment*” of “*Youth*” and “*Women*”.

2) Positive Messaging Salience / intonation attributing to the Public Discourse, after the Arab Spring timeframe:

- a) From the demand side: “*Development*”, “*Human Rights*”, “*Democracy*”, “*Dialogue*”.

	<i>From the Strategic Review EU 2015 Executive Report:</i>	<i>From the ENP 2014-2015 EU Annual Reports</i>
<i>Five prime keywords selection, after the Arab Spring</i>	development/D = 38	human rights = 26
	human rights = 18	democracy / D = 22
	democracy / D = 4	development/D = 17
	rule of law = 4	dialogue / D = 17
	dialogue / D = 3	women / W = 11

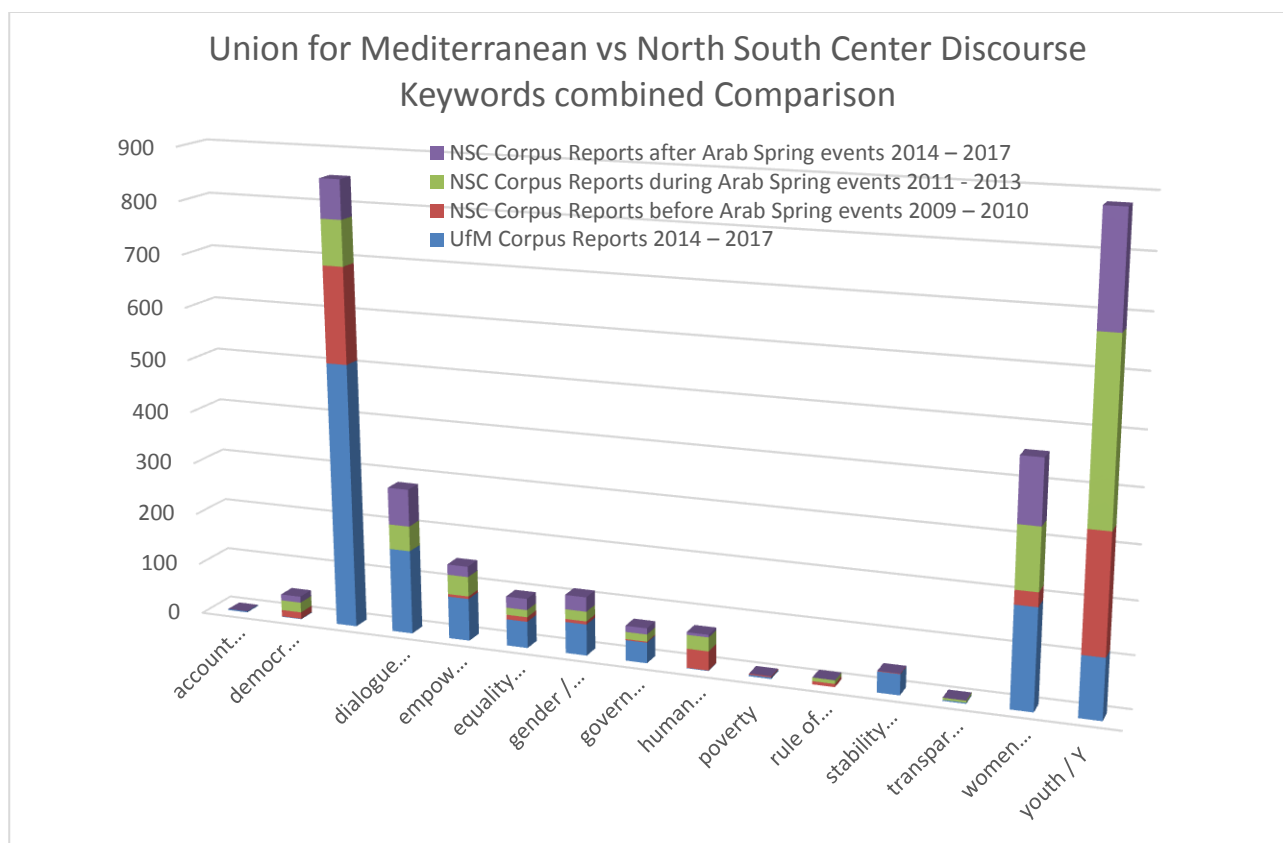
- b) From the Supply side: “*Development*”, “*Youth*”, “*Women*”, “*Dialogue*”, “*Empowerment*”.

	<i>From the UfM Annual Reports:</i>	<i>From the North – South Center of the CoE</i>
<i>Five prime keywords selection, after the Arab Spring</i>	development/D = 426	youth / Y = 206
	women / W = 193	women / W = 120
	dialogue / D = 163	development/D = 74
	youth / Y = 116	dialogue / D = 71
	empowerment/E = 83	gender / G = 28

Salient frequency in the narratives of the Public Discourse of the Union for the Mediterranean and the North – South Center of the Council of Europe, for the concepts keywords feature: “Youth”, “Women”, “Development”, “Dialogue”, “Empowerment”, “Gender”, “Equality”, “Government”, “Human Rights”.

Union for the Mediterranean corpus also features the following prime concepts – keywords: “Development”, “Women”, “Dialogue”, “Empowerment”, “Gender”, “Equality”, “Government”, “Stability”, while the North South Center corpus proclaims: ”Youth”, “Development”, “Women”, “Dialogue”, “Empowerment”.

The numbered frequencies show that the salient key axle concept clearly presents a preponderance in a socioeconomic developmental dimension. *Within the narrative, the discourse is bending towards a broader motivation of “the youth generation and the women to empower the development through the dialogue”.*



c) Avoidance Refrain common Keywords from the Public Discourse after the Arab Spring from the Demand side: “Empowerment”, “Gender”, “Transparency”, “Accountability”

Five less used	From the EU 2015 documentation	From EU ENP Corpus Reports 2014 & 2015
	Empowerment = 0	Poverty = 3
	Stability = 0	Accountability = 6

keywords selection, after the Arab Spring crisis	Gender = 0	Gender = 7
	Transparency = 0	Empowerment = 8
	Accountability = 0	Transparency = 9

d) Avoidance Refrain common Keywords from the Public Discourse after the Arab Spring from the Supply side: “Rule of law”, “Transparency”, “Accountability”

Five less used keywords selection, after the Arab Spring crisis	<i>From the UfM Annual Reports:</i>	<i>From the North – South Center of the CoE</i>
	Rule of Law = 0	Stability = 0
	Democracy = 1	Accountability = 0
	Human Rights = 1	Transparency = 0
	Transparency = 2	Poverty = 0
	Accountability = 2	rule of law = 0

Concept keywords like: “Accountability”, “Transparency”, “Poverty”, “Rule of Law”, “Stability”, “Democracy” are positioned in the extremely low end of the frequency scale, *clearly showing the low grade of vested interest.*

The discourse analysis of the Arab Spring during the timeframe 2014-2017, reveals the focus in the specific Discourse keywords / themes, as follows:

a) From the “Demand side” Power Discourse:

- i) positive preponderance on: “*Development*”, “*Human Rights*”, “*Democracy*”, “*Dialogue*”.
- ii) negative preponderance on: “*Empowerment*”, “*Gender*”, “*Transparency*”, “*Accountability*”.

b) From the “Supply side” Power Discourse:

- i) positive preponderance on: “*Development*”, “*Youth*”, “*Women*”, “*Dialogue*”, “*Empowerment*”.
- ii) negative preponderance on: “*Rule of law*”, “*Transparency*”, “*Accountability*”.

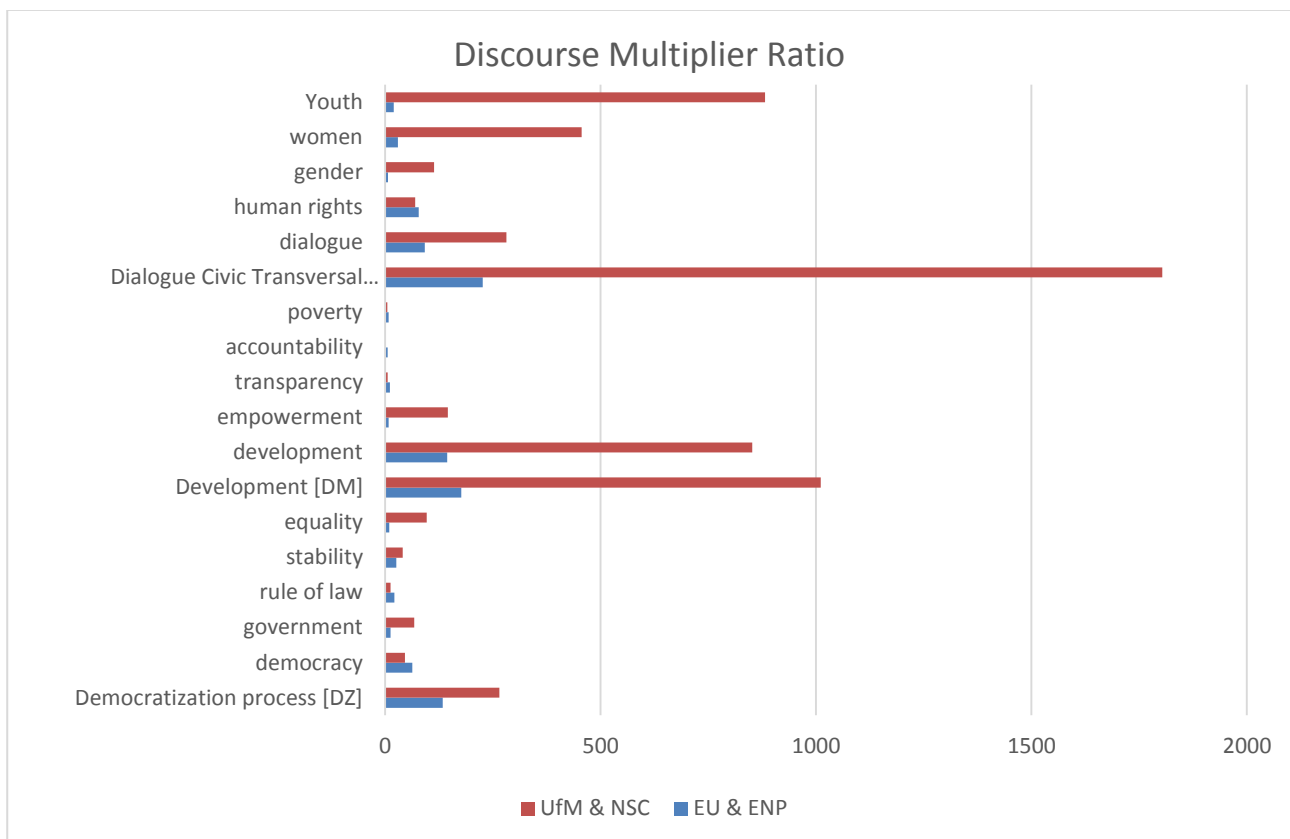
c) **Results** guiding the course of action during the timeframe 2014-2017:

- i) Common ground avoidance Discourse: “Transparency, Accountability”. Along with the keyword “Rule of Law”, are not going to surface substantially in the supply side corpora, therefore they are not taking part in an “hegemonical” discourse power transfer.
- ii) Common ground extremely positive preponderance on Discourse about: “Development, Dialogue”, **as is the case in the previous timeframe.**

iii) Supply side Discourse preponderance with specific Initiatives towards: “Empowerment” of “Youth” and “Women”, as the main findings in the previous timeframe.

Q2 Comments

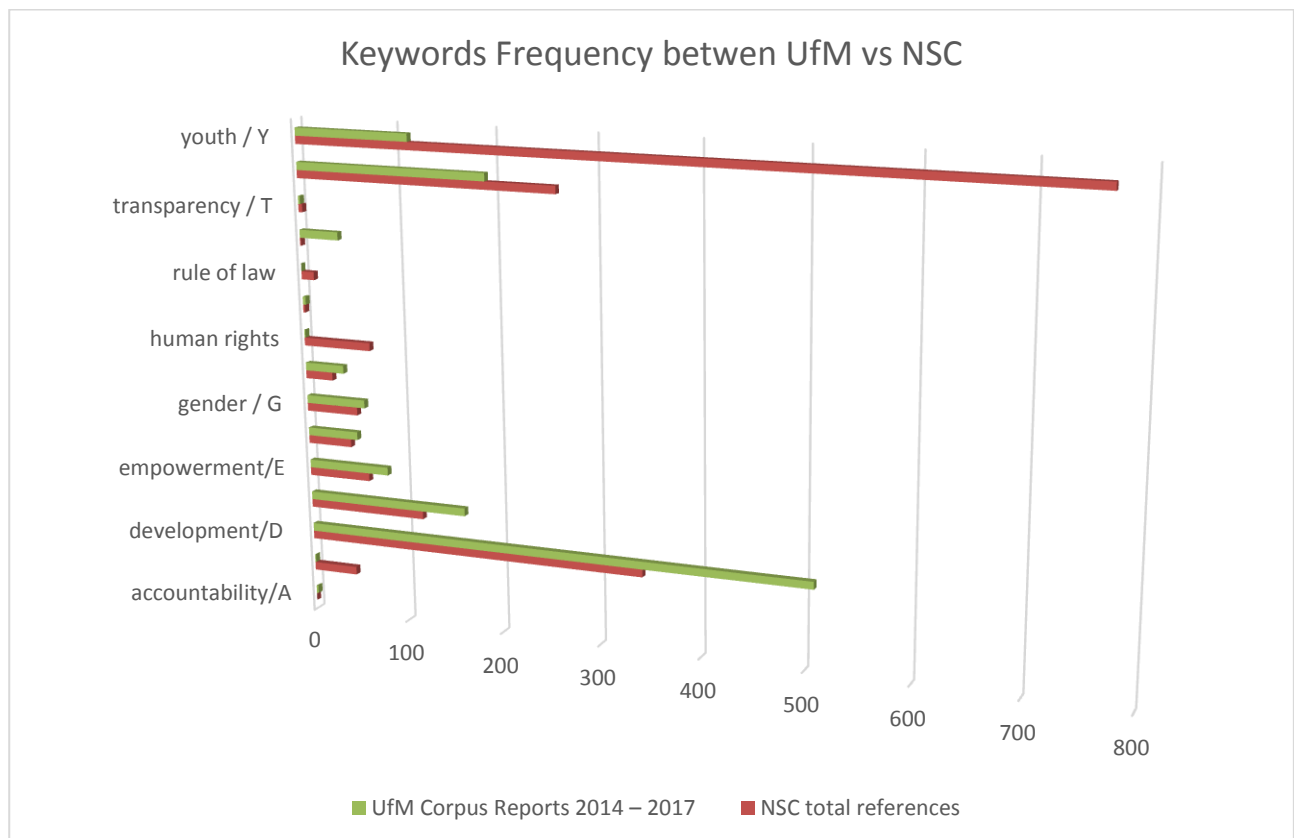
Based on the previously presented quantitative data and on the theoretical exposition of the dissertation, one of the more important approaches among the organizations whom official texts are analyzed, is a pattern which follows a deliberate course of executive policy: Using as baselines the EU & ENP mandated scopes, both UfM and NSC are shifting beyond the mainstream “demand side” strategy towards a “supply side” deliberated modus operandi which aims to successful regional policies, just because of the difference in the prioritizations, the vested powers and the stakeholders. This swift is incorporated in the Discourse pattern of hegemony and initiatives, as shown in the quantitative data throughout the salient frequencies research runs.



Differences in the linguistics modalities used in the corpora and the differences in the interlocutors’ level, are faced in a positive and acceptive manner, as proved from the Discourse research salient frequencies of the supply side. This salience is expressive of the pattern mode, which is followed from the supply side: Focus on the positive parts of the bipole, building consensus through

“Dialogue” & “Development”, while at the same course of action maintain contact with the more prominent powers of the future change, i.e. “Youth” and “Women”.

Moreover, fundamental prerequisites of mutual and retrospective trust, acceptance, validity, quality and ethics from the operational baselines of the two organizations are safeguarded and accommodated by focusing on the tangible priorities and actions, interpreting the general ideas and values into area-specific and successful thematic projects.



Thus, a **paradigm swift process is present**, stepping from political strategy mainlines to socioeconomic empowerment – as the relevant data shows, using the “Dialogue” [DLC] and “Development” [DM] as the two axes of power within the Arab Spring - defined from the claims in the streets, a new victorious “acquis” social space, for Youth and Women.

Q3 Comments

A real champion in the Discourse of all corpora was the Dialogue Civic Capacity [DLC] - the enhancer for narratives on social change, which counted 2031 top instances of all the group keywords. Interesting enough, from 227 instances in the EU & ENP corpus, the Discourses of the

Union for the Mediterranean and the North – South Center multiplied the keywords of the group by 7,9 times.

Development [DM] – the economic pivot pillar group followed, which counted in 1188 instances of all the group keywords. From 177 frequencies counted in the EU & ENP corpus, the Discourses of the Union for the Mediterranean and the North – South Center multiplied the relevant keywords by 5,7 times.

“Youth” was the keyword reproduced most often, from 20 instances in the EU & ENP corpus to 882 instances in the UfM & NSC corpus, a 44,1-multiplying factor.

“Development” followed up, after “Women” & “Dialogue”.

“Empowerment”: Usually correlated to the empowerment of women or to the empowerment of youth. Sporadically the term correlated with a political or economic term or pivot situation.

“Gender” was a keyword with an interesting 16,3 multiplying factor.

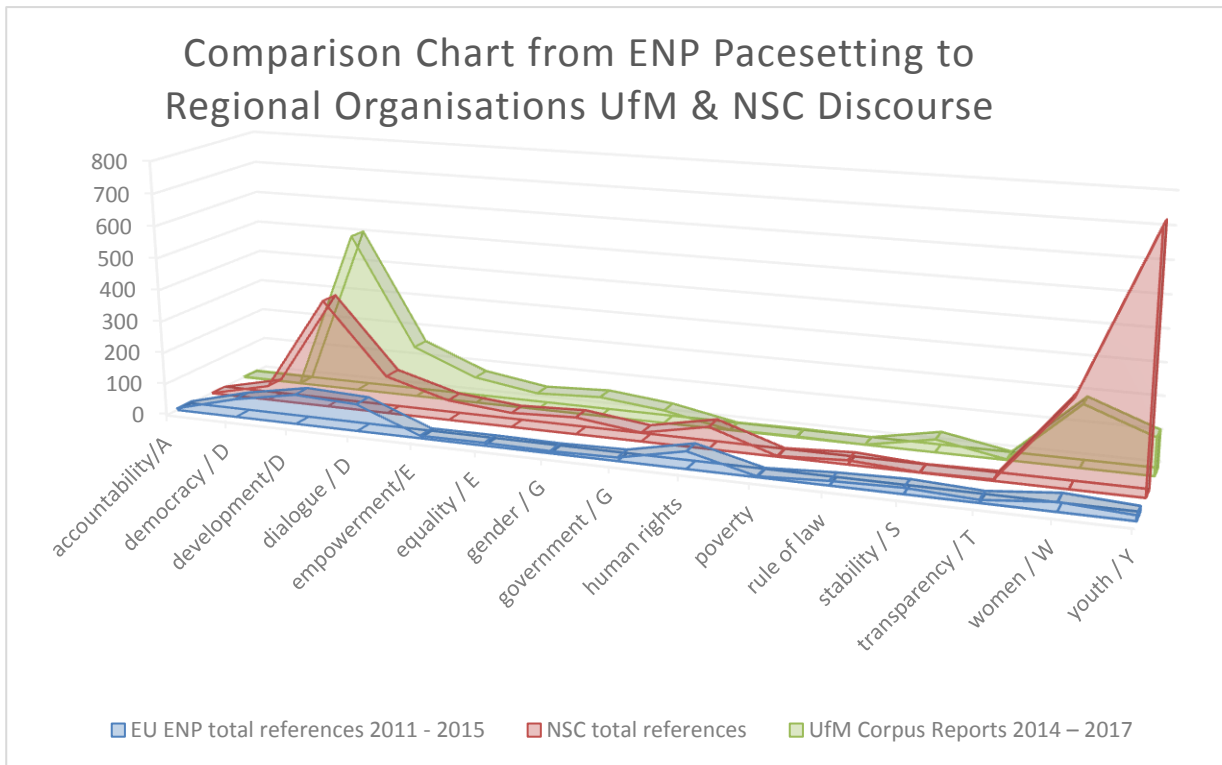
On the other hand, the keywords democracy, government, rule of law, human rights, stability, equality, transparency, accountability, poverty, do not act as the previous paragraph pattern - as a message multiplying factor, neither play a significant power discourse reproductive structure, most probably because of the adverse connotations that might be repercussioned or even backfire in some instances against the recipients within the fragile and troubled time period of the uprisings.

democracy / D: In the official EU & ENP annual reports “democracy” figured 57 times as a political function or idea reference to the concept or application of democracy, where Democracy, with a capital first letter referred to specific collective entities or bodies or titles for organized round tables and meetings.

A peak multiplying effect of the European Union and European Neighboring Policy documentation narratives is clearly projected to the Public Discourse of the Union for the Mediterranean and the North – South Center of the Council of Europe for the concepts keywords: Youth, Women, Development, Dialogue, Human Rights.

Other keywords concepts, even non-intonated abundantly in the EU – ENP narrative, succeeded to surface in the UfM – NSC public discourse: In preponderance, keywords belonging to the socioeconomic axes’ conceptualization like Gender, Equality, followed by political axes

conceptualization like Stability, Democracy, Government, Rule of Law, Empowerment. A probable explanation might be the avoidance of tackling cultural differences with possible negative consequences, “non-discoursed”, quasi “muted” are the keywords: Accountability, Transparency, Poverty.



Final Remarks

Within the activities reports published by the Union for the Mediterranean and the North – South Center, the Youth and the Women of Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria, instead of been characterized as a handicap, are enrolled as effective agents and partners for change.

The analysis of the relevant corpora suggests that the two regional organizations prove that in concordance with their political guidelines, they follow a course of action regarding their programs built up, which is taking under consideration robust and vibrant discursive alliances for successful change and leverage:

By applying as *strong points* the prerequisites of positive civic society conditionalities and economic incentives-based approaches, using the “Dialogue” on the crucial issue of “Development” as *opportunities* are effectively moving the whole region further.

By transforming the *local socioeconomic weaknesses* to regional catalysts, the Union for the Mediterranean and the North South Center are coordinating brilliant initiatives, are empowering the overall climate for change and they are wide spreading effective governance towards medium- and long-term yield results.

Closing Note

The regional situation in the Western Balkans might be an interesting future challenge to research through CDA, compared to the situation in the Maghreb, as Maria Todorova suggests in her book “Imagining the Balkans” (Todorova, 2009), while comparing MENA area turmoil with the still open issues in the Aimos peninsula.

###

Data Tables

Table 1: Changes over time: three variable timeframes: Before, During & After the Arab Spring

3 “D”s axles and 15 correlated Keywords	ESS 2008	EU 2015	ENP corpus	EU & ENP	UfM corpus	NCS corpus	UfM & NSC	Discourse Multiplier Ratio	Total Discursive Asset
Democratization process [DZ]				134			265	2,0	399
democracy	2	4	57	63	1	45	46	0,7	109
government	1	1	11	13	40	28	68	5,2	81
rule of law	4	4	14	22	0	13	13	0,6	35
stability	7	0	19	26	40	1	41	1,6	67
equality	0	1	9	10	52	45	97	9,7	107
Development [DM]				177			1011	5,7	1188
development	13	38	93	144	509	343	852	5,9	996
empowerment	0	0	8	8	83	63	146	18,3	154
transparency	2	0	9	11	2	4	6	0,5	17
accountability	0	0	6	6	2	0	2	0,3	8
poverty	5	0	3	8	3	2	5	0,6	13
Dialogue Civic Capacity [DLC]				227			1804	7,9	2031
dialogue	4	3	85	92	163	119	282	3,1	374
human rights	6	18	54	78	1	69	70	0,9	148
gender	0	0	7	7	61	53	114	16,3	121
women	1	0	29	30	193	263	456	15,2	486
Youth	0	3	17	20	116	766	882	44,1	902

Table 2: Quantitative Research Results on specific keywords from ESS, EU & ENP docs

a.- the European Union ENP Annual Reports 2011, 2012, 2013 corresponding to the timeframe during the Arab Spring, correlated with the EU ESS 2008 Document in the left column.

b.- the European Union ENP Annual Reports 2014, 2015 corresponding to the timeframe after the Arab Spring, correlated with the EU Strategic Review Executive Report Dec. 2015 in the right column.

Discourse Analysis keywords	ESS 2008 Exec. Report		EU ENP Corpus Reports during Arab Spring events 2011 – 2013		EU Strategic Review Executive Report, Dec 2015		EU ENP Corpus Reports after Arab Spring events 2014 & 2015	
democracy / D	2 / 0	2	22 / 13	35	4	4	17 / 5	22
government / G	1	1	10 / 1	11	1	1	0	0
rule of law	4	4	6	6	4	4	8	8

development/D	10 / 3	13	64 / 12	76	35 / 3	38	19 / 8	17
stability / S	7 / 0	7	5 / 4	10	0	0	7 / 2	9
transparency / T	1 / 1	2	8	8	0	0	1 / 0	1
accountability/A	0	0	5	5	0	0	1 / 0	1
dialogue / D	4 / 0	4	57 / 11	68	3	3	15 / 2	17
equality / E	0	0	2	2	1	1	6 / 1	7
human rights	6	6	28	28	18	18	26	26
gender / G	0	0	3	3	0	0	4 / 0	4
women / W	1	1	14 / 4	18	0	0	9 / 2	11
youth / Y	0	0	11 / 3	14	3	3	2 / 1	3
poverty	5	5	2 / 1	2	0	0	1	1
empowerment/E	0	0	4	4	0	0	3 / 1	4

Table 3: Quantitative Research Results on specific keywords from UfM & NSC

within the Annual Reports of the Union for the Mediterranean and the North South Center of the Council of Europe

Discourse keywords / variant Capital first letter [θεσμικό χαρακτηριστικό]	UfM Corpus Reports 2014 – 2017		NSC Corpus Reports before Arab Spring events 2009 – 2010		NSC Corpus Reports during Arab Spring events 2011 - 2013		NSC Corpus Reports after Arab Spring events 2014 – 2017	
democracy / D	0 / 1	1	12 / 1	13	8 / 12	20	5 / 7	12
government / G	26 / 14	40	2	2	14	14	1 / 11	12
rule of law	0 / 0	0	6	6	7	7	0	0
development/D	262/247	509	90 / 93	183	42 / 44	86	41 / 33	74
stability / S	34 / 6	40	1	1	0	0	0	0
transparency / T	2 / 0	2	0	0	4	4	0	0
accountability/A	2 / 0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
dialogue / D	124/39	163	0	0	33 / 15	48	65 / 6	71
equality / E	45 / 7	52	9	9	8 / 6	14	15 / 7	22
human rights	1	1	37	37	27	27	5	5
gender / G	54 / 7	61	6	6	15 / 4	19	18 / 10	28
women / W	124 / 69	193	27	27	56 / 60	116	76 / 44	120
youth / Y	85 / 31	116	130 / 94	224	99 / 237	336	100 / 106	206
poverty	3	3	1 / 1	2	0	0	0	0
empowerment/E	46 / 37	83	2 / 3	5	11 / 27	38	9 / 11	20

Charts

Chart 1: EU & ENP Official Documents Discourse Keywords Combined Comparison

Salient frequency in the combined narratives of the Public Discourse of the European Union and the European Neighborhood Policy, for the concepts keywords feature: Development, Dialogue, Human Rights, Democracy, Women, Stability, Rule of Law, Youth, Transparency, Government, Equality.

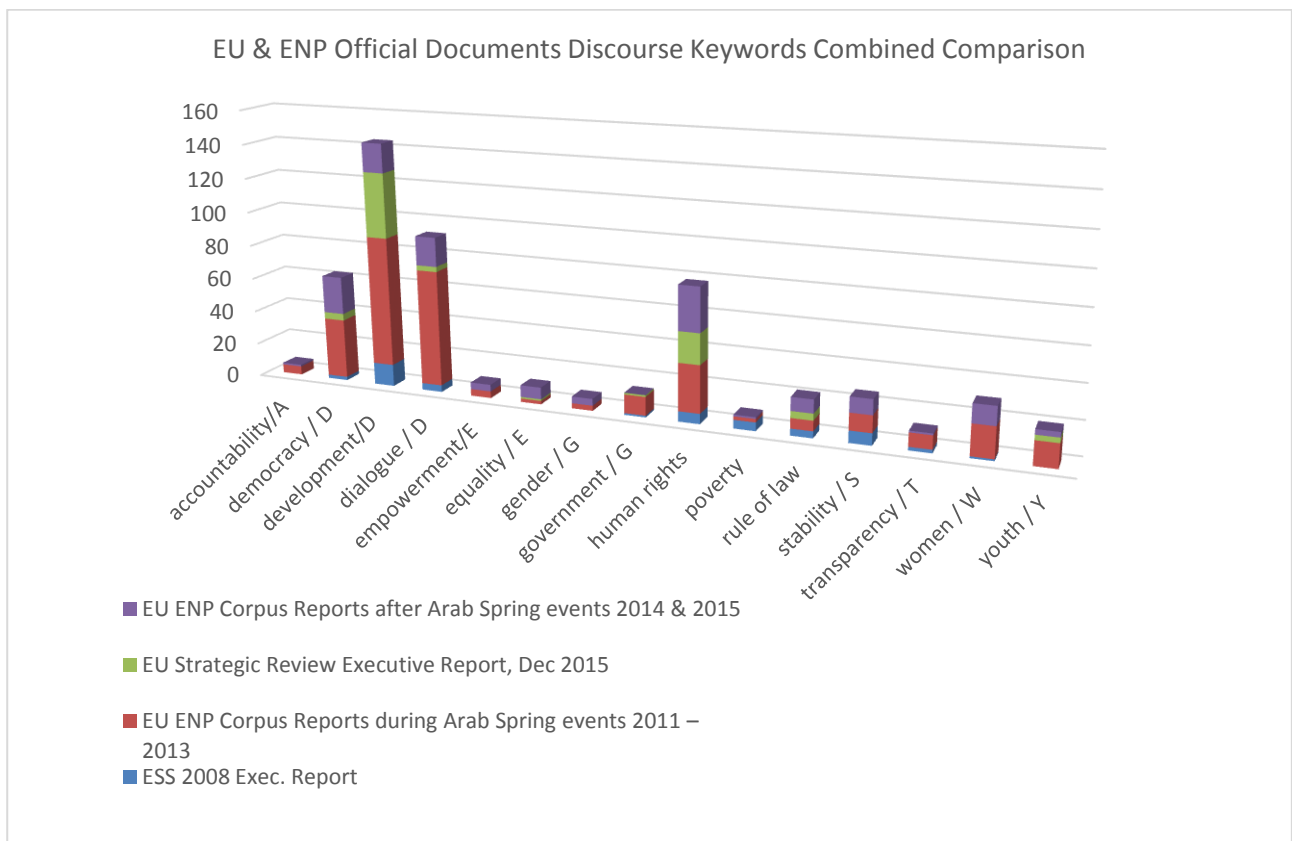


Chart 2: Union for Mediterranean vs North South Center Discourse Keywords combined Comparison

Salient frequency in the narratives of the Public Discourse of the Union for the Mediterranean and the North – South Center of the Council of Europe, for the concepts keywords feature: Youth, Women, Development, Dialogue, Empowerment, Gender, Equality, Government, Human Rights.

Union for the Mediterranean also features prime concepts – keywords the following: Development, Women, Dialogue, Empowerment, Gender, Equality, Government, Stability while the North South Center projects: Youth, Development, Women, Dialogue, Empowerment.

Concept keywords like: Accountability, Transparency, Poverty, Rule of Law, Stability, Democracy are positioned in the extremely low end of the frequency scale, clearly showing the grade of interest vested in the discourse generally and specifically within these concepts keywords.

The numbered frequencies show that the selected key axle concept has by preponderance a socioeconomic developmental dimension. Within the narrative, the discourse is bending towards a broader motivation of “the youth generation and the women to empower the development through the dialogue”.

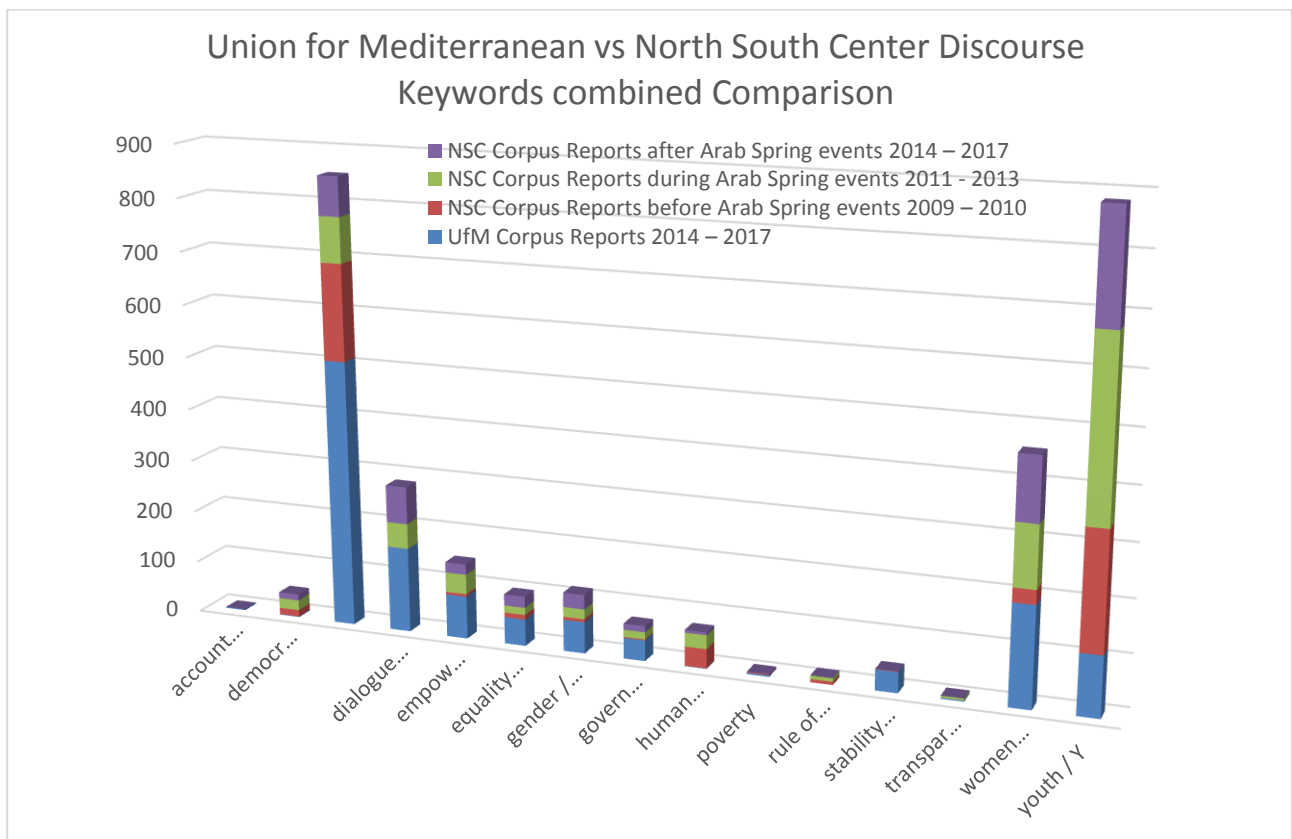


Chart 3: Keywords frequency between UfM vs NSC

An interesting comparison with salient frequencies of concepts keywords between the two regional organizations, absolutely correlated with their modus operandi priorities: Development, Women, Youth, Dialogue, Empowerment, Gender for Union for the Mediterranean versus Youth, Development, Women, Dialogue, Empowerment, Human Rights, Democracy for the North – South Center.

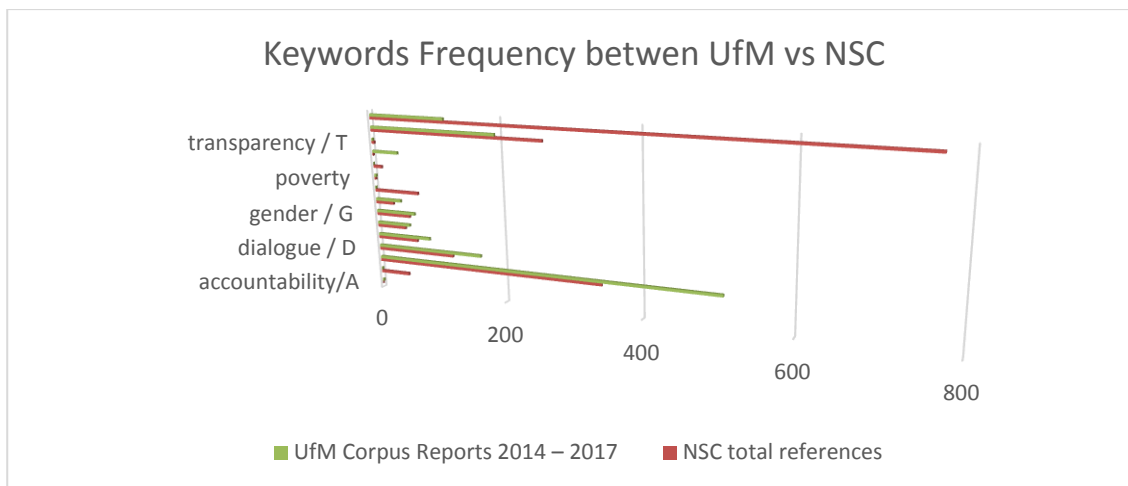


Chart 4: North – South Center keywords’ comparison on variant timeframes

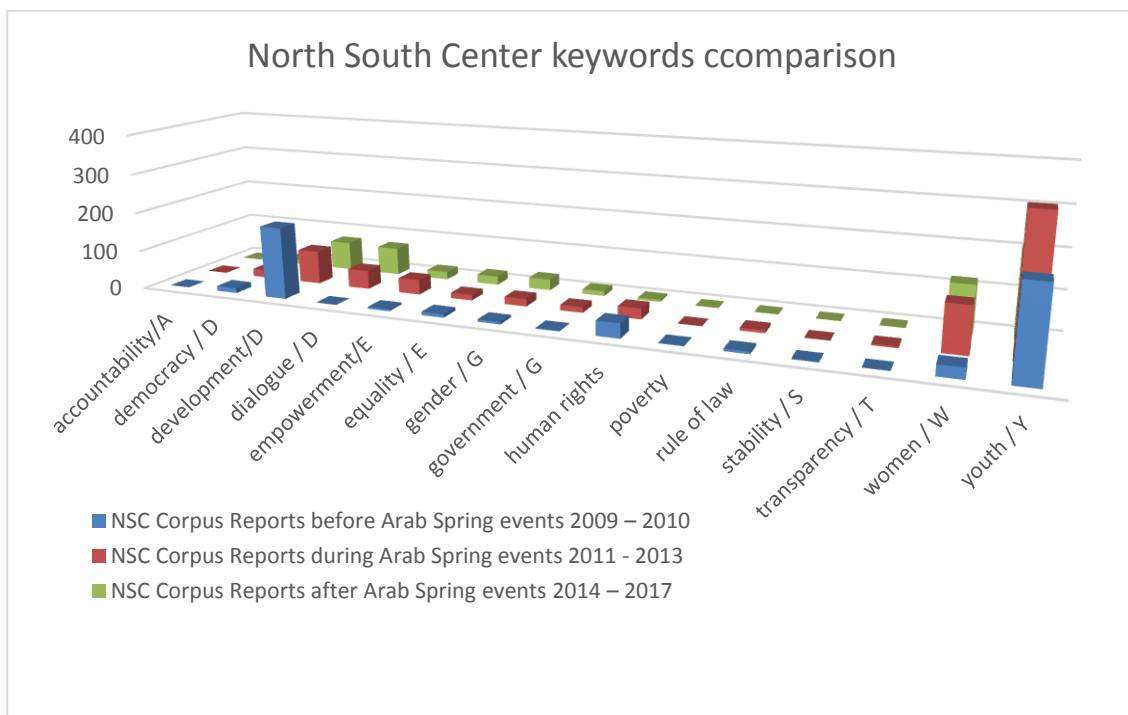


Chart 5: Comparison Chart from ENP Pacesetting to Regional Organisations UfM & NSC Discourse

A peak multiplying effect of the European Union and European Neighboring Policy documentation narratives is clearly projected to the Public Discourse of the Union for the Mediterranean and the North – South Center of the Council of Europe for the concepts keywords: Youth, Women, Development, Dialogue, Human Rights.

Other keywords concepts, even non-intonated abundantly in the EU – ENP narrative, succeeded to surface in the UfM – NSC public discourse: In preponderance, keywords belonging to the socioeconomic axles’ conceptualization like Gender, Equality, followed by a political axles conceptualization like Stability, Democracy, Government, Rule of Law, Empowerment. A probable explanation might be the avoidance of tackling cultural differences with possible negative consequences, “non-discoursed”, quasi “muted” are the keywords: Accountability, Transparency, Poverty.

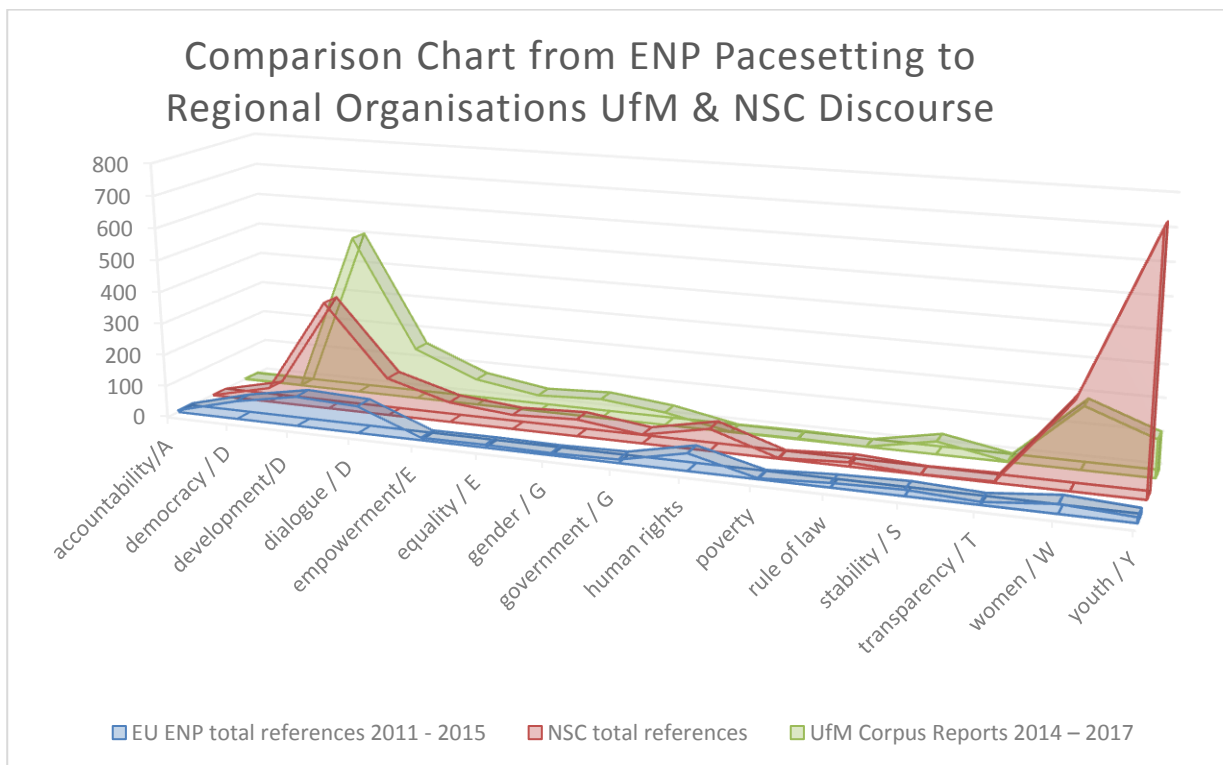


Chart 6: EU & ENP Official Documents Discourse Keywords Combined Comparison

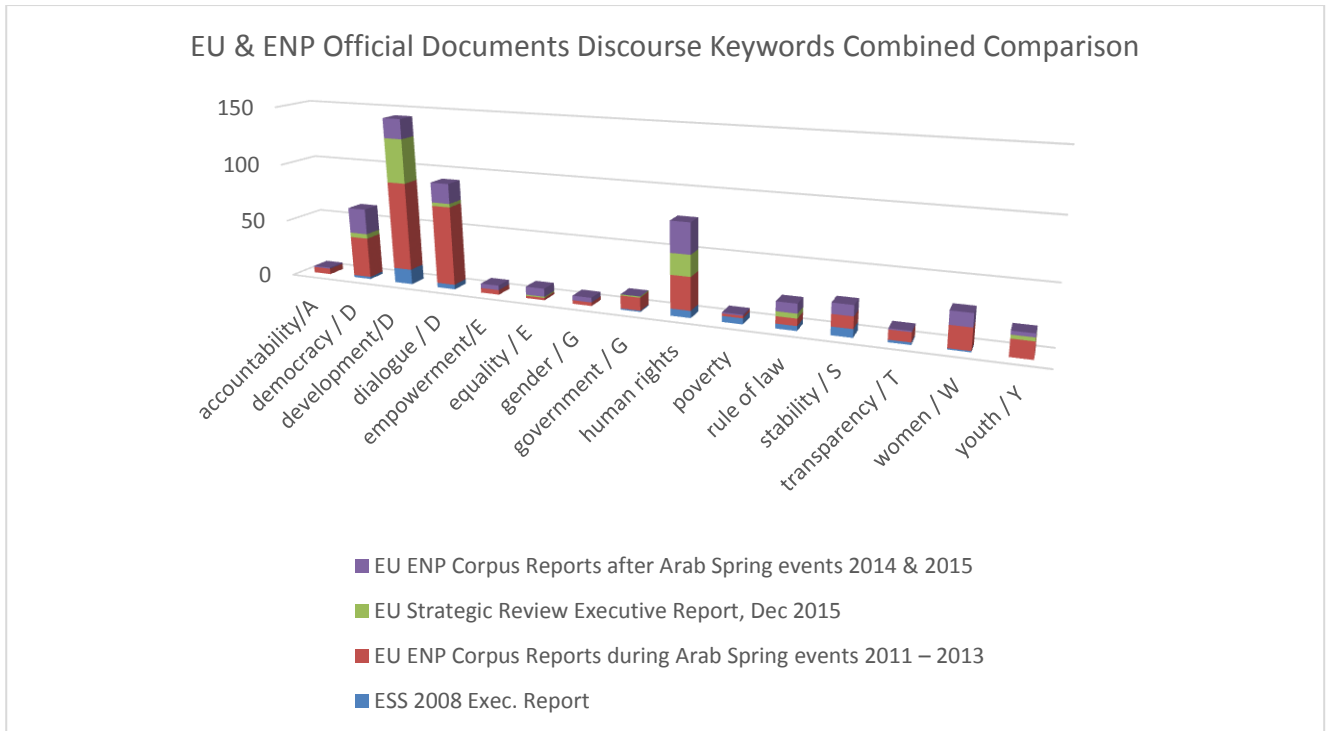
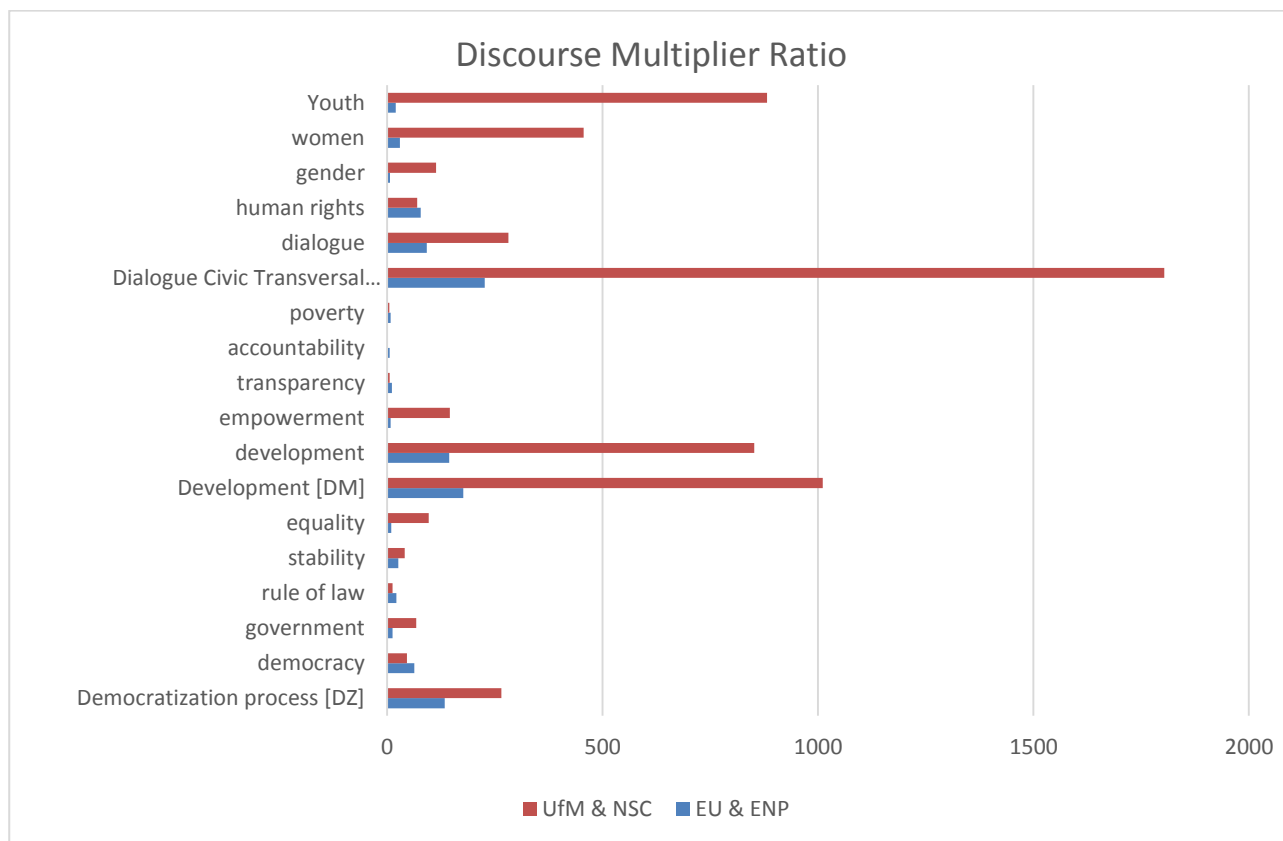


Chart 7: Discourse Multiplier Ratio



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