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Trains, bridges, gardens: A discourse analysis of the European Cultural Routes website

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Trains, Bridges, Gardens: A Discourse Analysis of the European Cultural Routes Website

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Abstract

The European Institute of Cultural Routes [EICR] is a European public service that certifies and manages touristic routes across Europe. More than a tourism framework, the website of the EICR represents the specificities of a doxic European essence. The present article draws on discourse analysis and takes an interest in the website's intersecting discourses of tourism and 'Europeanness'. The applied method takes a cue from corpus linguistics, counting the frequencies of resonating keywords on the website and combining this approach with a qualitative analysis of the discursive content surrounding these keywords. The hybrid analysis shows that the rhetoric expressions of the EICR need to be seen in context of the language of cultural tourism, in which clichéd epithets, strategically deployed metaphors and a selective rendering of the past come to the fore. This tourism discourse, however, clashes with the pedagogical and political goal of overcoming European borders that the EICR pursues.

Keywords: Europe, cultural routes, rhetoric, language of tourism

Introduction: thinking culture in the Culture Routes

"It is evident that there is no strong identification with the EU", wrote Delanty and Rumford decidedly some ten years ago (2005, p. 73). A glance at the Eurobarometer would give one the impression that things have not changed for the better: people with a positive image of the EU have diminished, from a high of 52% in 2007 to a low of 31% in May 2012 (TNS Opinion and Social, 2012). The turnout at European Parliament elections, falling from 62% in 1979 to 43% in 2014, shows the same decline of civic engagement (European Parliament, 2009; 2014). Still, the rhetorical question that Julia Kristeva (2000) posed more than a decade ago still stands: mustn't Europe not only be useful, but also meaningful? Any political engineers of the EU who would be interested in telling a meaningful story about a certain 'Europeanness' would have to tuck between Europe's radical plurality of (hi)stories, territories, memberships and identities. Tellingly, the official EU motto is 'unity in diversity': a unity that does not imply homogeneousness, and a diversity that does not imply fragmentation. Framing Europe therefore always involves the same paradox: it needs to accentuate both the great hybridity of possibilities and configurations, and the unitary elements that overlay this plurality, altogether somehow forming a cohesive image.

The matter of European heritage and formative identity has been explored through different sociological and political lenses (cf. Ashworth & Graham, 1997; Morgan, 2004; Fligstein, 2008; Checkel & Katzenstein, 2009). The present article takes an interest in an institutional attempt to give form and direction to European heritage through the domain of cultural tourism, by analysing the website of the European Institute of Cultural Routes (EICR). Run by the Council of Europe and the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, the EICR assesses and certifies European touristic routes that are emblematic of shared cultural heritage. It operates under the flag of the Council of Europe: the declaration at its

establishment in 1987 invited Europeans to ‘travel these routes to build a society founded on tolerance, liberty, solidarity and respect for others’ (Council of Europe, 2014).

The EICR's website (www.culture-routes.lu) contains numerous texts on the routes—and, interestingly, broad perspectives on European heritage and the 'essence' of Europeanness. The site articulates a set of typical European characteristics and values, exploring ‘the practice of a multicultural European identity and a concrete sharing of its values by the citizens.’¹ Arguably, such an effort can assist in generating civic consciousness and dialogue on the concept of ‘the European’ that remains as of yet underdeveloped and bypassed in the discussions on Europe’s political-economical construction.

However, while the EICR traces the relations between European heritage and European identity, economic utility seems to be the leading motif in the way the institute itself is assessed by its patrons. Culture, paradoxically, is pushed to the background in the 2011 study on the EICR, undertaken by the Council of Europe and the European Commission. While European identity is mentioned in its introduction, the main goal of the study is to analyse ‘how much Cultural Routes networks can benefit SMEs [small and medium enterprises]’.² The study results emphasize the development of the common Cultural Route brand, and a strategy for ‘establishing strong partnerships with different authorities and stakeholders’ (Council of Europe, 2011, p. 6). This mostly relates to what Graham Dann has called the ‘language of tourism’, a type of language set to ‘persuade, lure, woo and seduce millions of human beings, and, in doing so, convert them from potential into actual clients’ (Dann, 1996, p. 2). The EICR deploys a specific kind: a language of cultural tourism. Since cultural tourism typically pertains to museums, art galleries, historic theme parks, heritage sites, and arts festivals (Zeppel & Hall, 1992), its language aims at persuading potential tourists by highlighting these cultural practices. Yet, the ways in which the EICR website articulates how European heritage relates to a cultural 'idea of Europe', to use a term by

Delanty (1995), does not come to the fore in the 2011 study at all. In this sense, the current article aims at taking a complementary perspective, by putting the culture back in Culture Routes: examining the strategic deployment of language on its website that forwards ideas on European cultural values and identities. The article unpacks as follows: first, a hybrid methodological approach is offered to analyse a text-heavy website such as this one, comprised of qualitative discourse analysis and quantitative word frequencies. Second, a three-part analysis takes place of the main themes of the website through which the essence of 'Europeanness' is articulated. The article concludes with several remarks on the main discursive techniques found on the website.

Methodology: hybrid readings

This article employs discourse analysis (DA) to examine the EICR website, treating the texts on the website as part of an institutional set of representations that constructs and frames European identity. DA approaches to tourism typically target the articulation of ideology (Van Dijk, 1998; Blommaert & Verschueren, 1998, p. 25): doxic, commonsensical, and normative ideas, attitudes or representations shared by members of a discourse community that 'render intelligible the way society works' (Hall 1996: 26). Earlier studies have adopted several techniques such as participant observation (Sin 2014), interviews with hosts and tourists (Bauer 2008), as well as the analysis of tourist photographs (Hunter 2010), diaries (Feighery 2006) and blogs (Azariah 2012). The current study is also tied to the field of imagology (cf. Leerssen, 2007), which investigates the various stereotypes and assumptions concerning geographical (and often national) peculiarities and identities. Such an investigation naturally takes an interest in doxa: the way in which shared values and beliefs are put to use for verbal efficacy. Amossy (2002, p. 466) has offered that these doxa are an essential ingredient of all discursive operations, aiming to affect an addressee by pointing at

the commonsensical cultural axioms that author and reader share. Such general principles are often put implicitly; argumentations can rely on them without them being formulated.

Yet, close reading a website such as this one brings about some issues. As is well-known, websites typically lack the boundedness of most traditional texts, and include a high degree of intertextuality through their hyperlinked structure (Miller, 2011). When landing on the site, the curious reader will first notice its rather complex structure. At the time of writing, the main EICR website showcases 29 certified cultural routes³, making for a reading-heavy space with 174 web pages and a rough 160.000 words (please see Figure 1).⁴

Figure 1: Layout of the EICR website



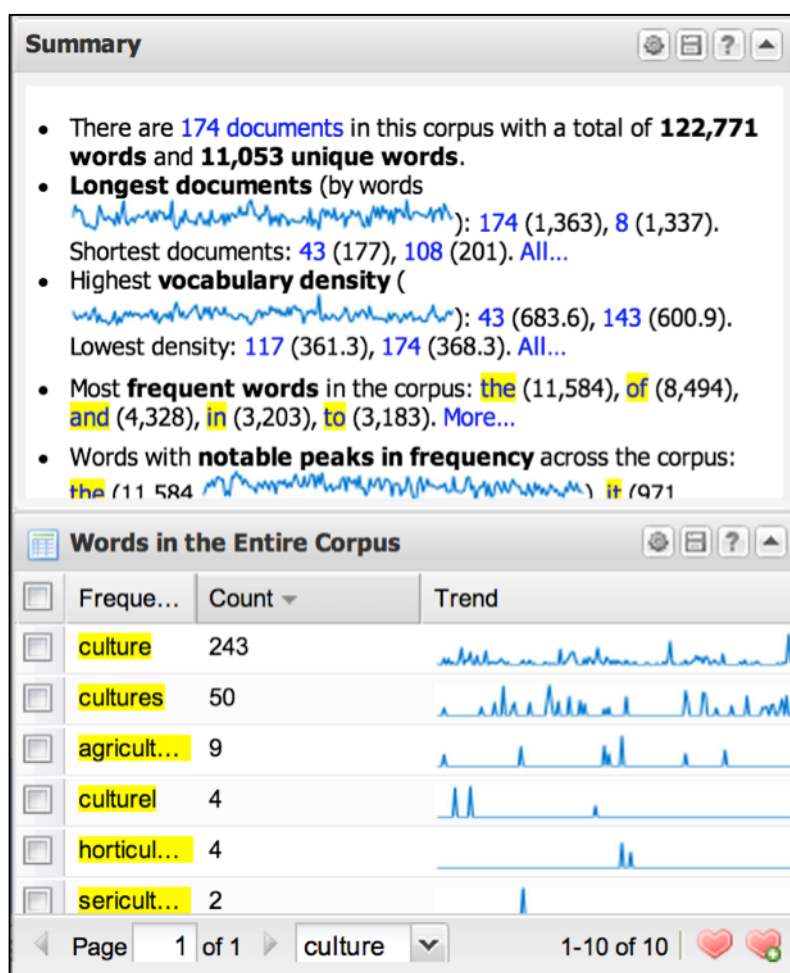
There are eight main pages, roughly structured by topical content that is preceded by abstract titles such as 'Europe in progress' and 'European mediations'. Most pages are not about the culture routes themselves, but rather about related matters such as art projects and conferences, as well as mediations on European heritage, memories, and differences. Within the architecture of the eight main pages, the site counts more than 150 subpages, without a clear organization. There are additional complicating factors, such as the ephemerality of the website form in general, in which text and pages are frequently added and removed, raising

questions of data preservation and validation. Such a corpus might best be approached differently than through a typical close reading. A different, hybrid approach is suggested here, involving corpus linguistics software to index notable, frequently appearing words, adopting the positivist notion that word counts can be informative about a text's main content. The interpretive act of such measurement or parameterization yields different results from typical close reading; for example, one is able to easily spot where in a corpus certain words (dis)appear. The analysis revolves around certain keywords that *resonate*, i.e. that appear often in (a specific part of) the corpus, and their capillary functions: the ways in which they are ramified, their branches and offshoots in synonyms, antonyms, closely related terms and the like.

The search for keywords is frequently often in corpus analyses in the study of literature, especially to identify textual features that are salient and characteristic of an author or particular text (e.g. Fischer-Starcke, 2009). This approach, of course, leads to some problems of its own. Why choose word X, and not another? Why would word Y be the only or best indicator for a certain topic? While this is ostensibly true and never fully resolvable, there are important practical benefits to this method when analysing websites. It is relatively easy to trace words in a corpus of ever-changing data, to find out if the texts in the corpus have changed, and to see which words occur frequently, where they are located, and in which context they arise. These are considerable advantages in the disjointed, a-linear and ephemeral corpora that one finds online. After a salient keyword has been localized, an a-linear close reading of its lexical environment takes place. It might be best put as a drift from quantification to qualitative analysis, as Franco Moretti (2011) puts it. Such a method, hopefully, ultimately provides an innovative insight into the discourses that are articulated on a website.

The quantitative tool used here is Voyant Tools (Sinclair et al., 2013), a straightforward web-based text analysis environment providing a textual corpus overview including the number of unique words, and the notable peaks in their frequency—as well as several visualizations for these frequencies and repetitions. The Voyant search bar also shows related terms, allowing the analyst to see the occurrences of singular and plural versions of words, as well as words with derivative affixes and the same stem. Voyant also enables for data smoothing by excluding stop words such as function words (please see Figure 2).

Figure 2. Voyant summary window



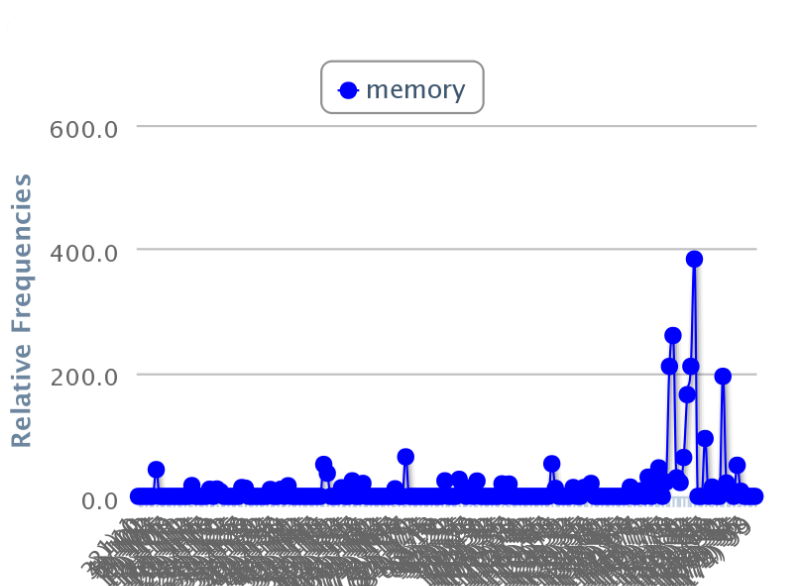
While it is possible to enter URLs in Voyant to analyse websites as they appear online, the EICR website was pre-processed. All pages on the EICR website were scraped, and their mark-up elements (such as menus and breadcrumb trails) were removed to prevent a

bias in the analysis for certain recurring words (please see Figure 3 for a list of the most frequent words). The keywords that will be traced are ordered here by means of thematic analysis: three dominant thematic structures that are considered key for the creation of an idea of 'Europeanness' are distinguished within the corpus (see Appendix A). The three themes are memory, geography, and religion.

Theme 1: Memory

The EICR primarily engages in what the authors call a reflection on the memory of Europe.⁵ Memory is a frequent word (194 occurrences, see Appendix A), with a notable appearance in the project description, where we read that the Duchy of Luxembourg endowed the EICR with the 'specific mission' of 'reflections on the fundamental questions of European memory'⁶, and in many titles and headers, which further indicates its keyness. Looking at the relative frequencies across the corpus (the amount of times a certain keyword is used for every 10,000 words on a specific page), we see that 'memory' notably peaks near the end of the indexed corpus (please see Figure 3). These are the pages in the section called 'Memory of Europe'.

Figure 3. Voyant Relative Frequencies of 'memory'



On one of these pages, 'Course of Memory in Europe', we find the description of an EICR project that reveals the importance of memory to the institute: memory is "related to the training of democracy and civic consciousness, which, moreover, can assist in a concrete and exemplary way in the prevention of new conflicts." The reference to warfare will be examined further on—first let us look at the dimension of 'training'. The EICR seems to indicate that Europeans need more knowledge of their continent's past. One project to achieve this is called the 'train of memory'. Said train at first seems to be a metaphor ('because a train is moving just like memory, which is not fixed but in motion, which evolves and grows rich continuously')—but it quickly becomes clear the project hopes to produce an actual train that will 'soon traverse many European cities, ensuring the meeting of Europeans and giving them an outline of their common memory.'⁷ As of yet, it remains unclear what the specific contents of this memory should be. Yet the tone almost becomes prophetic:

With every arrival of the train in a city, and insofar as it stays there for more than one week, a column will be installed in one of the principal places of the city and there will be conferences and spectacles (theatre, concert, dance, projection of films) around the topic of memory, because memory should not be mummified or confined to museums but constantly created and recreated.⁸

The text speaks not just of the retrieval of European history, but proposes an active recreation of it through cultural events. Ironically, this active recreation of memory seems stuck in a conceptual phase. The only testament to this project seems to be a photo on which we encounter a 'meeting of experts': four people behind a table stacked with papers. The word 'meetings', tellingly, appears quite often throughout the corpus (120 times; 'meeting' appears another 110 times), and reading the website it becomes clear that the EICR is for an important part an institute that brings together writers, philosophers and tourism

professionals. Yet, later on we read that ‘this train is yet only in a project state’, that the concept needs to be determined more precisely, and that new ideas are welcome.

Regardless of its practicability, the train is a term that is suitable as a metaphor. Another notable metaphor arises in the corpus: the garden. It appears 137 times (the singular noun ‘garden’ appears another 102 times), which can be considered notably often. Why is the word so important? The EICR defines its metaphoric potential as follows: ‘The garden is a secret. It even stands out as one of the last great areas of secrecy. [...] The garden is biological. The garden is planetary. The garden can thus seem the most obvious symbol of contemporary globalization.’⁹ This metaphorical meaning of the garden, being one of the ‘last great areas of secrecy’, is interesting: it is, again, a strategic metaphor, posited as a secret that can then be unveiled and exposed in its cosmopolitan, transborder potential. We learn that ‘the practice of gardening—as daily and intimate place—and the reading of the landscape are certainly two steps that involve planetary awakening.’ Yet, more than a practice of global environmental responsibility, the garden also acts as a strategically deployed metaphor for ‘the re-establishing of bonds, the meeting of cultures, the ‘repair’ of Europe . . . The Europe of the gardens formed a true society within society, as well as a source of cultural exchanges.’ In a double rhetorical move, the garden is first connected to a sense of community and cosmopolitanism – which then becomes an exemplary metaphor of the European *past*.

The ‘repair’ of Europe also draws attention to another overarching European narrative: that of warfare. Remarkably, throughout the website, European warfare is rarely ever mentioned. There are references to the two great European wars of the 20th century—but they always appear in a doxic guise, as a referral to a given and commonsensical historical circumstance. The ‘Europe in Progress’ page reads: ‘[Young Europeans] suffer most from the progressive obliteration of the memory of the events that forged their common continent and shaped its nowadays characteristics.’¹⁰ The word ‘suffering’ is interesting here: how can one

suffer from something that one has no knowledge of? This suffering is attributed to the young European so the EICR can provide a cultural remedy—but even then, there is a striking absence in the history lessons that the institute is providing. Notably, there are no Cultural Routes with specific World War-related themes. The one that comes closest is perhaps the theme of ‘Fortified military architectures in Europe’. But still, that route is focused on the city of Wenzel in Luxembourg—a neutral zone in terms of war. Another route, dedicated to European cemeteries, shows mostly photos of decorated coffins while staying away from the mass graves Europe is perhaps best known for.¹¹ Tellingly, the term ‘World War’ appears but 5 times in the corpus, and the term ‘World War II’ is used only once. This happens in a citation of the French anthropologist Claude Karnoouh, who has offered that “today, it is only in the West of Europe, after the hecatombs and the incommensurable destruction of World War II, that the idea of a regrouping of countries slowly takes shape. To the East, it looks like we are still in a process of division, as if the historical cycle had not yet completed its course.” Here we see how the negligence of European warfare is connected to a historicized logic of first succumbing to and then overcoming borders, which is connected to a specifically Western Europe capacity. We will see more of this in the next section.

For now, in the absence of painful memories we also recognize the intersection between the language of the EICR and the language of tourism. The language of tourism has a tendency to refrain from mentioning the adverse aspects of travel: as Dann (1996) notes, the marketing professionals of tourism prefer a romanticized promotional discourse to lure potential customers.¹² The reader is asked to take note of the 20th century European horrors as a *raison d’être* of European unification, but not dwell on it too much.¹³ This results in a call for heterogeneity that avoids the specificities of conflict inherent in such diversity.

This lack of historical completeness is striking, as the EICR tasks itself with a pedagogical function of teaching young Europeans about their continent's past. On the page

‘European citizenship’, we read that young Europeans are the ‘engine of Europe’, because ‘Europe has not yet acquired a daily dimension and it remains still unknown to those who make it up.’¹⁴ The specific epistemological content of ‘Europe’—namely a continuous, everyday reality—is proposed as a necessary, yet-to-be-acquired objective. Yet one wonders how someone who is not aware of something can simultaneously make it up. It seems to imply a *latent* Europeanness, something that is at once proliferated (or ‘made up’) by the European subject, but simultaneously has not fully developed or evolved. These young Europeans are carrying some sort of European gene—they are just unaware of it.

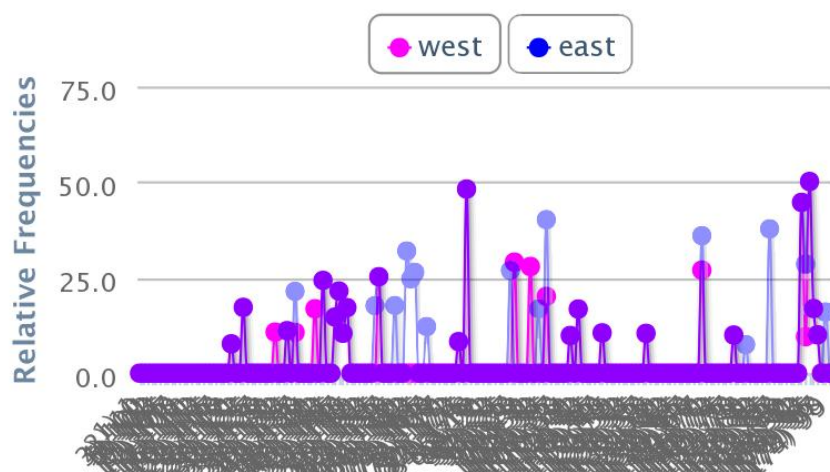
This leads the EICR, on a page titled ‘towards young Europeans’¹⁵, to aim at ‘sensitizing young Europeans to the questions of restoring intercultural dialogue’. The use of the word ‘restoring’ here already marks a specific relationship to the past: one that constructs the past as something that has vanished or was destroyed—but that remains existent in its potentiality. What is required is ‘an active awakening of the cultural dimensions of citizenship and European values.’¹⁶ Again, an *awakening*, the act of bringing something to the surface that already lurked within, is what is at stake. The cultural teachings of the culture routes project are therefore a way of ‘rejoining the past of the European initiatory course’; a ‘rediscovery of Europe by Europeans.’¹⁷ The attention for the old as such is perhaps not all that remarkable in the context of the tourism discourse: as Dann (1996) noted, the language of tourism is fascinated with finding an essence in the past. Yet, the rediscovery here implies a latent or forgotten cultural charge inherent in the European subject that needs to be stirred up. But even if there would be something like a ‘cultural charge’, a common European spirit, it should be recognized that European warfare was a result of it, not just an external force that stifled it. Yet, the contents of European history are represented in a fragmented manner, excluding war in a remarkable manner.

Theme 2: Geography

The second point of interest here is the way in which geographical differences are worked through by the EICR. On the general ‘Who are we?’ page, we read that the Council of Europe entrusted the EICR ‘to co-ordinate and provide technical aid to networks, in particular in their development in Central and Eastern Europe.’¹⁸ We see that the interest in this part of Europe is not so much reflected in the amount of times the word is used, with ‘Eastern’ appearing 48 times and ‘East’ 57 times; in terms of frequency, this barely supersedes the mentioning of the other wind directions.¹⁹ Furthermore, if we compare the relative frequencies of the keywords ‘west’ and ‘east’, we see that these terms co-occur in many of the texts. (please see Figure 4).

Figure 4. Voyant Relative Frequencies of 'west' and 'east'

(Transparent blue spikes are indicative of the relative word frequencies of the word ‘east’, pink for ‘west’; the purple spikes indicate that the relative frequencies are coequal.)



In terms of word frequencies, it seems that on a notable amount of pages ‘east’ and ‘west’ appear equally often, suggesting a juxtaposition of these terms. On the page ‘Meeting at a Crossroads’²⁰ all four of the wind directions are accounted for. The page describes a 1999

conference in Strasbourg called ‘Borders and Otherness’—a gathering of academics and literary authors. The conference, referring to the Otherness theorem in Said’s seminal *Orientalism* (1978), was arranged in order to provide a meeting space for authors who contributed to the so-called ‘Bridge of Europe’: a permanent artistic installation made up of 40 texts by 41 authors, on the topic of the border in Europe. The installation was placed on a bridge over the Rhine, connecting two Western European countries: Strasbourg in France with Kehl in Germany. We read how ‘during three round tables, these authors joined other intellectuals for whom Europe is also a reality.’ Europe, it seems, is a reality reserved for authors and intellectuals: many of the pages are larded with citations by European philosophers and thinkers, but the text on the EICR website hardly ever recalls or interprets their offered ideas. They are put to use rhetorically, as experts who underscore the respectability of the institute.

In the round table discussions, the South, East and North of Europe were offset against each other. The South, firstly, is defined as ‘a privileged field of experimentation. Its role in history, its slightly exacerbated and multiple identity, its urbanity make of it the possible cradle of another Europe, a laboratory of otherness and humanity.’ The North, conversely, is considered a space of commonality:

The idea of making a ‘common boat’ remains at the basis of the relations across Northern European borders. The experience of the North shows that it is possible to advance towards a perception different from the type of the border and its function.

The train, the bridge, the garden, and the boat: we have seen the EICR applying a number of metaphors by now. Through this image of the ‘common boat’ it is argued that transborder ideals are clearly a northern matter, as these countries have experience with them.

Meanwhile, the bridge between Germany and France, again a clear but implicit reference to

war, symbolizes how the Northwest, as we may call it, becomes a benchmark for the rest of Europe.

The artistic intervention carried out through The Bridge of Europe is obviously an ideal example of the results of the evolution of mentalities. It is a field of possibilities, which will however still take time before it can be cultivated in all Europe, and in particular the East, where borders are heavily imprinted on collective imagination.²¹

The doxic charge is clear, here, as there is an *obvious evolution of mentalities*. The Bridge of Europe becomes a metaphor for this evolution—the logical next step toward a collective consciousness of a transborder Europe, which the East seems still to be incapable of. The East is represented both as a space that is an integral part of Europe, but also clearly an outlier, a peripheral zone, where borders are still an unfortunate reality. This is then juxtaposed to the Northwestern capacity of overcoming such borders. Looking back at the Gardens page, we now notice the same division: the EICR theme of Parks and Gardens "made it possible to experiment with teaching actions and to find co-operation with Eastern Europe."²²

One specific route, the Via Regia, was set up to aid in the understanding of Northwestern Europeans of Eastern Europe.²³ Again, the directive function of the EICR here is to set up a European rediscovery. The route, here, goes from West to East, implying a Western understanding of Eastern culture history. This not only establishes the Western audience as the core audience, but also places the West of Europe in the centre of the stage. The dichotomy West/East is again represented on other occasions and in more implicit ways: on the 'Discovering Europe' page, the EICR states that the institute 'assembled a wide range of documentation on Europe, including Central and Eastern European countries open to visitors'. This explicit qualification of Central and Eastern Europe keeps in place the demarcation between East and West, and suggests that a standard definition of Europe would not include the Centre and East.

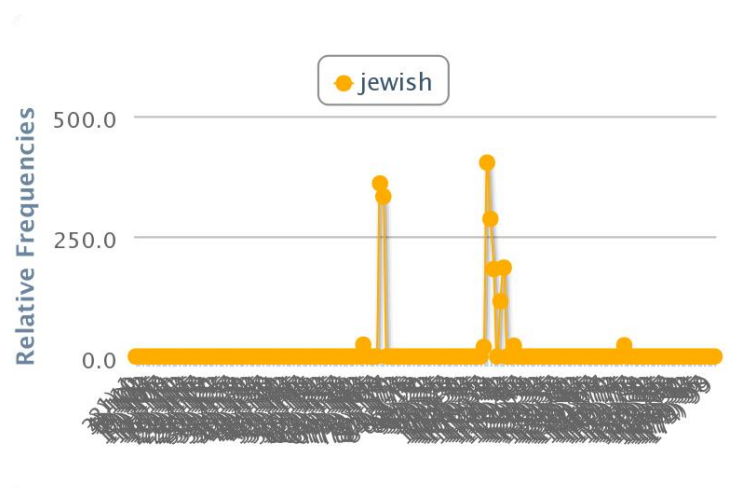
The demarcation between East and West recurs in numerous unsupported statements of cultural customs; for example, ‘in most of Mediterranean Europe, as well as in Central and Eastern Europe, urban families still keep strong ties with their parents who remained in rural areas.’²⁴ This is a cliché epithet, one of the examples in which the EICR uses stereotyped characteristics (such as ‘the rural’ for Mediterranean and Eastern European areas) to generalize European cultures. Such clichés may seem a bit out of place from an organization such as the EICR, which has specifically purposed itself with addressing European commonality. It can be explained, however, if we consider these rhetoric forms as part of the language of tourism. The tourism industry makes frequent use of clichés to appeal to its customers (Dann, 2001). This has its reasons: clichés can offer a sense of epistemological security, reveal hidden truths, and act as vehicles of memory. As such, they are excellent doxic devices. However, their appearance here is unfortunate, as these clichés are juxtaposed with another main goal of the EICR, namely the dissolving of European borders.

Meanwhile, the problems that arise when attempting to overcome the multifarious European borders are not addressed at all. During the Borders and Otherness conference, we find, a community of authors wrote a ‘common text’ addressing the questions of bridges and borders in Europe. However, according to the website, this text ‘could not lead to consensus, standing as proof of the difficulties of overcoming borders.’ These difficulties are immediately forgotten, though: the bottom of the current page contains some eight different citations by European writers, from Martin Heidegger to Andrei Plesu. All of them depict the border as something to be overcome. Elie Wiesel is quoted saying that ‘culture does not admit borders and walls (...) It is precisely what transcends them, as it transcends time and space’. There is also a historical quote by Tacite: ‘The hardest of borders is fear’. These citations all serve the same purpose: to show that the border is something to be overcome, and that the failure to do so only derives from anxiousness.

Theme 3: Religion

A comprehensive history of Europe would surely include religion as one of its main themes. Christianity forms a dominant theme in the cultural routes program; there are eight routes relating to pilgrimages and Monastic heritage. One might thus suspect that the image of European heritage depicted on the website is a predominantly Christian one. But in terms of pure word frequencies, the Christian theme is not nearly as popular as the Jewish one. The word ‘Jewish’ appears 128 times in the corpus (please see Figure 5). The word ‘Jews’ appears another 33 times, and ‘Judaism’ 7 times—while ‘Christian’ only appears 14 times (‘Christianity’ appears 8 times, ‘Christians’ twice), and ‘Muslim’ only once (‘Moslem’ and its plural forms appear 9 times, ‘Islam’ 4 times, and ‘Islamic’ 3 times).

Figure 5. Voyant Relative Frequencies of 'jewish'



We also see that the word ‘Jewish’ arises in two specific parts of the corpus: the Jewish Heritage Route and the European day of Jewish Culture. These routes, based on peripatetic Jews, further underscore the partiality of the European history that the EICR is interested in. The European Routes of Jewish Heritage, for one, would perhaps seem to relate to World War II or the pogroms in the 17th -19th century—but again, disaster is not part of the EICR’s vocabulary. The project description explicitly states to not focus on the dark pages of

European anti-Semitism. Rather, ‘without at all reducing the importance of the horrors of the Shoah on the Jewish people, this itinerary of Jewish heritage is an opportunity to show the richness of the Jewish contribution in Europe.’ To whom, then, is this richness shown? We see the Eastern/Western divide reappearing here.

A strong focus on Eastern and Central European countries should greatly contribute to the spiritual and historical rebuilding of destroyed Jewish Communities, to a better knowledge of Europe’s own history, and to creating a strong incentive for Western European Jews to reassess their own heritage in a more positive light.

The Western European public addressed here needs to understand and take into account the East, reinforcing the distinction West/East in which Eastern heritage is used here to assist in developing a specifically Western consciousness of heritage. But this time, the proposal to focus on the East is also founded on a specific doxic idiom, namely a stereotype about Jewish pessimism, while bypassing concerns about the horrors that also constitute Europe.

Islam, with its 4 mentions in the corpus, has one route attached to it: the legacy of Al-Andalus. In the description of this route, there is no mentioning of European identity or essence at all. Instead, the route is intended ‘to contribute to the use of this common history and heritage to improve the perception of the ‘Other’ and to establish a series of relations that can help us build a more humane and interdependent world.’²⁵ Clearly, Islamic culture is portrayed as an extra-European Otherness—while history certainly shows otherwise. The European Route of Cistercian, contrarily, aims at ‘rediscovering the historical and current significance of the religious heritage of the Christian world in its entirety.’²⁶ The word ‘rediscovery’ here is striking: unlike Jewish and Islamic history, the Christian past is represented – again – as the pre-existing but forgotten European essence. The same happens in the depiction of the culture route dedicated to the historical figure of St. Martin of Tours, who is known for cutting his cloak in two and giving half to a beggar clad; ‘the dimension of

sharing, a collective value of Europe, is at the heart of this itinerary.’ The Christian value of sharing is extrapolated here to a common European value. It is brought into practice by the EICR with the ‘European Days of Sharing’, taking place annually with a series of events and conferences based on a Christian figure. According to the EICR, ‘these will allow for the evaluation of all of the possible contemporary consequences of sharing.’²⁷

The most notable difference between the Jewish, Muslim and Christian routes is that only the latter is represented as a central and authentic essence, in need of recovering for the good of Europe, while the Jewish routes are to be preserved for psychological reasons: Jewish audiences need to reassess their own heritage more positively. The Muslim route exists mainly for the Western tourist to learn about the Other. These religious tropes further accentuate the division that is at stake in the EICR program, and that upsets the boundary-breaking goals the institute aims at.

Concluding remarks

Allow the author to surreptitiously add one last keyword: ‘concrete’. The EICR posits that its essential goal is to make the idea of Europe more tangible, so that the themes on its website ‘will become concrete voyages for the visitors of our site’. Further on, the text mentions ‘a concrete sensitizing to the European values’ and ‘concrete knowledge of the places of memory of Europe.’²⁸ This need for tangible results can also be seen in the 2011 study, which focuses on whether the routes are economically influencing local enterprises. In the study, the Institute’s declaration is cited: it states that the EICR aims to focus on inviting young Europeans to ‘travel these routes to build a society founded on tolerance, liberty, solidarity and respect for others.’ Yet the study also notes that this theoretical ideology of the EICR does not yet translate well enough to the practice of the European traveling citizens. The current article can confirm this. Through a reading of resonating keywords and their lexical environments, structured by the themes of memory, geography, and religion, it was argued

that the website offers hackneyed epithets of contrasting European identities, strategically deployed metaphors of crossing borders, and a selective rendering of the past in which the European essence is located. The relationship between these discursive elements will be explained below.

First, the discourse of the EICR includes several juxtapositions between European identities and centre-periphery models. These identities fit in the stereotypical qualifications that the EICR connects to the European wind directions: the North as a deeply engraved template that can be traced to Montesquieu's *L'esprit de lois* (1748) in which climatologic temperaments were first connected to specificities of society and government across the European countries. This form of representation relates to the language of tourism that influences the EICR project: Dann (1996: 24; cf. Said 1978) has already captured such instances under a 'conflict perspective' that shows how the world, in many tourism discourses, is divided between the familiar and the strange. In the current case, the use of stereotypes to dichotomize different European publics subverts the ideal of transborder identities in Europe that the institute aims to pursue. The juxtaposition of different origins—a common rhetoric technique within the language of tourism, as it increases touristic feelings of excitement and adventure—produces a polarizing affect: the Northwestern European identity is connected to the sensibility of overcoming borders, while the East still suffers from these borders and is portrayed as a space of Otherness. This highly selective Western-Eurocentric perspective is complemented with a focus on commonplace Christian virtues, while Jewish cultural traditions are portrayed from an outsider's perspective and Muslim culture is all but kept out of sight.

Second, the rhetoric juxtaposition of European identities—in which one identity comes to the fore as an essentially European one—allows the EICR to offer an alternative, which comes in the form of several metaphors and figures that represent a borderless

European space. We identified the train, the bridge, the boat, and the garden, which all become metaphors for the yet-to-be-created transborder European space. Next, in a rhetoric move characteristic of the language of tourism, the EICR locates the essence of this Europeanness in the past. Under this logic, this essence needs to be excavated in order to function again. This justifies the EICR's cultural tourism-perspective, which heavily relies on providing narratives on cultural heritage and tradition. Yet the lack of focus on historical fissures and conflicts results in a highly incomplete image of what European heritage consists of.

The connection of touristic routes and their cultural-historical meaning to a configuration of pan-European values and identities is no doubt a commendable endeavour. This article in no way proposes to take the poststructuralist route in which 'Europeanness' is simply too complex or multifaceted to be institutionally represented at all. Yet it might be desirable for the EICR to either explicitly adopt a Western-centric viewpoint, or to maintain a holistic outlook and taking greater care to include the principal European wind directions, religions and cultural backgrounds more equally. Stylistically, a more colloquial and straightforward language might be adopted in order to reach the intended audiences of young Europeans who would benefit from a better understanding of their shared history. The website's layout requires a much-needed update that renders the structure of the website's discourses more clearly. All these elements stand in a framework of opaque European institutions that we see attacked by EU critics across the continent. The project should do what it can to sidestep such critique, especially in a time of civic cynicism towards Europe.

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Appendix A

Voyant most-frequent words

These are the most used words on the EICR website, alongside their frequency of appearance.

Keywords that are used in the analysis of the current article appear marked.

european	863	cities	96	subject	66	parks	52
europe	827	based	95	working	66	questions	52
cultural	817	different	95	architecture	65	architectural	51
heritage	533	saint	95	carried	65	collaboration	51
routes	354	years	95	germany	65	communities	51
route	345	theme	93	international	65	dialogue	51
work	316	city	92	certain	64	form	51
photo	286	identity	92	romania	64	mediterranean	51
council	271	programme	91	country	63	practice	51
history	253	centres	89	course	63	territory	51
institute	247	question	89	account	62	used	51
tourism	246	today	86	exchanges	62	cultures	50
culture	243	co-operation	85	past	61	linked	50
people	232	artistic	84	like	60	political	50
project	219	related	84	reflection	60	roads	50
new	215	social	84	regions	60	scientific	50
common	214	order	83	santiago	60	second	50
development	207	national	82	set	60	experience	49
countries	197	theatre	82	french	59	known	49
memory	194	regional	81	means	59	ministry	49
centre	180	rural	81	pupils	58	pilgrimage	49
time	163	example	78	topics	58	quality	49
historical	158	baroque	77	values	58	reading	49
france	155	group	77	east	57	thanks	49
young	155	pilgrims	77	site	57	towns	49
way	149	space	77	took	57	eastern	48
landscape	147	contemporary	76	dimension	56	point	48
place	143	projects	76	idea	56	presented	48
places	143	spain	76	industrial	56	aims	47
local	140	citizenship	75	present	56	developed	47
gardens	137	school	75	road	56	discovery	47
mtp	134	partners	73	role	56	experts	47
sites	134	actions	72	urban	56	monuments	47
network	132	importance	72	create	55	number	47
jewish	128	economic	71	environment	55	works	47
various	128	particular	71	iron	55	convention	46
century	127	silk	71	knowledge	55	major	46
topic	127	training	71	according	54	objectives	46
art	123	approach	70	action	54	conference	45
meetings	120	education	70	brought	54	middle	45
creation	118	necessary	70	aim	53	built	44
ways	118	starting	70	arts	53	created	44
luxembourg	114	activities	69	construction	53	held	44
framework	111	information	69	develop	53	large	44
meeting	110	significant	69	exchange	53	long	44
public	110	town	69	finally	53	open	44
association	105	following	68	interpretation	53	practices	44
great	104	compostella	67	production	53	rome	44
life	103	europeans	67	areas	52	ages	43
garden	102	general	67	central	52	area	43
italy	102	museum	67	charge	52	beginning	43
tourist	102	organised	67	committee	52	better	43
research	100	region	67	end	52	buildings	43
make	99	religious	67	natural	52	constitute	43
world	99	year	67	north	52	exhibition	43
possible	97	st	66	old	52	having	43

interest	43
left	43
level	43
propose	43
proposed	43
society	43
terrasson	43
borders	42

Notes

¹ See http://www.culture-routes.lu/php/fo_index.php?lng=en&dest=bd_pa_det&unv=ic, accessed June 20, 2014.

² See http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/culture/routes/default_en.asp, accessed June 20, 2014.

³ See http://www.culture-routes.lu/php/fo_index.php?lng=en&dest=bd_no_det&id=00000025, accessed June 20, 2014.

⁴ The 174 investigated pages are the ‘main pages’, which are indexed on the left side of the site. The ‘news’ and ‘articles’ sections were not taken into account.

⁵ See http://culture-routes.lu/php/fo_index.php?lng=en&dest=bd_pa_det&unv=em, accessed June 20, 2014.

⁶ See http://www.culture-routes.lu/php/fo_index.php?lng=en&dest=bd_pa_det&unv=qs, accessed June 20, 2014.

⁷ See http://www.culture-routes.lu/php/fo_index.php?lng=en&dest=bd_pa_det&rub=20, accessed June 20, 2014.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ See http://www.culture-routes.lu/php/fo_index.php?lng=en&dest=bd_pa_det&id=00000084, accessed June 20, 2014.

¹⁰ See http://www.culture-routes.lu/php/fo_index.php?lng=en&dest=bd_pa_det&unv=ec, accessed June 20, 2014.

¹¹ See http://www.culture-routes.lu/php/fo_index.php?lng=en&dest=bd_pa_det&rub=89, accessed June 20, 2014.

¹² Interestingly, this romantic discourse is subsequently mimicked by travel authors. See for example the tips offered by the website Travel Writing 101, which aims to provide writing tips for aspiring travel writers: ‘Don’t discuss the gory details. Travel writing is meant to accentuate the positive, not the negative aspects of destinations.’ See <http://www.travelwriting.write101.com/>, accessed June 20, 2014.

¹³ This can be traced on different pages such as http://www.culture-routes.lu/php/fo_index.php?lng=en&dest=bd_pa_det&unv=em&PHPSESSID=3b0611d49dc4420f614a9b6c64ab933c, accessed June 20, 2014.

¹⁴ See http://www.culture-routes.lu/php/fo_index.php?lng=en&dest=bd_pa_det&rub=11, accessed June 20, 2014.

¹⁵ See http://www.culture-routes.lu/php/fo_index.php?lng=en&dest=bd_pa_det&rub=22, accessed June 20, 2014.

¹⁶ See http://www.culture-routes.lu/php/fo_index.php?lng=en&dest=bd_pa_det&id=00000101, accessed June 20, 2014.

¹⁷ See http://www.culture-routes.lu/php/fo_index.php?lng=en&dest=bd_pa_det&unv=ed, accessed June 20, 2014.

¹⁸ See http://www.culture-routes.lu/php/fo_index.php?lng=en&dest=bd_pa_det&unv=qs, accessed June 20, 2014.

¹⁹ ‘Northern’ N=26, ‘North’ N=52; ‘Western’ N=26, ‘West’ N=40; ‘Central’ N=52; ‘Southern’ N=11, ‘South’ N=36

²⁰ See http://www.culture-routes.lu/php/fo_index.php?lng=en&dest=bd_pa_det&rub=21, accessed June 20, 2014.

²¹ See http://www.culture-routes.lu/php/fo_index.php?lng=en&dest=bd_pa_det&rub=21, accessed June 20, 2014.

²² See http://www.culture-routes.lu/php/fo_index.php?lng=en&dest=bd_pa_det&rub=48, accessed June 20, 2014.

²³ See http://www.culture-routes.lu/php/fo_index.php?lng=en&dest=bd_pa_det&rub=78, accessed June 20, 2014.

²⁴ See http://www.culture-routes.lu/php/fo_index.php?lng=en&dest=bd_pa_det&unv=ec (ibid.), accessed June 20, 2014.

²⁵ See http://www.culture-routes.lu/php/fo_index.php?lng=en&dest=bd_pa_det&rub=59, accessed June 20, 2014.

²⁶ See http://www.culture-routes.lu/php/fo_index.php?lng=en&dest=bd_pa_det&rub=42, accessed June 20, 2014.

²⁷ See http://www.culture-routes.lu/php/fo_index.php?lng=en&dest=bd_pa_det&rub=79, accessed June 20, 2014.

²⁸ See http://www.culture-routes.lu/php/fo_index.php?lng=en&dest=bd_pa_det&rub=22, accessed June 20, 2014.