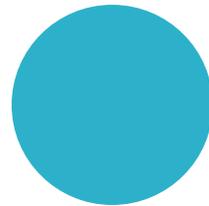
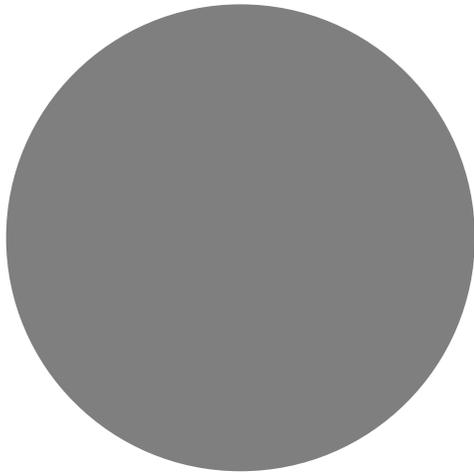


The European Union's fundamental values are **respect for human dignity and human rights, freedom, democracy, equality and the rule of law.** (

Source: <https://europarlamenti.info/en/values-and-objectives/values/>)



## THE LANGUAGE OF POLITICS: THE METAPHORISATION OF EUROPEAN POLITICS

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# Introduction



The following issues will be considered:



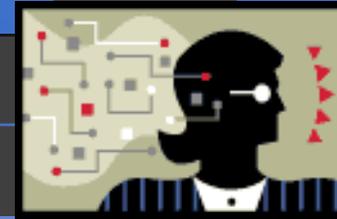
## 1. The language of politics?

Politics is concerned with power: the power to make decisions, to control resources, to control other people behaviour, to control their values and moral frames

## 2. Politics and Metaphors

Modern reality is often seen through the lens of our language and the media presentation .

Linguistic devices: metaphors, euphemisms, political correctness, fake news...)



Since the purpose of political rhetoric is persuasion, or the manipulation of the public, figurative speech (metaphors) is often used.  
(war = military **operation**)

In politics, the explanatory function of metaphors is often subjected to the goal of manipulation, which means that metaphors are often primarily selected for their emotional and strategic effect.



### 3. THE METAPHORISATION OF EUROPEAN POLITICS

Geo-political changes and the reconstruction of the EU  
→ toward a metaphorical reconceptualization of the EU

Concepts referring to the 'Balkan countries'.

How immigrants are portrayed in popular media.

# Sources:

The **cognitive theory** of metaphor is outlined (Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Gibbs (1994), Fauconnier (1997), A. Goatly (1968)), and is applied to the basic terms of **political discourse**.

Examples are chosen from different sources, such as:

political debates	public media	EUROMETA CORPUS: ENGLISH (Metaphors in British press texts dealing with EU politics), <a href="http://www.dur.ac.uk/mlac/german/resources/arcproject/">http://www.dur.ac.uk/mlac/german/resources/arcproject/</a> ,	EUROVOC ( <a href="http://www.hidra.hr/eurovoc/eurovoc1.HTM">http://www.hidra.hr/eurovoc/eurovoc1.HTM</a> ),	database of the Institute of Croatian Language and Linguistics, etc.
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## EU METAPHORS

Political changes in Europe in recent decades have created a new and unfamiliar political and linguistic landscape.

Geo-political changes and the reconstruction of the EU have left their trace in different discourse types and metaphors, e.g.

1.  
*EU=Europe of variable geometry,*

2.  
*EU=movement*

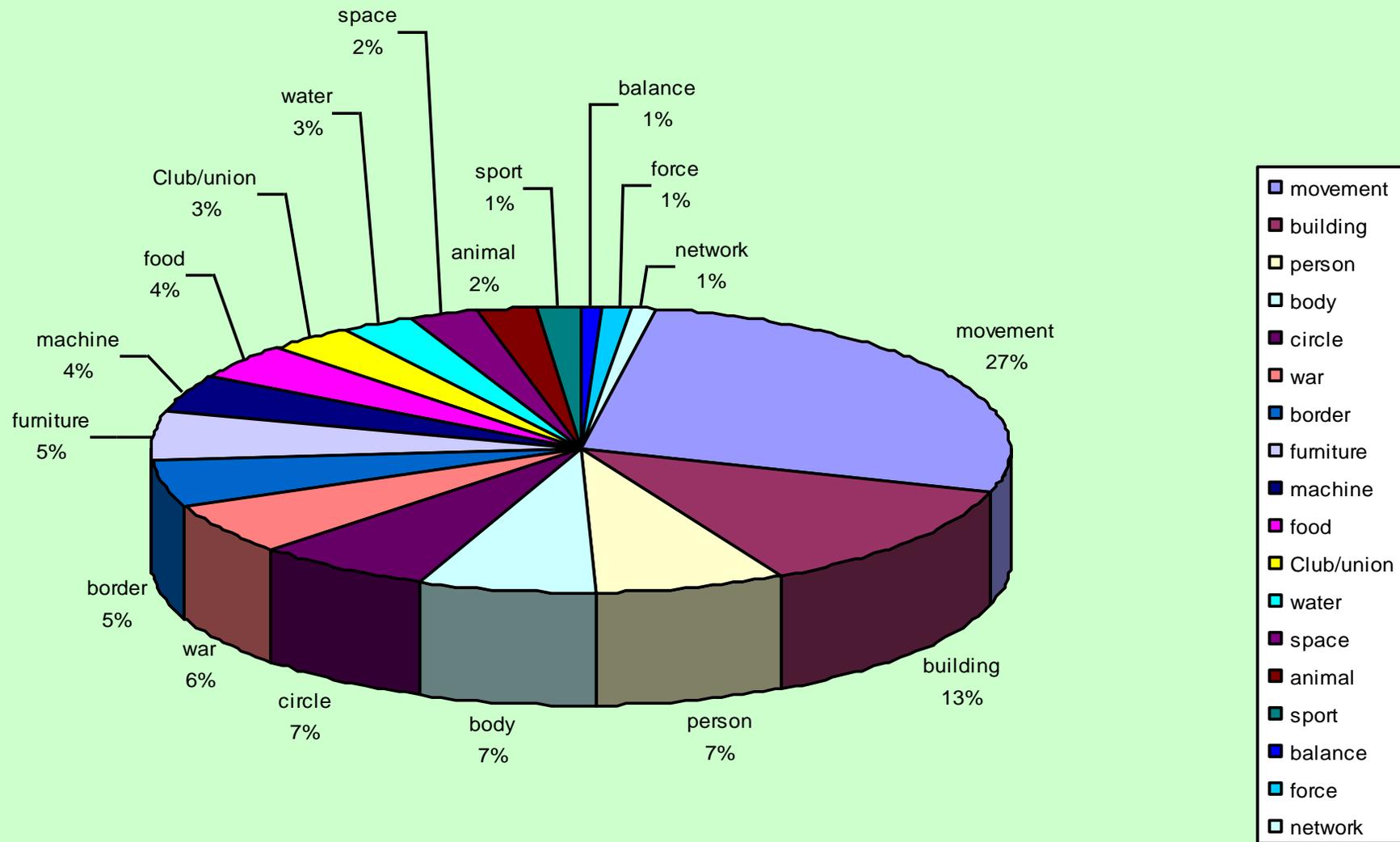
3.  
*EU=building, house*

4.  
*EU = person*

5.  
*EU=circle*

6.  
*EU=club*

*Etc.*



# 1. EU INTEGRATION = A JOURNEY, PROCESS, CHANGE, MOVEMENT



Spatial metaphors described the EU enlargement in terms of **movement, a journey**, and the EU as an exclusive space to enter.

The MOTION is expressed by vocabulary which refer the following concepts:

to journey (e.g. “new steps”, “leaps forward”, “moving forward”, “brave steps into uncharted territory”, “avoiding a drifting off course”),

to speed (e.g. “accelerate the integration”, “slowing-down the train”),

to moving objects (e.g. “new locomotive”, “our boat, deck of the Eurobus, the economic motorway, bicycle) .

Enlargement is also described as **forward movement**, like being a *big* or *giant step* for the EU or the applicants are **waiting at the door, ready to enter**

Using motion metaphors to frame messages in political campaigns is well motivated. It is in line with a large body of findings in cognitive science on how humans are wired to mentally simulate motion in all sorts of conditions, including even when nothing is actually moving.

## 2. EU=container (building, home)



Inside-outside distinction of containment is used to speak of membership to the EU, such as the fear of being “left on the outside” or the suggestion to “expel those that have been working for the destruction of the EU (mainly Britain)”.

- The metaphorical expressions of CONTAINER understand the EU in terms of building or its parts (e.g. “European edifice”, “foundations”), in terms of a homogeneous, integrated space (e.g. “unification”, “single judicial area”).
- *e.g. For once within "**Fortress Europe**", they would be free to move around the other Schengen nations. (EUROMETA)*
- *If we were to join the single currency we "could find [ourselves] trapped in the economic equivalent of **a burning building with no exits**". (EUROMETA)*
- “The European Union has three **pillars**”,

# EU=PERSON (BODY, PARTS OF THE BODY, FAMILY)



The body was the predominant metaphor through which the European state was understood.

Common ways of comprehending society and nation involve the source concepts of person and family.

As the metaphor makes clear, social life and the political system are, just like the various parts of the body, intimately related and organically unified.

- Thus, there are *friendly* states, *hostile* states, etc.
- Health for a state is economic health and strength is military strength.
- Strong states are seen as male, and weak states as female, so that an attack by a strong state on a weak state can be seen as a *rape*, as in the rape of Kuwait by Iraq.

## 4. EU=variable geometry

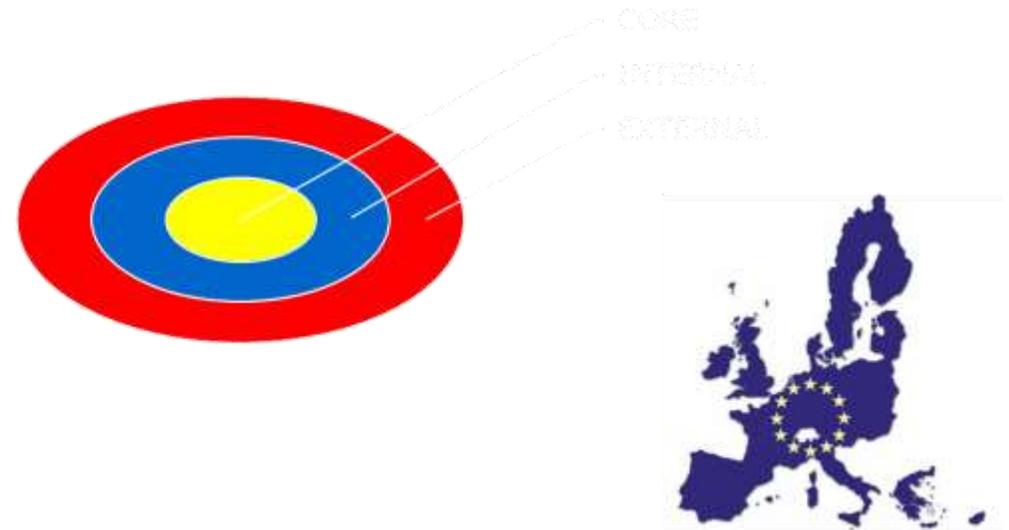
Geometry supplies a vast repertoire of geometrical patterns which could be used to interrelate concepts.

**Variable Geometry-** Not everybody wants to, or can, do the same things (e.g., join NATO or form a single currency).

*For long years to come , Europe will consist of a **central, homogeneous core**, made up essentially of France and Germany," he said. **The second concentric circle** would include the weaker European states, such as Britain. **The outer group** would take in the nations of East Europe which could not hope to meet the criteria of EU membership for some time. (EUROMETA)*

## EU=CONCENTRIC CIRCLE

- EU is often perceived as a system of concentric circles: *core, internal and external circle.*
- This aspect implicates uneven relationships of power or influence in diffusion.
- **Concentric Circles** The Eastern Europeans are in the outer ring, the Good Europeans in the center, while the middle ring contains the uncertain, the unwilling and the incapable.



## 6. EU=COMMUNITY ASSOCIATION, CLUB (3%)

The concept such as **association, club** is used in order to avoid the term state or nation.

*The alternative Thatcherite model of an **inter-governmental community** — run essentially behind closed doors by the council of ministers, the **club of member states** — could lead to far more unaccountable centralization of power than out-in-the-open federalism.(EUROMETA)*

*Blair fights for entry to '**euro club**'.(EUROMETA)*

*We are not a **club of Christians**, but we are a club where human rights have to be considered .(EUROMETA)*

*Despite the administrative difficulties, **a Union of different clubs** looks preferable to **a union of different classes**. (EUROMETA)*

Perception  
of the EU in  
the  
candidate  
country (e.g.  
CROATIA)

The EU is  
often  
conceived by  
non-European  
(candidate  
country) in  
the following  
concepts:

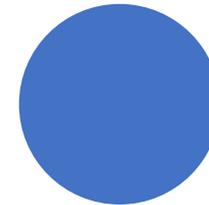
**EU=family, cradle  
of civilizations, old  
lady, fortress,  
Christian religion,  
the bridge, the  
border opposing  
two different  
worlds, an entity  
closed to outsiders  
(a rich man's club),  
etc.....**

Croatia is often conceived as a part of the **Western Balkan Countries, convergence regions, Central and Eastern Europe, candidate country, the Adriatic state, underdeveloped countries, developing countries, emergent nations, non defined space, backyard, unstable region, neighbouring country**

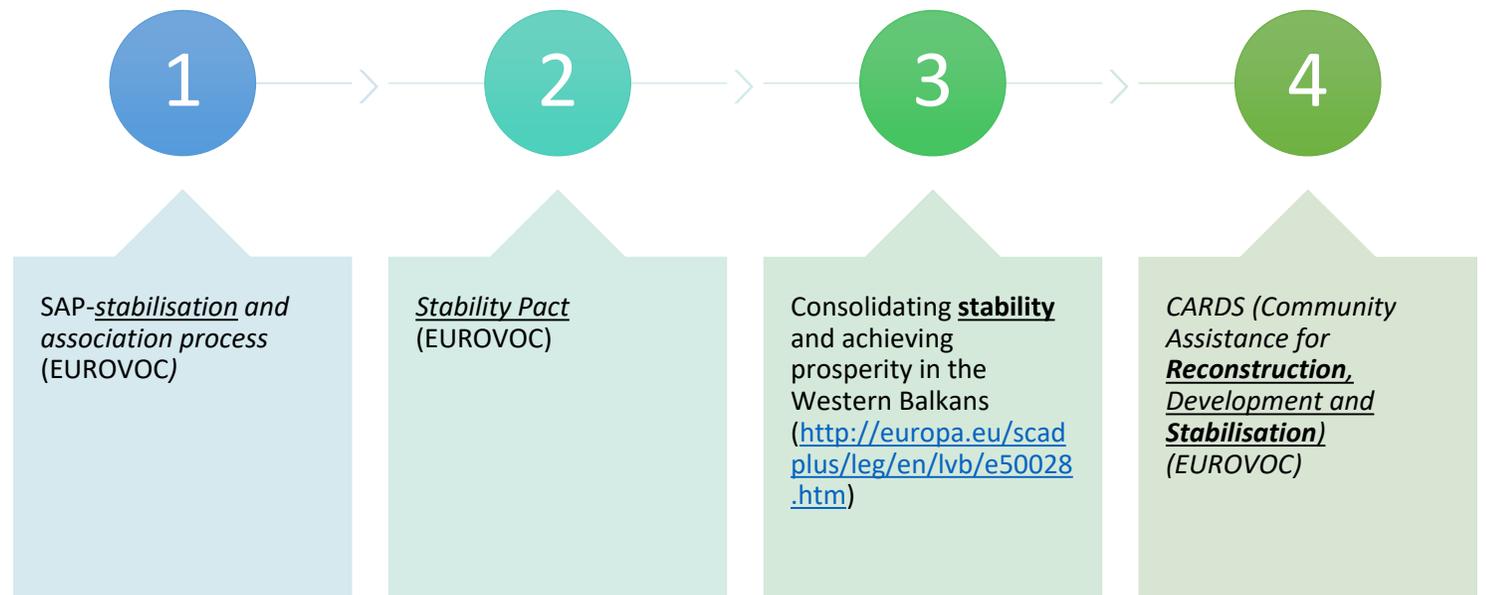
- *E.g. The potential candidate countries are making progress towards membership in accordance with the **Road Map** established by the Commission in 2005.*  
<http://europa.eu/scadplus/leg/en/lvb/e50028.htm>

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**EU administration views Croatia in the following concepts:**



Southeastern Europe (Balkan countries)=non defined, unstable area



# Balkan > Balkanize

- to divide (a country, territory, etc.) into small, quarrelsome, ineffectual states.
- to divide (groups, areas, etc.) into contending and usually ineffectual factions: e.g. *a movement to balkanize minority voters*.
- Social media, the internet and the rise of other populist, **balkanizing technologies** are now calling Madison's constitutional vision into question. WSJ, "Five Best: Jeffrey Rosen," 16 Mar. 2018
- In the 1800s, unions covered only a small fraction of workers and were **balkanized** and relatively weak. Jay I. Zagorsky, Smithsonian, "Striking Union Workers Turned the First Labor Day into a Networking Event," 1 Sep. 2017

# CONCLUSIVE REMARKS

Four competing visions of the EU may be identified:

**Multi-speed Europe**-concentric Europe, also known as core and periphery, envisions a core group of countries..

The pre-federal inner circle shares all common EU policies and acts as an initiator of policy legislation. This arrangement may be compared to a solar system with a stable planetary system where the outer planets retain an orbit of their own, provided they remain within the European solar system

**Europe a la carte** – each quest can choose different items from a vast selection. Member states implement some common EU policies and reject those they deem contrary to their national interests.

For instance Germany, France and the Benelux countries (Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg) willingly embrace the constraints of the single currency circle, the Schengen circle and the Eurocorps circle.

British politics see variable geometry as a goal and a model in itself, thereby refusing any 'core Europe'.

Croatia sees itself as a fortress against the Turkish invasion (*antemurale christianitatis*). Balkan is Croatian geographical prison, while Europe is its escape from the East, communism,

# Perception of immigrants in public media



Suddenly we are treating new immigrants as if they're the problem,

---

Europe is undergoing profound changes in terms of European integration as well as through the influx of immigrants from around the world.

---

Both of these processes are currently challenging the construction of European spaces on various levels and remain subject of debate on a daily basis.

---

Three conceptual metaphors dominate the public media:

---

Immigrants are aliens

---

Immigration is a flood

---

Immigration is an invasion

# IMMIGRANT METAPHORS

immigrants=wave, flow, mobs, fences

- **Fences** are going up everywhere, including in people's minds. The mood is ugly across the continent today. And it's not likely get better soon.
- She is still resting her hopes on international solutions, such as help from Turkey, European solidarity and tackling the root causes of **the flows of refugees**.
- Frauke Petry, its leader, joined a chorus of voices attacking Merkel, writing on her Facebook page: "Is Germany now open and colourful enough for you, following **the wave of crimes and sexual attacks**, Frau Merkel?"
- Her party colleague Björn Höcke wrote on his Facebook page: "Merkel is guilty for the attacks of **migrant mobs** on women in Cologne and other German cities."
- In a reference to Merkel's comment on the migration crisis, Tusk said "some" European leaders "said that this **wave of migrants** is too big to stop."



- Alexander Betts, director of the refugee studies centre at Oxford University, says: “Words that convey an exaggerated sense of threat can fuel anti-immigration sentiment and a climate of intolerance and xenophobia.”



# BREXIT



# EU=BUILDING, CLUB=BREXIT

- The UK said it wanted an immigration policy that supports **businesses** to provide services and **to move talented people**, and allows citizens to travel freely, without a visa, for **tourism and temporary business activity**.
- **'Brexodus' to cost UK up to 12,000 finance jobs.**  
<https://www.reuters.com/brexit>
- The Brexit Secretary is set to play hardball with the EU over the so-called **divorce settlement** if trade deal talks fall through. /The Sun,



# How political humour can be manipulated in public debates?



## CONCLUSION

- Struggles over metaphors are a significant and largely underappreciated aspect of the politics of the EU integration.
- According to G. Lakoff (2008) our future depends critically on which metaphorical conceptions predominate.
- It seems that the EU is still "*under construction*"



1. Europe is conceptualized as a single, growing, living organism, with one trunk, its roots sunk in the rich European soil (state=person, ..).
2. The rival metaphor, backed by France and Britain, was **the temple**. They wanted different policy areas split off from each other, in separate 'pillars'.
3. The third concept was defined by the non-European/candidate countries: family, cradle of civilizations, Christian religion, the bridge that crosses the water, etc.....

The proliferation of images reflects extraordinary uncertainty about what the picture that emerges will look like.

- Synthesis of our results shows the potentialities of metaphor as a privileged cognitive tool for abstracting and constructing discourse strategies.
- These metaphors are constantly repeated in different discourses that revolve around an idea of Europe.
- It is quite evident that fundamental EU values (e.g. equality, dignity...), in political discourse are often violated (e.g. the concept of immigrants, Western Balkan, etc.).

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