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**Stance in Political Discourse during
the Migrant Crisis of 2015**



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INTRODUCTION

Discourse on migration has been approached by critical discourse analysis as typical for conveying right-wing populist ideology (Wodak 2015), being the vehicle of new racism (VanDijk 1991) or as a social practice enacting prejudice and discriminatory policies (VanLeeuwen and Wodak 1999, Chilton 2004). In a study tackling the tensions caused by the migrant crisis among within the European Union it is stated that the refugee “...is the symbol of globalization’s threatening nature. He comes weighed down by the misery and trouble of the wider world. He is among us, but he is not of us” (Krastev 2017, 18). Indeed, it could be argued that ‘the refugee’ or its even more problematic counterpart, ‘the migrant’ are today’s ‘Other’ images for the affluent Western world, constructed by hegemonic discourse, be that political or media. Wodak (2015) explains this process as the selection of a convenient group or category which is consistently blamed for the woes of society and rendered dangerous for the in-group, raising fear among its members and, thus, justifying the exclusion of this scapegoated category from the dealings of polity.

In Europe, the 2015 migrant crisis undoubtedly provided new input for this type of discourse but it has generated a crisis of self-definition on the old continent as well. ‘European’ coincides for many with cosmopolitan high culture and a strong institutional framework. Yet, the arrival of such a great number of refugees questioned the efficiency of EU policies on the matter, caused a temporary breakdown of the Schengen agreement and generated tension among member states.

This study is the result of research conducted in order to obtain a doctoral degree. Although its initial aim was to identify anti- and pro-migrationist attitudes, the study more significantly reveals mechanisms through which members of this singular organisation, European Union,

adapt and tailor individual and specific discourses, informed by individual and specific interests in such a way that they comply with perceived organisational values and aspirations.

Stance appropriately grasps this duality through its specific feature of declaring individual and institutional outlooks at the same time. An analysis of the interpersonal resources that realise the positions and attitudes formulated in the matter of the migrant crisis reveals the various interpretations and interest-driven adjustments of the values that legitimize the existence and activity of the European Union as an integrated organisation. Concomitantly, they reveal the constant effort of institutional representatives to homogenize these, often factional, positions into a harmonious voice.

1. “European” discourse: a site of “struggle”

European unity has always been problematic. The European Union’s establishment at the beginning of the 1950s between six founding Western European states was a project meant to economically integrate these countries in view of a better cooperation and partnership. It was hoped that a higher level of interdependence would prevent them from waging war against one another, given their economic interests. The partnership among European countries was forged in order to mutually benefit all parties and was not meant to exceed it. A higher unity among these states, by cultural integration, for example, may have been a rather elusive pursuit, given the strong national influence of states and cultures (Baycroft 2004). The addition to the organization of the members from the Eastern Bloc has increased the tension between the endeavour to improve cooperation and the effort to maintain the sovereignty of the member states. Critics have stated that a rapid expansion of the European Union has happened at the expense of the cohesion among these countries, with many

suggesting that lack of in-depth integration of newly joining states has threatened the stability of the organization (Wodak 2009, 59).

Krastev explains the general atmosphere of '*we do not owe anything to these people*' (2017, 45) which most Eastern European countries adopted during the crisis, with the dramatically different historical and social experience of this region. Western culture's cosmopolitanism and multiculturalism is to a great extent the result of its colonial past, which may add a feeling of guilt and responsibility toward those seeking refuge. Eastern states, on the other hand, resulted from the disintegration of empires and experienced ethnic cleansing in its aftermath, therefore, the arrival of new populations seems downright threatening. In addition, one of the negative consequences of joining the European Union has been the exodus of a great number of people from former members of the Eastern bloc, searching for a better life in Western Europe, where these people themselves have experienced prejudiced treatment.

It is only logical that the warning over the possible collapse of Schengen came from the Visegrad Four countries (the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia) for whom this agreement of free mobility of goods and people equalled freedom itself. Its breakdown meant the renewal of borders and limitations, a new wedge between 'Europe' and the East, perceived as unnatural and painful by these countries during the time of the Iron Curtain.¹ It is ironic that it was a former Communist country, Hungary, that renewed the idea of a 'wall' by trying to keep out the asylum seekers who were entering the Schengen area at its southern borders.

This study approaches ideologically oriented content with formal analytical tools. In his much-referenced description of discourse as social practice, Fairclough (1993 and 2013), drawing on Foucault, represents discourse as the manifestation of a struggle among various orders of discourse, neither dominant but all coexisting within a dynamic social field.

¹ #PragueSummit 2015: Visegrad Ministers' Panel (youtube.com)

The values of solidarity and responsibility are determining pillars of European Union policy, its performance and, indeed, its very existence, providing the main source of its legitimation discourse. Organisational discourse on migration produced during the debates on the 2015 crisis is perceivable as an arena of hegemonic struggle among alternative discourses around the governance of Europe and European member states, and the relationship between them.

Although a few ideologies are traceable as types of discourse in the analysed texts, this study focusses on the process of meaning-making resulting from combined ideational and interpersonal resources pertaining to representation and realizations of dialogical and attitudinal stances. Therefore, even if identified, discourses of anti- and pro-migrationism, of legitimation of the European Union as a governing and legislating political organization, the discourse of federalism or Euroscepticism, in the case of some speakers, are acknowledged only inasmuch as they pertain to the process of stance-taking. The spectrum ranges from federalism on one extreme, championing for a higher integration of the European states, to euroscepticism on the other end, arguing for the primacy of state and national sovereignty. In the context of the migrant crisis the two connected values of solidarity and responsibility represent the premises of the speakers' argumentation through which they position themselves in the debate and justify their actions. More importantly, these values represent the comprehensive link through which institutional representatives are negotiating a common ground and attempt to formulate a homogenous discourse as representative of the organization.

Solidarity and Responsibility in the European Union

Solidarity and its related value, responsibility, represent the core principles of the European Union. One of the founding fathers of the organization,

Robert Schuman's 1950 often-quoted declaration² sets the premises of the concept of solidarity as a *'de facto'* value, resulting from the common achievements of the countries participating to the project. As it is known, the declaration was issued in the eve of the Franco-German agreement on common production of coal and steel in order to achieve mutual economic benefits and to ensure that war would never occur between these economic powers, and those who subsequently joined the agreement:

"The solidarity in production thus established will make it plain that any war between France and Germany becomes not merely unthinkable, but materially impossible. The setting up of this powerful productive unit, open to all countries willing to take part and bound ultimately to provide all the member countries with the basic elements of industrial production on the same terms, will lay a true foundation for their economic unification."

This agreement made all participating countries dependent on each other's economic achievements and made them each responsible, *'bound'*, for contributing to the effort in an equal manner. The founding principle of the European Union, economic unification of countries that depend on each other for a higher economic production, was intended to produce the social value of maintaining peace in the region by mutual economic reliance.

Solidarity and responsibility are an *'inextricably linked duo'* (Vignon 2011) of complex societies as solidarity can only be built by responsibility. Vignon explains this duo by the principle of social insurances. Although the principle is based on generosity, since the beneficiaries are the (temporarily) weak members of society, mutuality among all the members of society must exist in order to make sure that everyone benefits in case

² https://european-union.europa.eu/principles-countries-history/history-eu/1945-59/schuman-declaration-may-1950_en

they need it and minimal living expenses are covered. This mutuality, however, includes the responsible behaviour of beneficiaries who must demonstrate their willingness to become contributing members of society again by actively seeking new job opportunities or learning new skills. Unless this mechanism of balanced solidarity and responsibility is maintained, excessive reliance on the mutual support fund will eventually deplete it. Solidarity, and its counterpart, '*shared responsibility*'³ have been subsequently used in EU documents and remain rather general however, their core definition of nurturing common practical interests in the spirit of an enlightened self-interest remained.

Porschlegel (2021) identifies three traditions of the concept of solidarity in Europe, originating from the Christian-socialist understanding of the principle of 'loving one's neighbour', the liberal-nationalist concept of solidarity based on a shared identity, as that within a nation where the sense of belonging creates the basis of the political community, and the socialist concept based on class identity. While the nationalist concept is a much more prevalent and reinforced type due to the historical and social ties that have constituted its basis, the solidarity between and among European Union member countries exists as a principle of interstate reciprocity benefitting all participants, closer in ideological content to the socialist type of solidarity, due to its supranational dimension. This new type of solidarity, while it can function in the context of economic or political cooperation can hardly overcome the national type of solidarity which is perceived in terms of historical ties and tradition.

On the contrary, in the European Union national, regional and local identities coexist with a sense of European identity decreasing in favour of a better ingrained national identity whenever situations of crisis occur. In these cases, a European identity is mostly associated with the elites and

³ Article 80 of the Treaty of the European Union: the "fair sharing of responsibility, including its financial implications, between the Member States." (Porschlegel, 2021: 15)

even dismissed as a project that has been implemented without the consultation of common citizens (Castells 2018; Wiewiorka 2018).

Moreover, in times of economic restrictions or matters relating to the distribution of economic resources (a question that is usually posed related to migration as well), a national type of identity is exacerbated to the extent of rejecting a European identity due to its (real or imagined) economic costs (Bouin 2018). Therefore, while economic solidarity has been the founding principle of the European Union, it also constitutes one of the main challenges to its unity.

Throughout the migrant crisis, the value of solidarity was defined in two ways, that of helping refugees (as a Christian understanding of the principle) and that of supporting first-entry countries who had to bear the burden of processing and catering for the large number of arrivals. This crisis of European solidarity was to a great extent caused by the inadequacy of the Dublin Regulation (2013) which determined that the country responsible for processing the request of an asylum seeker is the one where the person crosses the EU border and this country decides whether the asylum seeker is entitled or not for the international protection stipulated by the Geneva Convention. The law was originally trying to prevent asylum seekers from applying in multiple countries or being sent from one country to another; however, during the migrant crisis, it caused great burden on mainly Italy, Greece and Hungary, so much so, that Greece, for instance, abandoned in-processing at a given time. In order to correct the effect of the Dublin regulation, the European Commission proposed a redistribution plan, which, however, was not successful and had to be amended. The latest Pact on Migration and Asylum was adopted in May, 2024⁴.

Concerning the values of solidarity and responsibility, the priority of national solidarity and responsibility towards national constituencies was thoroughly demonstrated as national cohesion prevailed over interstate

⁴ The Council adopts the EU's pact on migration and asylum - Consilium (europa.eu)

solidarity or solidarity demonstrated towards refugees and most member states refused or were reluctant to accept a great number of refugees for fear of public reaction at home. The case of Hungary became notorious due to the fence built on the Southern border but other countries demonstrated a significant degree of reluctance as well⁵. It was feared that the greatest economic and political achievement of post-war Europe, the free movement of people and goods across member states known as the Schengen, would collapse, given the fact that countries temporarily imposed border control during the crisis⁶.

Anti- and Pro-migrationist Aspects

It has been repeatedly stated that the migrant crisis of 2015 seriously challenged the European regulations and existing bureaucratic processes regarding the acceptance of immigrants and the processing of their requests concerning permanent residence on the territory of the European Union⁷. The arrival of a great number of asylum seekers that caused European member states to confront new situations and seek new solutions, the misunderstandings, lack of coordination and tensions created between members generated a situation which corresponds in all its details to a crisis. The events that precipitated towards the end of the summer and the month of September generated a series of intense debates on possible solutions to the containment of the crisis and a great part of those measures were of a deliberative nature.

Whereas the issue of contention seemed to be around whether migrants should be received into the European Union or not, the frame of the

⁵ Why Slovakia won't embrace migration – POLITICO, 3 EU countries broke law by refusing to take in refugees, says court lawyer – POLITICO

⁶ <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jan/25/refugee-crisis-schengen-area-scheme-brink-amsterdam-talks>

⁷ <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/legislative-train/package-strong-asylum-policy/file-jd-revision-of-the-dublin-regulation>

dispute has been formulated around several related matters regarding the ways in which either decision should be implemented. Considering this aspect, it must be stated that the 'two sides', unconditional acceptance (or what seemed to be this side, anyway) and uncompromising refusal are the two extremes that were perceived at that time by the media and by the public.

A significant part of negotiations was taken up by the imposition of mandatory quotas by the EU which was dropped definitively only in 2018, and which generated further discussions on the breach of sovereignty of member states and serious protests from the Visegrad four. This, in its turn, generated further questions regarding perceptions of European solidarity among the members. With a history shaped by the notorious Iron Curtain, these countries urged for a more thorough monitoring of external Schengen borders rather than distributing quotas among member states. The achievement of free movement of goods and citizens referred to as Schengen has represented freedom for these countries, a particular value that is foregrounded in their discourse besides the importance of solidarity and responsibility. In the autumn of 2015, Europe was risking a collapse of this agreement among states and Eastern European countries warned of this dire possibility, with the risk of condemning Eastern European states to isolation again.⁸

On the pro-migrationist side, the most important arguments relating to the acceptance (or not) of migrants within the European Union is of a moral nature. This aspect particularly gained prominence after (then) German Chancellor Merkel's famous '*Wir schaffen das*' ('we can do it') speech uttered on August 31, at the annual Federal press conference⁹.

⁸ In November 2015, Czech Minister of Foreign Affairs was stating: '*I believe that we now have a simple choice: either we have functioning external borders outside Europe, or new borders inside Europe. I do not want any borders inside Europe again!*' <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0Ac0Lw92Tgo&list=PLNRhsq8EkDAaQoEB8l0q9pDl6n6L5TUPR&index=2>

⁹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kDQki0MMFh4>, <https://www.politico.eu/article/angela-merkel-wir-schaffen-das-5-years-on/>,

Chancellor Merkel's message prompted liberal politicians to attribute *moral leadership* to Germany in expressing humanity as a fundamental principle of the European solidarity¹⁰. According to this view, moral reasoning must surpass attention to inferior gains and benefits, favouring decisions informed by morality and not practical interests. From a discursive point of view, these justifications set moral standards into the centre of the debate on receiving migrants and, in a linguistic analysis on stance, directs attention towards attitudinal resources expressing judgement.

It was claimed at the time that the words had been taken out of their context and that the optimism it may have implied¹¹, especially for those familiar with American President Obama's electoral slogan, '*yes, we can*'¹², was misleading. The German Chancellor uttered these words in the context of German determination and ability to deal with intricate issues as a mark of national exceptionalism (Holzberg 2021), however, a great part of the public opinion, especially her critics, interpreted it as an open invitation on German soil for migrants. Two opposing positions were outlined in addition and related to the moral nature of the issue, this time, bringing to the forefront the opposing emotions of Hope and Anger (Opatrný, Zulehner and Žuffa 2023), that became manifest in discursive space through the declarations by Chancellor Merkel and Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán.

In such dichotomic interpretations, Hope is both a marker for the affect and a concrete manifestation of the migrants' political agency. As a reaction to Chancellor Merkel's speech, thousands of people that had been stranded in the Keleti train station in Budapest began walking on foot towards the German border, a gesture called by some, at that time, the March of Hope. The German Chancellor's discourse is not analysed in the

¹⁰ <https://www.yanisvaroufakis.eu/2015/09/14/on-german-moral-leadership-english-version-of-op-ed-in-sundays-frankfurter-allgemeine-zeitung/>

¹¹ The phrase that haunts Angela Merkel – POLITICO.

¹² <https://www.npr.org/2008/11/05/96624326/transcript-of-barack-obamas-victory-speech>

present corpus, due to the fact that it was uttered in German, however, the State of the Union Address in the European Parliament spoken by the President of the Commission, Jean Claude Juncker, provides a realization of an attitudinal stance that is consistent with the pro-migrationist position of the discourse of Hope.

The Hungarian Prime Minister, on the other hand, depicted migrants as threatening to the European community and its fundamental values and argued for closing the borders. The main elements of his arguments are represented by the refusal to admit the refugee status for the asylum seekers, representing them in accordance with the elements of standard discriminatory conservative discourse. The importance of Schengen is one of the Prime Minister's arguments against the relocation policy as well. Together with the other Visegrad countries, he represents a distinct perspective on the migrant crisis, although, his position is at times more radical from other peers in the group.

Federalism and Euroscepticism

The two ideological trends do not represent the focus of this study; however, they are present in the declarations as underlying influences that modulate to some extent the representation of circumstances and contribute to the specific stances taken by some of the speakers. The value of solidarity in the European Union is most significantly present on a national level, and secondarily, or on a more general level, on an interstate and organizational level. The two definitions of solidarity serve as suitable descriptions for the two polarities within the European Union concerning political position in the organization, federalism and euroscepticism.

Federalism¹³, strictly applied to the European Union, represents the political ideal of a higher integration of member states, from a partnership of sovereign states, as is its present status, into a group of states under a central government, with states owning more or less self-governing authority. As member countries have various attitudes towards the idea of federalisation, several versions, implying a higher or lower degree of self-governance and centralisation have emerged, such as the idea of a multi-speed Europe, or even the concept of Schengen. Multi-speed speed Europe implies the existence of a 'core' Europe, more integrated in a higher degree cooperation than members which are not part of it. The existence of the Schengen area is, in a way, a realisation of this idea as those members' part of the project need to observe stricter economic rules based on a higher centralised set of common laws.

On the other hand, Eurosceptics have been vouching for a reduced influence of the European Union in state and national affairs, arguing that a high degree of integration damages national sovereignty and even national identity. This trend is closely associated with the claim that the European Union has a democratic deficit as it does not genuinely represent the interests of all European citizens. Various degrees of scepticism can be identified ranging from soft to hard Euroscepticism, with dissensions regarding imposition by the European Union in economic matters to accusations that its regulations regarding migration interfere with national identity.

2. How the European Institutions Work

In 2015, even if the events were extraordinary due to their scale and serious effect, the debate around the migrant crisis took place within the usual institutional frame of members acting as decision makers. Although it

¹³ EPRS_BRI(2024)760354_EN.pdf (europa.eu)

is a partnership of 27 member countries (28 at the time of the crisis, as Britain was still a member) the European Union has its own governance formed of three institutions, the European Commission (an executive body), the European Parliament, constituted by party representatives from all member countries, and the European Council, constituted by heads of states and governments of the member countries (legislative bodies)¹⁴. Communication with the European constituency happens in the same way as with all democratic national governments, through the contribution of the media.

The meetings of the European Council are not public, but press releases and reports on its activity are released to the public on a regular basis, depending on the importance of the matters discussed. The European Council operates through the assembly of prime ministers and heads of member states, in regular meetings every three or four months. Extraordinary sessions are called whenever necessary. The Foreign Affairs Council represents a configuration of the European Council and is composed of ministers of foreign affairs from member countries. The role of this assembly, subordinated to the Council, is to discuss decisions and administer the European Union's external affairs.

The European Parliament is a working parliament (Ilie 2018) that mainly manifests its power through the work of committees and legislative proceedings. Declarations in parliamentary debates '*display ideological visions, party affiliations, institutional position-takings and political agendas of the members of parliament as representatives of citizens*' (Ilie 2018, 310) all of which can be summarized under the discursive functional scope of stance-taking, manifesting the rhetorical '*power of acting*' (ibid.) of member states and institutional leaders through representatives and elected individuals. The aim of these debates is to bring Europe-wide decisions and speakers' interaction is shaped by their '*institutional role-based commitment*' (2018, 312) delineated along national or regional interests and

¹⁴ https://european-union.europa.eu/institutions-law-budget/institutions-and-bodies/types-institutions-and-bodies_en

party lines. In the concrete situation of the debate on the migrant crisis, these functions range between the polarities of '*adversariality*' and '*co-operativeness*' (Ilie 2018, 311) with the speakers' purposes varying from agenda setting (Principles in action), persuading (Mobilizing stance), negotiating (Self-reflexive stance) to position-claiming (Antagonistic stance).

3. Timeline

A chronology of the events that prompted the reactions formulated during this debate may provide a better understanding of the context. In September 2015, the European Union prepared a set of measures to contain the phenomenon which by that time, it can safely be said, went out of control. The texts have been selected from three parliamentary debates that occurred during September 2015 in the European Parliament. The debates were occasioned by the Commission proposals for solving the crisis, including the relocation plan that generated dissent among the member states. The one exception is represented by the Hungarian Prime Minister's speech in the Hungarian Parliament on September 21, in reference to the Commission proposals.

The migrant crisis started receiving more significant public attention in April 2015¹⁵, when an increased number of casualties among people crossing the Mediterranean were reported¹⁶. During this month the European Council agreed to mobilise efforts for better external border control on the Mediterranean and '*reenforcing internal solidarity and responsibility*'¹⁷. These measures meant the implementation of a Common Asylum System, assistance offered to countries dealing with a high number of asylum seekers

¹⁵ Timeline - EU migration and asylum policy - Consilium (europa.eu)

¹⁶ IOM Counts 3,771 Migrant Fatalities in Mediterranean in 2015 | International Organization for Migration

¹⁷ Special meeting of the European Council, 23 April 2015 - statement - Consilium (europa.eu)

(so called first-entry countries) by other member states and the possibility of relocating some of the applicants from first-entry countries.

These proposals were necessary in order to amend the original Dublin Regulation which had not been about the '*sharing of responsibility*'¹⁸, but about assigning '*responsibility for processing an asylum application to a single Member State*', this state being the first safe country on European territory. European institutions admitted that '*the current migration and refugee crisis has revealed significant structural weaknesses in the design and implementation of the CEAS (Common European Asylum System) and of the Dublin regime*' and European migration regulations underwent various changes as a result of the crisis.

On May 13, the Commission adopted the European Agenda on Migration, covering areas related to reducing irregular migration¹⁹, increasing border control (meaning: tackling traffickers), and revising criteria for asylum policy and legal migration. The press release²⁰ on the event describes the document as the '*European response*' to the '*plight of thousands of migrants putting their lives in peril to cross the Mediterranean*' and emphasizes the spirit of '*internal solidarity*' and '*common responsibility*' among member states in order to tackle this unprecedented crisis. The Commission's first package of proposals arrived on the 27th of May²¹, in the same spirit of shared responsibility and solidarity among member states. The measures included the relocation from Italy and Greece of 40 000 people, which has been criticised by France, Spain and Central European countries,

¹⁸ [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2016/586639/EPRS_BRI\(2016\)586639_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2016/586639/EPRS_BRI(2016)586639_EN.pdf)

¹⁹ The term '*irregular*' is preferred to '*illegal*' because '*the latter carries a criminal connotation, entering a country in an irregular manner, or staying with an irregular status, is not a criminal offence but an infraction of administrative regulations. Apart from this, juridically and ethically, an act can be legal or illegal but a person cannot. Thus, more and more the term 'migrant in an irregular situation' or 'migrant with irregular status' is preferred.*' https://home-affairs.ec.europa.eu/networks/european-migration-network-emn/emn-asylum-and-migration-glossary/glossary/irregular-migrant_en

²⁰ https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/IP_15_4956

²¹ European Commission makes progress on Agenda on Migration (europa.eu)

Visegrad Four and Romania²², and an action plan against migrant smugglers. Another proposal, setting up the so-called 'hotspot' teams to ensure fast processing of asylum seekers, was adopted in the September 22 informal meeting of the European Council²³ while the proposal for a public consultation on the European blue-card system, setting clear criteria on granting asylum, has received support from the ALDE group (see Annex 11 and 12).

In the context of the migration crisis, the public debate on the Commission proposals, especially the controversial relocation plan, made headlines. Discussions occurring in the parliamentary debates of the European Parliament were made public on the designated site²⁴ but constant reports were published in the media. The public debate on the crisis was mediated through reports on the State of the Union debate, various press conferences that were organized on the occasion of meetings among politicians, through publishing reports from various NGOs on the situation²⁵. At the beginning of September 2015, the public reacted promptly when the image of a drowned three-year-old refugee boy, Aylan Kurdi, went viral in the media. The Syrian boy had been one of the victims of illegal smuggling through the Mediterranean while his family was trying to make its way to Europe. The image became a symbol of the refugees and created a wave of empathy towards them. Public protests were organized in Vienna²⁶, a petition was initiated for the acceptance of a higher number of asylum seekers in Britain²⁷, donation campaigns and volunteering actions were organized²⁸.

²² <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/may/27/eu-countries-take-40000-asylum-seekers-migration-quota-syria-uk>

²³ <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2015/09/24/pec-remarks/>

²⁴ www.europarl.europa.eu, where most of the corpus has been retrieved from.

²⁵ UNHCR - UNHCR Global Trends 2015, WFP - Year in Review 2015, Syrian refugees need access to work rights and economic opportunity, new Asylum Access report says | Asylum Access

²⁶ Vienna stages protest welcoming refugees | Austria | The Guardian

²⁷ Accept more asylum seekers and increase support for refugee migrants in the UK. - Petitions (parliament.uk)

²⁸ Refugee crisis: what can you do to help? | Refugees | The Guardian

A second package of proposals arrived on September 9th, announced by the President of the European Commission, J. C. Juncker, during his State of the Union Address. The package contained a relocation proposal for a further 120 000 people, a measure criticised and opposed by the Visegrad Four and it represented the crux of the tension within the European Union, generating a lingering debate and delaying decision-making at an institutional level. Additional proposals included a list of safe countries of origin, which allowed a more precise identification of those entitled for asylum, a more effective return policy, a trust fund for Africa, and measures that would allow an international approach to the migration crisis. The proposals were accepted by the Parliament but the real challenge was posed by the Council, composed of leading politicians of member states.

Several Council meetings took place after this event. One was a meeting of the Justice and Home Affairs Ministers on September 14th, resulting in a consensus on the proposed relocation of 40 000 people, and another, a meeting of the heads of states and governments, where the relocation plan for the additional 120 000 did not get consensus, with Hungary, Slovakia and the Czech Republic, three of the Visegrad Four opposing, with the addition of Romania. Finland abstained and Poland, the fourth Visegrad country finally voted in favour of the plan. The proposal was accepted, nevertheless, by use of the '*qualified majority voting*', meaning that even if consensus had not been reached, the vote went through due to the majority. Objecting members criticised the mandatory nature of imposed quotas, while proponents emphasized the necessity of quick decision-making.²⁹

A temporary solution was found by the European Union's agreement with Turkey³⁰ to host refugees and prevent them from crossing the sea to Greece, which significantly decreased the number of asylum seekers at Europe's borders. However, in the meantime, refugees' numbers have been increasing in refugee camps in Turkey, while the European Union has been

²⁹ EU forces through refugee deal – POLITICO

³⁰ <https://www.rescue.org/eu/article/what-eu-turkey-deal>

blamed for not fulfilling its commitments, such as allotting the agreed financial aid on time or improving its legal asylum application procedure, which has remained cumbersome. Moreover, Turkey has been accused of using the pressure of another potential crisis for forcing the European Union to agree to further financial aid and make various political concessions³¹. The migration issue, as Donald Tusk noted in a speech in front of the European Parliament in 2016, is a *'never-ending story'* and the solutions put into practice *'are not ideal and are not ending our work'*³². The process of improving migration laws and increase their effectiveness is still continuing.

4. Issues of Legitimacy and Representation

This analysis draws both on studies on the legitimation process accomplished by political discourse and on analyses that tackle representations of migrants. In both cases political discourse is perceived as generating authority and coercion. The present case, the dispute around the relocation plan during the migrant crisis is not different. With a discursive background of anti- or pro-migrationism various types of political authority are negotiated which, in fact, is conducive to the legitimation of political action taken by the European Union.

What makes this case different from others (Rojo and van Dijk 1997; Chilton 2004; Marín-Arrese 2011; Hart 2010; Reyes 2011) is the special status of the European Union. As a supranational political entity, the European Union operates in accordance with common laws and a consensus on the part of all member states or qualified majority voting. However, the European Union's authority is often questioned by claims that it suffers from democratic deficit, which in the case of the European Union means the *'perceived lack of accessibility or lack of representation of*

³¹ <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/eu-turkey-deal-five-years-on>

³² Donald Tusk says EU migration crisis is 'never-ending' – POLITICO

*the ordinary citizen with respect to the EU institutions – a sense of there being a gap between the powers of those institutions and a perceived inability of citizens to influence those institutions’ decisions.’*³³ While the Lisbon Treaty³⁴ has attempted to bring solutions to these deficiencies, the claim of democratic deficit still persists. This happened in 2015 when member countries which did not agree with the relocation plan, accused Brussels of imposing its policy on unwilling members when the Council adopted the relocation plan by qualified majority voting, without a consensus. This practice, although often used, is usually avoided in important matters, such as the relocation plan, implying the acceptance of a mandatory quota of refugees by all member countries based on their GDP and other aspects.

While the statutory dilemmas of the European Union exceed the limits of this study, the history of democratic deficit and the tension that has arisen among the member countries do pose a linguistically relevant problem. If legitimation results in authority, then the discourse conducive to authority in the case of the European Union must avoid authoritarian manifestation. In the case of the analysed texts, this is achieved through the reference to the shared values which constitute the community. By reference to solidarity and responsibility, or associated values such as trust, unity and credibility, the speakers call on a moral authority which supersedes other politically oriented interests and employ those values in order to question or urge for organizational efficiency. This also poses a question of representation. Since the European Union represents one political entity, the speakers’ self-positioning is relevant for the representation of the organisation. An analysis of the position the speaker situates him/herself can be relevant in tracing the degree to which he/she shares those values and adheres to them, hence, considers her/himself as part of the organization.

³³ <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/EN/legal-content/glossary/democratic-deficit.html>

³⁴ <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=celex%3A12007L%2FTXT>

5. Representation of Values

The general question when tracing stance in these texts pertains first to the general identification of the value position realised in the text as a result of the input from all the interpersonal elements throughout. Due to the existence of both explicit and indirect elements, their identification involves locating the explicit lexico-grammar which engages other participants or displays attitudinal content and tracing tokens in the ideational frame of representation which may entail attitudinal reaction or indicates the speaker's statement of his own value position or engagement of alternative ones. Additionally, the two types of positioning, attitudinal and dialogic, are modified due to the values of graduation which the speaker employs in order to intensify or mitigate evaluative content.

In the specific case of the political dispute on the migrant crisis of 2015 the additional aspect of alternative frames must be considered. It is not only that speakers take a stance regarding the issue, but that their construal of the issue is divergent. Dissent or personalised perspective is not only realised at the level of opposing attitudes but it is first of all generated from the different representational frames underlying the discourses.

Solidarity and responsibility may be a common value reference for all speakers, but the details and aspects defining them are different for each of them. Due to their specific position, determined by the nature of the office they hold, speakers construct their argumentation from different perspectives, formulate a variety of arguments that are based on these representative values, which are either named or implied, and often represented by other values which can be corroborated with the idea of solidarity among members of the European Union (supporting each other) and the responsibility that an engagement of each of these members entails, namely the observance of regulations and the responsibility of acting in accordance with those rules and, especially, acting consistently as

members of *one* organization, which guarantees the European Union the possibility to pursue its founding principles and implicitly legitimize itself as an organisation.

Alternative representational frames create modulations of these values' representation and, in the case of the Hungarian prime-minister, they seem to convey alternative realities. Although, his value premises are similar with the other speakers', their representation is carried out in an alternative narrative, to that of J. C. Juncker's, for example, regarding the events of the migrant crisis. This difference is easily detectable in the use of distinct terms (as in refugee/migrant) which can be qualified as ideological in nature (although this perspective does not represent the focus of this study).

The values of solidarity and responsibility are represented in the analysed texts both as moral principles to be followed by the participants or as values that enhance organizational efficiency. Although they seemingly pertain to aspects of a different nature, morality and efficiency, they are integrative to justifications for the existence of the organisation. In representing two aspects fundamental to the existence and functioning of the organization, a correct and moral conduct as well as efficiency in representing the citizens of the Union, both perspectives on the values are conducive to legitimacy.

Analysing representations in discourse of abstract notions of value is difficult to achieve, as Spencer-Bennett (2018) states. However, the three criteria used by him in order to detect moral talk may provide a clarification on the speaker's intent and degree of moral commitment towards discussing the issue at hand in terms of the values specified. In this study, an attempt is made to apply the three criteria proposed by Spencer-Bennett (2018) for detecting moral talk, quotability, specificity and determinacy, on the specific case of the discussions around the European solutions for the migrant crisis.

Quotability will be identified in aspects where the value is explicitly named, specificity, where synonyms are used or concrete examples are meant to illustrate the value discussed. Determinacy is closely related to the previous ones; in that it seeks to detect the degree of intention on the part of the speaker to discuss the matter at hand in the terms of the given value (i.e. solidarity or responsibility). In these cases, determinacy or (specific or general) indeterminacy is established.

While much of the representation of the two values qualifies as moral talk, the idea applied in the study is that the concept of moral talk is superimposed and more general to discourse on solidarity and responsibility, which are subordinated concepts, and may be discussed in terms of morality, but not exclusively so. In the case of the present texts, for instance, reference to and discussion on efficiency is not considered to be strictly moral, as it pertains to practical aspects of the functional aspects of the organization. In these cases, distinction is made between the moral aspect of solidarity and responsibility, and the practical aspect pertaining to efficiency.

Besides the values of solidarity and responsibility, other values are also explicitly named, such as unity, trust and credibility. Where they occur, these values are analysed as such, but since a correlation is easily established with the initial values, they are also regarded as connected to the ideas of solidarity and responsibility, through criteria of specificity or determinacy.

This part of the analysis shares common aspects with the analysis on attitudinal resources, but while this part pertains to the representation of the concepts, the analysis on attitudinal values seeks to detect the speakers' evaluation of the situation at hand or other participants.

6. Self-reference

The speakers approach the issue from the perspective of the European Union, as representatives of the member states present in the European Parliament and Council. The inclusive *we* most often designated as the speaker's perspective represents the focus on the issue from the perspective of the organization, the European Union, primarily perceived as a political entity acting in its own interests and that of the voters, citizens it represents, but also as a culturally defined entity acting in accordance with principles stemming from its identity and values.

If we limit ourselves to these two perspectives, the inclusive dimension of the indexing pronoun must be differentiated between the acting political entity bringing decisions, giving directives, legislating, and a culturally and socially defined entity which defines and observes principles. In the case of the European Union as a political organization, the inclusive 'we' represents the organization as a legislating body and the interventions happen within a view of the acting capacity of the European Union as a political entity. A specific manifestation of this perspective are those aspects of the debate when focus lies on the actions and conduct of representatives as a manifestation of the principles they are meant to enact (see Self-reflective stance).

However, members of the Parliament are also representatives of the citizens in the member states in both their national and European dimension. therefore, the inclusive 'we' often overlaps with the first-person plural of the community, representing the wider audience which follows and observes the activity of its representative body. From this perspective, declarations happen in view of the ideologies, beliefs and interests of the European citizen, the main legitimizing factor of these discourses and of the actions undertaken through legislature. Reference to obtaining citizens' alignment (or not losing it) is iterated quite often by the various speakers

as an important aspect for politicians representing the European institutions to observe and to pursue. A specific case is the Anti-migrationist antagonistic stance, in which a national representative identifies as their nation, indexed by the plural first-person. In the case of the plural 'we', references often include the name of the nation, explicitly indicating the perspective the proposition is made from.

In addition to the first-person plural, the first-person singular is occasionally used by speakers indicating personal reflection on the events and circumstances at hand, and drawing attention to the high degree of personal investment of the speaker through that proposition. In this respect, shifts in discourse from the plural to the singular are specifically relevant from the point of view of the speaker's dialogic stance as they indicate an increased investment (be that affective or reflective) on the speaker's part, generating a higher degree of evaluative charge, or they signal some type of modification of the authoritative stance the speaker is assuming, be that more categorical (because of the high degree of investment) or admitting alternative positions in the case of personal opinions, remarks, observations.

7. The Texts

The texts have been selected from three parliamentary debates delivered during September 2015 in the European Parliament. The debates were occasioned by the Commission proposals for solving the crisis, including the relocation plan that generated dissent among the member states. The one exception is represented by the Hungarian Prime Minister's speech in the Hungarian Parliament on September 21, in reference to the Commission proposals.

Texts of the following speakers are analysed, with the dates of interventions included:

- Jean-Claude Juncker, President of the European Commission – speech

September 9 – State of the Union Address: the first debate was occasioned by the presentation by J. C. Juncker of the Commission proposals for the containment of the migrant crisis.

- Frans Timmermans, First Vice-President of the European Commission – three interventions

September 9 – The State of the Union debate

September 16 – Conclusions on the Justice and Home Affairs Council on Migration

October 6 – Humanitarian situation of refugees within the EU and neighbouring countries (following the Conclusions of the informal European Council of 23 September 2015)

- Donald Tusk, President of the European Council – two interventions in the same debate

October 6 – Conclusions of the informal European Council of 23 September 2015

- Federica Mogherini, Vice-President of the Commission/High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy – intervention

September 9 – The State of the Union debate

- Dimitris Avramopoulos, European Commissioner for Migration and Home Affairs – intervention

September 9 – The State of the Union debate

- Viktor Orbán, Prime Minister of Hungary – speech

September 21 – Address to the Hungarian Parliament before the start of daily business

- Guy Verhofstadt, leader of the ALDE Group (Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe) – three interventions

September 9 – The State of the Union debate

September 16 – Conclusions on the Justice and Home Affairs Council on Migration

October 6 – Conclusions of the informal European Council of 23 September 2015

8. The Stances

The identified stances are samples of discourse practice not only representing institutional positions of legitimizing authority but also sites of negotiation – and ultimately, cooperation – in a particular social context (that of the migrant crisis of 2015) and as such, constitutive of social practice, shaping the social and cultural conditions in which they occur and being shaped by them at the same time. Thus, they convey relevant positions and attitudes within the political leadership of the European

Union as part of a public debate within the European community aiming to take necessary measures and contain the crisis. The emphasis of all these declarations falls on finding effective measures in the spirit and within the frame of the declared values this community upholds and governs itself by, values which are now threatened by challenging factors.

The interpersonal resources used by the speakers' reveal affirmations of alignments with these values, with other participants that are viewed as aligning to these same values and opposition and delimitation from those elements or participants who seem to threaten those values. The elements represented within the debate, the speakers' claims and justifications for the containment of the crisis are identified based on a model of practical argumentation structure provided by Fairclough and Fairclough (2012a) and the interpersonal stance values are traced in accordance with the appraisal taxonomy described by Martin and White (2005). Therefore, the analysis does not strictly extend over interpersonal resources but also aspects of representation.

While stance-taking has been tackled as a tool of asserting authority in political discourse (Marín-Arrese 2011) the interpersonal dimension of this concept has not been explored in a political context. Studies regarding interpersonal resources (Martin and White 2005; Bednarek 2006) have focussed on media discourse. The combining of the two elements of distinct theoretical backgrounds (critical discourse theory and systemic-functional theory) into a common theoretical framework has been necessary in order to trace the dual nature of stance-taking, both personal and public, in a context of specific generic and discursive characteristics.

Firstly, the parliamentary debate and speeches analysed in this study follow a deliberative pattern identified by Fairclough and Fairclough (2012a) as typical for situations when solutions are formulated and their

validity is verified by those participating to the debate. This implies the common feature for all the texts of formulating claims and justifying their validity. As an essential aspect of this deliberative pattern, the texts display the dialogic engagement of the speakers through which they negotiate their position and evaluate the crisis and the other participants to this dialogue.

Secondly, due to the specific deliberative pattern, formulating the facts of the matter and presenting the possible options, representation is essential. However, due to the strategic nature of political discourse this representation is determined by the speakers' interests and concerns. Therefore, representation is not only a frame for the subjective evaluation of the speaker; it is concomitantly produced with it and the representational and evaluative aspects of discursive meaning-making mutually determine and shape each other. Therefore, the analysis is conducted in such a way as to reveal this interdependence. Thus, the stances are determined within parameters referring to the representation of the values of solidarity and responsibility identified as fundamental for the organisation, on a cline between alignment to and delimitation from other participants, most often with a perceptible effort to mitigate for extreme positions and generate a common ground for cooperation and legitimacy.

The sociolinguistic perspective approaches the concept of stance as socially situated and consequential, both for the individual taking it and for the social environment it has been taken in (Jaffe 2009; Englebretson 2007). Defining it as an individual action that has social consequences corroborates the systemic functional approach, which posits stance as a discursive manifestation that is both institutional and personal.

A further relevant characteristic is the dynamic nature of stance which adapts to other participants' contributions, by reacting to them through various degrees of oppositions and alignments, by making value judgments

and modifying those judgements throughout the interaction. Stance, therefore, is conceptualised as a dynamic process constructed of repeated localized positionings enacted by the stance-takers (Du Bois 2007).

A modality to analyse stance is the tracing of the stance-taking acts of an individual (representing an institution or not) for a longer period of time. In such cases, the result of the analysis may reveal these modulations and the impact of the situational context (including external events and other participants' positionings) on the stance of the individual. This possibility is to some extent applied in the present texts since in the case of some speakers two or three declarations are available for the analysis within a span of one month (the period between the presentation of the proposals and the approval of the Commission proposals after the September 23 Council meeting).

The other possibility is the selection of declarations around an event significant for the participants, as in the present case the migrant crisis and the solutions proposed for it by members of European institutions. In this perspective the common ground for the emerging pattern constituting the stance is the crisis itself, representing the object of stance and the various stance-takers who make their declarations from various perspectives. However, apart from the fact that they hold different political and professional roles, their positions are framed by another common element, the fact that they are all representative of the European Union and adhere to its principles.

The juxtaposition of the analysed declarations provides a detailed picture of the arguments that were brought at that time for the possible solutions of the crisis and delineates the activity and the profile of the European Union as an organization, acting through a set of constitutive institutions, as a political entity where various alternative ideologies are voiced through various representatives, and ultimately, as a community

which adheres to a set of representative principles. While these declarations may convey the speakers' personal positions and evaluations, they are analysed as representative of the organisation as samples of government communication.

Five types of stances are identified and illustrated through the declarations of various leading figures within the European Union, each realizing a particular aspect of institutional discourse functioning as a practical tool for solving the crisis while (re)producing discursive patterns of legitimization for the organization. There is constant effort that actions taken are presented as ratified by citizens' wishes, as necessary for organizational efficiency and as thoroughly reflecting the founding principles of the European Union.

The Mobilizing stance is the realisation of the European Union's highest altruistic ideals proclaiming an empathetic attitude towards the migrants and at the same time reassuring the public of the capacity to act of the organization, urging towards employing that capability in demonstrating its values. The arguments justifying an altruistic attitude enlist moral and historical imperatives through which community values are said to be maintained. The focus of the Self-reflective stance shifts towards the examination of organisational capability and responsible leadership in a significantly more moderate voice than its mobilizing counterpart. While this stance also emphasizes an altruistic approach of the migrant crisis, it also urges to a responsible use of organisational capability favouring solidarity among the member countries in dealing with the crisis that challenges organizational credibility.

The texts that constitute Principles in action reveals a stance characterized by pragmatism which foregrounds the actual strategies and processes that are meant to put into motion the proclaimed values and

intentions formulated at the top of European institutions. The focus of this stance lies on the call to credibility, that results from the correspondence between discourse and action and it is articulated through a predominance of categorical assertions and an avoidance to invoke affectual response.

The two poles of the spectrum are marked by two opposite Antagonistic stances, representing definite anti- and pro-migrationist positions. Although they are opposed to each other ideationally, the interpersonal resources that contribute to their realisation operate to the same effect of sharp confrontation with other parties (depending on their direction), making a firm statement of their position and displaying strong attitude to emphasize that.

The Realisation of the Dialogical Stance

The values realising dialogical stance in the analysed texts pertain to the engagement resources described by Martin and White (2005). Their classification is realised within the spectrum of dialogical expansion, values allowing validity for alternative perspectives, and dialogical contraction, where the speaker dismisses and ignores alternatives. Along these two values a series of engagement types are realised. Given the circumstances of the debate, the urgency of finding a viable solution for the crisis and the importance of having a coherent response on the part of all the members, much of the interventions serve the purpose of call to action and have a pronounced exhortatory nature.

Besides the motivating aspect, speakers negotiate their positions along associations with others' ideas and perspectives, and more often, proclaim opposition towards alternative viewpoints. It is typical of representatives of the European institutions that while their main

objective is to negotiate a middle ground acceptable for all members, they strictly disassociate themselves from attitudes that are not considered constructive in finding a commonly agreed solution.

The Realisation of the Attitudinal Stance

The linguistic values that realise the speakers' attitudinal stance are classified according to Martin and White's (2005) system of attitudinal resources. This involves a differentiation between inscribed and implicit values, the type of attitude they realise and the relevance of the graduation.

In the case of speakers representing the European Union and member states, speaking from an organizational or national perspective, or that of an ideological principle, these values become part of their discourse as normative, either due to their assigned or believed quality of containing the crisis, or due to their quality of representing the organization, nation, or political allegiance. Speakers formulate their arguments around the idea of what is right and what is wrong and their aim is to define concrete actions through which those correct principles can be applied. Interpersonally, this perspective of normative behaviour recommended or prescribed for the group (the organization the participants represent) entail the frequent realisations of judgement values from an attitudinal point of view, and engagement values through which speakers proclaim their perspective while acknowledging and accepting other alternatives to various degrees. Given that the corpus consists mainly of the discourse from leaders of various institutions, a frequent tendency is that of correlating alternative value judgements from various polarized positions into a more integrated perspective, representative of the European Union as an organization.

The presentation of the European Union, or more exactly, the self-presentation realised through the representatives of the various institutions constituting it, is to a great degree achieved through attitudinal content that evaluates the organization in its various facets, either in terms of efficiency or in terms of the morality of the measures taken. Both evaluative directions serve as a means of legitimisation or an exhortation towards the need to act in a legitimate way.

9. The Chapters of this Study

The conceptual frame of this study focuses on the collected texts as individual actions of meaning-making. The first chapter outlines the sociolinguistic and systemic functional theoretical background of stance-taking. In a socio-linguistic perspective, the importance of stance lies in the fact that it represents a discursive tool for an individual to place him/herself within the stream of social exchange by its constitutive gestures of positioning and evaluation. Stance is personal and public, discursive and action-oriented, consequential for the speaker and for the object of stance.

These characteristics are transposed by systemic-functional linguists into a cline of instantiation where stance is placed between the individual instantiation of a text and the pattern constructed by a series of instantiations within the institutional limits of a genre. Stance is manifested as individual, due to the speakers' personal choices of resources, and institutional due to the generic characteristics of the discourse practice in a particular domain. The dialogical and attitudinal stances traced in the present corpus illustrate these characteristics.

The aim of the second chapter is to identify the common ground between the formal, micro-analytical category of stance and the critical

perception on discourse of the ideology oriented Critical Discourse Theory. The chapter seeks to demonstrate that stance and the action of stance-taking represent an analytically relevant category for tracing the process of legitimization in the case of political discourse. Legitimization is undertaken through strategic communication where a subjective, and at times biased or manipulative representation is employed by speakers to adjust their discourse according to their concerns and interests. It is emphasized that manipulation is not necessarily an aim of these discursive interactions, much rather, speakers, politicians try to obtain the best results for themselves (their interests) by negotiating with other speakers (who also pursue their interests). Cooperation, thus, occurs between self and common interest. The process of stance-taking represents the rhetorical manifestation of negotiation, self-presentation, representation of the situation and its concurrent evaluation.

The chapter also locates instantiations of stance within the discursive practice of parliamentary debate and speech which, in their turn, are constitutive of the social practice of public debate on a particular subject. The analytical tool to trace the argumentative structure of the speakers' interventions is Fairclough and Fairclough's (2012a, 2012b) model which places values as a premise for the speakers' representation and reasoning. The values of the speaker (concerns, beliefs, ideologies, interests) underlie the representation and claims that he/she makes in order to justify his/her solutions in solving a crisis. This theory is continued in the present study by the additional identification of the dialogical and evaluative interpersonal content. It is demonstrated that the interpersonal content of the speakers' claims and justifications is a relevant part of their argumentation process. Where they position themselves, who they align with, what or who they oppose, how they evaluate other participants calibrates their positionality and publicly proclaims it. In the case of these texts, the speakers' stance represents the rhetorical aspect of the

legitimization process they undertake. The theoretical devices used to identify the speakers' position are the domains of engagement and attitude described by Martin and White (2005) and Martin and Rose (2007), which are referred to as *dialogical stance* and *attitudinal stance*. This differentiation is rather artificial since the two aspects of appraisal are complementary to each other. The distinction has practical reasons, since the identification of the participants engaged and evaluated may be better outlined by this method.

Chapters III to VII represent the analysis of the concrete texts selected from the proceedings of the three parliamentary debates that took place in September 2015 around the Commission proposals and the controversial relocation plan. The only exception is the Hungarian prime minister, Viktor Orbán's speech which was addressed to the Hungarian Parliament in the same period. The speech was selected due to its topic and pattern the prime minister justifies Hungary's position with respect to the migrant crisis and the measures taken to contain it.

The chapters are organized in accordance to the type of stance realised in the texts. The stances are established in accordance to the person who delivered them (in some cases two or three interventions made by the same speaker are subject to one analysis), the position they are holding within the institutions of the European Union (which influences their position above anything else), and finally, the actual nature of the stance, influenced by ideological or personal predispositions.

The process of analysis follows the same pattern, namely the identification of representational elements for the organizational values, the identification of the speakers' audience and their positioning towards them by an analysis of the reference system they use (pronouns, other participants named and alluded to), and, finally the tracing of the speakers' dialogical and attitudinal stance. The relevant aspects of the dialogical

stance are the identification of the participants engaged, the nature of that engagement, and the way the speakers position themselves towards those participants. In the case of the attitudinal stance, the analysis identifies the objects of evaluation (participants, situation), the resources employed and the nature of that evaluative process.

The last chapter integrates the findings of the analysis by pointing out similarities and differences between stances and explains limitations and possible further research. The individual speeches have been attached in the annexes (Annex 1- 12) at the end of this book.

CHAPTER I

STANCE AND SYSTEMIC FUNCTIONAL THEORY

Sociolinguistics, one of the theoretical tenets of stance as a linguistic concept, describes this category as a communicative gesture in a conversation or other communicative situations through which a speaker reveals his position towards propositions formulated by other participants to that conversation (Du Bois 2007). This process is described by DuBois as *the stance triangle* conceptualizing the phenomenon as a dynamic interaction of participants through which stance emerges as a dialogic construct, continuously prone to scrutiny and change. This definition of DuBois is the starting point for the present study, with additions from Englebretson (2007) and Jaffe (2009).

Another theoretical starting point is systemic functional theory which identifies stance as a set of individual choices made with the purpose of conveying evaluative assessments in a certain situation. In accordance with systemic functional theory's perception of language as a stratified system of meaning-making ranging from the most general to the most particular, stance is configured as a specific pattern that bears specificities which may characterize an individual but also be specific of the situational context in which it was created. Martin and White's (2005) description of a system of interpersonal resources of appraisal provides a complete guideline on identifying such values in public discourse.

1.1. Clarification of Concepts

In the context of stance analysis several terms are used which are either related or used interchangeably. One of the most frequent confusion of

terms happens between *stance* and *evaluation*, which Alba Juez and Thompson (2014) differentiate in the following way:

... stance would be a broader concept, including not only the textualized phase but also its pre-realization. Hence a speaker might opt for not making any explicit evaluation and remain silent, thus (perhaps) showing a neutral stance. But as soon as she decides to express a stance, whether through language or other semiotic means, we would be in the domain of evaluation (2014, 10).

In other words, although related, *evaluation* implies a discursive manifestation of the speaker's view on a particular matter, whereas *stance* is a broader and possibly more ambiguous category. Evaluation of an object, situation, etc. implies a declaration of the speaker's categorization of an experience as *good* or *bad*, *right* or *wrong* (Alba Juez and Thompson, 2014, 5) whereas *stance* includes the possibility of silence or non-engagement. In the present analysis *evaluation* is used along with the term *attitude* which can be defined as the result of the evaluative process, named *attitudinal stance*.

Furthermore, the terms *attitude* and *appraisal* are used in accordance with Martin and White (2005) and Martin and Rose (2007) who establish *appraisal* as a discourse-level system of meaning-making, pertaining to the interpersonal metafunction whereas *attitude* is a subcategory of *appraisal* pertaining to the speakers' evaluation of situations and discourses of other speakers. Martin and White (2005) use values of *attitude* along with those of *engagement* to trace the nature of speakers' *interpersonal* discourse along with the discourse system of *ideation* through which experience is construed by speakers.

I.2. Stance: The Sociolinguistic Perspective

I.2.1. Definitions of Stance

In sociolinguistics stance is a category involved in the expression and construction of social identities. According to Jaffe (2009) this potential stems from stance's modality to indicate a speaker's positionality. The speaker positions himself towards the object of his scrutiny, towards other participants in the situation and towards the social context they are all part of in and react to. The sociolinguistic relevance of this action for Jaffe is not the gesture itself, but the way in which that action is completed. As relevant as it may be from a social perspective, stance is not a transparent act but one that needs to be inferred by the analyst from the ongoing social exchange from which the individual stance emerges. It can either be identified by analysing a sequence of repeated gestures and (discursive) actions in time, in which case, stance is traceable through the idiosyncrasies of the manifestations of an individual, or it can indicate a common element in the position of several different individuals (2009, 4). Regardless of the situation, it indicates associations, identities and reactions which are relevant for the other participants and consequential for them and their social environment.

Stance as a socially relevant category is a tool through which individuals declare their own value systems or align with those of a community. Consequently, stance is a means of indexing identities and belonging, therefore relatable to ideological content in the context of organizational affiliations and national identities. The relevance of stance in these contexts lays in its local and localised nature, realising and foregrounding socially relevant topics, attitudes and inviting other participants to align, or, on the contrary, generating public disapproval (Jaffe 2009).

In his attempt to define *stance*, Englebretson (2007) identifies five conceptual principles. First, as a pervasive social practice, stance simultaneously represents the concrete action of taking a position, revealing personal attitude/belief/evaluation and conveying social norms. Through stance, individuals declare their preferences and assessments of a situation and, on a wider scale, conceptualize their belonging to groups and communities. Secondly, as a public manifestation *stance* is '*perceivable, interpretable and available for inspection by others*' (2007, 6). It is not only available for self-presentation but its public nature entails the reaction of others in the process of interaction, which is the third characteristic of stance. If it reflects individual attitudes therefore, it is personal; stance can never be isolated since its existence depends on the reaction of those participating to the discursive event. When a speaker formulates his/her position on a subject, he/she inevitably takes into account other positions which he/she aligns with or rejects. Taking a stance is, in fact, a reaction to a previous utterance or gesture.

The fourth characteristic enumerated by Englebretson is indexicality, through which stance connects the personal discursive markers to social norms, practices and values. Stance may signal an individual's positioning within the immediate context of the utterance by common markers of time or place (e.g. adverbs like 'here' or 'now'), up to the more complex details of a socio-cultural environment pertaining to the individual's memberships, affiliations or even allegiances to ideologies. It is through this dimension that identities and assumed roles become manifest on a discursive level and can be traced by analysing the linguistic forms which express it. Finally, stance is consequential, in the fact that the action of stance-taking entails consequences on the participants of the communicative act (Englebretson 2007, 6-7).

I.2.2. DuBois' Stance Triangle

DuBois' (2007) description of the process of stance-taking represents the definition most relevant for this study. Du Bois' concept of stance triangle acknowledges the complexity of the act of taking a stance, as it focuses on the uniqueness of the situational context of the stance-taking and its wider, social circumstances that determine the negotiation of its meaning. Even if the domain Du Bois applies it in is conversation analysis, it provides the pattern for more complex interactions and processes of action and reaction during a political crisis that is evocative of a dialogue among participants involved.

The following factors are considered when analysing the particular social action of stance-taking: the intersubjective and dialogical nature of the utterance (occurring between two or more subjects influencing each other's stance and negotiating its meaning), the social actors involved (characteristics and relevant details about the participants), the framework provided by language (the markers and indices used by the speakers) and socio-cultural values (to which the participants declare alignment or disalignment) in which the utterance is made.

Du Bois represents the process of stance-taking in a conversation, in its most basic form, as a triangle where two corners represent the stance-takers and the third the object of stance, the issue person, object, phenomenon, etc. being evaluated. The sides of the triangle represent the actions that each stance-taker takes during the process. On one hand, they evaluate the object of stance, and in this way position themselves towards that object. This is not a one-directional process that qualifies and classifies the object of stance (although this also happens) but bears relevance for the stance-taker as well: the attitude towards the object is very much determined by the position the stance-taker is making his/her assessment from. This relation between object of stance and stance-taker is one aspect of the stance-taking process. The other one is the relation established between the two stance-takers.

This aspect introduces a third action besides those of evaluation of the stance object and the speaker's positioning towards it: the stance-takers' alignment towards each other. It is not only the corners of the triangle that are relevant, but also the sides along which the subjects position themselves in the various degrees of alignment or disalignment they formulate and negotiate. Stance doesn't occur without an object it is formulated about, and it is irrelevant if formulated without the presence of at least another subject that (dis)aligns, *calibrates* their own stance as a reaction to the first speaker. This triangle is further developed into a digraph, depending on the number of stance-takers and issues discussed.

The relevant idea for our analysis from this domain of stance research is that stance-taking is shaped by the intersubjective principle that governs everyday human interaction, as in conversations, even in the context of the public debate on the migrant crisis, which unfolded for the most part of the year 2015 throughout various political meetings and assemblies, press conferences, public reactions, and other actions and reactions from various participants, all of them being transmitted through the media. The gestures of stance-taking in this matter, the reactions and the effects to those reactions ranged from closing borders to opening borders, declarations and protests, and, most importantly, prompted a relatively rapid reaction from the (the notoriously slow) European Union, which proposed and adopted new laws and regulations regarding the issue of migration, and negotiated new partnerships with non-EU countries (the most important example is the agreement with Turkey which ultimately put an end to the crisis, but not to the phenomenon).

In this respect, political discourse as a domain of public discourse and also a type of governmental discourse in the case of European Union lawmaking, is materialised through a series and varieties of stance-takings which lead to an action to implement plans, bring decisions and apply

solutions. In a simplified manner, this can best be represented as a debate among the participants as in a conversation.

1.2.3. Types of Stance

Generally, studies on stance distinguish several types of stances classified according to various perspectives on the speaker's discourse. The speaker's position regarding the truth value of a proposition is named *epistemic stance*, as the most common linguistic resources that instantiate it are evidentiality resources, including modals. A speaker manifests such a stance when commenting on the truth value of certain propositions, expressing certainty, doubt, or reliability (de la Rosa *et al.* 2021; Diaz Peralta 2024).

Another category, *attitudinal stance*, marks a speaker's personal attitudes and feelings toward the object of stance. This stance involves the use of evaluative categories such as adverbials realised through adverbs or complement clauses and prepositional phrases (Biber and Finnegan 1989a and 1989b). Biber *et al.* distinguish a further category of stance, pertaining to the *style* of the speaker. The domain of *style stance* includes those discursive manifestations from a speaker which are reflective of the discourse itself. (Biber *et al.* 1999).

Jaffe (2009) identifies *affective stance* and *epistemic stance*. The social relevance of affective stance is related to the indication of individual affect and self-presentation which is one of the most fundamental means of establishing social connection, but also a dimension submitted to socially determined limitations, culturally specific and imposed manifestations. Epistemic stance, on the other hand, is related to the speaker's claim of authority and knowledge. Affective stance indexes social and moral attitudes, which may determine and circumscribe a particular group and constitute its identity, and implicitly, signals the position of the speaker

toward this group. It is especially the moral dimension of affective stance which is enforced in political discourse, where taking a stance authorizes the speaker to issue value judgments about other participants or about his own actions. Similarly to affect, the interpersonal dimension of epistemicity is also culturally and socially regulated, and it can be instrumental of coercion and persuasiveness (Jaffe 2009, 7).

DuBois differentiates *affective stance* in which the speaker positions themselves affectively, and *epistemic stance* which conveys the speaker's knowledge or ignorance. Both are defined as markers of positionality, by rendering responsibility for the social actor taking the stance, regardless of the means through which the action occurs (e.g. non-verbal indication). However, Du Bois admits that identification of the stance type is irrelevant, since its number can be virtually multiplied by any number of speech acts that individuals take: '*Speakers do not just perform generic stance types, they perform specific stance acts, which have specific content and are located in a particular dialogic and sequential context*' (2007, 145). In other words, the speakers' evaluation of the object of stance and his/her responsibility assumed for the position taken determines the nature of the stance, resulting in practically as many stance types as situations and stance-takers.

This approach shares common features with Martin and White (2005) who establish two categories corresponding to DuBois' positioning as the speaker's degree of responsibility for their proposition and evaluation as the assessment of the object of stance. Martin and White name these two categories *engagement* and *attitude* and add a third one, *graduation*, that establishes the amount and manner of responsibility and evaluation. Also, Martin and White's category of attitude includes affect, judgment and appreciation, which in DuBois' description can be correlated with socio-cultural values that speakers must take into consideration (otherwise there is no negotiation). It is this aspect that makes stance so important when analysing public discourse because stance happens with a

background of community values and morality (those values refer to morality most of the time). Hence, the assumption that political speakers formulate their stance with a particularly careful consideration of morality.

A further addition to types of stances described above is the *effective stance* referring to the ways in which the speaker tries to influence events in his/her environment (Marín Arrese 2011, 257). The use of effective stance is related to resources of deonticity, the imperative and attitudinals and it is closely related to speakers' exerting power over their environment in the sense of managing their interests, persuading, and, ultimately legitimizing their position.

I.3. Stance: The Systemic-Functional Perspective

Systemic-functional linguistics (SFL) has been initiated by M.A.K. Halliday (2014) in a theory that seeks to integrate the systemic nature of language with its functional aspects, viewing language as a social manifestation through which people create meaning. The fundamental principle along which this description works is the conceptualization of language as a network of systems where meaning is created at each level. The relevant concepts for a more detailed description of the theory are explained in the following subchapter.

Halliday's theory has been further developed by the Sydney School, a group of linguists who have been integrating research on stance, evaluation and other concepts relating to the interpersonal metafunction of language. Martin and White's (2005) taxonomy is a complex description of the appraisal system, a discourse semantic domain that conveys interpersonal meaning. Similarly to Halliday's network system model, appraisal is realized through subsystems connected in a network and construing meaning along a cline through stratified levels, with concrete instances of communication connected to more general ones, in such a way that a

pattern is created. The three domains of appraisal, *engagement*, *attitude* and *graduation* are described in the subchapters below. A further source for understanding the process of meaning-making at the level of discourse semantics is Martin and Rose (2007), with a classification of systems that realize metafunctions.

Meaning-making, according to systemic-functional linguistics is determined by context, be that a wider, sociocultural, or a more concrete, situational one. Martin and White (2005) locate stance between these two poles, as a domain that conveys an individual pattern inseparable from the general background offered by a community of '*shared values and beliefs*'.

I.3.1. Halliday: The SFL Perspective on Language

The Cline of Instantiation

The theory on language of systemic functional linguistics (SFL) stems from the Saussurean semiotic tradition, which regards language as a system of signs through which we communicate and make sense of our environment. It foregrounds functional aspects of language use, focusing on meaning-making processes in which linguistic signs are involved. If language is an abstract system, then function is the practical application of that. To explain the mechanism, Halliday uses the weather-climate analogy: they are the same phenomenon, observed from different perspectives. Climate, the linguistic system, is instantiated in the concrete text/utterance (weather); it represents a potential that is realized (and can only be realized) in the concrete manifestation of the text/utterance (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014).

This explanation is similar to Saussure's differentiation between *langue* and *parole* where the momentary utterance is subordinated to the abstract system of language. However, in Halliday's description the two concepts, system of language and text, represent polarities along a cline that has intermediate values as well. On this cline of instantiation, we are

dealing with a series of patterns at each level, that are connected to other patterns above and below, each containing potential for meaning-making which is realized through instantiations that consist of '*systemic patterns of choice*' (Halliday and Mathiessen 2014, 23). The principle that connects these levels is not one of subordination but one of instantiation, through which each potential is '*recoded*' (Martin and White 2005) when selected. It is assigned meaning according to its (con)textual environment. In this setup, the abstract system is the potential of language for meaning, while the selection for the individual instance, the text used in a particular situation, is achieved through intermediary patterns. It is a repertoire of registers (subpotential), if viewed from systemic perspective, and a set of text-types (instance-types) if approached from the individual text. *Text* is used as a general term for both written and spoken individual manifestations.

Stratification

The essence of Halliday's language description, as illustrated by the cline of instantiation above, is approached imagining the process of meaning-making as a series of layers, a system network, determining each other and creating context-specific meaning. Halliday differentiates between the global dimension of language which determines the quality of the text based on contextual factors, and the local one that is related to internal modes of operation of language sub-systems (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014).

In Halliday's theory the main frame of internal organization is based on the *axis* around which the paradigmatic and syntagmatic order of lexicogrammar is organized according to two dimensions: rank and delicacy. Grammar is the '*central processing unit*' of language with the individual systems organized into strata according to rank. Thus, phonemes or morphemes realize syllables or words, which construe the lexicogrammatical stratum of the language. The highest stratum is that of

the clause, which realizes the discourse semantic dimension of language and represents the foundation onto which meanings are mapped.

Delicacy marks patterns of the paradigmatic order, where it indicates the degree of specificity of the lexicogrammatical choice involved within a polarity. The wider the selection, the greater degree the delicacy.

Metafunctions

Regardless of the level of local dimensions of language, selections happen in accordance with the more abstract, global dimensions of language, the ultimate level being that of the metafunctions. Meaning in a text is created along three types of metafunctions, each representing a particular perspective and mode of meaning-making, ultimately a particular aspect of human experience: ideational, interpersonal and textual.

Ideational resources render experiential and logical types of meaning that concern making sense of the world around us and representing logical relations between segments of an experience. The interpersonal dimension of language *enacts* our social relations. It construes the roles we assume in various situations and the way we relate to those around us. The textual function connects the previous two by facilitating their realization through providing discursive flow and text cohesion.

An Ecosocial Perspective: Context as Meaning-Making Factor

Systemic functional linguistics (SFL) is defined as a socio-semiotic approach to language, a label that signals the focus on the process of meaning-making and the importance of the social coordinates of language use. A grammarian's attempt to describe the dual nature of language, the fact that it is both abstract system and momentary utterance determined by contextual factors is compared to *shunting* by Halliday (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014, 30). If we want to understand a text we need to switch

back and forth through levels in order to make sense of it, since a text realizes meaning at all levels simultaneously.

Due to the emphasis Halliday wants to place on the relevance of context, he calls his description an '*ecological*' theory of language as it construes the environment of the utterance as a meaning-making factor. The relevance of context in meaning-making adds a twist to the classical semiotic triangle – word-concept-object (Ogden and Richards 1923). SFL offers a perspective on our human experience as embedded in a particular culture and in a particular social structure. Returning to the cline of instantiation described above, the patterns are correlated with their corresponding detail of social context. While the contextual factor for the system of language is the *cultural context* in which the language operates and its meaning-making potential is used, the social context for the single text is the situation in which it occurs. The context for culture-generated potential is further narrowed down to institutional environments that require more specific patterns in which register is instantiated and where a series of situation types determines the production of various types of texts.

I.3.2. Stance in Appraisal

The study of stance has been significantly influenced by Martin and White's study of evaluative language (2005) through the theoretical perspective of SFL. Their approach has resulted in the achievement of an exhaustive taxonomy on the analysis of the interpersonal dimension of language which is continuously being perfected through an interactive site³⁵.

Martin and White (2005) indicate Halliday's SFL theory and Bakhtin's theory (1981) on voice as influential for their theory of appraisal. They employ Halliday's description of language as a model for their own

³⁵ www.grammatics.com/appraisal - all the pages indicated from this site were last accessed on June 15, 2024.

classifications and, generally, apply the principles formulated by him. Bakhtin's concept of heteroglossia is the principle behind the classification of modes of engagement speakers/writers use when addressing their audience/readers. What the two sources have in common is that both approach language from the perspective of its practical aspect as a social manifestation and not an abstract system.

Drawing on the stratified model, Martin and Rose (2007) differentiate various discourse systems that realize Halliday's three metafunctions. *Appraisal* is the term they use for the semantic category of negotiating attitudes, which, along with the system for negotiation (enacting exchanges) fulfils the realization of the interpersonal function of language (Martin and Rose 2007, 8). The appraisal system Martin and White (2005) describe is a classification of subsystems for this semantic domain: attitude, engagement and graduation.

Martin and White (2005) apply the SFL-informed system on a cline following Halliday's cline of instantiation. Evaluation is the concrete instantiation of the speaker's position and attitude in one text, while appraisal is placed at the top pole of the cline, representing the most abstract position of a *system* that comprises the overall potential of this type of meaning-making category (the interpersonal). Stance (text-type) holds a position between the two poles and conveys meaning through the pattern that can be identified in the evaluative style of the speaker. A further, more general category is that of key (register), representing the typical voice for a wide range of texts occurring in a particular (institutional) setting. If key is the style in which an individual formulates utterances in a particular setting, due to the '*particular evaluative meaning-making options*' available for that setting, then stance is a less general, more personal set of evaluative options within a given *key*, '*associated with particular rhetorical objectives and the construction of authorial personae*' (Martin and White 2005, 164). It may involve a greater number of texts, that

is, it results from the repeated instantiations of those objectives and authorial positions, but its occurrence is more closely associated to the personal utterance than to the institutional setting that provides the *key*.

In Martin and White's cline, evaluation is the most specific level, a set of evaluative choices present in a text, the equivalent of Halliday's instance (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014). In Martin and White's classification the distinct aspect from Halliday's description is that the evaluation/instance construing evaluative options in a text is not situated at the pole of the cline. It is followed by the *reaction* of the potential reader/listener which is present in the text through the construal of a position the reader/listener is invited to take up through the various engagement resources in the text. (Martin and Rose 2007).

Reading or reaction (Martin and White 2005, 164) represents an additional layer that emphasizes the ultimate goal and significance of language as a social and interpersonal manifestation. It is, in fact, *stance attribution* (Jaffe 2009), the construal of an ideal position of alignment by the speaker for his audience. In the case of public discourses, taking reading/reaction into account is indispensable for ideology transfer (Jaffe 2009). Martin and Rose (2007) identify three types of readings, which have their specific social implications, namely, *compliant reactions*, *resistant reactions* and *tactical reactions*.

As subject to public scrutiny, a declaration (or any proposition) invites compliant reactions, and, in fact, the speaker works hard to obtain such an ideal positioning from the audience by various strategies that seek to 'naturalize' a preferred reading (Martin and Rose 2007, 310). At the same time, however, a text exposed to public scrutiny is subject to personal interpretation that the author has very limited influence on. Utterances allow *resistant* reactions that may go counter to their initial goals, as in non-mainstream reactions/readings. Such are the reactions/readings which use irony as their way of aligning with a certain audience against a third

participant towards whom oppositional positioning is realized (Wilson and Sperber 1992). Tactical readings follow a listener's/reader's specific agenda. For instance, reading/reaction to a text may happen with the intention of completing a linguistic analysis (such as this one, in the present study), but further examples could be the reaction of readers to a review that ultimately expresses their belonging to a particular group (Martin and Rose 2007, 311).

The notion of reading/reaction, implying stance attribution connects Martin and White's taxonomy to the sociolinguistic aspects of stance, as the locus of negotiation of meanings in which '*social subjectivities engage*', generating a '*recursive loop*' of readings "*feeding back into texts, texts feeding back into text types, text types into registers and so on*" (2005, 312). This circuit confirms stance-taking as a phenomenon that produces social meaning through language.

1.3.3. The Prosodic Structure of the Interpersonal

Stance-taking, and its instantiation, evaluation, produce meaning on a discourse semantic level, within the domain of appraisal. Its instantiation, however, occurs throughout the systemic (paradigmatic) and structural (syntagmatic) levels of morphemes, lexicogrammar and clause, basically infused throughout the whole text. Halliday calls this property of the interpersonal *prosodic*, while the ideational is characterized by segmental meaning-making pattern with clearly defined boundaries of clause or clause groups within the text, or *iterative* that creates a pattern of structure through repetition.

Subsequent sources (Martin and White 2005; Bednarek 2006) emphasize the importance of this aspect of evaluative meaning. Bednarek discusses it in connection with the necessity to analyse context in the case of such utterances arguing for the necessity of qualitative research that focuses on singular expressions and realizations of evaluative meanings.

This leads to another essential statement on the nature of evaluation, namely the fact that, although some grammar patterns have been identified as typically carrying evaluative content, there is no standard linguistic form for this type of meaning (Bednarek 2006, 8).

Martin and White make the same connection when they note that such meanings tend to '*splash across a phase of discourse, irrespective of grammatical boundaries*' (Martin and White 2005, 10) and realise interpersonal meaning over the lexiogrammatical and clausal levels, through varied linguistic means. Their perspective on the implications of context is informed by Bakhtin's dialogistic perception of language use, where observance of the social dimension is inevitable.

Bakhtin's Influence

In *Discourse in the Novel* (1981) Bakhtin attributes the artistry of this complex literary genre to the various stylistic and linguistic layers displayed and conveyed simultaneously by its language, orchestrated into a higher unity. Considering merely one such aspect by analysing one layer or unit of the multiple ones, as in poetic genres, for instance, would be like transposing '*a symphonic (orchestrated) theme on to the piano keyboard*' (Bakhtin 1981, 263). The synchronicity of styles present in a novel is constructed by the multiple and varied stylistic units manifest in the text, with each character, inserted genres, types of speech represented by an individual sample of language. These speech types which disperse into '*rivulets and droplets*' through the text unite into "distinctive links and interrelationships" to create the text of the novel, much like a linguistic fabric composed of manifestations of speech.

Bakhtin correlates this artistic achievement with the sociohistorical processes of language use, where a dominant social group ideology becomes manifest in specific discursive practices like verbal-ideological movements, genres and definitions of discourse itself. The general

tendency would be towards creating a unitary language which reflects a centralized world, and countering the natural tendencies of language towards heteroglossia, that is, the mapping of the multiplicity and complexity of society. These two – centripetal and centrifugal – forces are constantly at work while language changes and transforms due to the socio-ideological influences it assimilates and reflects (Bakhtin 1981, 270-271).

Dialogized heteroglossia is the natural environment for an utterance, simultaneously social and individual. The following quotation practically describes – in Bakhtin’s poetic way – the whole process of creation of interpersonal meaning in discourse, approached by ensuing theorists tackling evaluative language:

“Indeed, any concrete discourse (utterance) finds the object at which it was directed already as it were overlain with qualifications, open to dispute, charged with value, already enveloped in an obscuring mist—or, on the contrary, by the “light” of alien words that have already been spoken about it. It is entangled, shot through with shared thoughts, points of view, alien value judgments and accents. The word, directed toward its object, enters a dialogically agitated and tension-filled environment of alien words, value judgments and accents, weaves in and out of complex interrelationships, merges with some, recoils from others, intersects with yet a third group: and all this may crucially shape discourse, may leave a trace in all its semantic layers, may complicate its expression and influence its entire stylistic profile” (Bakhtin 1981, 272).

Such a perspective renders all utterances, regardless of their context and source, necessarily dialogic. With Bakhtin, and the subsequent use in theory of the notion of *voice*, as a particular manifestation of a certain type of social identity, dialogism lends a terrain for exploring expressions of ideological content, even if, in the case of SFL this aspect is not necessarily foregrounded. Appraisal theory (Martin and White 2005; Martin and Rose 2007) applies a rhetorical perspective on discourse and primarily traces

the meaning production process on the linguistic level of discourse semantics. However, due to the contextual factors of discourse production, ideological implication cannot be avoided.

1.3.4. Martin and White's Appraisal System

Halliday and Bakhtin are the two main theorists influencing appraisal theory. The following subchapter contains a more detailed presentation of the appraisal system according to Martin and White (2005). They divide appraisal into three domains: *engagement*, covering the way speakers 'adjust and negotiate the arguability' of their utterances³⁶ and *attitude* which concerns the speakers' evaluation of the object of stance and the expression of their feelings towards them. Accordingly, *attitude* comprises of three subsystems: *affect* (emotional reaction), *judgment* (evaluation of behaviour) and *appreciation* (evaluation of objects or events), and *graduation*, which marks the intensity of attitudinal content.

Engagement

Engagement represents those resources through which the speaker positions himself towards other participants in a discussion or towards the putative listener, addressing those value positions that the other speakers express in real time interactions, or those that the speaker assumes to be relevant (see stance attribution above). Thus, speaker position is always intersubjective since construed in utterances as '*standing with, as standing against, as undecided, or as neutral with respect to (...) other speakers and their value positions*' (2005, 93).

Strictly speaking, engagement is the domain that explicitly contains the markers of 'adopting a stance', that is, formulating a position for or

³⁶ <https://www.grammatics.com/appraisal/appraisalguide/unframed/stage5-engagement.htm>

against a subject matter. It places utterances on a scale between monoglossic and heteroglossic polarities and results from the heteroglossical backdrop of alternative voices/points of view that speakers construct and interact with. The type of positioning based on which engagement is realized is indicated by the degree of alignment/disalignment with the other voices/points of view in the utterance, including that of the putative addressee, and the degree of solidarity the speaker maintains towards those alternative voices, including situations of recognizing and tolerating (or not) these points of view (2005, 96).

Stance has usually been discussed in terms of the epistemic background of the speaker, indicating the degree to which he commits to the truth value of the utterance, and as affective or effective stance, which uses resources to convey the speaker's attitude towards the content of his proposition and the effect he expects to exert on the listeners (see 1.2.3. above). A dialogical perspective shifts the focus of an analysis on the interpersonal nature of utterances, foregrounding social relationships, instead of the truth condition of utterances that has been heretofore regarded as the primary function of language and self-expression (Martin and White 2005: 94; <https://www.grammatics.com/appraisal/appraisaloutline/framed/frame.htm>). Hence, a grammar category like modals marks the speakers' alignment and their attitude towards a subject matter or other points of view, and not necessarily their relation to the truth.

In terms of positioning, appraisal theory identifies attitudinal, dialogistic and intertextual types of interpersonal communication. Through attitudinal positioning, speakers provide positive or negative assessments of their surroundings, through resources that express affect (emotion), judgement (ethical) and appreciation (esthetical) of things, people, events, etc. By resources that indicate dialogistic positioning, speakers convey their reactions to alternative viewpoints, either as positioning themselves towards utterances that have been made, or as anticipating possible

reactions from others. These resources indicate the degree of dialogic openness toward other viewpoints, through which speakers negotiate their own position. Intertextual positioning may be considered a subtype of a dialogic one, in that it includes reactions to alternative positions. In this case, however, the alternative is overtly indicated as an external source which the speaker commits themselves towards (or not), by a certain degree of endorsement³⁷.

A dialogic approach places monoglossic utterances into a new perspective. Factual utterances convey experiential content (e.g., a narrative of the speaker's experience), that the speaker does not expect to be challenged, hence, does not need to negotiate. Bare assertions, on the other hand, even though they '*present the current proposition as one which has no dialogistic alternatives which need to be recognized*,' (2005, 99), may fulfil particular communicative goals of an ideological nature, by construing a perspective that 'takes for granted' the ideational content of the utterance. Although they are not strictly dialogic, as they do not seemingly engage an alternative perspective or interlocutor, these propositions '*enter in a relationship of tension*' with the other potential voices by trying to deny the social context they have originated from.³⁸

There are two descriptions of the classification of resources for *entertainment*, one described by Martin and White (2005) and one which can be found on the appraisal website.³⁹ They are mostly similar, with the exception of *entertain*, which is renamed as *probabilise* on the website. In this study, the term used in Martin and White (2005), namely, entertain is the more accepted concept in studies related to appraisal. Engagement resources are mapped onto a further subsystem, positioned between expansion and contraction, depending on the degree in which speakers

³⁷ <https://www.grammatics.com/appraisal/appraisalguide/unframed/appraisal-overview>)

³⁸ <https://www.grammatics.com/appraisal/appraisalguide/framed/frame.htm>

³⁹ <https://www.grammatics.com/appraisal/appraisalguide/unframed/stage5-engagement.htm>

make allowances for alternative positions (dialogic expansion), or not (dialogic contraction). They classify types of dialogistic positionings under the categories disclaim, proclaim as contractive resources and entertain and attribute as expansive ones.

The category of *disclaim* includes positions that directly reject a contrary one, either as values of *deny* or *counter*. Instances of *deny* invoke an alternative point of view in order to formulate propositions that reject it. In numerous cases *deny* is used to officially refute claims and allegations (from an expert position, for instance) as a form of correction (2005, 120) or to introduce an alternative position by that negation (e.g., *'There's nothing wrong with meat bread and potatoes, but....'* Martin and White, 2005, 118). These cases do not simply construe an opposition between negative and positive, much rather they reproduce the alternative to dialogize with it.

In the case of disclaim by *counter*, an alternative position is construed as a surprising or unexpected result. In this case, the dialogue happens with the unrealized expectation (which is rejected) and propositions are formulated as concessions. In the example: *'Even though we are getting divorced, Bruce and I are still best friends.'* (Martin and White 2005, 120), the expected and rejected alternative would be something in the line of *'we stopped speaking to each other'*, while the unexpected result is that of them *'still being friends'*.

Proclaim contains resources which represent the alternative as highly warrantable, and *'rather than directly rejecting or overruling a contrary position'* it acts *'to limit the scope of dialogistic alternatives in the ongoing colloquy'* (2005, 121). With its first type, *concur*, the speaker marks his alignment with the value position of the putative audience in such a way that other alternatives are excluded, or, their validation limited. With markers like *'naturally'*, *'of course'*, or leading questions, the alignment is construed on the assumption of common sense and agreement is taken for granted. *Concur* indicates the speaker's high degree of commitment

towards the proposition, an utterance that is expected to be aligned with, due to its common sense (therefore, expecting the audience to align).

As opposed to this, *pronounce* implies explicit authorial interventions of the type of '*I contend*', '*the truth is that...*', '*you must agree that...*'. Such direct, assertive formulations are made in order to challenge and defeat an alternative position, this way limiting the dialogic openness of the authorial voice. *Pronounce* offers different ways of obtaining the solidarity of the putative addressee. In cases when the alternative position is directly confronted in the utterance, the speaker may use additional resources to secure alignment, while in other situations in which the alternative position is represented by a third party, solidarity is obtained by the speaker's demonstration of solidarity on behalf of the putative addressee, against the third party. *Pronounce*, therefore, is a standard rhetorical resource in political discourse, as the present study demonstrates as well.

A third type of proclaim is described in Martin and White (2005) as *endorse*, applying for types of engagement where the authorial voice aligns with a previous speaker. Such propositions are framed by verbs like '*show*', '*prove*', '*demonstrate*', '*find*' and '*point out*'. *Endorse* is very similar to the dialogically expansive attribution: *acknowledge* but while with *acknowledge* the external source is clearly indicated by the reported speech structure, in endorsements the alternative utterance is integrated within the speaker's viewpoint (2005, 126-127). This is why it is a dialogically contractive subcategory.

Entertain, a dialogically expansive category includes resources that aim to negotiate a position for the speaker's proposition within an acknowledged heteroglossic backdrop. This category includes all those resources which have been discussed in literature as modality and evidentiality or hedging (Chaffe 1986), as markers of the speaker's epistemic stance, conveying their degree of certainty about their utterance. Evidentiality is the category including all those utterances in which the speaker brings evidence, names the source of a particular detail of their

discourse, in an attempt to enforce that detail. Hedging, on the other hand, implies uncertainty on the part of the speaker but it also represents a strategy through which speakers allow other alternatives to their perspective, as in cases when they express probability.

Drawing on Halliday, Martin and White (2005) point out that expressions of epistemic positioning like *'I think'*, *'it seems'*, *'it's possible'* function as expressions of modality rather than informational or experiential markers. The communicative intent behind such phrasings is that of displaying one's point of view, rather than their relation to reality. By *'overtly grounding the proposition in the contingent, individual subjectivity of the speaker/writer'*, they signal the dialogic aspect of the discourse and admit their proposition as being one of several alternative ones (2005, 105). Even modals that are classified as deontic demonstrate the subjective perspective of the command (*'You must turn off the light'*) as opposed to the monoglossic imperative (*'Turn off the light!'*) that excludes other possible options (2005, 111).

In terms of a construal of alignment with a putative audience, entertain functions as a way to negotiate acceptance or allowance for the speaker's proposition, while anticipating a possibly unfavourable reaction from the audience. The use of projecting clauses (*'I think'*, *'I believe'*) or adverbials (*'probably'*, *'possibly'*) that qualify the proposition as subjective, construes it as less categorical, therefore, less 'threatening' to the listener's own position. Martin and White also discuss evidentials as instances of *entertain*, where verbs like *'seems'* or *'suggest'* and adverbials such as *'apparently'* indicate a process of deduction on the part of the speaker, emphasizing the expository grounding of the speaker's version, within the range of other alternatives (2005, 110).

The subsystem of entertain is renamed as the function probabilise and further detailed on the appraisal website. As the names of the categories clearly indicate, they signal the speaker forwarding the validity of his proposition through *evidence* (*'it seems that'*, *'there is evidence that'*),

likelihood, by entertaining the possibility of his point of view (modals of probability, or adverbials, e.g., '*possibly*'), and *hearsay*, mentioned as a type of evidential by Chafe (1986), conveying the uncertain source of the proposition (e.g., '*they say...*', '*it is said...*')⁴⁰

Attribute is the least problematic type of heteroglossic engagement, typically expressed through reported speech (e.g., '*X said that*'), as it clearly presents an external source for the utterance included into the speaker's discourse. This extra-vocal and dialogically expansive subcategory is realized as either acknowledgment (and endorsement) of the alternative proposition, or as distancing from it. These functions are mostly determined by the semantics of the framing verb. Consequently, reporting verbs like '*say*' or '*believe*' may simply mark acknowledgment of a proposition, whereas '*claim*' may indicate the speaker's reluctance to endorse the alternative source. The framing co-text may often include adverbs that more clearly reveal the speaker's position towards the alternative, as in '*falsely claim*', or the source can be specifically presented so as to demonstrate the degree of his alignment, as in '*some scientists believe*' as opposed to '*most scientists believe*' (Martin and White 2005, 115-116).

Graduation

Graduation is the subsystem containing resources that realize the scale of the speaker's attitude and level of engagement. Its two operating values are *force* and *focus*. *Force* measures the amount or intensity of the value indicated in the discourse while *focus* realizes the prototypicality of the item in question.

Focus is a scalable category, between sharp and soft, used in situations when a categorization is added further delicacy. Martin and White's example refers to '*jazz*' which is in itself a category (of music) further *focused* in

⁴⁰ <https://www.grammatics.com/appraisal/appraisalguide/unframed/stage5-engagement.htm>

examples like: *'they don't play real jazz'* as opposed to *'they play jazz, sort of'* (Martin and White 2005, 137). This example illustrates common situations where the softer value (*'sort of'*) is also an attitudinal marker of negative assessment, while the sharper value (*real jazz*) implies positive appreciation (Martin and White 2005, 139). These situations, however, are contingent to the textual environment and must be analysed individually. Another example that Martin and White provide illustrates the difference between graduation by *force* from graduation by *focus*: a *'very red carpet'* that realizes a value of intensity, versus *'genuinely red carpet'* which refers to the prototypicality of the item (Martin and White 2005, 138).

Force realizes quantification and intensification. Quantification (Martin and White 2005, 151) occurs through number (*a few, a multitude*), mass (through adjectives like *'small', 'light', 'heavy'*), or extent through further subcategories like proximity in time and space: *recent, ancient, nearby, distant*, or distribution in time and space (*short, long-lasting, widespread, narrow*). The most usual mode of quantification is through an isolated term that determines the evaluated item (e.g., adjective and noun); however, it is not uncommon to be realized through a metaphor (*a mountain of a man*).

Intensification, the other function of focus occurs when a quality or a process is graded. Similarly to quantification, the most common way of realizing this type of graduation is through isolation, when a lexical element determines another one, as in examples: *'mildly interesting'* and *'particularly interesting'*. Other times the intensified quality is maximized (*'totally miserable'*) or lexicalized (*'ice cold'*). Repetition realizes intensification of a quality (e.g., *hot, hot, hot*) but it also happens in the case of quantification with numbers (*millions and millions*). A further relevant category for the present study is the situation when intensification is realized through figurative means, metaphorically. Martin and White provide examples for such metaphorical realizations which occur locally

(2005, 147-148) for intensifying processes (*prices have skyrocketed*). Nevertheless, as illustrated in the corpus of this study, metaphorical intensification seems to occur prosodically, through the whole text, creating a free-standing semantic network that significantly contributes to the realization of the speaker's stance.

The examples above are realizations of attitude, but graduation applies for engagement as well. The most common example is that of modals which can reveal a higher/lower engagement of the speaker related to his proposition. The sentence '*it must be six o'clock*' indicates a less dialogic attitude than the sentence '*it may be six o'clock*'.

Attitude

Attitude includes three types of subsystems assessing emotional (affect), ethical (judgment) and esthetical (appreciation) aspects of the speaker's environment. These categories can be realized by both explicit and implicit resources and the intensity of their effect is determined by the appraisal system's third category, graduation. Due to their combined evaluative effect, the values of these three subcategories often intersect and are contextually reconfigured and graded according to intensity or effect.

An attempt to classify *affect* is worked out along the line of systems of oppositions, establishing polarities like positive/negative, surge/predisposition, low/high intensity⁴¹ but as Martin and White (2005) observe, each lexical item signifying a feeling can have a scale of its own concerning the intensity of that feeling (2005, 50). This implies that the only classification that we can actually make of this complex category is that of the graduation of intensity, measured by focus or force.

A significant role of *affect* in constructing attitudinal stance throughout a text or discourse is that of supporting the other categories, *judgement* and *appreciation*, as an implicit evaluative resource. In fact, as

⁴¹ https://www.grammatics.com/appraisal/lexi_con/lexis-text/attitude/onattitude2.html

Martin and White notice, *judgement* reworks individual feelings as reaction to behaviour, while *appreciation* does the same regarding the value of things, events, phenomena, etc. While *affect* charts individual and personal emotion directed toward other people or our environment, the other two categories are the public, institutionalized attitude related to these entities. *Judgement* marks attitudes on how we behave and what our conduct should be: “*some of these proposals get formalised as rules and regulations administered by church and state*” (2005, 45). *Appreciation* deals with the worthiness of things, events, phenomena and “*some of these valuations get formalised in systems of awards (prices, grades, grants, prizes, etc.)*.” (ibid.).

Judgement contains the two subcategories of social esteem and social sanction, the former applying for ‘informal’ social ways of assessment, based on community values, transmitted through gossip, jokes, chatting and personal stories, while *sanction* covers the ‘officially’, institutionally regulated aspect of moral assessment more adequately conveyed in rules, regulations and laws officially stipulated.

Esteem’s further subcategories are ‘normality’, ‘capacity’ and ‘tenacity’ casting (societal) values to conduct pertaining to how unusually somebody behaves, how capable or how resolute they are (2005, 52). These categories include the possibility of evaluating behaviour both negatively and positively (positive and negative esteem). Sanction is composed of ‘veracity’ and ‘propriety’ positively or negatively marking social values that pertain to how truthful or how ethical someone is; the values of sanction are more appropriate to “*edicts, decrees, rules, regulations and laws about how to behave as surveilled by church and state – with penalties and punishments as levers against those not complying with the code. Sharing values in this area underpins civic duty and religious observances*” (ibid.).

Appreciation is divided into categories according to how we react to things, in what way they catch our attention, to what their composition is

(is it balanced or complex, how easy it is to follow) and what value it represents to the speaker (is it worth following, why).

As in most instances of evaluative analysis described within a system, these categories seem quite interchangeable and difficult to pin down. Individual texts, however, construe their own unique prosody of these values and use sufficient resources as to develop a clearly distinguishable evaluative stance.

Explicit and Implicit Attitudinal Resources

The evaluative meaning of language is not connected to some particular forms of lexicogrammar. Practically all grammar and lexis contribute to it, depending on the context and the participants to the exchange/situation. In SFL, grammar is considered to be the 'central processing unit' of a text, as it represents the '*powerhouse where meanings are created*' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014, 22). Biber *et al.* (1999) identify a list of grammatical devices that mark stance. Thus, it is typical of adverbials and modals or semi-modals, syntactic structures like complement clauses or prepositional clauses attached to a noun to occur with evaluation, as it has been revealed in studies of corpus analysis (Finnegan and Biber 1989). However, as mentioned before, appraisal theory favours a qualitative analysis, which places emphasis on surveying contextual elements together and reveals local and unique ways of meaning-making, more nuanced than quantitative corpus analysis would.

Martin and White discuss implicit ways of conveying evaluative meaning, and, ultimately, establishing a stance. Since interpersonal meaning has a prosodic nature, stance is constructed throughout the whole text and resources are locally contingent, determined by context (socio-cultural and situational) and co-text (the textual environment in which the particular lexical element or grammar form occurs). The subsystem that distinguishes explicit means of attitudinal evaluation from implicit ones is

established on a cline between the polarities of inscribed resources (normally realized by explicit attitudinal lexis) and those that are invoked (implicit resources). The value of invoked resources has further degrees of delicacy, depending on whether they provoke or evoke attitudinal response from listeners. In these cases, the speaker relies on the ideational meaning of his discourse to obtain the effect he wishes to achieve. Such reliance on the listeners' reaction/reading does involve the risk of unfavourable reaction, and determines speakers to conduct a careful assessment of their audience in trying to anticipate their expectations and in making sure that the reaction will be a compliant one (Martin and White 2005, 62).

Speakers hope to invoke the attitude that grants validity to their stance and conveys optimal solidarity towards it, by combining inscribed resources that '*sign post*' (Martin and White 2005, 63) the utterance as if indicating the kind of reaction they expect, with an ideational textual environment which supports this favoured reaction. Inscribed attitude is generated prosodically throughout the discourse through this combination of inscribed elements and ideational content, by either provoking a particular reaction of judgement through the cumulative effect of a series of *inscribed* elements, or evoking attitude through associating it with shared community values.

As explained on the appraisal website, provoked attitude is generated "*via a string of explicitly inscribed values of Attitude in the text up to that point, as a cue or trigger, their status traceable to series of positioning moves in a move complex*"⁴² The elements of this 'move complex' function as 'textual prospection' linking the signalling elements in such a way that a frame of relevance is created for the 'move', acting over the whole text, through clause complexes or cohesive devices (e.g., conjunction, repetition). Examples provided by Martin and White include inscribed lexis of affect, that generate invoked judgement, personal narratives or lexical

⁴² https://www.grammatics.com/appraisal/lexi_con/lexis-text/attitude/onattitude2.html

metaphors which *provoke* the type of judgment the speaker expects through their dramatic rendering of events or use of suggestive metaphors (2005, 63-65).

In the case of evoked attitude, neutral, non-evaluative elements are activated as tokens of attitude, by an invocation of community norms. The subcategories of *flag* and *afford* are further named as a higher level of delicacy for evoke (Martin and White 2005, 66). Both values are used for situations in which non-evaluative lexis acquires evaluative status due to textual connotations, obtaining higher or lower graduation depending on contextual factors.

1.3.5. Representation and Evaluation

Representation and evaluation, although separate analytical categories, concomitantly construe meaning-making. Martin and Rose (2007), Martin and White (2005) tackle this through the categories of explicit and implicit judgement values which either inscribe or invoke attitude and attitudinal response. Martin and Rose not only describe the process through which the different discursive systems construe meaning in a text but also touch upon the interaction through which ideational and interpersonal realise meaning.

It is one of the theoretical *premises* of this study that representation and evaluation are, in fact, converging systems of meaning-making and the impact of the text, the way it determines readings/reactions, is generated through the interplay of the two categories in the realisation of stance. While representation is mainly dependent on the ideational realm of language, when it comes to the use of language for meaning such as *moral talk* (Spencer-Benett 2018) or *legitimation* (Hart 2010), it becomes evident that representation and evaluation is manifested concomitantly as concurrent functions of stance-taking.

Values

Values are a fundamental component of speakers' arguments and justifications for their actions in the analysed corpus. The frame of the argumentation analysis, described in the next chapter, provided by Fairclough and Fairclough (2012a) specifies value premises as the basis of representation around which the circumstances pertaining to the discussed issue are formulated and the claims with the desirable course of action are proposed. Values are present in the analysed corpus both through explicit, inscribed reference, as the actual subject of the analysed texts, and through indirect, implicit tokens, which acquire evaluative meaning through the factual representation which they are part of.

Within the appraisal framework the lexical realization of values is connected with the speaker's attitudinal stance towards the discussed object and other participants instantiated in judgement values, referring to what the speaker deems as good or wrong, socially (esteem) or morally (sanction) acceptable and aligned with his/her own principles. In this respect, Martin and Rose (2007) differentiate between *speakers' personal judgement*, by instances of admiration or criticism directed towards the object of their appraisal, and *moral judgement*, which involves praising or condemning a certain issue or person (2007, 32-33).

The subjective aspect of the interpersonal dimension of meaning-making implies that these judgement values are often intertwined with various dimensions of affect, just as appreciation, the aesthetic layer of attitude, often concomitantly transposes into words the speaker's feelings related to the object being assessed. This fact prompts Martin and White (2005) to describe this interdependence as the institutionalization of affect, the process which transposes individual feelings and limited, subjective impressions into the shared space of community values. The affective dimension that is transposed into values of appreciation, what they are worth, gets '*formalised in systems of awards*,' indicating a shared set of

values that is acknowledged in prizes, prices or grades. Affect institutionalized as judgement, on the other hand, receives a communal dimension through norms of behaviour observed in society or even '*rules and regulations administered by church and state*' (Martin and White 2005, 45). A further characteristic of the attitudinal dimension, its prosodic nature, entails that values of attitudinal stance which are spread throughout the entire text, convey a certain tone to it.

I.4. Conclusions

A sociolinguistic perspective on stance reveals its potential as both action and discursive manifestation, personal and public, consequential on both the one who formulates it, and its object which is being assessed. As an action of assessment, stance allows individuals to make value judgements on their environment and perform gestures of self-presentation which define their position in that environment.

The notions of *evaluation*, *positioning* and *stance*, although related, are distinguishable by Du Bois' stance triangle, which illustrates the process of stance-taking. Evaluation is an act of assessment directed towards the object of stance through which the stance-taker positions him/herself in relation to other participants to the stance-taking process. The process of evaluation is a dynamic one, through which stance-takers realise various degrees of alignment or disalignment and may modify their positions in relation to the object of stance and to other stance-takers. Stance, the result of this complex process, is not a static category but is modified depending on the calibration of positioning and alignments.

Systemic functional theory locates stance within the discourse system of appraisal between the category of *key*, which represents the level of register specific for specific social settings and *evaluation* which represents the individual choices of assessment made in a single text. As a result,

stance, emerges as a mark of an individual speaker within a specific, institutional context, where a specific type of positioning and a prosodically realised evaluative pattern construct a stance perceived as typical.

The discussion on the connection between representation and evaluation provides a transition to the following chapter which focuses on the political application of the category of stance, in the context of critical discourse analysis.

CHAPTER II

STANCE AND CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

While the previous chapter has focussed on the relevance of stance in an interpersonal approach of language, now we are establishing its relevance as an individual and rhetorical manifestation in the construction of the institutional and social frame provided, in the present case, by the political debate on the migrant crisis. Fairclough's discourse analytical model (1993) becomes relevant for this purpose as it offers a theoretical frame for identifying parliamentary debate/speech as institutional level genres and public debate as the social context in which the stances are generated. A critical discourse analytical (CDA) approach also allows us to define political discourse as strategic communication and establish legitimization as its main function.

The generic frame of the parliamentary debate and that of the parliamentary speech involves the speakers' stance-taking in a given issue and the justification of their position according to their various interests (party ideology, national interest, general principles, etc.). This frame of justification is illustrated by Fairclough and Fairclough's model of practical argumentation (2012a) based on the speaker's values. In the last subchapter this frame of argumentation is established as the formal category which connects stance-taking to the social values the speaker represents and aligns to.

II.1. Stance: Micro- and Macro-analytical Perspective

While stance is a linguistic analytical category that explores social interaction from a rhetorical point of view, CDA tackles linguistic manifestations as means of ideological production of power and authority.

While the undertaking of systemic-functional or sociolinguistics-oriented analysis is formal, CDA seeks to critically examine and expose the social effects of ideology produced through discourse. However, in the case of political discourse, stance, through its dialogical and attitudinal dimensions, represents the means for a politician, an institution or an organization, to publicly claim and reveal its position, its values and its principles in a public debate. The definition of a *public debate* adopted in the present study refers to the general, '*diffuse public discussion*' that takes place in the public sphere regarding a topic of general impact and interest for the given community (Lambek 2024) and it frames the discussion on the migrant crisis as a social practice characteristic of democratic societies.

As CDA is concerned with investigating discursive manifestations of power and inequality, political discourse is one of the most challenging fields for such research. A premise of analysing political stance stems from the specific duality that renders it both personal and public (chapter I, Definition of Stance). This characteristic entails the need for analytical tools that pertain to the exploration of stance as a locus for a specific individual position which needs to be correlated with the institutional and ideological specifics that political discourse bears. Besides the general frame of a virtual debate occurring in the public sphere, a further relevant category for the analysis of stance-taking is the genre as a type of activity with specific functions and a typical scenario which is part of institutionally limited discourse practice, tailoring the possibilities in which stance-taking can occur. Accordingly, the stance of a speaker is configured through personal rhetorical strategies that are realised within a certain generic, social and ideological frame which provide certain options and impose limits to manifest that stance.

Political stance is both public and personal due to its interactional nature on one hand, and individual subjectivity as its source, on the other. Stance-taking in political discourse concerns first of all the ideological

position that politicians take when they make their agenda public. This position is assumed by them as representatives of their party, as candidates for an office or, if elected, representatives for that office, with various levels of representation from local to national, or above (Berlin 2021). Stance-taking reveals one's position publicly and its content is available for public scrutiny. A political stance is constructed along the line of political decisions and declarations that are in accordance with a certain ideology or with a certain policy regarding a particular subject (reflecting a certain type of party line or ideology), which affect the whole community it represents.

The personal nature of stance ensues from the fact that its source is the speaker's subjectivity and that individual performance is a prerequisite of its manifestation. Political discourse is a typically '*stance-saturated*' discourse (Jaffe 2009, 22) where stance-taking is a conventional constituent of various genres. The subject positions constituting the social roles and identities associated to national level political leadership are to a great extent defined and regulated institutionally and their performance happens within a certain scenario. Still, political leaders are not only perceived by the audience as representatives of an ideology, party, or government but also as individuals with distinct personal traits, approached in sociolinguistics as *style* (Johnstone 2009) and *performance* (Wodak 2009) in critical discourse theory.

From the strict sociological perspective, the social actors who perform the actual speech act linguistically index through more or less conventional ways a social role that bears the authority and expertise of the office the speaker holds, the institution that he represents. In the terms of critical theory, they assume the subject position assigned to them by those particular discourses which contribute to the configuration of a certain discursive event shaped by the social context, the institution they represent and the type of activity they are engaged in. The sociolinguistic and the critical discourse analytical approaches are, in fact, two sides of the

same coin, with a bottom-up approach of microanalysis focusing on the single context of a text, or a top-bottom macro-perspective of analysing the social (ideological) background that informs the choices, norms and beliefs that individuals make and adhere to (Fairclough 1993, 85-86). An analysis of stance-taking in political discourse should consider both perspectives, a more specific linguistic and rhetorical and a more general social and ideological one.

II.2. Discourse as Social Practice

The domain of Critical Discourse Analysis is to a great extent connected to Norman Fairclough's work (1993 and 2013) on discourse. His definition of language use allows political discourse - specifically the declarations that are analysed here as part of the debate on migration - to be contextualized as integral to society. Furthermore, it demonstrates the characteristics of stance as constitutive of public discourse, available for scrutiny and challenge from other social actors and that this publicly announced positioning has consequences over those it is addressed to, those who interpret it, and the speaker who utters the statement.

CDA has earned the attribute of interdisciplinarity, due to its way of connecting linguistics to social sciences, especially, critical theory. Fairclough presents the connection between language and the social as a dialectic relationship in which discourse is both determined by its social environment and it also contributes to its construction. Language is social in the sense that its use is to a great extent regulated by the social conventions related to social situations. On the other hand, society has a significant linguistic constituent, as language shapes those situations. It is particularly relevant that politics is the domain Fairclough uses to illustrate the idea that language as discourse is formative of society since politics is a social environment where often *'disputes and struggles (...) occur in language and over language'* (Fairclough 2013, 19). The idea of a dialectic relationship connecting language and the

social is the principle behind Fairclough and Fairclough's (2012a) definition of political discourse as practical argumentation through which individuals act upon society (see below).

CDA's definition of discourse implies the correlation of critical theory (especially the Foucauldian perspective on orders of discourse) with the practice of sociolinguistics (linguistic indexing of social identities, conversation analysis) and attempts to establish a balance between the two opposite influences. If Foucauldian constructivism posits discourse as constitutive of society through discursive formations, sociolinguistics maintains that language use is greatly determined by social variables. While one exaggerates the influence of discourse, the other overstates the implication of the social. Fairclough establishes that language is not extrinsic to social processes but is an integral part of them, as both *action* through discourse as a form of social practice and *representation* of social structures that regulate discourse. Fairclough's examples for social structures include relations on a social level like class or gender, relations specific for institutions (law, education), systems of classification, norms and conventions. On the other hand, discourse constitutes society, as a type of social practice, by the construction of social identities and social relationships between people, which Fairclough classifies as corresponding to the linguistic function of the interpersonal, and by contributing to the construction of systems of knowledge and belief which is fulfilled by the ideational function of language (1993, 63-64).

II.2.1. Politics as an Order of Discourse

Fairclough's starting point when explaining dynamics between social practice and social structures is Foucault's notion of *orders of discourse*, meaning sets of discourse formation that are '*simultaneously regulated, selected, organized, and redistributed by a certain number of procedures*' (Foucault 2019, 143). In other words, discourse is divided as a series of

domains in which it is given a particular shape, limits, allowances and prohibitions. A discipline, for example, '*defines itself by a domain of objects, a body of methods, a corpus of propositions that are considered true, an interplay of rules and definitions, of techniques and instruments*' (Foucault 2019, 152). Therefore, each discipline is based on a particular way of description, a particular way of discussing or not discussing a subject and organizes scientific domains according to those regulative principles.

As a continuation of this idea, Fairclough uses the notion of '*interdiscourse*', which constitutes '*an interdependent configuration of discursive formations*' (1993, 68), in which elements of different orders of discourse are interconnected. The joining of these elements is never homogenous and it can even become contradictory and tensioned along the lines, like in the various activities of an institution or the roles an individual fulfils in various positions.

In the concrete context of the declarations analysed here, the most general category in which the sample texts can be included is that of political discourse, which conveys politics as an order of discourse. Analysing such language implies a focus '*on aspects of language structure as it constitutes and displays specific political functions*' (Wilson 2015, 776). The perspective on political discourse used in this study identifies this function as strategic communication in order to obtain legitimacy (see below), where legitimacy means the justification of political actions as representative for citizens, and enacted on behalf of the common interest. Within the general umbrella that *political discourse* represents, various subcategories are traceable, which integrate into an interdiscursive configuration of the various elements, determined by the circumstances of the utterance, the '*Who, When, Where, for Whom and How the discourse is used.*' (van Dijk 2018, 229).

The analysed texts represent samples of this particular set of discursive formations integrated into a homogenous discourse localized in

the specific context of the migration crisis and the public debate around it, depending on the office the speakers hold and the interests they represent. As the speakers are representatives of various governing bodies, these texts form a selection of government communication (Hanson 2018). Governing institutions continuously produce discourse in order to keep in touch with the public and inform them of their actions, exert authority but also to justify their deeds. As political action conveyed by the media, government communication qualifies as a commodity used by representatives to assure '*customer satisfaction*' (Hansson 2018, 329), that is, seeking public good will, in order to gain legitimacy. Furthermore, as a fundamentally democratic instrument of political action, government communication represents the guarantee that the elected representatives conduct a transparent, and ethical politics on behalf of their constituencies. However, it must be noted that this transparency may often become a strategy of manipulation used by populist leaders (Hansson 2018, 330, Bolivar 2018).

In addition, the texts of this case study are also representative of *migration discourse* (van Dijk 2018), due to their topic, and also for the part they play in the phenomenon itself as a debate on migration laws. The choice of representation of asylum seekers as migrants or refugees is one of the relevant elements throughout these texts, as is taking an anti-migrationist or pro-migrationist stance by certain speakers.

Finally, the subcategory of discourse these declarations represent is the activity type of parliamentary debate and that of parliamentary speeches. While the speeches in front of parliament take place in extraordinary situations, as instances of reports on the given situation or event, and they may generate further discussions, parliamentary debates are typical occurrences in national (and the European) parliaments.

II.2.2. Discursive Event

The structural unit that allows locating and analysing the interconnected nature of heterogeneous discursive elements is the discursive event. Even if it is limited from the perspective of time and space, a discursive event integrates the complexity of the way discourse is manifest in society. Fairclough's three-dimensional representation of discourse (Fairclough 1993, 73; 2013, 21) is informed by Halliday's description of language as a system network, where each subordinated category manifests and constitutes the more general one: text, discursive practice and social practice.

The basic unit of the representation is the text, which is a written or spoken individual sample of discourse. It is the *product* of the discursive event. In the case of the present case study, the texts are the individual interventions and speeches of the politicians. These texts are instantiations of the discursive practices of parliamentary debates and parliamentary speeches, typical types of activity conducted in the political sphere. This level encompasses the entire process of production, distribution and consumption of a text, which is the result of an interaction between the various participants relevant to the discursive event. Social practice represents the superior level enclosing both the instantiation of text and the process of discourse practice and is manifested by these subordinated forms. Social practice, in the particular case of the migration crisis, public debate, is the context in which the particular discourse production is performed, determined by the social conditions that shape the specific activity of the various institutions and thus regulate the circumstances of discourse practice.

Interdiscursivity during a discursive event becomes manifest through the variety of voices and ideologies that claim their position within it. On one hand, the roles a speaker assumes may involve several subject positions depending on the domain or institutional characteristic that provide the context (Fairclough 1993, 72). Politicians need to consider

several interests that constitute their own political agenda, that of their party, or, in the case of international politics, the national one. On the other hand, the variety of voices, representing various ideological categories and politically assumed roles (parties, factions, lobbyists, etc.) constitutes the complexity of a parliament as one representative body of the nation, or in the present case, of the European Union as a supranational organization. The voice of such a composite entity is represented by the actions of adopting or rejecting proposals by the vote of its members. A discursive event is shaped by all the influences within the institution converging and operating at the same time. If compared to Halliday's systemic-functional description of language, a discursive event is to discourse what instantiation is to system. It is a discursive unit that encloses in its '*temporary, partial and contradictory fixity*' (Fairclough 1993, 66) the contending discourses that claim their existence within society, which is described by Fairclough as '*struggle*' and by Bakhtin (1981) as '*heteroglossia*'. In the following part of this subchapter the constitutive elements of the discursive event are discussed in more detail.

Text

Text is the *product* of the *process* of discourse taking place in the *context* of social practice. Drawing on Halliday, Fairclough uses the term to name both written and spoken samples of discourse. A text is an instantiation of the discourse production happening at a given time and place in society and it represents a surface displaying *traces* of the process of this production and *cues* for an ideal, 'naturalized' way of interpretation by members of the audience it has been addressed to. Although formal analysis is strictly linguistic, the process of production and interpretation is firmly embedded in the social environment where the text has been formulated, involving not only the descriptive analysis of the textual representation of experience and cognitive processes but also their interpretation. This requires some

reference and permeability with domains like sociology, psychology or politics (1993, 74) and it adequately illustrates Fairclough's theory of interdiscursivity: the traces and cues not only indicate details of discursive production but also the overlapping of various orders of discourse, and the disciplines that they constitute.

Strictly speaking the analysis of a text involves its description and Fairclough (1993 and 2013) organizes text analysis in several categories. *Vocabulary* deals with individual words, *grammar* with clauses and sentences, *cohesion* with the way these are linked together and *text structure* with the overall organization of the text. A further group of three categories pertain mostly to discursive analysis, focusing on the type of speech act being formulated (*'force' of the text*), *coherence* and *intertextuality*. This classification bears resemblances to Martin and White's differentiation between the levels of lexicogrammar and discourse semantics.

Discourse Practice

The process of *discursive practice* represents the *institutional* level *interaction* among participants involving discourse production and interpretation in the context of an interplay of various discourses. While discourse interpretation aims to analyse the participants' cognitive processes within a certain social situation, it must be considered that the way discourse is produced and interpreted is not a matter of choice but it involves social conditions which determine a well-defined context for these processes to happen. Therefore, participants' cognitive processes and their interpretation are located in a well-defined institutional frame which circumscribe their mode, extent and limits (Fairclough 2013, 22-23).

The institutional frame that provides the scenario that configures a certain interaction is referred to as *genre*. Fairclough defines *genre* as '*a relatively stable set of conventions that is associated with, and partly enacts, a socially ratified type of activity*' (Fairclough 1993, 126). Since the process

of the interaction and roles assigned to the participants are established by convention, classification of a type of activity into a particular *genre* allows not only the description of that activity but also its interpretation.

The specific activity types that represent the generic frame for the political discourse analysed here are *parliamentary debate* and the related *parliamentary speech*. In both cases, a specific set of conventions invites a particular approach from the audience. Speeches are delivered on special occasions as periodical events or as activities prompted by social circumstances of a higher significance and the performer is usually the representative of an institution. The purpose of these speeches is to provide periodical or requested reports on various issues of significance for the public.

Debates are related to *speeches* as their topic is often the issue presented in the speech. Ilie summarizes the function of interventions in debates as displaying ‘*ideological visions, party affiliations, institutional position-takings and political agendas of the members of parliament as representatives of citizens*’ (2018, 310). Two characteristics are distinguishable in debates and speeches as types of activities producing political discourse. Leaders of states, organizations and institutions represent citizens and by their declarations they manifest the ‘*power of acting*’ (ibid.) invested in them. Representation as action constitutes a factor of political discourse (through its various generic instantiations) which enacts legitimization, the main role of this order of discourse.

A further aspect of this type of political discourse production involves the public nature of the activity. Wodak (2009) describes the concept of *performance* as “*a standardized, generalizable and transferable way for the performer to control the manner in which the audience perceives him or her*” (2009, 8). A coherent public image, a result of repeated interventions manifesting the same position, promotes an official stance of the politician that the public recognizes and which significantly influences his/her political perception.

Due to media ubiquity, performance is not only the result of a production process but also a means of distribution of the ideologies and, ultimately, stances that are formulated in the political spectrum. Sociologically speaking, the cooperation between two dominant discourses of our age, the political and the media, is mutually rewarding for both parties. Politicians have the benefit of public exposure, while the media has access to a multitude of newsworthy material to bring in front of the public (Wodak 2009, 19). What is often not immediately discernible in the dissemination of politicians' declarations is that the news presented for the public is *mediated political discourse* (Fetzer 2013, 3) which has already been redesigned as a type of media discourse. The news that reaches the audience is already recontextualized into a story, ideally one that sells. Additionally, its recontextualization from institutional discourse to media discourse brings about a series of changes in the format and generic configuration of political discourse.

From the perspective of this study the phenomenon of interdiscursivity is especially relevant as discourses produce various subject positions around which elements of the same order of discourse are organized. As stated before, texts that constitute the basis of a discursive event manifest the contradictions and discrepancies arising among these various discourses. This 'struggle', as Fairclough calls it, is traceable on a lexicogrammatical and discourse semantic level on the textual 'surface' of the political declaration. The ultimate goal for political discourse, however, is the display of a smooth, unitary performance, in order to maintain legitimacy and authority, in other words, to maintain the existing power relations, or obtain favourable ones. Stance, therefore, is traceable as a strive towards unity between the 'natural' struggle of discourses versus the artificiality of a performance as one, unique subject position. The notion of interdiscursivity in text is similar to Bakhtin's heteroglossia described as the natural state of discourses within society versus the monoglossic tendency of power.

Similarly to proponents of appraisal theory, Fairclough grants a crucial role to the interpretation of texts. The interpretation stage of discursive practice coincides with Martin and White's concept of reading/reaction which closes the chain of communication. The seeming unpredictability and subjectivity of the members of the audience is usually evoked as problematic. However, Fairclough points out that discursive subjects – individuals within a discourse community – do not '*mysteriously preexist social and discursive practices*' but are constituted by them (1993, 133). The notion of members' resources represents that '*background knowledge*' listeners or addressees use to establish coherence within the text, and outside the text within the socio-cultural environment that provides the source of its meaning. At the same time, he warns of the misleading meaning of 'knowledge' implying 'common sense' assumptions which are mostly ideological, therefore, discourse-generated (2013, 118). It is not that members' resources are not what individuals think or believe, but that those resources are to the greatest extent shaped by the social background (the intersecting discourses that construe that background) of the individual.

The category of coherence includes those sociocognitive processes that audience members resort to in order to make sense of a text. Besides the internal coherence of a text, based on its vocabulary, grammar and clause structure, listeners make sense of a text by discovering connections and analogies with the 'outside' world. Since members' resources are determined by discourse, audience attitudes are usually predictable and can generally be determined by subject positions naturalized by texts as interpretations dictated by 'common sense' (1993, 84). It must be noted though, that similarly to Martin and White (2005), Fairclough also names resistant interpretation which does not comply with the connections and inferences offered by a text for a favoured interpretation (1993, 136).

Social Practice

Social practice is the most general dimension of Fairclough's framework which provides the context for discursive practice and text. As Fairclough's concept of discourse is based on critical theory, the context discourse is embedded in is viewed as essentially ideological in nature. Ideologies are defined as '*significations/constructions of reality*' that '*contribute to the production, reproduction or transformation of relations of domination*' (1993, 87). Their influence is decisive because they become naturalized as 'common sense' knowledge through discursive practice. However, according to Fairclough, what is equally significant, is that by their manifestation in a discursive event their contradictory nature is also manifest. Even if they are structured orders of discourse, their manifestation within a discursive event is a '*process, transformation, and fluidity*' (1993, 88). This is not so much the property of the text itself, as the interpretation of addressees who apply various readings on the text. Ideologies, therefore, provide a context for discourse production and interpretation as structured orders of discourse based on '*the outcome of past events and the conditions for current events*' but at the same time they are also prone to transformation (1993, 89).

Interpretation based on members' resources provides further input to Fairclough's definition of discourse as social practice. The dialectical relationship between language in use and social context implies individual agency as well. In the terms of critical theory: '*subjects*' are indeed '*ideologically positioned*', that is, their interpretation of events and social phenomena is determined by the various discourses exerting influence within society. Still, they are '*capable of acting creatively to make their own connections between diverse practices and ideologies to which they are exposed*' (1993, 91). Due to this element, the power of ideologies cannot operate through domination, but by the establishment of a balance, which is a challenge to maintain.

The concept of hegemony encompasses the notion of exercising power through establishing a balance within the intricate structures of power relations. Hegemony is maintained across all the domains of society, economic, cultural or political, through a dynamic process of '*constructing alliances*' rather than imposing a certain type of discourse, by integrating rather than dominating, by making concessions in order to win consent, rather than enforcing a standard (Fairclough 1993, 92). This implies a constant struggle taking place at all levels and planes of society from the level of families or schools, through education, to that of politics. On a discursive level this struggle to maintain power operates as a constant '*articulation, disarticulation and rearticulation*' (Fairclough 1993, 32) of elements within the structures of discourses and the discursive events taking place in society.

In the case of the European governments for instance, hegemony is maintained through the discourse of liberal democracies where power is manifest through its distribution based on multi-party political systems where representatives are elected by universal vote. Legitimacy, the right to exercise power, is obtained by representation. Similarly to national parliaments and governing institutions, the European Parliament is elected by citizens of each member country and the existence of the European Council is the guarantee that member countries' governments are also represented through the assemblies of ministers (Justice of Home Affairs Council, Foreign Affairs Council, etc.), or that of the heads of states and governments (European Council).

II.3. Stance as a Rhetorical Resource

A perception of political discourse as the site of hegemonic struggle as described by Fairclough (1993 and 2013) implies on a macro-discursive level, a strategic approach by participants in order to influence and coerce other social actors in accordance with their interests (Chilton and Schäffler

2002; Chilton 2004; Hart 2010). On a micro-discursive level such an intention is materialized through a strategic mode of representation which aims to justify political action as legitimate (Hart 2010; Wodak and Riesigl 2001; Marín-Arrese 2011; Wodak and VanLeeuwen 1999; van Dijk 1997; Van Leeuwen 2008).

Fairclough and Fairclough's (2012a) description of practical argumentation offers a useful theoretical tool in correlating argumentation as a means of legitimisation with the formal analysis aimed at tracing stance. It is our purpose at this point to demonstrate that the speech act of stance-taking, analysed in studies on political discourse as a means of assumption and consolidation of a status of authority (through the analyses of epistemic and effective stance), contains a significant aspect of intersubjectivity, as used by Martin and White (2005) in their taxonomy of the language of appraisal. Consequently, further discussion of stance from a CDA perspective includes the exposition of these concepts and their connection. This implies discussion on the strategic nature of political discourse involving the presentation of reality in a way that serves the speaker's interests and coerces interpreters to comply with it (II.3.1.), legitimation as the main function of political discourse and the resources identified as epistemic and effective stance that fulfil this function (II.3.2.). Thirdly, we are focusing on modes of representation that underlie legitimization and constitute a specific stance for a speaker (II.3.3), and, finally, tackle Fairclough and Fairclough's definition (2012a) of political discourse as essentially practical argumentation in order to reestablish balance in a situation of crisis (II.3.4.). Strategies of representation conveying ideological content have been discussed in CDA in connection with Cognitive Linguistics, which identifies cognitive processes through which social values and beliefs are created, interpreted and maintained within a discourse community. The theoretical background of this area is based on van Dijk's (2002 and 2006) description of the process of social cognition, which is described in the subchapter on representation.

II.3.1. The Strategic Nature of Political Discourse

The general communicative function of language allows cooperation and problem solving in complex social matters; however, political discourse is often perceived as a means of manipulation and deceit. These two definitions, a tool of cooperation on one hand, and a means of manipulation on the other, represent the fundamental contrast that describes political discourse: struggle for power between those who aim to maintain it and those who resist it, and cooperation between various institutions within society that seek to solve dissensions over social matters (Chilton 2004).

The idea of political discourse as a means of cooperation in view of reaching a consensus is hypothesized by Habermas (2011) as an ideal situation where felicity conditions meet to allow all participants' access to a discussion with an equal amount of influence and opportunity to expose their position. In political practice, however, validity claims or value claims that participants make become manifest only inasmuch as the power and authority of the one making the claim extends. Value claims, therefore, are rarely a set of common, objectively established principles, as they are permanently subject to distortion, negotiation, subjective reinterpretation, according to the interests of participants (Chilton and Schäffner 2002), who may employ deception in communication in order to achieve their goals.

This means that in politics, concomitantly with the principle of cooperation which results in solving problems and acting for the common good, the possibility of deceit is also present and may, at times, prevail. Although this type of distorted, Machiavellian communication is often claimed to be an implicit trait of political discourse (Charteris-Black 2011), as a means of preserving power, the term may be misleading, as it presupposes devious intent and does not allow alternatives, only a polarity between ideal and reprobate political conduct. Regardless of the speaker's intention to manipulate or not, analysis can only rely on interpretation, which bears a certain level of subjectivity.

Therefore, the more favoured approach in this analysis is the examination of a text by considering the circumstances the text was produced in, both situational and social and the speaker's position in this context: the office he/she holds in the situational context and the ideologies he/she aligns with in the social context. This perspective allows a perception of the text as a sample of *strategic communication*, where speakers' interests and positions are considered along with the limitations imposed by the institutional and social frame in which these samples are realised.

Grice (1975) identifies the cooperative principle as fundamental to communication. The messages individuals exchange in various contexts are governed by the intention to make the speakers' contributions to the conversation '*such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged*' (1975, 45). These specifications represent the basis of the four maxims Grice has formulated: quantity (the necessary and adequate amount of information according to the context), quality (information that is in accordance with the truth and available evidence), relevance (relevant information) and manner (information communicated in a clear, brief and orderly way).

The principle of cooperation as applied in politics does not necessarily imply an effort of finding the common good by establishing a harmonious dialogue between participants. Indeed, in politics this is rarely the case. It means mostly a 'literal' interpretation of the term, with hearers inferring the most probable meaning based on valid expectations in the given situation and reacting accordingly (Chilton and Schäffner 2002, 12-13). This is an interpretive activity implying complex cognitive processes that are based on strategies of detecting the truth or other values of the political statement for the hearer/interpreter (Hart 2010).

II.3.2. Discourse as Legitimation

Legitimation is identified as the main factor of successful political action (Rojo and van Dijk 1997; Hart 2010; Reyes 2011), undertaken through political discourse. Chilton is making the point that political associations are based on '*shared perceptions of values*' (2004, 5): in order for strategic discourse to succeed and the speaker to reach his aim, representations must be interpreted as true and reliable. In other words, listeners who are the main target of the conveyed message, must believe the speaker and trust him to have their best interests at heart. This must at least prompt politicians to formulate a 'version' of reality that may be deemed plausible and justified by interpreters (direct audience, voters, the speech/discourse community they are addressing and that they have an interest to persuade).

As Hart (2010) formulates it, the discourse of legitimacy is saturated with '*evidence, authority and claims to truth*' or at least the '*felicity conditions*' that allow such presumptions to be met (2010, 90). The concept of legitimacy is intertwined with that of authority and power. But while the latter two can exist and can be exerted without the consent of those they are used on, legitimacy is dependent on cooperation and acceptance of authority, hence, the main tool of hegemonic power as described above. Therefore, it is safe to assume that obtaining legitimacy through political discourse does not only aim the *coercion* of the group it addresses but also their *cooperation*.

Both Chilton (2004) and Hart (2010) discuss *coercion* as a means of persuasion, either by emotional or by cognitive means (Chilton 2004). This macro-function of political discourse is directly responsible for the legitimation of the speaker's authority (Hart 2010, 89), that is, the acceptance of his discourse as true and valid. Unlike physical coercion, which entails the silencing of all oppositional discourse, discursive coercion is power exerted through persuasion: the use of discourse in order to assert influence on the political and social environment it is formulated in. Acceptance of this

discourse as valid is conditioned by the legitimation strategies employed by speakers or institutions (Hart 2010; VanLeeuwen and Wodak 1999; Rojo and van Dijk 1997; Reyes 2011) manifested in the set of texts constituting discourse through representation.

Hart (2010) attributes to legitimation the role of establishing external and internal coherence in a speaker's discourse. While internal coherence represents the set of textual principles according to which a text is logically organized, by achieving external coherence the speaker makes sure that the representations of the text coincide with the reality that is perceived outside of it, including ideological assumptions, beliefs, values that are recognized as familiar by an audience and/or discourse community. Hart explains the former as representing the textual metafunction, while he connects external coherence to the role of the interpersonal, as '*they operate outside the text at a level above the proposition*' (2010, 94).

Fairclough and Fairclough (2012a) discuss political discourse from the perspective of the frame of practical argumentation as a series of speech acts that shape the interaction of participants in a situation of crisis. Although, most frequently, argumentation is a strategy of legitimation (as it justifies a possible course of action), the source of legitimation is the speaker's position of authority which validates the *concrete actions* taken on behalf of the institution he represents, and the *representation* of those actions, the narrative/imaginary elements and mental conceptions that constitute the speaker's 'version' of the 'facts' (Rojo and van Dijk 1997, 524). At the same time, legitimation strategies consolidate the position of governmental speakers as representatives of institutions, a process which is not trouble free: as the position of the speaker may be challenged by other participants representing alternative perspectives, discourse production with the aim to legitimize a position must be constant. A politician must constantly bring arguments and justification to the actions he is taking.

Concomitantly with providing justification for actions of state representatives, governmental speakers seek to delegitimize critics (Rojo and van Dijk 1997). Even if the process of deliberation based on underlying values as described by Fairclough and Fairclough (2012a) may be correlated with the process of justification in the form of argumentation (1997, 532), if this gesture takes place from a position of authority it will, in most cases, hold advantage over alternative argumentations, as for example, in the case of governmental discourse (Hansson 2018).

The legitimation process is enabled through the acceptance by the public of the speaker's declarations as true due to the institutional authority he holds (Rojo and van Dijk 1997, 530). However, this status creates a special vulnerability for governmental discourse, as it is essential that the policies implemented and pursued by state government be accepted by the public as *normative*. Therefore, representations depict such actions as being '*consistent with the moral order of society, that is, within the system of laws, norms, agreements or aims agreed upon (by the majority of) the citizens*' (1997, 528). Similarly, Reyes (2011) observes that attempts to legitimation must respond '*to cognitive structures that have been naturalized through time in our psyche, which we all share as a society*' (2011, 782), emphasizing the importance of such strategies to fit into socio-cultural frames that define the community it is addressed to.

Such discourses of legitimation operate on three levels, involving the *pragmatic* aspect of the action pursuing governmental policy, the *semantic* level that includes the representations that describe those actions in accordance with a governmental (and political) agenda, and, finally, the *sociopolitical* facet that conveys the governmental discourse an overall authoritative quality as one that is based on norms and values of the social order (Rojo and van Dijk 1997, 524). From the perspective of discourse analysis, the relevant aspect of the legitimation process is the semantic level, where various representational strategies are employed in rendering

events, a crisis and the actions of political actors. Even if Rojo and van Dijk do not connect discursive aspects of legitimation with those of stance-taking, it is self-evident that exploration of the strategic aspects of representation is strongly connected with the speaker's intersubjective and attitudinal positioning, determined by the discursive frame he uses to establish alignment with his audience.

Legitimation and Appraisal

The relevant legitimation strategy from the perspective of stance-taking, which involves positioning and evaluation, is self-presentation and the alignment or disalignment with other participants and alternative courses of action. The evaluative aspects of the discourse which can be correlated with appraisal resources are manifest on stylistic and rhetorical levels through positive or negative lexical use (descriptions, metaphors) coinciding with resources described by Martin and White (2005) as attitudinal, and interactional levels, where criticism or accusations and occasional praise and endorsement are formulated or addressed. Such resources are classified within the category of *engagement* by Martin and White (2005). Oppositional or inclusive representations are relevant in locating the speaker's position, the degree to which he accepts or rejects alternative positionings and the means through which he seeks to consolidate his own position.

The category of *judgement* of the appraisal taxonomy plays a special role in the process of legitimation. Stance manifested from a position of authority is the linguistic means that conveys validity to a speaker's discourse, constructed throughout one or multiple discursive events. If the success of strategies of representation depends on the acceptance of the speakers' political stance as legitimate, it ensues that formulating a position of common interests and values with those represented is a direct condition of maintaining authority. Claims of similar moral standards,

stemming from a common set of values are some of the most important when establishing legitimacy (Spencer-Bennett 2018) and attacking an opponent on the grounds of their moral conduct is one of the most common weapons between political actors (Tosi and Warmke 2020).

Therefore, in addition to representations that influence through affect (proximity of fear, out-group as a threat), classified into the rhetorical category of pathos (Hart 2010; Chilton 2004; Cap 2006), an equally significant role may be attributed to influence through ethos, which accrues legitimacy through the moral standing of the speaker or the value of those qualities he claims to be the object of his concern. Additionally, to emotional and ethical aspects, the cognitive type of persuasion or coercion takes its effect through the rational aspects of discursive argumentation, formulated as serving the interests of those involved. All in all, stance assumed in a debate over a particular issue reveals emotional traits, moral values and rationalizations manifested by the speaker and assumed as shared with the target audience, the in-group that speakers declare themselves to be part of and whose values and interests they claim to represent.

Concerning the role of stance in the process of legitimation, Marín-Arrese (2011) explicitly links the two concepts. She identifies stance-taking as one of the means through which strategic discourse is enacted and legitimation and coercion are attempted through typical stance resources like deonticity and epistemicity. The two types of stances, which are differentiated in her study as effective and epistemic, are discursive realisations of the way a speaker *'carries out a stance act aimed at determining or influencing the course of reality itself'*, and the attitude he adopts toward *'knowledge concerning the realisation of an event'* or *'estimating the likelihood of an event and/or judging the validity of a proposition designating the event'* (2011, 260). The linguistic resources used for stance-taking are deontic modals, assessments and attitudinals for effective stance and evidentials and epistemic modal expressions for epistemic stance. These resources are relevant for establishing legitimacy due to their role in constructing a position

of authority and power through establishing the speaker as a source of morality and expertise. It is not only that common values are established between speaker and audience but these values are proclaimed as necessary and normative for an ideal common good. This is the process that Fairclough and Fairclough (2012a) describe as the practical argumentation and by establishing a position of authority as its source, as it happens in cases when governmental representatives make declarations, argumentation becomes a tool of legitimation.

Stance-taking becomes relevant in this context as designating the source of authority and legitimacy in the subjectivity of the speaker and placing the effort to achieve power and influence within the frame of intersubjectivity: in order for a speaker to achieve his goals he needs to persuade the other participants. As concluded above, discursive coercion can only happen through the cooperation of all parties. On a concrete textual level, these efforts on the speaker's part are realised through various engagement types which enhance his authority. The most obvious example is the *proclaim* type of engagement (I.3.4) which conveys the speakers' exhortatory efforts and high personal investment usually through deontic modality.

Another special category in realisations of authority is the use of bare assertions. Related to the special role of stance in the process of establishing intersubjective meaning, Martin and White (2005) draw the conclusion that all statements are dialogic. Even in cases where speakers report events through the use of factuais and bare assertions, Martin and White (2005) find that the issue at play is the availability of the speaker to negotiate his version of reality with the other participants to the debate on the issue. If viewed from a perspective of intersubjectivity, assertions and epistemic modality are not necessarily indicators of the speaker's commitment to an – allegedly – objective truth, but of his level of certainty that his interlocutors/audience are willing to accept his line of argumentation as the one valid solution for a crisis, or as a version of reality

they are prepared to comply with. According to such a pattern, bare assertions would completely exclude alternatives either for a total rejection of other positions or as an indication that the speaker does not expect his statement to be challenged. Similarly, epistemic modality, entertaining the likelihood of events taking place may reflect the acknowledgement of an alternative position in order to align with it or challenge it.

Hart (2010) connects systemic-functional theory to the study of legitimation strategies by establishing the role each metafunction plays in this process. Discursive coercion is achieved through the representation of events that pertains to the ideational whereas the textual metafunction is manifest in the internal coherence of a concrete text through the linguistic devices that establish the logical connections between semantic units. Legitimation is achieved by establishing external coherence by connecting with the audience and the discourse community speakers represent.

External coherence is the means through which speakers connect to their audience by seeking and constructing alignment by reference to a shared reality which also includes common values, beliefs and interests. The linguistic resources used to establish this coherence are those connected to evidentiality through which evidence is provided to reenforce the validity of the speaker's discourse (Hart 2010). Evidentiality also indicates the speaker's dialogistic positioning (Martin and White appraisal website, <https://www.grammatics.com/appraisal/appraisalguide/framed/frame.htm>) towards other utterances or propositions on the subject at hand, demonstrating the speaker's indication of the source of his proposition (Hart 2010, 94).

Concomitantly, epistemic modality plays a special role in the process of legitimation as it indicates the stance the speaker is taking towards the 'facts' presented and it suggests the type of alignment that the audience is invited to adopt towards them as it involves the '*evaluation of the proposition*' formulated as evidence (2010, 169). Hart also discusses a high

degree of epistemicity as a marker of the speaker's authority (implying that it remains unchallenged).

II.3.3. Strategic Representation

Strategic communication in political discourse can be defined as making distorted claims through which particular political interests are pursued. Such discursive practices have been discussed by Chilton (2004) and Hart (2010). Both analyse language use in political context from the perspective of Cognitive Linguistics, defining it as the reflection of various cognitive processes. A premise they both proceed from is establishing that language, in addition to its role of conveying meaning, is a tool for establishing social organizational forms and intergroup connections.

Looking into the origins of the political use of language, Chilton (2004) finds that, in addition to the role of conveying meaning, language evolved as a tool of social intelligence, contributing to the establishment of social relations and coalitions among individuals and among various groups, associations which also implied the establishment of group boundaries and identities: "*If a group of us code and share information in our own language, people outside the group cannot get the information, and, as an extra benefit, we all know who is in the group and who isn't.*" (2004, 18).

Further, Chilton introduces the concept of *reciprocal altruism*, the act of offering something in exchange for a returned favour, through which both the idea of cooperation and the act of following one's own interests is observed. Reciprocal altruism explains the gesture through which individuals or groups practice a *strategic* share of information in order to obtain the best results following their gesture.

Metarepresentation is the next relevant concept that explains human ability to communicate and plan through mental representations, without the need to relate those representations to the immediate physical world in real time. Its implication to political discourse is that it explains humans'

ability '*to plan for future cooperative group action*' (2004, 19), in other words, to project present plans and aspirations into the future and attempt to plan the process of its realisation.

These three characteristics, - language as a tool in defining groups and identities, language as a means for negotiation and language as a tool for sharing visions, as the premises of political discourse and communication - are determining for Machiavellian communication (Chilton 2004; Hart 2010) which does not exclude the idea of cooperation. Chilton claims that finding a common ground is a prerequisite of distorted claims to be accepted as valid by the group. Communication within a group about what is useful or harmful, good or evil are prerequisite of constituting a social or political group but sharing a common view can provide a basis to '*meaningfully lie, deceive or dominate*' (2004, 199-200).

In a similar way, Hart (2010) discusses strategies through which Machiavellian communication becomes possible. While language use does require cooperation, at least at the level of decoding a message, due to social evolution users have developed an ability to avoid complex cognitive modules that detect deceit and verify truthfulness by using specific types of representation like reference, proximization and legitimization. Such language use reflects tactical deception or Machiavellian intelligence, a type of social intelligence that allows an individual to behave towards another individual in such a way that he/she obtain a benefit from his/her peer. In other words, it allows an individual to manipulate his/her peers into acting according to his/her intention (2010, 21).

Given this specific role that language fulfils in political discursive practice, it seems self-evident that both theorists chose discourse on migration as a relevant sample for illustrating typical representations in this type of discourse. Discourse on foreigners logically requires presentations of self and other which is often distorted into a polarized representation of in-groups and out-groups. Standard strategies such as

reference and proximization are used in this type of declarations with the aim of legitimizing the position of the speaker by persuading the public both of his rightfulness and its righteousness (epistemicity and deonticity). Such strategies of legitimization are discussed as means through which strategic communication is achieved, serving the ultimate goal of *coercion*, persuasion of the audience regarding the validity of the speaker's position.

Cognitive Models as Background for Representation

As mentioned above, the analytical frame provided by Cognitive Linguistics sheds light on the motivation behind the linguistic resource speakers select when addressing an issue. Van Dijk's socio-cognitive model, informed by cognitive psychology, holds some similarities with Fairclough's description of discourse as social practice in the fact that it considers 'context' essential for the meaning of a text and the two perspectives do not exclude one another. However, van Dijk focuses on social cognition involving the individual's interpretation of his surrounding reality, rather than on the influence of discourse through ideology on members' interpretation of the social. In his own words, this perspective is '*a special case of the view that social situations in general are social constructs, and only as such are able to influence all human conduct*' (2006, 16). Those elements Fairclough calls *members' resources* – individual interpretations shaped by various ideologies acting on an everyday level in society - are defined by van Dijk as '*subjective participant interpretations, constructions or definitions*' of aspects of their social environment (2006, 163). These elements are mental, van Dijk argues, and a part of them remains only so, as they never become verbalized in discourse, even if they influence individual decision or beliefs (2006, 163). The mental processes that result in these constructs represent the interface between structures of discourse and social order. Context in van Dijk's perspective results from the (inter)subjective outlook of members and, consequently, its influence on situational outcome is decisive.

Cognitive processes are based on mental models that are composed of short-term memory, episodic models, making sense of the concrete situation the interpreter faces, and long-term memory which stores the information necessary to decode the situation, based on personal experience and other learnt information. Van Dijk calls this latter category *semantic* or *social memory*, and he analyses it as storing *scripts* for conventional transactional situations, or general knowledge related to the world. Knowledge, van Dijk notes, is defined here as '*organized mental structure consisting of shared factual beliefs of a group or culture*' (2002, 208), a category that would coincide with Fairclough's understanding of members' resources as 'background knowledge' (see above). While a part of that is objective knowledge about the world (factual data), another part contains '*group attitudes (including prejudices), ideologies, norms and values*' that are '*evaluative and (inter)subjective*' (ibid.). Members of a group rely on this segment of social memory as knowledge throughout their interactions and while these form entire structures or schemata, not all the details of those domains will be used. The few verbalized elements that occur in a standard interaction are, in van Dijk's words, '*the tip of the iceberg*' and the speaker's interlocutor decodes those elements based on his/her own personal mental model which may contain attitudes, norms and values, common or similar to the speaker's or may be different from them. Thus, van Dijk explains, political attitudes and ideologies can be used to construct individual models of an actual event and form a permanent link between the two different entities.

Hart (2010) discusses long-term social model as *conceptual organization*, referring to "*offline*' systems of conceptual knowledge' formed as '*frames, schemas and conceptual metaphors*', or *cognitive models* where ideologies and social discourses are stored (2010, 24). The short-term, episodic model is *conceptualization*, '*an 'online' cognitive process of meaning construction, which takes place during discourse and results in mental representations of the situations and events described*' (2010, 25).

Conceptualization is an intricate process of interpreting events and phenomena rendered by discourse through the filter of an individual mind. Presenting an event necessarily implies the choice of a certain perspective by the speaker, accompanied by a specifically selected range of linguistic choices. In the case of political discourse, 'the *possibility of promoting alternative construals of the same reality*' affords and entails an '*ideologically constrained*' choice of representation reflecting the speaker's perception and agenda (2010, 26). The process of conceptualization implies the construal of an event or series of events by the speaker through a particular set of linguistic choices, based on his own cognitive models. The resulting text is interpreted by members based on their own cognitive models, which also enable the construal of a possible reaction.

Cognitive processes taking place when political messages and, implicitly, stance-taking, are formulated by speakers and interpreted by listeners, demonstrates that the linguistic choices through which conceptualization occurs are also directly influenced by the speaker's perception of reality and the ideologies that contribute to that perception. Inevitably, therefore, even a casual conversation rests on individuals' conceptual knowledge of situational frames and adequate language associated with them. In the case of political discourse, it can be assumed that these choices represent a strategic selection of linguistic elements depending on the political message that needs to be delivered. It is through this selection that political discourse is constructed and becomes the support structure for a politician's performance.

Modes of Representation as Evaluation

In the case of governmental and institutional discourse, modes of representation function as support for obtaining legitimacy. Hart (2010) specifies that representations belong to the realm of the ideational in the sense that they constitute the discourse on a propositional level, the 'facts' that the speaker conveys in order to create the grounds for justifying

choices and actions, a justification which uses evaluation as a support for a certain position. However, evaluation is manifest on the propositional level as well in the subjective rendering of events, which allows the inclusion of the speaker's own ideological perspective into the text (Fairclough 1992). The linguistic resources that manifest the subjective, and implicitly evaluative, content are discussed by Martin and White (2005) as the category of implicit attitudinal resources that are used by speakers to invoke an adequate response from their audience.

Representation in political discourse in the context of conveying power and authority is discussed extensively in critical discourse analysis (VanLeeuwen 2008; VanLeeuwen and Wodak 1999; Reisigl and Wodak 2001; Chilton 2004; Cap 2006; Hart 2010). The three types of representation relevant for this analysis are reference, metaphorical representation, and proximization.

Referential strategies are most often used to construct an in-group/out-group dichotomy by attributing positive traits to in-groups and negative ones to out-groups. In political discourse, these strategies consolidate discriminatory rhetoric, a *rhetoric of exclusion* (Reisigl and Wodak 2001), be that racist, anti-immigrationist or based on any other criteria⁴³. As these ideas are closely connected to the notion of threat, they generate strong emotional response even if such threats are not imminent in the contemporary world. Discourse that produces in-group/out-group representations and associates the out-group with *threat-connoting cues* triggers a series of reactions originating in such social cognitions. This

⁴³ Hart (2010) explains the success of this type of representation with the concept of so-called *coalitional psychology* (2010: 50). In prehistorical times, cooperation of individuals in a group and maximization of effective access to resource was a prerequisite of the survival of the group. This also implied defence from external threats, not only concerning physical resources but also arrangement, norms, values and accepted forms of authority that were standing at the basis of coalitions within that group. The possibility of invasion and appropriation of physical resources represented a most immediate threat but the refusal to obey accepted norms and authority may have also been detrimental to the group (Hart, 2010: 51) This is the origin of binary conceptualization of the type 'us' versus 'them', leading to *prejudice syndromes* that Hart equates to VanDijk's *social cognition* or ideology.

mechanism works even more effectively in the case of national identities, as these are constructs produced exclusively through discourse and history, therefore, '*perceived threats from out-group members come from texts rather than direct interpersonal contact*' (Hart 2010, 55).

Metaphorical representations in political discourse have received extensive attention. The framework for most of this research is Lakoff and Johnson's theory (1980) on conceptual metaphors. The cognitive process implies the understanding of one, usually abstract concept, in the terms of a more concrete one. Throughout such a process understanding is shaped based on a cognitive frame that already exists in the human mind as the result of previous, often basic experiences. Such a correspondence is almost never a simple linear one, but more often it is organized by several overlapping source domains covering an *experiential gestalt*, a cluster of elements comprising a coherent structuring of experience.

In the case of political metaphors, Musolff (2004, 2006, 2015, 2016) describes the use of certain *warrants*, which represents such experiential clusters justify certain premises without a need to validate them with any kind of proof. The use of metaphorical entailments allows presuppositions that invite certain inferences from the audience, which are acknowledged as being 'logical', self-explanatory and representing common knowledge. Metaphorical mappings allow a system of such interconnections that Musolff calls *scenarios*, due to their role as narrative frames within the discourse.

The effectiveness of metaphorical scenarios is to a great extent due to the implicit resources that provoke attitudinal reaction within the audience. Metaphorical representation in political discourse conveys ideological content by making use of culturally accepted warrants (Deignan 2010; Charteris-Black 2011; Díez-Prados 2016).

The third referential strategy that contributes to the construction of ideational frames for strategies of legitimation is *proximization*. It involves the speaker's warning of the audience of the proximity and imminence of a

threat in order to claim the need for immediate action, thus legitimizing political action (Chilton 2004; Cap 2006). The implicit evaluative capacity of this strategy may be the possibility of graduation of the evoked affective and cognitive attitudinal values by representing them as increased.

Representation of Migrants

Studies related to representation of migrants and the phenomenon of migration in public discourse have focussed mainly on the resulting negative effect of discrimination. Stereotypes that present migrants as a threat, with a deviant or even criminal behaviour, as a group with a different culture, unable to integrate, have been most common in public discourse. In the context of racism in the press, van Dijk (1991) differentiates two tendencies in the media: the liberal press has presented migration with an empathetic attitude while the conservative press represented migrants as economic and security liabilities for taking locals' jobs and increasing the risk of terrorism. Media discourse on migrants has revolved around topics related to policies regarding immigration, including admission, expulsion and repatriation (van Dijk 1991).

Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999) discuss this phenomenon in the context of applications for family reunion by immigrants in Austria. Their analysis reveals the process through which legal language and the assumption of authority imposed by it represents a strategy of legitimation and justification for the frequent rejections of these requests. These official documents present the lives of immigrants as not compatible with local social norms and justify the decision by the impersonal and formal language of officialdom. Van Leeuwen and Wodak draw the conclusion that this discursive process implies a delegitimation of the alternative social practice, the life and ways of the immigrants, while concomitantly, a positive self-presentation is enacted through presenting the decision-making process as well considered and taken in the public interest.

Metaphor and hyperbole are among the typical rhetorical devices the media has used in the representation of minorities, and their subcategory immigrants (van Dijk 1991). In a study from the end of the 90s, Santa Ana (1999) notices that while the intensity of the metaphorical representation is relatively stable, the evaluation it renders is context-dependent. Santa Ana identifies IMMIGRANTS ARE ANIMALS to be a dominant metaphor in the Los Angeles press. A similar study reveals that representations of migrants through metaphors of natural phenomena (e.g. large body of water, flood), pollution and impurity, war and fight have been frequent in the British press (KosraviNik 2014; Charteris-Black 2006; Musolff 2015). The intensification of these metaphors with the so called 'number game' is customary. Migrant arrivals to the country are presented as reaching 'record levels', and 'shocking' and at times are associated with negative social consequences for the locals (van Dijk 2018, 235).

Political metaphors are extensively analysed by Musolff (2004, 2015, 2016), who identifies some typical scenarios for this category. In the CONTAINER scenario, migrants are represented as a category arriving in great numbers into the receiving country or region, which has limited capacity to 'hold' this great number of people. A further scenario has its roots in the discourse of the extreme right and represents the group as SCROUNGERS, living off the local population's backs and refusing to make any efforts in integrating into the new society.

In a more recent study on the British press, KrosaviNik (2014) finds that while representations through natural phenomena (e.g. influx, flood) and large numbers are present in the media, they have become neutral in their evaluation of the phenomenon and are no longer associated with previous tendency of fearmongering and outrage. Its role now has become one of highlighting the urgency of a possible humanitarian problem and finding a solution to contain the problem (KhroshaviNik 2014, 511).

II.3.4. Discourse as Action through Argumentation

Fairclough and Fairclough's (2012a) perspective on political discourse as practical argumentation in the context of a crisis is a relevant premise for the study of stance-taking. Regarded as a genre of communicative activity (2012a, 54), argumentation involves a speaker (political actor) proposing a specific course of action - and arguing in its favour - which entails his individual interpretation of a situation (circumstantial premises) based on values that he holds (value premises) which may or may not be aligned with those of other participants of the situation.

The proposed course of action, representing the object of his argumentation, is expected to bring about a desirable state of facts in the future that solves the current situation of crisis. Fairclough and Fairclough (2012a) focus on the discursive aspects of political practice during crisis, which carries a significant amount of '*agentive and strategic*' endeavour on the part of participants to a dispute on an optimal course of action. Practical argumentation, in these situations, is the speech act that represents the subjective aspects of participants' individual perspectives, providing a 'personalized' discursive frame for the issue at hand, in accordance with values and interests among participants. The aspect of an individual perspective negotiated and enforced through discourse can be correlated with the definition of stance as an individual position.

Stance implies both the positioning of a speaker towards a particular subject and the evaluation of that subject by the speaker. Additionally, stance is characteristically intersubjective as the speaker's position configures through an alignment or disalignment with other participants in a given conversation (DuBois 2007). In Martin and White's (2005) appraisal apparatus, speakers' positions are determined by their willingness to negotiate the arguability of their propositions and acknowledge or exclude and ignore alternative positions. In this respect, speakers are perceivable as engaged in an interaction (or refusing it),

“taking up, acknowledging, responding to, challenging or rejecting actual or imagined prior utterances from other speakers/writers or as anticipating likely or possible responses from other speakers/writers”⁴⁴

This description aligns with the specific characterization that Fairclough and Fairclough provide to political practice: politics implies a choice for alternatives, deliberation on these alternatives, the possibility of interaction for this to happen and the agency of participants to accomplish this process (2012a, 26). Political action is the direct result of the reasoning process: the frame of the argumentation, the circumstances and values the individual uses to justify his actions and suggest possible solutions determines whether the action is taken or not and in what conditions this may happen. This is why it is reasonable to conclude that the speech act of argumentation in situations of political crisis provides a generic frame for the analysis of stance-taking, through which speakers positions and evaluations are realised in favour or against a course of action or a particular matter discussed.

When defining the deliberative genre of argumentation, Fairclough and Fairclough differentiate between theoretical and practical reasoning. Both ways of argumentation imply the prediction of a future state of the world but while the former implies a future event with epistemic implications, with the prediction proving to be true or false, the aim of practical reasoning is to deliberate on a future course of action (2012a, 36). This implies putting into balance all options, in favour or against the idea, and it entails that the same issue will have various solutions depending on the values and interests of participants.

Fairclough and Fairclough focus on the specific situation of a crisis where the deliberative aspects of political discourse apply. They draw on state theories explaining crisis as an imbalance of rationality in conducting

⁴⁴ <https://www.grammatics.com/appraisal/appraisalguide/unframed/stage5-engagement.htm>

state business, in which case efforts are made to reestablish that balance by adapting to changes and incorporating them into the new/renewed protocols of state apparatus which enables the functionality of the system. According to this rationale, crises are not only inevitable but downright necessary in order for a system to 'reboot' and through the process of argumentation new discursive frames enable containment and definition of the crisis by a resulting *procedure* that is adopted as a course of action in handling the situation. Fairclough and Fairclough's interpretation of political discourse as action rather than mere representation relies on the idea that a lot of the process of crisis management and problem solution is based on discursive aspects of this process: '*In a crisis, people have to make decisions about how to act, in response and to develop strategies for pursuing particular courses of action or policies which will hopefully restore balance and rationality*' (2012a, 3). In their analytical frame they subordinate non-argumentative discursive elements (narratives, imaginaries and mental conceptions) as elements of the argumentation that convey the speaker's individual take on the crisis, the values underlying the claim for the possible solution and the desirable outcome of the actions taken.

The claim that constitutes the object of the argument addresses '*a future state of affair generated by some source of normativity*' (2012a, 43). Practical reasoning covers the (discursive) distance between *circumstantial premises* that convey the facts of the situation, the present state of the crisis and the *goal premise*, a normative state, representing the desirable, ideal outcome that may be attained through the proposed approach (*means-goal*), which is configured by underlying *value premises* that provide it urgency and justification.

Values are decisive in the speakers' formulation of the claim. Goals are defined and selected in accordance with the compatibility they hold with these values, which are representative of the social order actors operate within and, more importantly, which are adopted and internalised

by the speaker and expressed as genuine concerns. The success of imposing a certain perspective depends on the creation of external reasons for people to act: that is, reasons that do not necessarily coincide with their intrinsic desires, but which represent values and norms of a deontic nature that participants consider to be justified. In short, successful political action involves the persuasion of all parties that the goal is one that serves the 'greater good', regardless of individual aspirations.

In addition to defining the goals formulated by political actors, values determine the way circumstantial premises, the facts, are formulated: *'Circumstances are described in ways that fit in with the claim that is being made. We not only imagine goals in relation to our values, but we 'see' problems around us in relation to our values'* (2012a, 46). In other words, the way we *interpret* a situation (of crisis) is determined by the values we align with and we claim as our own. The normative aspect of the claim, its reliance on moral necessity supported by references to laws and social norms, connects it to the area of deontic modality with its most common linguistic resource of modal verbs, and the linguistic resource that is standardly used with stance-taking as well.

A further detail that needs to be touched upon refers to the intersubjective nature of the decision-making process, the type of cooperation that takes place through the process. Fairclough and Fairclough make a clear distinction between deliberation as a descriptive qualification, and one that is normative. Firstly, the statement that political discourse is deliberative describes the practice itself, which is hardly ever *'reasonable, in the sense of adequately considering and balancing as many relevant considerations as possible'* (2012a, 26). Despite the condition of social dialogue in order for a political choice to take place, these decisions are often not truly democratic as participants can seldom validate their values and interests equally. These choices are controversial due to the very different interpretations of the situation by participants and the

different values underlying their decisions, taken with a background of urgency and scarcity of resources. Political decisions are the result of a process of reconciliation of quite divergent interests and depend on the actors' power and legitimate authority to enforce them.

This leads the authors to the idea ensuing from this characterization, namely, that in a democracy, more importantly than looking for '*a shared set of rules, which regulate cooperation*' a truly democratic environment allows for the terms of cooperation to be '*contested and redefined*' (2012a, 28). The success of the process of decision-making does not necessarily hinge on the level of agreement but much rather on the possibility for options to be deliberated on publicly. Collective decision-making allows everybody affected by a possible measure to join in the process of deliberation and formulate an individual line of argumentation. This does not only allow the examination of a matter from all possible points of view but also gives an opportunity to people to understand several perspectives, ultimately turning them into more virtuous citizens (2012a, 31). However, common political practice demonstrates that the legitimacy of political decisions is much rather influenced by the speakers' position of (institutional) power than by public consent. The choice of a perspective (and the goal premise it represents) depends on whether it is '*supported by groups of people who have the power to decide and impose it as a view of what the world is*' (2012a, 108).

In conclusion, political action as argumentation, as Fairclough and Fairclough themselves admit, operates through its two parallel aspects conducive to legitimacy, the ultimate means of maintaining hegemonic power and successful governance. On one hand, it provides an adequate frame for public deliberation, involving the cooperation of participants in a democratic process. In this case, the result of the deliberation is accepted by all, including contenders, due to the transparency and correctness of the procedure (2012a, 110-112). On the other hand, discourse that generates political action is correlated with power as both a possibility to restrict the

equal participation of all parties (as in the case of media influence over selection and focus on particular news items), and the sheer imposition of power by force or persuasion (2012a, 113-116).

Values Representing the Speaker's Interest

The authority of legitimation is maintained by the adherence to common values and affirming and even prescribing those values as normative for the community. Representations consistent with the moral order are not only relevant for legitimacy but they also imply evaluation, hence, stance-taking. Spencer-Bennett (2018) discusses political discourse and the act of stance-taking as a gesture implying not only social interaction due to its public nature but also an evaluative one which involves moral assessments that the speaker is making on himself through self-presentation and on other participants through their representation. Moral evaluation in the case of political discourse is a characteristic aspect, Spencer-Bennett claims, since a political message is always about what is right and what is wrong in the given context.

Focusing on the ethical aspect of language, Spencer-Bennett (2018) establishes the interconnection between representation and evaluation. The meaning that people convey when communicating is almost instantly evaluated by others in terms of its ethical significance, even more, when people communicate, they observe rules of ethics that exist in their community. This '*normative nature of linguistic communication*' (2018, 34) identifies linguistic activities as subject to evaluative processes in which, besides the logical and experiential content, the message carries a certain value (or not) and impacts the speaker's environment and other participants. The ethical facet of language generates effect, requiring not merely a descriptive analysis but also one that examines the norms this language conveys, and stems from.

The fundamental assumption when analysing the political aspect of language is that the norms speakers apply and align to are serving the common good. Political action – Spencer-Bennett explains – coincides with finding a common ground among various interests and groups these represent. Therefore, the linguistic behaviour that is connected to it is *‘public, dialogic and deliberative’* (2018, 44). Similarly to Fairclough and Fairclough (2012a), Spencer-Bennett finds that deliberation is an ideal discursive frame for political language, which, if viewed from the ethical perspective, provides certain normative aspects for the quality of discourse as well:

“When we see politicians talking on the news, we are likely to think that the practices we are witnessing fall short of the standards of deliberation. The politician who avoids questions, repeats sound bites, who seems to be conceiving of language as a medium for manipulation or presentation of ‘alternative facts’ hardly seems like someone who is paying much heed to the standards of reasoned practical argument, and their politics is weaker for it.” (2018, 44)

Politicians evaluate and are evaluated from a moral point of view. It is not only that cues falling out of line - one of the standards that the public recognizes - indicate a speaker who does not comply with community ethical norms, but even more importantly, the typical traits of politician’s discursive conduct, the modes in which the public deliberation is carried out indicates a moral stance which the audience admits as specific of a certain politician, or identifies as a line of reasoning they can align with or not. Used as a form of identification, moral stance formulated this way allows a speaker to articulate *‘what is and what ought to be’* (2018, 45) and engage other perspectives to challenge their world view. This implies not only the moral dimension of the message itself but also the way in which it is made public, the means through which the groups represented by politicians are heard and their perspectives made public. In this dimension, discourse becomes action through its representative value.

The Representation of Values in Discourse

Spencer-Bennett (2018) uses three criteria in detecting morally evaluative language: *quotability*, *specificity* and *determinacy*. These criteria are used in the present study to ascertain the presence of the values of solidarity and responsibility or the values associated to them (e.g. unity, trust, credibility). While the categories may at times clearly be identifiable in the analysed text, at times, their domains overlap.

Quotability involves the potential of lexico-grammatical item to carry meanings related to morality. This can mean that deontic modals, for instance, have high quotability, but it does not exclude any other item as long as in one way or another it affords moral semantic content. The speaker's intention to view the issue from a moral perspective is signalled by indexing it with quotable lexicogrammar or a specific context that indicates a '*situational indexing of moral concern*' (2018, 61). This category, to some extent can be related to Martin and White's (2005) inscribed and invoked types of judgement, although not all types of judgement qualify as moral, such as the judgement of capacity in the area of esteem, a category often realized in the texts of the present study, involving positive self-presentation, which is another legitimizing strategy.

Quotability may also be reduced when the moral perspectives within a public debate are not clear. Spencer-Bennet provides the example of receiving welfare. One side considers it moral to provide help to those in need while others regard those receiving it as morally failing by being dependent on that money. It is not only that an issue is regarded from two perspectives, Spencer-Bennett explains, *with 'different judgements about what is right and wrong. They are different conceptions of where the moral issue lies in the first place. They are different political perspectives, and part of what makes them so is that they bring different moral backgrounds to bear'* (2018, 60). It is not only the perspective over the issue what differs, but also the set of values the speakers' claims are formulated on. Spencer-Bennett's observation is similar to Fairclough and Fairclough's (2012a)

interpretation of *circumstantial premises* which are 'facts' related in accordance with the speaker's concerns. The description of a situation is always relatable to the system of values constituting the speaker's definition of the value. This applies to both the description itself and the selection of what counts as relevant (2012a, 47). This is the moral aspect of language exactly: talking about one's experience happens concomitantly with its evaluation. In the terms of appraisal theory quotability coincides with the explicit presence of lexical items realising an inscribed value.

By specificity, the second criterion Spencer-Bennett considers to be relevant in identifying moral talk, he means the concrete reference to the issue considered from a moral perspective. The use of general terms such as 'good' or 'bad', 'right' or 'wrong' may not always specifically indicate the speaker's concern as an exposition on the concrete context or some specific values that the speaker intends to tackle. In the case of identifying the values of solidarity and responsibility specificity refers to concrete actions related to those values, such as helping those in need. However, it must be noted that in some speakers' perspective completely different actions may qualify as tokens of solidarity, therefore, these actions are also qualified as realisations of specificity.

Determinacy, the third analytical category proposed by Spencer-Bennett, involves the degree to which the speaker's concern can be considered to be one of morality. It may be clearly stated so, by the speaker particularly specifying the fact (in which case it is a quotable instance) but it may well be indeterminate, in that it might not be the speaker's specific intention to discuss the given issue from a moral perspective, although, the issue does have such an approach (specific indeterminacy), or that the speaker does have a general concern which is conveyed in the form of an evaluation but it does not necessarily concern morality (general indeterminacy). In the present study, determinacy is used to identify representations which are determinate (clearly refer to solidarity and responsibility), or indeterminate (may refer to those values, if interpreted that way).

II.4. Conclusions

The above are elements of discourse critical analysis relevant for identifying stances in the European discourse on migration – as illustrated by texts that belong to the genre of parliamentary debate and speech. It has been stated that stance, although a formal category used as a rhetorical device, is relevant from the perspective of political discourse as a strategy of legitimation. As stance is used to convey speakers' perspective of what is right and wrong, stance effectively participates to the construction of discourse which aims to impose a particular value or conduct as normative for the community it is aimed at.

In political discourse this normativity is problematic, as this type of discourse is strategic in nature. It is not only that speakers' perspectives on the same issue often differ, which is naturally the case with a limited subjectivity, but that these perspectives are sometimes deliberately presented in a certain way in accordance with the speakers' interests, concerns and values. This is how presentation and representation of reality is determined and this is how the community targeted is persuaded or coerced to believe that particular version of reality.

Regardless of the political or ideological bias of political discourse and the categories of debate and speech analysed in this study, the premise for political speakers when they justify their actions is represented by values. This is what their representation of reality is based on and this is the source of their claims when taking action in situations of crisis. Fairclough and Fairclough's (2012a) model of analysis used in this study provides the basis for the stances formulated in connection to the migrant crisis.

The last analytical issue concerns the representation of the values themselves which is problematic, given their abstract and highly subjective nature. The identification and representation of values is analysed along three criteria elaborated by Spencer-Bennett (2018). The moral concerns of speakers when constructing their stance are traceable through quotability, specificity and determinacy, applied in the present study when detecting articulations of the values of solidarity and responsibility, considered to be fundamental for the European Union.

CHAPTER III

MOBILIZING STANCE

The Mobilizing stance is realised in the texts representing the State of the Union Address by the President of the European Commission and the interventions of the First-Vice President, endorsing the perspective outlined by the head of the institution. A significant trait determining both speakers' stances is the exhortatory effort they undertake to bring all discordant participants under the common frame of solidarity and responsibility, the principles both speakers imply as being representative of Europe. This action is traceable as a conciliatory gesture by addressing the dissonant perspectives and admitting some of their claims as valid (J.C. Juncker) or dismissing the two extreme positions on migration as *'illusions'* in an attempt to channel them into a common middle ground.

III.1. Jean-Claude Juncker – President of the European Commission

Jean-Claude Juncker delivers his speeches in French, German and English, mixing the three as he progresses through his discourse. The overall message of the Address on the 9th of September, 2015, was uttered in German:

“Die Europäische Union ist nicht in einem guten Zustand. Es fehlt an Europa in dieser Europäischen Union, und es fehlt an Union in dieser Europäischen Union” [The European Union is not in a good state. There is a lack of Europe in this European Union, and there is a lack of Union in this European Union.]

The phrases *'lack of Union'* and the *'lack of Europe'* anticipates the exposition of this pun, referring to the disagreement and accusations formulated among member countries as well as the speaker's position that the acceptance of refugees complies with values that are identified as representing European identity. Through the whole extent of the discussion following this introductory central idea, the speech is continued in English.

In terms of its ideological content, this text as well as the other ones conveying pro-migrationist stances align with the general tendency of the official European discourse on migration. As samples of governmental discourse, they are attempts towards policy change (Schmidt 2011) regarding the perception and action towards asylum seekers in the European social and political environment. Schmidt states that these policies, although, institutionally launched, are developed and conveyed by sentient agents.

J. C. Juncker's slightly lyrical style announces a high degree of personal investment, thus, building a very convincing case for a unified effort to help refugees. The attempt to expand the terms of the discussion on this topic on a global level demonstrates the speakers' (and implicitly the European institutions') effort towards a policy change that transcends *'politicization'* of the issue (Krzyżanowski *et al.* 2018). In terms of its approach of the subject, the President's address qualifies as an example of *human* and *humane* approach to migration (Panebianco 2021) by emphasizing the humanitarian aspects of the phenomenon and its necessity for attention on intergovernmental and supranational levels.

The analysis is structured according to the following steps: analysis of the representational frame with emphasis on the definitions of the values underlying the speaker's perspective. The representation and logical structure of the text is illustrated in Figure 1. The analysis continues with the identification of the speaker's addressees and discusses the layered nature of all these interventions, considering the mediatized nature of the

debates. The speaker's stance is identified through tracing the dialogical and attitudinal content of the text.

III.1.1. Values and Representational Frame

The value of solidarity is employed in this text in its most general, universal meaning: helping fellow humans in need. The discourse, therefore, does not only display high quotability but also clear specificity by linking the concept to a humanitarian gesture most commonly attached to it. Moreover, the distinct moral dimension of this gesture is emphasized by the speaker analysing this situation as a *'time of humanity and human dignity'*, a phrase conveying a high degree of determinacy as well. The head of the European Commission calls for actions meant to support refugees despite the uncertain outcome of the effort undertaken (*'as long as there is war in Syria and terror in Libya, the refugee crisis will not simply go away'*, *'It is high time to act to manage the refugee crisis because there is no alternative to this'*, *'The crisis is stark and the journey, of course, is still long.'*), firstly as an issue of humanity (as universal values respect for which is a moral responsibility) and secondly as *'historical fairness'* (the value specifically referring to Europeans) - since Europeans have also been in this position throughout history.

A third justification pertains to the capability of the European Union suggesting that receiving the refugees and actively seeking to solve the crisis is a possible thing to do, as Europe is not only one of the wealthiest regions of the world but also, as an organisation is one of the most efficient ones. This value is indirectly instantiated through a series of factual tokens referring to the actions and measures the European Union has undertaken this far (further discussed below). In Figure 1., the structure of J. C. Juncker's argumentation is represented in accordance with Fairclough and Fairclough's (2012a) model.

The circumstantial premises configured around these values are formulated as bare assertions but as the analysis below reveals they often invite attitudinal response on the part of the audience. The representational content of the text can be divided into two parts. On one hand, the speaker summarizes the facts of the crisis: that *'nearly 500 000 people have made their way to Europe'* and that member states are *'pointing fingers'* at each other for *'not doing enough or doing the wrong thing'*.

In the first part the speaker establishes a parallel between European history presented as a line of events during which people of various nationalities fled from various kinds of persecution (*'Europe is a continent where nearly everyone has at one time been a refugee'*) and the present situation of the refugees *fleeing 'terror' and 'dictatorship'*. From an ideational point of view, the two main categories of this text, *'refugees'* and *'Europeans'* are represented in similar instances with a common lexical taxonomy, a strategy which provides the main source of attitudinal instantiation throughout the text. The indirect affect it invites and even provokes is that of empathy towards the refugees by describing their experience in similar terms to those used for the description of European history. The second part of the text provides an overview of the measures taken and some that are necessary to be taken in the near future. Some further categories named as actors participating to the situation relating to which the speaker expresses engagement are the countries *'pointing fingers'* at each other or criticizing the policy of Brussels and the countries neighbouring Syria which have a decisive contribution in settling the crisis and receive a positive appraisal from the speaker.

It must be noted that J.C. Juncker constantly uses the term *'refugee'* for the people trying to cross the border of the European Union and the category of *'migrants'* occurs as a distinct class of people arriving from

countries that are considered to be safe⁴⁵. (*‘Blaming others does not help the refugees and the migrants’, ‘we should do everything to change our national legislation in order to allow refugees and migrants to work from day one of their arrival in Europe’*). This classification is in sharp contrast with the Hungarian prime minister’s discourse who explicitly denies refugee status for this category, implicitly avoiding responsibility to cater for their needs or observe a lawfully allocated special status in any other way for them⁴⁶. Much of the debate around the migrant crisis has revolved around these *‘socially motivated signifiers’* (Fairclough 1992).

According to Kyriakides (2017), this distinction, while it initiates positive perception, it does not dismantle the more profound contents of racialization of ‘non-Westerners’ discussed either as in need of help or as threatening to the local social order. In this respect, the texts analysed in this study remain in the same, seemingly indissoluble discursive category. The Mobilizing stance realised along the lines of a high degree positive affect towards refugees (empathy) is countered by the Antagonistic anti-migrationist stance with a defining component of negative affect (fear) realisation.

⁴⁵ “A country where, on the basis of the legal situation, the application of the law within a democratic system and the general political circumstances, it can be shown that there is generally and consistently no [persecution](#) as defined in Art. 9 of Directive 2011/95/EU (Recast Qualification Directive), no torture or inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment and no threat by reason of indiscriminate violence in situations of international or internal armed conflict.” https://home-affairs.ec.europa.eu/networks/european-migration-network-emn/emn-asylum-and-migration-glossary/glossary/safe-country-origin_en

⁴⁶ According to the UN a person qualifies as a refugee if they have been *forced* to flee their country of origin due to or fear of *‘persecution, war or violence’*. Refugees are protected under the international law. A migrant, on the other hand, *‘chooses to move, not because of a direct threat of persecution or death, but mainly to improve their lives through work opportunities, education, family reunification or other reasons. Unlike refugees who cannot safely return home, migrants face no such impediment to return. If they choose to return home, they will continue to receive the protection of their government.’* <https://www.unrefugees.org/news/what-is-the-difference-between-a-refugee-and-a-migrant/>.

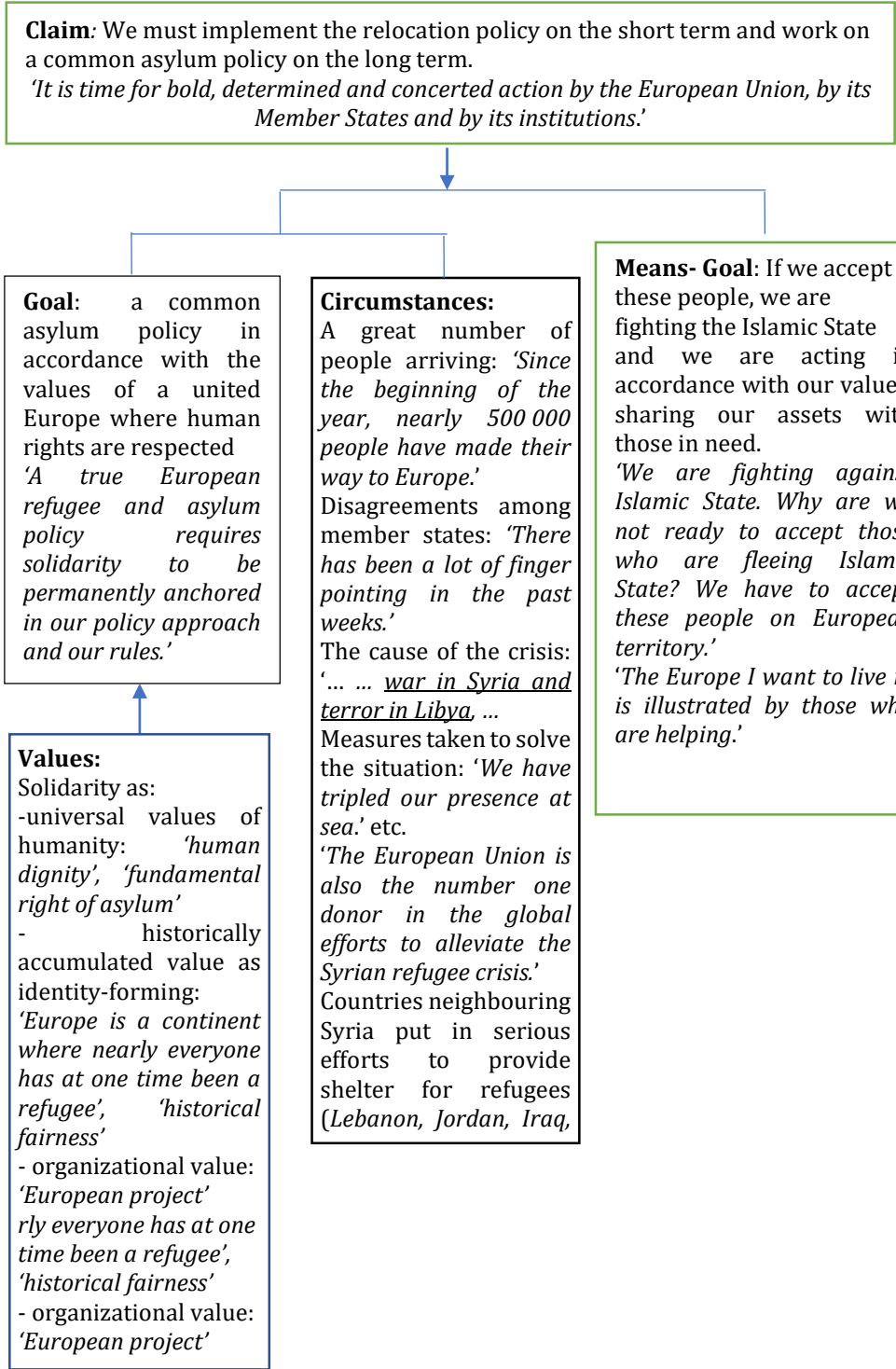


Fig. 1. J.C. Juncker's State of the Union Address as practical argumentation

III.1.2. Stance in J.C. Juncker's State of the Union Address

The two main objectives of C. J. Juncker's speech are to persuade his audience of the moral necessity of receiving migrants and to assert the capability of the European Union as an organization to tackle the crisis and establish a humane asylum policy on the long term. For this reason, the speaker engages a seemingly reluctant addressee, often directly by rhetorical questions, *entertains* the opposite alternative to his position by a series of concessive statements in order to *disclaim* them (by *countering* those arguments) and firmly proclaims his stance on the issue of the crisis, assuming a position of authority in the matter.

The speaker's attitudinal stance revolves around the category of *judgement* due to the moral directive he formulates for his audience to follow through action that is not only humane but also defining of Europeans. He proceeds to convince his audience by foregrounding *affect* through a series of parallel enumerations meant to emphasize common traits between Europeans and refugees. In the second part of the speech the predominant attitude is the judgement of *capacity*, through the rendering of a series of actions taken by the European Union in view of a solution to the migrant crisis.

III.1.3. Who are the Participants J.C. Juncker is Addressing?

It is specific for the discourse setting as a parliamentary debate (Ilie 2016) and the important occasion in the life of the organization that J.C. Juncker's State of the Union Address engages audiences on two levels, implicitly assuming two different roles resulting from the context. As the President of the European Commission, he assumes the authority to formulate the judgements and directives in the formal address, his putative audience being fellow politicians and party members, the media, and, ultimately, the European citizens represented by the members of parliament present at the event.

The immediate, first-hand addresses, on the other hand, are the elected members of the European Parliament, the speaker's colleagues, gathered for the formal debate whom the president of the EU Commission engages directly, at times calling on some of them personally, or responding to their negative comments. On this level the speaker assumes the role of a professional working in an organization, representing a more or less personal point of view, which does not modify the stance constructed throughout the speech but supports it through the use of metadiscursive elements (Ilie, 2016). Such is the case with representatives of the British UKIP (UK Independence Party) whose criticism the speaker handles with irony and puns:

"We are all Europeans here –

(A UKIP Member: 'No!')

OK, I note that you think that you are not Europeans, well said, but not well done. (...) We Europeans – all of us, I thought before the interruption" (Annex 1)

Interpersonally, such interactions happening outside the formal address (actually interrupting that without the speaker's intention), allow the tracing of disapproval and even annoyance at the interruption, and restate in an informal manner the stance taken in the formal address: that of acting in accordance with the fundamental rules of humanity and solidarity, declared as European values that are necessary to be implemented organization-wide, in a unified manner.

Conversely, the interruptions with metadiscursive comments the speaker willingly makes indicate a degree of familiarity among members of Parliament that suggests a working cooperation. This detail implicitly supports one of the main assessments of the speaker, that of the European Union being an operational and efficient organization tackling its tasks responsibly:

“The Commission said it back in May, and I said it during the election campaign, together with Martin, together with Guy and with...

(Suggestions from the Floor)

...no, no, I am not pointing at Mrs. Keller; I was just thinking of Mr. Tsipras. I am not confusing the two!

José Bové est là? Oui, je l'ai vu tout à l'heure. Salut José!” (Annex 1)

Later, in another comment, J.C. Juncker humorously refers to a colleague through a pun (*High Representative vs. highly determined*), in the same mode of friendly collegiality:

“I am very glad that Federica Mogherini, our highly determined High Representative – she is High Representative because she is highly determined– has prepared the ground for such an initiative with her diplomatic success in the Iran nuclear talks, and I would like to congratulate Federica on that extraordinary performance.” (Annex 1)

This time, the metadiscursive element is the pun suggesting familiarity, along with the first name use, yet, the gesture of complimenting and praise is formal and qualifies as political behaviour, used to signal solidarity, meant to strengthen working relationships and, consequently, increase cooperation and work efficiency within the organization (Kampf and Danziger, 2018). A similar gesture of praise can be identified towards the countries neighbouring Syria, putting in a *‘Herculean effort’* to cater for the needs of a large number of refugees (see below).

The formal address delivered by the President of the Commission aims the members of Parliament as representatives of the *citizens* of Europe but the implicit addressee of the speech is the *European citizen* him/herself named as *Europeans* and also identified through the inclusive *we* as the group he considers himself to be a part of. The in-group identified as *Europeans* is rhetorically juxtaposed to that of the *refugees* through means of ideation, evoking attitudinal reaction on the

part of the audience. If we examine the taxonomic relations established throughout the text, the realisation of experience as rendered by the speaker manifests the intention to create an emotionally involved addressee, who is sympathetic towards the refugees and aligns with the speaker's reasoning. Attitudinal stance is instantiated through a series of bare assertions enumerating the actions taken in order to contain the crisis. Often the actions are assessed, at other times, it is the enumeration itself that invites evaluative reaction.

III.1.4. Dialogical Stance

European Values and Engagement of the Opposing Perspective

As the President of the European Commission, the speaker *proclaims* a passionately stated value position both as a subjective assessment, manifesting the speaker's conviction, and an objective necessity, as the reiteration of the official policy of the European Union in this matter, based on representative values. The typical type of engagement is the dialogically contractive pronouncement, a subcategory of proclaim, through which the speaker unequivocally takes a stance on the side of an inclusive policy towards the refugees, representing them as victims of warfare and terror who need the help of their fellow human beings. In J.C. Juncker's perspective the crisis is first of all a humanitarian one and, consequently, action undertaken must reflect humane and moral conduct. On the level of lexicogrammar this categorical stance is realised through a range of modal verbs and expressions covering a whole spectrum of subjective to objective instances of deonticity, such as modal verbs (*should, must, have to, cannot*) or expressions (*it is time, need to*), directives (*let us*) and rhetorical questions. In most of the cases the force of these expression is intensified by their (prosodic) repetition. These instantiations bear a significant personal note and support the strong affective input of the attitudinal content.

The opposing value position the speaker engages represents those *'who are criticizing Europe'*, in which case the speaker *entertains* the alternative in order to disclaim it and reaffirm his own perspective through further instances of pronouncement. The opposite stance of the critics of Brussels' inclusive policy is the position engaged and tackled throughout the text, however, the main objective of the speaker is to obtain alignment with his position from those present, and implicitly, even more importantly, the European citizens *'who are often worried'* by the large number of those arriving and the chaos they are causing throughout the continent. It must be stated, therefore, that the ultimate stakes of the force of this speech are the *'Europeans'* whose solidarity the speaker is trying to rally through his attitudinal stance with a call to moral and humane attitude.

Alongside the more subjective modals and less personal directives, bare assertions announce principles and values as well as facts and measures taken by Brussels in order to contain the crisis. Usually regarded as monoglossic (Martin and White 2005), these statements either intensify the force of the speaker's pronouncement – by assessing principles and values as non-negotiable – or foreground the efficiency of the organization by the indirect evocation of capability (positive esteem).

Pronouncement on the Tasks at Hand

As a leader of the organization, the President of the European Commission formulates his value position with the firmness and authority specific for this status but adds a subjective perspective which is supported by the affective content of his attitudinal position. This subjectivity is instantiated by the repetition of the deontic modals *'must'* and, even more often, *'should'*. As a difference from imperatives, these modals deliver a demand indirectly, as an assessment of the action by the speaker, implicitly assuming a dialogic partner, rather than formulating a monoglossic command (Martin and

White 2005, 111). J. C. Juncker uses these deontic modals alongside a few more objective directives and they indicate the speaker's involvement on a more personal level in this issue. Instances with 'must' indicate the speaker's position regarding the urgency of this discussion:

"Mr President, Ladies and Gentlemen, whatever work programmes or legislative agendas say, the first priority today is, and must be, addressing the refugee crisis."

... the need to cooperate in matters of border control:

(...)" we must work together more closely to manage our external borders."

... and the need to integrate this issue into the ordinary policies of the European Union:

(...) "migration must change from a problem to be tackled to a well-managed resource." (Annex 1)

A further use of a modal with a deontic meaning occurs in the following excerpt by the instance of a negation (Italy, Greece and Hungary 'cannot be left alone' to deal with the refugees on their own). The speaker implicitly urges his audience, all the member states, that the countries in question need help to process the great numbers of refugees and that it is a matter of solidarity that they receive the other member countries' help:

"To me, it is clear that the Member States where most refugees first arrive – at the moment, these are Italy, Greece and Hungary – cannot be left alone to cope with this enormous challenge." (Annex 1)

This fragment also illustrates an instantiation of the speaker's personal intervention with the adverbial phrase 'it is clear' adding further emphasis to a firmly stated position by the unequivocal pronouncement of alignment, a dialogically contractive category, with values described as 'European' (see further examples below).

The deontic use of *should* (Prtljaga 2014) allows more dialogic expansion of the dialogically contracted *pronouncement* signalling the

speaker's self-assumed position as a participant in a dispute on a controversial subject. Furthermore, as a modulation of obligation it also represents an attitudinal value of judgement through propriety (Martin and White 2005, 55), indicating the moral dimension of the discussion, and also the nature of the speaker's arguments:

"We Europeans – all of us, (...) should remember well that Europe is a continent where nearly everyone has at one time been a refugee.

We Europeans should know, and should never forget, why giving refuge and complying with the fundamental right to asylum is so important. The fundamental right to asylum is one of the most important international and European values. We should not forget that." (Annex 1)

In both examples, repetition of the same lexical items, 'remember' and '(not) forget' contributes to the affective coercion the speaker is trying to apply in order to gain the empathy of the audience. Additionally, in each case, an embedded categorical assertion indicates the perspective of the speaker by the values and facts represented:

"... Europe is a continent where nearly everyone has at one time been a refugee.

The fundamental right to asylum is one of the most important international and European values." (Annex 1)

While the two statements are monoglossic, their insertion within a series of propositions proclaiming the speaker's value position contributes to the force of his engagement and ultimately bear the force of his arguments in the dispute with the critics of Brussels' policy of acceptance.

The following example of the use of *should* proclaims the position of the speaker in terms of the capacity the European Union can muster in controlling the smuggling of refugees and saving the lives of those who attempt to come to Europe by sea:

“Every life lost is one too many, but many more have been rescued that would have been lost otherwise – an increase of 250%. We should be proud of that performance.” (Annex 1)

Taking pride in this ‘*performance*’ is part of a series of propositions which indirectly engage those critics who claim that Europe is weak. The significant performance of 250% is communicated as an impressive fact which invites positive esteem through emphasizing capacity.

By the use of modal expression ‘*need to*’ a more urgent variant of ‘*should*’ is used when referring to actions in the near future in order to contain the crisis, suggesting necessity, instead of a personal option. In these cases, the objective is the demonstration of the capability of the European Union and these propositions are used to chart a necessary course of action for the organization:

“Member States need to take a second look at their support, integration and inclusion policies.

We need to strengthen Frontex, we need to look into opening legal channels for migration.” (Annex 1)

In addition to the above cases, ‘*need*’ is also used as a regular verb in the same context of taking steps towards a long-term solution:

“We need more Europe in our asylum policy. We need more Union in our refugee policy.

We will be needing talents, talents coming from everywhere in the world.

We need this emergency Trust Fund in order to prevent future crises.”

(Annex 1)

In the case of the modal expression ‘*have to*’, there is a difference of engagement between contexts when it is used with ‘*we*’, in a direct address towards his audience or when the proposition is more impersonal, with the more objective realization with ‘*it*’ (*‘it has to be done’*). In the first example, the responsibility of thinking realistically is further intensified by the use of ‘*it will not*’ indicating a straightforward evaluation of the situation and a further pronouncement of the speaker:

"I do not want to create any illusions that the refugee crisis will be over any time soon. It will not and we have to be aware of that." (Annex 1)

In a similar way, in the next excerpt an evaluation of European foreign policy is concluded with a personal exhortation:

"Our European foreign policy must be more assertive. We can no longer afford to be ignorant or disunited with regard to war or instability right in our neighbourhood. We have to find a solution." (Annex 1)

In the next example, the speaker designates the responsibility of *'accepting these people'* as an action of fighting the Islamic State. As an answer to the rhetorical question, he not only acknowledges the necessity of an obvious course of action but also expresses disbelief at the unwillingness to act, given that it is logically in line with the position the European Union is taking:

"Why are we not ready to accept those who are fleeing Islamic State? We have to accept these people on European territory."

The example below is an instance of pronouncement by means of an additionally intensified *'have to'* as obligation by the use of an adverb phrase (*'in a compulsory way'*):

(...) "today we are proposing a second emergency mechanism to relocate a further 120 000 people from Italy, Greece and Hungary. This has to be done in a compulsory way." (Annex 1)

The evaluative proposition *"This has to be done in a compulsory way"* is the speaker's dialogically contractive intervention on the actual act of *proposing*, which represents the attempt to implement the policy of receiving the refugees championed by Brussels. The proposal is made despite objections from several Member States, and it was, in fact, voted by the majority of Members later in September, with the exception of the Visegrad Four and Romania.

The following two examples contain further instances of pronouncement as obligation with *'have to'*, combined with uses of *'will'* complementing and emphasizing the necessity for action. In the first case, the use of *'will'* indicates a measure being taken, intensified by a monoglossic evaluative statement (*'this is important'*), somewhat similarly to the previous example. Due to these two elements the speaker's pronouncement seems highly contractive from a dialogical point of view. The measures he is announcing are planned and bear no objection. Nevertheless, he mitigates this firmness by an explanation added (*'it is not sufficient to protest'*) and a further instance of obligation (*'have to organize'*):

"To this end, the Commission will come forward with a well—designed legal migration package in early 2016. This is highly important. Migration has to be legalised. It is not sufficient to protest against illegal immigration. We have to organise legal ways to Europe." (Annex 1)

The second example below represents a similar instance of steps taken in the near future in the resettlement of refugees with the speaker's pronouncement on the obligation of the action (*'have to'*) and the resolution to act accordingly (*'will be done'*), announced from the position of authority held as one of the leaders of the European Union:

(...) "I am encouraged that Member States are now showing their willingness to significantly step up our European resettlement efforts. This will allow us very soon to come forward with a structured system to pool European resettlement efforts more systematically. It has to be done and it will be done." (Annex 1)

The last example related to the range of deonticity, the main instantiation of the speaker's dialogic engagement in the text, is an instance of the verb of volition *'want'*. In this case, the speaker explicitly makes a choice between two value positions, his own, and that which he attributes to the opposers of Brussels' policy of acceptance:

“The Europe I want to live in is illustrated by those who are helping. The Europe I do not want to live in is a Europe refusing those who are in need.” (Annex 1)

J. C. Juncker differentiates the two opposing parties as ‘*those who are helping*’ and those who are not and implicitly summarizes the crux of the debate over the migrant crisis by pointing out the rift between the ‘two Europes’ largely debated in the media⁴⁷. The dialogically contractive pronouncement in the conclusion of the speech evaluates the two positions discussed throughout the text and returns to the main judgement of the text (*there is a lack of Europe in this European Union and there is a lack of Union in this European Union*) formally emphasizing this dissension and making a value judgment through reiterating his own value position.

Further deontic realisations of pronouncement are the directive ‘*let us*’ and the less personal, down-scaled deontic ‘*it is time*’ used in contexts when the speaker tackles the value position of the opposing side. These realisations are discussed in a further subchapter concerning strategies of engaging the critics of Brussels’ inclusive policy.

Pronouncement: Engaging the Audience

Even if they mimic interactive turn-taking, questions are addressed in the text to point out a detail which seems obvious to the speaker. A series of questions with repeated grammatical structure are addressed to the audience (*Have we forgotten... that*). In the context of the firm commitment of the deontic modals and the indirectly contributing lexis (*‘have forgotten’, ‘should not forget’, ‘should remember’*), these questions are, in fact, further instances of the speaker’s proclamation of his position. In each of the three times it starts the line of questions, with a lexicalized

⁴⁷ <https://www.wsj.com/articles/migrant-crisis-divides-europe-1441314666>,
<https://www.voanews.com/a/visegrad-group-migrant-crisis-deepens-europe-east-west-divide/3193678.html>

instance of graduation by 'really' for the third instance, 'have we forgotten' introduces further aspects in European history which evoke a situation similar to that of the refugees at present. The repetition of the clausal pattern is a means of intensification of the speaker's commitment - through graduation by force - to the value position he formulates through his concurrence. Additionally, it provokes affect together with the attitudinal tokens used throughout the text.

"Have we forgotten that there is a reason there are more McDonalds living in the United States than the entire population of Scotland? That there is a reason the number of O'Neills and Murphys in the U.S. exceeds by far those living in Ireland?

Have we forgotten that 20 million people of Polish ancestry live outside Poland, as a result of political and economic emigration after the many border shifts, forced expulsions and resettlements during Poland's so often painful history?

Have we really forgotten that after the devastation of the Second World War, 60 million people were refugees in Europe? That, as a result of this terrible European experience, a global protection regime - the 1951 Geneva Convention on the status of refugees - was established to grant refuge to those who jumped the walls in Europe to escape from war and totalitarian oppression?" (Annex 1)

The high stake of these questions is further emphasized by the fact the speaker himself formulates the expected answer which also constitutes the central message of the text: that it is the hardship experienced by Europeans themselves which caused the 'fundamental right to asylum' to be granted and the reason why it has become a 'European value' (*We Europeans should know, and should never forget, why giving refuge and complying with the fundamental right to asylum is so important. The fundamental right to asylum is one of the most important international and European values - see analysis above*).

A further group of realisations of pronouncement are instantiated by variations on the adjective 'clear' with a directive (*'let us be clear'*), an anticipatory 'it' (*'it is clear'*), or by its adverb version '*clearly*' with various functions throughout the text. In the following example, the speaker's main objective is to demonstrate the capability of the European Union to provide a legal frame for its principles and directives. Such '*common standards*' are necessary in the case of asylum seekers as well, but given the contention on receiving the refugees and the reluctance to even grant them that status (causing the divergent representations between *refugees and migrants*), has caused Brussels to apply infringement on non-complying Members.

The statement '*This is clearly not the case*' is an observation on the present state of affairs and an implicit pronouncement of the value position proclaimed throughout, but it is also an instance of the speaker's evaluation of the situation, implying his criticism on the lack of unity of perspective:

"Across Europe we now have common standards for the way we receive asylum seekers, in respect of their dignity, for the way we process their asylum applications, and we have common criteria which our independent justice systems use to determine whether someone is entitled to international protection. But these standards need to be implemented entirely and respected everywhere in Europe in practice. This is clearly not the case. (...) the Commission started the first series of 32 infringement proceedings ... "(Annex1)

A similar interference occurs in the following example where '*clearly*' brings criticism to Europe's '*under-delivering*', its lack of solidarity, as opposed to the states neighbouring Syria which have taken in a large number of refugees despite their modest economic situation. Further on, '*to me, it is clear*' represents another, explicit instance of the speaker's perspective, pronouncing himself on the necessary course of action in the case of the Member States which are challenged by the great number of refugees arriving:

“Where Europe has clearly under-delivered is on common solidarity with regard to the refugees who have arrived on our territory. To me, it is clear that the Member States where most refugees first arrive – at the moment, these are Italy, Greece and Hungary – cannot be left alone to cope with this enormous challenge.” (Annex 1)

The last excerpt from this category includes the adjective ‘*clear*’ into a directive expression used several times by the speaker (*let us*) as a personal concession made in admitting that there are insufficient conditions at present in order to contain the crisis. It seems that the speaker is signalling his awareness that the measures taken are not the ones most expected or most urgent:

(...) “we need to look into opening legal channels for migration. But let us be clear: this will not help in addressing the refugee crisis we are currently in. But if there are more, safe, controlled roads opened to Europe, we can manage migration better and make the illegal work of human traffickers less attractive.” (Annex 1)

In all situations, ‘*clear*’ or ‘*clearly*’ signals the speaker’s intention to better specify his position and to provide further clarifications of it. Dialogically, it is an expansive strategy, as it indicates the speaker’s continuous presumption of a dialogic partner, whose support and alignment are sought.

Pronouncement and Concession: Engaging the Critics

The critics of Brussels’ policy are not explicitly named. As the official debate is taking place in the hall of the Parliament with representatives of all political parties, it is a standard strategy not to name or directly address individuals representing those parties or Member States who oppose the policy of acceptance, or the mandatory quota proposed by Brussels. Moreover, avoiding to directly call on one or another party or representative may well be a submission to standards of diplomacy, especially since the

value positions are not construed in support or against certain individuals but on the level of values and convictions. Therefore, engagement of the opposing arguments is formulated impersonally, at the level of principles and not personally addressing anybody present (except the members of the UKIP quoted above). The excerpts below illustrate the speaker's engagement of the opposing value position, admitting their stance (*'those who are criticizing Europe'*, *'Europe cannot take everybody'*) but then formulating an even stronger argument for his audience to consider.

In terms of engagement, this instantiates through the speaker *entertaining* the arguments of the opposite side, admitting them as valid, and subsequently formulating his own perspective through *pronouncement*. The first example defines the opposing side as *'those criticising Europe'* where *Europe* signifies the values the speaker is constructing his line of argumentation on. No actions or arguments of the opponents are explained, except the general action of *'criticizing'*, given the fact that details related to the debate and the disagreement are generally known. The main strategy of engagement here is the proclamation by inviting *concurrence* from those of an opposite perspective, given the evidence provided: they *'have to admit'* that Europe is a *'place of peace'* and *'stability'*. Subsequently, the speaker pronounces his own position through the low-scale (and more dialogically expansive) *should*, as if recommending his opponents to reconsider. The choice of lexical elements supports the engagement strategy and produces one of the frequent instances throughout the text of intensified affect (by means of syntactic parallelism, *'place of peace'*, *'place of stability'*) and an instance of *capacity* (positive esteem) through the monoglossic, explicit statement, *'we have the means'*:

"Those who are criticising Europe – European integration, the European construction, the European Union – have to admit that this is the place of peace and that this is the place of stability and we should be proud of this. We have the means to help those fleeing from war, terror and oppression." (Annex 1)

A further variety of engagement of the opposite value position is by means of the hortative '*let us*' which introduces further pronouncement similar to those described above. However, this instance repeatedly occurs in the context of *entertaining* the opposing position or an argument that can be brought against his. The first instance of the excerpt below has already been discussed in the context of the use of '*clear*'. In both instances ('*But let us be clear*', '*let us not forget*') the speaker insists on expounding his own position on arguments that could be criticised by the audience:

"A truly united, European migration policy also means that we need to look into opening legal channels for migration. But let us be clear: this will not help in addressing the refugee crisis we are currently in. But if there are more, safe, controlled roads opened to Europe, we can manage migration better and make the illegal work of human traffickers less attractive. Let us not forget that we are an ageing continent in demographic decline. We will be needing talents, talents coming from everywhere in the world. Over time migration must change from a problem to be tackled to a well-managed resource." (Annex 1)

In the next example, the speaker provides more detail in an important argument of opposers. In this case, they are named as '*many*', and the validity of the argument is accepted through a dialogically expansive admission ('*it is true*'). Here J. C. Juncker seems to answer Viktor Orbán on his criticism about Brussels being helpless against the constantly increasing number of the refugees without implementing any policy to stop or at least decrease it⁴⁸. The argument J. C Juncker formulates against the alarming prospect of Europe taking in more refugees than it can cater for invites the audience to rationally consider the figures. In this case, the directive '*let us*' encourages a balanced approach and introduces the speaker's own arguments *countering* (subcategory of *disclaim*) those of the

⁴⁸ The Hungarian prime minister calls the measure of the mandatory quota '*putting the cart before the horse*', that is, trying to prematurely implement the measure of distributing the refugees before their exact number is established.

critics. The next statement again refers to the argument of numbers (*'there are certainly a large and unprecedented number of refugees'*) and admits that they are *'large'* and *'unprecedented'* (explicit, negative appreciation due to the context) by the use of the adverbial *'certainly'*, which entertains the counterarguments formulated by those against the policy of acceptance. After this concession, however, the speaker *counters* that evaluation by providing a low figure with an additional adverb (*'still'*) to counteract the force of the adjectives. To further expand his argument based on ratios, the speaker provides the example of Lebanon, one of the neighbouring countries of Syria repeatedly mentioned in the text as a positive example of solidarity, implicitly evoking negative judgement on the conduct of European member states (see attitudinal stance below).

"I know that many now will want to say that this is all very well, but Europe cannot take everybody. It is true that Europe cannot house all the misery of the world. But let us be honest and put things into perspective. There are certainly a large and unprecedented number of refugees coming to Europe at the moment. However, they still represent just 0.11% of the total European Union population. In Lebanon, by comparison, refugees represent 25% of the population in a country which has only one fifth of the wealth we enjoy in the European Union. Who are we that we never make this kind of comparison? Who are we?"
(Annex 1)

The last example of the hortative *'let us'* invites the representatives in the Parliament to address *'citizens'* fear (see below) by providing *'clear and honest'* explanations. Subsequently the speaker offers the straightforward fact himself: *'as long as there is war in Syria and terror in Libya, the refugee crisis will not simply go away'*. Even if the Hungarian prime minister is never named, the next statement addresses Viktor Orbán's reaction to the refugee crisis, namely, the building of the fence on the Southern border of Hungary. Giving this example in the general context of being honest with citizens does not only imply criticism of the opposing position but also qualifies the measure of

building walls as a dishonest one, since it fails to address the crisis in its complexity and delivers the hope of a simple solution, which – J. C. Juncker implies – does not exist (as the war is still continuing in Syria and Libya).

The excerpt is also an example of intense affective evocation due to the prosodic repetition of the inversion (*'no wall you would not climb, no sea you would not sail, no border you would not cross'*) and the direct invitation (by use of an imperative *'imagine for a second'*) to empathize (positive affect) with the refugees (by a further use of conditional). The affective force provoked by these attitudinal elements is so intense that the speaker uses a personal aside (*'without being demagogical'*) to tone it down as if apologizing for the dramatism. In this excerpt the imperative forms instantiating the pronouncement of the speaker's stance are supported by the attitudinal provocation of the syntactic parallelism and the conditional which generates a high degree of dialogic investment of the speaker taking a considerable risk with such strategies. The success of his appeal, resting on provoked indirect attitudinal realisation, very much depends on the *'social subjectivity'* (Martin and White 2005, 62) of the audience he is addressing, the interpretation they may give to the call as truthful and convincing or exaggerated and false. Further similar indirect realisations of attitude are analysed below.

"Let us be clear and honest with our citizens, who are often worried: as long as there is war in Syria and terror in Libya, the refugee crisis will not simply go away. We can build walls, we can build fences, but imagine – without being demagogic – imagine for a second if it were you, your child in your arms, the world you knew torn apart around you, there is no price you would not pay, there is no wall you would not climb, no sea you would not sail, no border you would not cross if it is a war of barbarism and the so-called Islamic State that you are fleeing. We are fighting against Islamic State. Why are we not ready to accept those who are fleeing Islamic State? We have to accept these people on European territory." (Annex 1)

The next excerpt contains several references to those sceptical about the acceptance of refugees and their actions, combined with the speaker's evaluation of those and pronouncement of his position which is marked on a textual level by the directive *'it is time'* or its more intense graduation, *'it is high time'*, used, similarly to *'let us'* as an address to the audience to consider the speaker's perspective. *'It is time'* is more impersonal and less intense than *'let us'*, but it still functions to introduce the speaker's position and his argument in the context of entertaining the perspective of the opposing party:

"We are fighting against Islamic State. Why are we not ready to accept those who are fleeing Islamic State? We have to accept these people on European territory.

It is high time to act to manage the refugee crisis because there is no alternative to this. There has been a lot of finger pointing in the past weeks. Member States have accused each other of not doing enough or doing the wrong thing and, more often than not, fingers have been pointed from national capitals towards Brussels. Brussels is always accused if Member States are failing. If Member States are not doing their job, Brussels, the Commission, the European Parliament, are accused of not doing their job.

We could all – not all, but the majority of this House, myself and my Commission – be angry about this blame game. But I wonder who that would serve. Being angry does not help anyone. Blaming others does not help the refugees and the migrants, and the attempt to blame others is often just a sign that politicians, policy-makers, sometimes lawmakers, are overwhelmed by unexpected events.

Instead, we should rather recall what has been agreed that can help in the current situation. It is time to look at what is on the table and move swiftly forward. We are not starting anew. Since the early years of this century, the Commission – not mine, the Commission of José Manuel Barroso – has persistently tabled legislation after legislation to build a common European asylum system, and Parliament and the Council have enacted this legislation, piece by piece. The last piece of legislation entered into force only in July 2015, two months ago." (Annex 1)

In the context of fighting the Islamic State by accepting the refugees fleeing from its terror, the speaker is introducing a *pronouncement* by '*it is high time*', conveying the urgency of action and its necessity (as there is '*no alternative*'). Subsequently, he proceeds to describe the actions of member states, without specifically referring to a value position but evaluating their accusations as somewhat petty through the terms '*finger pointing*' and '*blame game*' invoking negative judgement through propriety. Describing the succession of events in the simplified, somewhat humorous manner of a domestic squabble further invites judgement, implying an immature conduct on the part of the member states and '*Brussels*' taking on the role of the parent or the more mature elder brother who gets the final blame and has to bring the responsible solutions. As in previous examples, no members are named, but the '*national capitals*' is very likely referring to the Visegrad Four countries which have been consistently criticizing and blaming the measure of redistribution and mandatory quotas. The division is indicated by the use of the rectification of the inclusive '*we*' ('*we could all – not all but the majority of this House, myself and my Commission*') pointing out the sides.

The following statements and evaluations continue this line of mature conduct: '*We could all be angry*' entertains an expected reaction to this immaturity, immediately countered by inviting further positive judgement of propriety due to the mature attitude ('*but I wonder who that would serve*'). He continues with a concession explaining the immature conduct as a sign of being '*overwhelmed*' by '*unexpected events*'. It is a gesture of reconciliation, by *entertaining* the perspective of the critics as valid, signalled again through the use of the inclusive '*we*'.

The speaker continues with another instance of deontic *should*, proposing a more constructive, this time, common, perspective offering an alternative to the petty quarrel described before. The '*unexpected*' nature that these events may have, is refuted by the reference on his predecessor, and the actions taken in the matter of migration through the existence of the organization. This gesture aligns with other indirect instantiations of capacity described further below as part of the attitudinal stance of the

speaker. They indicate a responsible and deliberate attitude towards existing challenges on the part of the Commission and the other leading organs of European Union. Again, the explanation of these actions having been taken some time ago, is introduced by the low scale directive *'it is time'*.

The speaker's perspective throughout his speech alternates between a subjective position where mostly values and principles are formulated and an official, impersonal stance taken from the position of authority as the President of the European Commission, when he reports on the measures taken in order to contain the crisis. Discursively, this results in a differentiated use of the first-person plural pronoun and possessive adjective, depending on the immediate context. The inclusive 'we' creates instances of the speaker's hortative endeavour in rallying his audience on his side, usually associated with evocations of values and personal commitment.

As the President of the Commission, however, the speaker's use of the first-person plural indexes the political organization as one planning and prescribing policies for the Member States to implement. Even if the decisions are of a prescriptive nature, objections from Member States are relevant and represent a serious challenge for the policies proposed by Brussels. The excerpt reflects this situation discursively, as J. C. Juncker continuously engages opponents of the proposed policies by entertaining their position according to the rules of a debate, despite the repeated categorical pronouncement of his own stance. In the next example, the affirmation *'I am encouraged'*, and the future action conditioned by the attitude of the Member States (*'This will allow us'*) reveals an interdependence between organization and members, rather than subordination, despite the unequivocal evaluations which refer to the urgency of the matter and reflect the persuasive aspect of the whole text, as much as instantiate a position of authority. In this context, the closing remarks of the speech are relevant, with the speaker restating the main goal of the speech by calling on his audience to align with the value position formulated throughout:

“I am counting on you, in this House – in the House of European democracy – and on all Member States to show European courage going forward, in line with our common values and history.” (Annex 1)

The explicit reference to *‘our common values and history’* is an instance of the attitudinal stance manifested throughout to justify the appeal he is addressing (*‘I am counting on you’*) to his audience, whether aligned or reluctant. The realisations of deonticity enumerated above are often used with the inclusive *‘we’*, instantiating the mainly hortatory nature of J.C. Juncker’s address. The value position he is taking is one necessary for the whole community he is speaking to, indeed, by the use of the first-person plural he is assuming, that there is such a community. This time, he is addressing *‘all the Member States’* in an attempt to gain their alignment, despite the divide. The *‘united Europe’* he is asking for is being textually construed through the very speech he is delivering to the audience he is undertaking to persuade and by the examples of solidarity he mentions at the end of his speech (the baker from Kos, the students from Munich).

III.1.5. Attitudinal stance

Responsibility

In what concerns the *‘European citizens’*, the speaker does not directly engage them in a differentiated way. However, the pronouncement of a firm value position ultimately targets them, as the putative audience that needs to be persuaded and addresses them on a personal level, in an affectively charged invitation to moral self-scrutiny. Repetition as the most prominent rhetorical strategy of the text, is a significant factor in evoking positive affect and align the audience with the value position voiced by the speaker:

‘Who are we that we never make this kind of comparison? Who are we?’
(see excerpt above) (Annex 1)

The main concern in the case of the *'citizens'* remains the justified anxiety and fear they feel due to the *'impressive number'* of refugees arriving, causing chaos and disorder, especially in the Eastern part of Europe. The speaker addresses these concerns by attitudinal means referring to citizens as third party, engaging their representatives in Parliament whom he urges to act responsibly (see directives above).

Admitting the undeniably *'impressive'* number of the refugees is another instance of the concessions the speaker makes to those criticising Brussels' policy of acceptance. However, throughout the text various strategies of hedging and countering are used in order to reassure the audience. This is either achieved by evaluate lexis mitigating the high numbers and its resulting effects or by counterbalancing it with the foregrounding of positive judgment on actions undertaken to alleviate the crisis. In the following excerpt we can trace both examples:

"The numbers are impressive. For some they are frightening. But now is not the time to take fright. It is time for bold, determined and concerted action by the European Union, by its Member States and by its institutions." (Annex 1)

The juxtaposition of the explicit *'impressive'* and *'frightening'* appreciation of *'numbers'* is clearly meant to tone down the anxiety around the alarming situation, admitted in the concession of the second statement, made by the opposite side (*For some they are frightening*). It is then countered by the next proposition (*'now is not the time'*) and by positive judgement of capacity (social esteem) of action of the European Union through the lexicalized graduation of semantically similar explicit lexis, *'bold, determined and concerted action'*, introduced by the affirmative *'it is time'*. A similar use of disclaiming strategies can be observed in the next fragment, where lexical items evoking the opposite value position are countered by attitudinal lexis that supports the speaker's position:

"I have said in this House and elsewhere in the past that we are too seldom proud of our European heritage and our European project. Yes, in spite of our fragility, of our weaknesses – our self-perceived weaknesses – today it is Europe that is sought worldwide as a place of refuge and exile. It is Europe today that represents a place of hope, a haven of stability in the eyes of women and men in the Middle East and in Africa. This is something – I have to say this here – to be proud of and not something to fear." (Annex 1)

Two opposite taxonomic categories are established in the fragment. On the one hand, *'fragility'* and *'weakness'* are attitudinal tokens (social esteem - negative capacity) used by the critics of the *'European project'*, while the speaker represents Europe as *'a place of refuge and exile'*, *'place of hope'*, and *'haven of stability'*, countering the opposing position by positive tokens of normality (social esteem). The choice of lexical elements is supported by pronouncements: *'we are too seldom proud'* is criticism addressed to those of a sceptical attitude while the evaluation of European stability as something *'to be proud of'* is an instance of the speaker's position, seeking to demonstrate capacity.

The use of personal aside or metadiscursive elements have evaluative roles as well. The rectification of *'our weakness'* by *'self-perceived'* is meant to demonstrate that the image of Europe as weak those of a sceptical attitude are representing is one, not shared by others, including the speaker. Along with the previous *'we are too seldom proud'* it is an instance of *countering* criticism. The speaker's other personal aside, *'I have to say this here'* is a self-explanatory intervention on personal convictions which intensifies the *pronouncement* by its subjective force.

The following excerpt has partly been analysed due to the use of volition as a means of pronouncement. The enumeration preceding it, however, instantiates an intense affective stance throughout the text, similarly to the already mentioned strategy of repetition. Indeed, beside the representation of the series of demonstrations of solidarity, the prosodic

nature of the syntactic parallelism of *'Europe is'* provokes an affective effect of the otherwise ideational content. Additionally, the metonymy of 'Europe' represented by its parts (Kos, Munich, Passau; baker, students, people applauding) is an illustration of the values underlying the text which the speaker identifies as European:

"Europe is the baker in Kos who gives away his bread to hungry and weary souls. Europe is the students in Munich and in Passau who bring clothes for the new arrivals at the train station. Europe is those standing at the Munich railway station applauding and welcoming refugees.

The Europe I want to live in is illustrated by those who are helping. The Europe I do not want to live in is a Europe refusing those who are in need." (Annex 1)

The excerpt below is an example of political communication meant to facilitate cooperation, delivering a formal act of praise (Kampf and Danziger 2018) involving the neighbouring countries of Syria, undertaking *'Herculean efforts'* to cater for the refugees. Additionally, however, it is voiced in the general evaluative context of European countries *'under delivering'*:

"These countries, far poorer than we are, are making efforts we should applaud and recognise in moral and in financial terms. We have collectively committed to resettling over 22 000 people from outside Europe over the next year, showing solidarity with our neighbours. Of course, this remains very modest – too modest – by comparison to the Herculean efforts undertaken by Turkey, Jordan and Lebanon who are hosting over four million Syrian refugees." (Annex 1)

In the comparison of Europe and these countries, the fact that they are *'far poorer than we are'* represents a positive judgement of capacity (esteem) together with the deontic *'should applaud'* (pronouncement). Further, the evaluative personal aside *'too modest'*, the phrase *'Herculean effort'* and the

concrete numbers of 22 000 and ‘*over four million*’ continue the same type of evaluation. More than that, however, implicit criticism is manifested by this comparison, contributing to the general critical attitudinal stance addressed to the member countries who do not take enough responsibility in tackling the crisis and generate division within the European Union.

Capacity

In the second part of the address on the migrant crisis the speaker takes on the most serious challenge of the opposing side: the accusation that by conducting a policy of acceptance, the European Union is demonstrating weakness. The series of bare assertions do not engage directly the opposing side but they are meant to be a tour de force in demonstration of the capacity the organization does hold and can deploy in acting towards a solution. The excerpt below contains a further instance of *entertain*, by reference to the critics claiming that Brussels did not act to contain the crisis. The evaluative ‘*it would be unfair*’ mildly *counters* this allegation, together with the facts explained. Further follows an enumeration of actions undertaken by the European Union throughout the months of the crisis and a representation of assets used in doing so:

“A second series of infringement proceedings will follow in the days to come. Common asylum standards are important but they are not enough to cope with the current refugee crisis. The Commission, Parliament and the Council said in the spring that we need a comprehensive European Agenda on Migration. We proposed this as a Commission in May, and it would be unfair to say that nothing has happened since then.

We have tripled our presence at sea. 122 000 lives have been saved since then. Every life lost is one too many, but many more have been rescued that would have been lost otherwise – an increase of 250%. We should be proud of that performance. Twenty-nine Member States and

Schengen-associated countries are participating in the joint operations coordinated by Frontex in Italy, Greece and Hungary: 102 guest officers from 20 countries; 31 ships; three helicopters; four fixed-wing aircraft; eight patrol cars, six thermos-vision vehicles and four transport vehicles. This is a first measure of European solidarity in action, even though more will have to be done.

We have redoubled our efforts to tackle smugglers and dismantle human trafficker groups. Cheap ships are now harder to come by, leading to less people putting their lives in peril in unseaworthy boats. As a result, the Central Mediterranean route has stabilised at around 115 000 arriving during the month of August, the same as last year. We now need to achieve a similar stabilisation of the Balkan route, which has clearly been neglected by all policymakers.” (Annex 1)

In this case, the first-person plural ‘we’ indexes the organization the speaker represents and the second part of his speech is representationally an account of the measures taken this far by the Commission and some that are to be taken in the near future in order to control the migrant crisis. The two paragraphs, enumeration of assets and results are introduced by the verbs representing quantified action (*‘redouble’* and *‘triple’*), intensifying the implied efficiency of the organization. Furthermore, the enumeration of the twenty-nine countries, the *‘102 guest officers from 20 countries; 31 ships; three helicopters; four fixed-wing aircraft; eight patrol cars, six thermos-vision vehicles and four transport vehicles’* is used as an impressive tour-de-force literally representing the capability of the organization to deploy. Interpersonally, it invites positive judgement of capacity (esteem), similarly to Viktor Orbán’s enumeration of military forces deployed to defend the fence.

The next paragraph gives an account of the positive results in *‘tackling’* the smugglers and traffickers rendered ineffective. There are two instances of pronouncement in the excerpt, involving deontic modals

discussed above (*'we should be proud of that performance', 'more will have to be done'*), complementing the indirect attitudinal content. The overall stance in the second part of the text is one of assertiveness and responsibility in acting as an efficient agent in the region in order to positively influence the outcome of the crisis.

Empathy

One of the speaker's main undertakings in this text is to generate empathy towards the refugees. First of all, the term *'refugee'* is used consistently (32 times) instead of the alternative term, *'migrant'*. The term occurs on its own, simply nominating the category of participants and as indicating quality in collocations such as *'refugee crisis', 'refugee policy'* or *'refugee camp'*. In additional cases the term is used in the collocations like *'grant refuge', 'give refuge'* or *'place of refuge'*. While this aspect is representational, along with other terms of reference such as *'lives', 'families', 'women and men', 'asylum seekers'* renders it obvious that the speaker seeks to avoid biased ways of referring to this category.

One of the typical means of representation for migrants or refugees is through quantification (KrosaviNik, 2014; Chilton, 2004; Charteris-Black, 2015; Musolff, 2016), given the relevance of numbers and proportions of the phenomenon for all parties involved. In the case of the 2015 migrant crisis, quantifiers not only indicated the extent of the phenomenon but also represented one of the main issues debated among member states regarding mandatory quotas of refugees/migrants to shelter for each member state and find solutions about numbers increasing in the future. Numbers and indefinite quantifiers in the text are, therefore, *'predictable lexical items'* (Martin and Rose, 2007) that expand the general field of experience related to migration. The quantification of refugees in J.C. Juncker's speech ranges from more or less exact numbers when numbers are discussed in reference to the arriving individuals and details about

their journey or distribution within the European Union. At other times, they are associated with and used in contexts where they invite attitudinal response (*122 000 lives have been saved...*).

The following excerpt contains instances of positive affective stance involving both quantification and positive representation, explicitly conveyed:

“What is happening to human beings – we are talking human beings; we are not talking about numbers – coming from Syria and Libya today could easily be the case in Ukraine tomorrow. Are we making selections? Are we distinguishing between Christians, Jews, Muslims? This continent has had a bad experience of drawing distinctions on the basis of religious criteria. There is no religion, no belief, no philosophy when it comes to refugees and to those we let in.

Winter is approaching. Do we really want to have families sleeping in railway stations in Budapest and elsewhere, in cold tents during the night, or on shores on Kos? We are in charge of the winter period for those who have to flee their countries for the reasons I have mentioned.” (Annex 1)

The explicit, explanatory positive aside (*‘we are talking human beings; we are not talking about numbers’*) clearly states the speaker’s stance on the subject, provoking attitudinal effect. By mentioning the prospect of similar events taking place in Ukraine (where the conflict started in 2014) he uses proximization to cause his audience to become more aware and understanding of the refugees’ situation. Further rhetorical questions, a categorical assertion as fact construct negative evaluation of the arguments of the opposing side⁴⁹ while a repeated negation (*‘there is no religion, no belief, no philosophy...’*) contains the speaker’s *pronouncement* of his own value position.

⁴⁹ The Hungarian prime minister frequently claimed to be defending ‘Christian Europe’ and the Slovakian prime minister objected to receiving Muslims in his country. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2015/09/03/muslims-threaten-europes-christian-identity-hungarys-leader-says/>; <https://www.dw.com/en/slovakia-vows-to-refuse-entry-to-muslim-migrants/a-18966481>

While standard representations of refugees collectivize them as an amorphous mass, the speaker uses metonymy to represent the whole through its parts, as a strategy of proximization, provoking affective response. The families *'sleeping in railway stations'*, *'cold tents'* and *'shores'* invokes empathy and raises awareness to the experience of those *'fleeing'* their country.

The repetition of the verb *'flee'*, along with a series taxonomically connected lexis is one of the ways of representation through which attitudinal effect is invoked in the last two examples. The first describes European history as a succession of various ethnic groups and nationalities seeking refuge, while the second is the short description of the situation that has brought about the crisis:

(...) "Europe is a continent where nearly everyone has at one time been a refugee. Our common history is marked by millions of Europeans fleeing from religious or political persecution, from war, dictatorship, or oppression: Huguenots fleeing from France in the 17th century; Jews, Sinti, Roma and many others fleeing from Germany during the Nazi horror of the 1930s and 1940s; Spanish republicans fleeing to refugee camps in southern France at the end of the 1930s after their defeat in the Civil War; Hungarian revolutionaries fleeing to Austria and elsewhere – everywhere in Europe – after their uprising against Communist rule was suppressed by Soviet tanks in 1956; and Czech and Slovak citizens seeking exile in other countries – including mine – after the oppression of the Prague Spring in 1968. Hundreds of thousands were forced to flee from their homes after, and during, the Yugoslav wars. That was by the end of the last century – not centuries ago but by the end of the last century – in the last decade of the 20th century."
(Annex 1)

Compare with

"Since the beginning of the year, nearly 500 000 people have made their way to Europe. The vast majority of them are fleeing from Syria, the

terror of Islamic State in Libya or dictatorship in Eritrea. The most affected Member States are Greece, with over 200 000 refugees, Hungary, with more or less 150 000, and Italy, with 120 000.” (Annex 1)

Along with the repeated *'flee'*, the excerpt on Europeans enumerates historical facts formulated in a series of syntactically parallel statements. The various ethnic or other groups (*Huguenots, Jews, Sinti, Roma, Spanish republicans, Hungarian revolutionaries, Czech and Slovak citizens*) are represented as *'fleeing'* and *'seeking exile'* from *'religious or political persecution', 'war', 'dictatorship', 'oppression'*.

The representation is yet again metonymical, presenting European history as the whole through its parts and implicitly repeating the idea of European diversity which is, this time, gathered through the common unfortunate fate of having to run for one's life. The prosody of the enumeration bears the main affective force, and the decisive strategy is that of representing the situation of the migrants in the same manner, with the same syntactic structure of the statement and similar lexis: The refugees *'are fleeing' 'the terror of Islamic State'* and the *'dictatorship in Eritrea'*. The effect of similar representation is proximization both in time, to events that happened *'not centuries ago but by the end of the last century'*, and in place, as it is suggested that similar events happened to Europeans. The representation invoking affect, empathy and solidarity, manifests the values underlying J. C. Juncker's speech: it is the responsibility of human beings to help those in need, and it is applying historical fairness by Europeans to receive refugees, as they have also been in this situation.

III.1.6. Partial Conclusions

J. C. Juncker's Address was delivered against the background of criticism directed against the relocation plan. He employs a high degree of personal investment in an exhortatory effort to make his case in favour of the

proposals. The President of the Commission addresses his immediate audience in the European Parliament and engages them in a playful manner, but the Address aims the whole community, given the special importance of the event.

The dialogic stance of this text is manifested by the proclaim: pronounce values of high personal investment instantiated by deontic modals and high degree graduation rhetorical questions, along with adverbials. J.C. Juncker addresses his critics by directly engaging them through the rhetorical questions, but at the same time a negative affect of disapproval is also realised by his mild rebuke. Values of entertain indicate his admittance of the validity of their reservations, which are countered by his appeal to affect and reason.

Affect is realised with sweeping force throughout his speech with a function to establish empathy towards the refugees, by drawing a comparison between European history and their present experience. The metonymical representation of European humane conduct provokes intensified positive affect. Representation of the organization as acting efficiently in solving the crisis invites positive judgement of capacity and operates as a factor of restoring trust in the organization, given the tense background.

III.2. Frans Timmermans - First Vice-President of the Commission

During the frequent parliamentary debates in September 2015, Frans Timmermans had three interventions on three various occasions. As the debates took place within a short span of time, with an approximately one-week interval between them, the values and representational frame largely coincide. An additional concern, urgency, is added after the first vote (September 16), and the prospect and possibility of trust among member states is added with the third intervention (October 6).

The first intervention, on September 9, occurred during the debate on the State of the Union address in which J. C. Juncker formulated the proposals for the European Union's management of the migrant crisis, including the relocation plan and allocating funds for countries which have received migrants, along with security measures to reduce human trafficking. Franz Timmermans' intervention focused on explicit definition of the notions of *solidarity* and *responsibility* with evident effort to clarify and integrate opposing positions into a coherent, homogenous discourse.

The second debate, which took place on September 16, was occasioned by an extraordinary session of the Justice and Home Affairs Council two days before with its main goal to implement the proposals of the September 9 Address. At the extraordinary Council, the relocation of 40,000 people was decided with a majority of votes but not unanimously, member countries of the Visegrad Four and Romania objecting. It had also been convened that the relocation of 120,000 people would be proposed in a further meeting on the 22nd. A further decision had been taken to consider Greece and Italy frontline countries so that relocation from here be possible. Hungary had refused this status while Greece had requested assistance to manage the influx of migrants. Other points on the agenda had involved measures for more efficient border control, proposals to discuss a return policy and efforts to improve international cooperation with third countries of origin and transit. In his intervention the Vice-President emphasized the importance of an integrated perspective implemented in a time-efficient manner.

The importance of this effort is reiterated by the speaker during the meeting on October 6 (Annex 6). The emphasis on unity and building trust between member states and responsible politics are the main focus of the third intervention analysed in the present study. The topic of the debate on October 6 was the September 23rd meeting of the European Council where

the relocation plan was not discussed. Other measures of the proposal were adopted and planned to be implemented.

In the following part of the chapter an analysis pertaining to the values, representational frame, addressee, dialogical and attitudinal stance is completed, similarly to the previous speaker.

III.2.1. Values and Representational Frame

As the deputy for the President of the European Commission, in his September 9 intervention, Frans Timmermans adopts a balanced position taking into account claims and arguments from both sides of the debate. The values of *solidarity* and *responsibility* are reiterated on the organizational level, in an attempt to reach a common, standard definition in view of formulating a coherent discourse on the migrant crisis, which can be representative of a common European perspective. In this respect, the first intervention is not only integrative of the two opposing positions but also posits Europe as a '*community of values*', signalling the superiority of moral principles ('*basic humanity*') within the political organization. It can be stated, therefore, that in addition to the values represented by the abstract nouns *solidarity* and *responsibility*, an additional value is *being European*, which, in this context, translates as following the principle of humanity. Reference to '*what we see is being done by countless European citizens today*' signals that the speaker equates the gestures of '*basic humanity*' with providing help for asylum seekers, referring to the manifestations of sympathy and empathy throughout Europe, also mentioned by J. C. Juncker. While the *European community of values* is a moral category, classifiable as such due to its quotability ('*we need to respect that basic humanity*'), specificity ('*what we see being done*' by citizens), and a degree of determinacy ('*Europe as a community of values*', '*that makes me so proud of being European*'), the two other values pertain to both moral conduct and an organizationally efficient one.

Solidarity and *responsibility* are clearly quotable, specific categories of moral talk. They imply providing help to those who need it (*'solidarity with those who need refuge, solidarity with the States who are now burdened to excess'*) and making sure that this help is provided in a proper manner (*'responsibility to organise the reception of refugees in a way that respects their human dignity'*). In this respect, the present speaker's texts qualify as samples of *deservedness discourse* (Fuller 2024, 6), where the asylum seekers' right to support is measured by the degree to which they have suffered. This aspect is a significant difference from the previous speaker's statement that seeking asylum is a *'fundamental right'* regardless of status or country of origin.

A substantial value of efficiency is also implied by the manner in which the two values are represented. The two categories are designated by abstract nouns, with an enumeration of actions rendered to each meant to define and circumscribe the categories. The speaker constructs his arguments on this parallel representational frame on which lies his interpersonal stance as well. In addition to the moral aspect of these categories, the preoccupation with organizational efficiency is also conveyed. *Solidarity* with *'the States in Europe'* (frontline states Italy, Greece and Hungary) struggling to process the great number of asylum seekers ensure the efficient performance of the organization. *Responsibility* to *'better guard our borders'*, *'swift registration'*, creating a *'list of safe third countries'* are activities meant to restore order and contain the crisis. In this context, the two categories established by the speaker qualify as reasoning which supports the speaker's claim, that of employing a combination of the two principles, in order to restore order, and, ultimately, create a stronger European Union (for the structure of practical argumentation see Figure nr.2).

It is extremely relevant from the perspective of stance analysis that while on September 9 the categories of *solidarity* and *responsibility* dominate, representing both moral and organizational values pertaining to legitimacy, due to the urgency of a unanimous vote needed for a fast and

effective decision-making process, concerns related to the efficiency of the organization gain prominence during subsequent interventions. Due to the reluctance of some member states to vote the proposals, the decision to implement them would have been delayed, affecting both cooperation among the member states (part of the *'finger-pointing'* some speakers, and Frans Timmermans, mention) and the international credibility of the European Union criticised for not acting in accordance with its promises. As is known, the decision was taken despite the opposing votes as the Commission overruled the Council decision, and the September 9 proposals went into force, with tension in the background. As the opposing countries were mainly Eastern European, a new East-West divide was being discussed in the media⁵⁰.

The second debate occurred before the Justice and Home Affairs Council vote (September 16 – Annex 5), while the next after the second European Council meeting (October 6, discussion on the Council meeting of September 23- Annex 6). During his second speech, the First Vice-President insists on the importance of quick decision-making and the need for action based on consensus, reiterates the necessity of a *'common solution which will express solidarity and responsibility'* and emphasises the importance of unity. Given the context of the upcoming meeting in the Council, as well as the existing tension due to the relocation plan, these values represent the speaker's concern for organizational efficiency ensuring legitimacy. This preoccupation is explicit in his plea towards representatives *'to please explain to your constituents'* that the controversial relocation plan is not the only point of the Commission's proposal and, in fact, the ultimate effort aims *'the perspective of a sustainable migration policy and refugee policy'*. It is also relevant that while enumerating the further proposals of the Commission, the speaker designates the European Union as the agent of the

⁵⁰ <https://www.voanews.com/a/visegrad-group-migrant-crisis-deepens-europe-east-west-divide/3193678.html>

processes (*'the European Union being able to better guard its external borders, the European Union being able to offer more support' ...*).

The urgency of the vote and the decision may not be a value in itself, still, associated with the capacity for action it becomes a relevant marker of organizational efficiency. The references to the lack of time (*'winter is coming', 'we have no time to lose'*) imply capacity for action. Representationally, the value of action is construed by a negative conditional conjunction (*'if we are incapable of action'*) and the enumeration of a series of negative consequences if it occurs (*'human suffering for the refugees', 'political turmoil in our Member States', 'strife between Member States', 'tensions'*). A further reference to the necessity for quick action is made by interpreting the Parliament's favourable vote as *'Europe wants action'*, with the implication of the Parliament being representative of *Europe*, therefore, taking a legitimate step in the name of its citizens.

The theme of solidarity and responsibility is resumed in the context of efficient and fast action, concretely referring to the vote and to the implementation of the proposals. In this context, they qualify as values concerning organizational efficiency. The idea of unity is subordinated to the policy of *'common solution'* based on solidarity and responsibility, with an emphasis on *'building bridges'* and not *'pointing fingers'*. The metaphorical representation construes the division within the European Union and reinforces the importance of unity as a vehicle of efficiency and credibility.

In the third intervention (Annex 6) the themes of the previous speeches are resumed. An enumeration of values that are tested including *'capacity to handle a huge humanitarian crisis', 'the very fabric of our European Union'* and *'the fundamental values we share'* suggests a juxtaposition of organizational values and moral ones within the European Union, combining both. The test itself, it is suggested, is one of capacity, therefore pertaining to the legitimacy of the organization, and one of a moral nature as well, since it targets the *'shared values'*, a category similar with that of the September 9 intervention (*'community of values'* - Annex

4). This last value is further reenforced as morally superior by the speaker stating that *'there are only European solutions here'*, when criticising those who oppose the Commission proposals and have not voted them.

Responsible politics reappears as an indication of action against fear (*'come up with solutions'*) instead of *'catering for fear'*. Also, it appears as an evaluation of the Council's action of adopting many of the Commission's proposals (*'The European Council was responsible last week...'*) and the Parliament on *'assuming responsibility'*.

The value of trust among members is a specific detail of the third intervention, bearing some connection to the idea of unity. The speaker exposes the idea that the organization, indexed by the plural first person *we*, *'lack self-confidence'*. He qualifies this deficit as one pertaining to *'moral hazard'*, meaning the risk taken by organizations or companies because they feel confident that another player, an insurer, for instance, would step in to protect them if necessary. As such, the idea of *trust* pertains to the institutional area, therefore, it is a value related to organizational efficiency. However, it bears a degree of moral concern as reinforcement comes from individual member states *'doing their part'*:

"The issue here is not that we do not know what to do; the issue is that, as in other areas, we lack self-confidence. (...) We need to address the issue of what I would call also in this area 'moral hazard'. Member States need to be able to trust that other Member States will do their part."
(Annex 6)

The idea is reenforced in the concluding statement with the speaker naming *self-confidence*, as a desirable attribute for the organization, and *mutual confidence*, as the sum of the member states' actions:

"So, it is time to rebuild our self-confidence and our mutual confidence in our ability to deal with this most pressing humanitarian issue effectively, and together." (Annex 6)

The implied idea is that the strength of the organization, its self-confidence, bringing about efficiency of action, results from the gestures of each member state individually, the actions of providing support to one another (by better controlled external borders and by accepting relocated asylum seekers who are sheltered predominantly in frontline states). Thus, the individual moral choices implying trust and solidarity lead to the collective, institutional value of unity and efficiency of action.

As most values of the speaker's dialogic and attitudinal stance are realised through the representational frame providing the circumstantial premises, they are described in more detail below. As a general observation it should be stated that the main means of representation is juxtaposition of actions in coordinative relations realising logical relations of contrast or similarity between them.

III.2.2. Stance in Franz Timmermans' Interventions

The main characteristic of Franz Timmermans' interventions pertains to the careful choice of terms and the explicitness indicating the speaker's strive for clarity. In the September 9 intervention the two abstract notions, *solidarity* and *responsibility*, are clearly defined by activities which are enumerated and rendered to each term. Throughout the speeches the negatively connotative term *migrant* is avoided. Instead, the neutral term '*people*' is used or the description of their actions to indicate the category ('*those who have the right to asylum and those who do not*', '*people who have no right to stay*'). The first intervention sets the tone for the following ones, with an effort to reconcile the two opposite perspectives on the migrant question.

Dialogic stance is realised in similar ways to other speakers, with a predominance of *proclaim* values, through the subcategories of *pronouncement*, with the speaker representing the institutional perspective of the Commission or the organizational perspective of the European Union. Personal stance is at times realised through personal asides, complementing the official stance taken by the speaker.

Oppositions realised by ideational resources are the most characteristic feature of these interventions, with an aim to integrate alternative viewpoints into one, coherent perspective, as representative of the organization. Repetition as an intensifying strategy for graduation is used when clear defining of terms is pursued and when the speaker's own perspective is pronounced. In the case of oppositional positions (as, for instance, member states who have not voted favourably), mitigating strategies are employed in order to maintain a balanced and moderate perspective. Metaphors as representational strategies are not typical. One exception occurs, with an opposition established between inclusive politics (*'building bridges'*) and the often-used image of dissension with the member states of the European Union, *finger-pointing*.

Attitudinal stance is manifested in line with the speaker's perspective of balanced and moderate institutional position. Evaluative values realised by negative judgement of capacity in attitude formulated towards member states critical of the Commission's propositions are toned down by mitigating strategies, and the problem of refugees is addressed in the spirit of solidarity but with an emphasis on the necessity of an effective legal frame. The idea of threat or fear is not tackled in this context but in the discussion of possible negative consequences if unity among member states is not established.

Similarly to Donald Tusk's interventions (see Self-reflective stance), Frans Timmermans tackles the existence of a sense of threat in European society, on a level of leadership, describing what Tusk called *radical politics*, as one of *easy solutions* that cannot lead to lasting and sustainable effect. Fear is reflected upon as a-phenomenon of society, in this case, and the reflective attitude distances the affect. Some implicit realisation of the negative effect occurs, however, when the speaker represents the situation of the crisis and the discord among member states as a test on all levels of Europe, organizational or societal, and entertains possible negative consequences on a dramatic tone.

Self-evaluation, the assessment of the European Union as an organization acting through its leading institutions is realised through positive judgement of capacity and propriety, indicating a preoccupation with aspects of legitimacy. The speaker presents the organization as an efficient actor in implementing a sustainable migration policy, putting in considerable effort to maintain a balanced perspective on the crisis.

Negative judgement of capacity is also realised when discussing lack of unity and trust among member states, which, however, is countered by mitigating strategies realised through ideational means (by representing these flaws as temporary) and foregrounding a positive perspective of responsible politics.

III.2.3. Who are the Participants Frans Timmermans is Addressing?

Throughout the three interventions discussed, the First Vice-President of the Commission explicitly addresses those present in the Parliament plenary hall, MEP's representing the political parties of the member states. During the September 9 session the State of the Union debate took place, when traditionally, the President of the Commission answers questions addressed by MEPs and other stakeholders. As a leading member of the Commission, Frans Timmermans fully endorses the proposals formulated by the President of the Commission (*I do not have to speak for a long time because President Juncker has given you the full explanation*) and acts on behalf of the institution, suggesting that his short plea is a simple extension of what has been heard during the Address:

"I do not have to speak for a long time, because President Juncker has given you the full explanation of the plans of proposal of the Commission. I just want to use this opportunity, when three institutions are coming together to talk about this issue, to call upon the European Parliament to strongly support the Commission's proposals today. (...) The stronger Parliament can be today in coming out with its position, the better we are prepared for the Council on Monday." (Annex 4)

The call he formulates during his intervention is specifically, explicitly addressed to the members European Parliament, in front of whom the proposal has been presented. The reference to the

Council aims the first voting session of the proposals in this third institution, planned for the 14th of September (see second intervention). The speaker suggests that a favourable vote in the Parliament will positively influence the vote in the Council, given that some countries have expressed their disagreement (see attitudinal stance below) and implies that it will prompt a stronger position for the Commission. In the excerpt above the first-person plural pronoun refers to the Commission (*'the better we are prepared'*). A similar occurrence is the instance when the speaker specifically refers to the Commission's proposals (*'that is the basis of our proposals'*), named on one instance explicitly (*The combination of all these things is what the Commission proposes.*).

In most of the three texts, the speaker uses the inclusive 'we' to refer to the European Union as an organization, and especially to those who have the power of influence (*'we need to make a clear distinction'*, *'we need a combination of solidarity and responsibility'*). In the specific case of the September 9 intervention, given the extraordinary nature of the session, this influence is also held by the MEPs, the national representatives in the Parliament, who have the power of the vote.

The second intervention contains similar first-person plural references to the organisation, with explicit reference to the leading institutions or the organization itself, at times:

"Mr President, those of you who know Game of Thrones will know the expression 'winter is coming'. It is meant quite literally and it is meant metaphorically. (...) Winter is coming, quite literally. But winter might also be coming metaphorically for the European Union if we are incapable of action in the next couple of days and weeks." (Annex 5)

The speaker starts his intervention by addressing the President of the session and contains a specific address to those present, the representative MEPs (*those of you*). The use of 'we' further in the text refers to the organization, as it is explicitly named (winter may be coming for the European Union as well). This mode of reference continues (*we can deal with this*, *we fail if we are divided*, etc.) with a variation of the speaker naming all three leading institutions which constitute the first-person plural:

“So, we have a strong, strong responsibility – Parliament, Council and Commission – to make sure that what we did not achieve last Monday in the Council will be achieved without delay.” (Annex 5)

The plural of *we have a strong responsibility* is further specified in the context of the tense voting session when some member states opted against the relocation plan. The specification added as a personal aside is not as much an explanation of the leading bodies responsible, as it is an emphasis on the decisive role they are playing in this situation, and an indirect notice given to those concerned to act accordingly.

In the introductory address of the third intervention the distinction from the September 9 speech between Europe as the organization of the European Union and Europe as the *community of values* is reiterated:

“Mr President, today we are all put to the test. We are faced with what is arguably the biggest challenge to Europe in a generation. What is being put to the test is our capacity to handle a huge humanitarian crisis. What is being put to the test is our capacity to understand that there will be solutions only at a European level. What is being put to the test is the very fabric of our European Union. What is being put to the test is actually the fundamental values we share, and much that was said this morning testifies to this.” (Annex 6)

The first-person plural reference, associated with the direct address toward the President of the Parliament, indicates that the First Vice-President is

speaking to those present. However, through the graduation by repetition of *'put to test'*, it is implied, that the collective *'we'* includes all those who constitute *'the very fabric of the European Union'*; and ultimately, all those of those who share *'the fundamental values'* which in the previous intervention are qualified as *European*. The ultimate reference, therefore, includes Europe, and that *'community of values'* which is ultimately composed of the European citizens.

"I want to add one more point, which to me is very important. The Commission is willing to build bridges." (Annex 5)

The first reference, the personal pronoun *'I'* indexes a representative use for the institution, *the Commission*, which is named further, explicitly signalling the connection between the two. The personal aside (*'which to me is very important'*) is interspersed with a self-reference and even if the reference is in the third person, it is clearly aimed at them: *'those in the House'*; *'they will see the fallacy of their ways'*; implied also by the contrast construed with the opposing *'we'*. It is suggested that while *they* do not understand that *'we are dealing with real refugees'*, we, the rest of those present, do, and not only that, we are making European choices by voting the proposals of the Commission (*'there are only European solutions here'*). By placing *'we'* and *'European'* into the same category, in opposition with *them*, the speaker construes a community – which is also evaluated positively – and excludes from this community, those who are not willing to implement European solutions, as if in an attempt to isolate them and render them ineffective.

Third person references also occur in expository or evaluative contexts when reference is made to other leading institutions or politicians of member states:

"This is also the time when politicians across Europe will be challenged."
(Annex 6)

or

“The European Council was responsible last week, by paving the way for decisions that can now be implemented.” (Annex 6)

The last category discussed, the second-person reference ‘you’ is used in its primary meaning of direct address:

“I think you will agree with me that (...) we should also not neglect the wider issue ...” (Annex 6)

In this case, ‘you’ has a plural meaning. A singular meaning can also be traced in the third intervention, when the speaker personally addresses somebody who interrupts him:

“(Interjection from the floor: ‘Go to the camps and talk to them’)

It is being said here – because this is apparently the way people who disagree with you think they can make a point – it is being said behind me here ‘Go and talk to them in the camps’. Well, that is exactly what I did. That is exactly what I did, but apparently you only hear what you want to hear when you talk in the camps.” (Annex 6)

In the excerpt above, ‘you’ is used as a direct address to the person interrupting him (‘you only hear what you want to hear’) and as a generic you, in a personal aside reflecting on – and evaluating – the gesture of the interrupter (‘this is apparently the way people who disagree with you think they can make a point’). In the case above, the generic ‘you’ has an impersonal use and it alternates with a third person passive reference (‘it is being said behind me here’).

The generic ‘you’ used colloquially, in an impersonal reference, illustrating the speaker’s personal observations is present in the next excerpt:

“Many European citizens are afraid, and you know what fear has as a characteristic: when you are afraid you go and look for proof that your fear is justified.” (Annex 6)

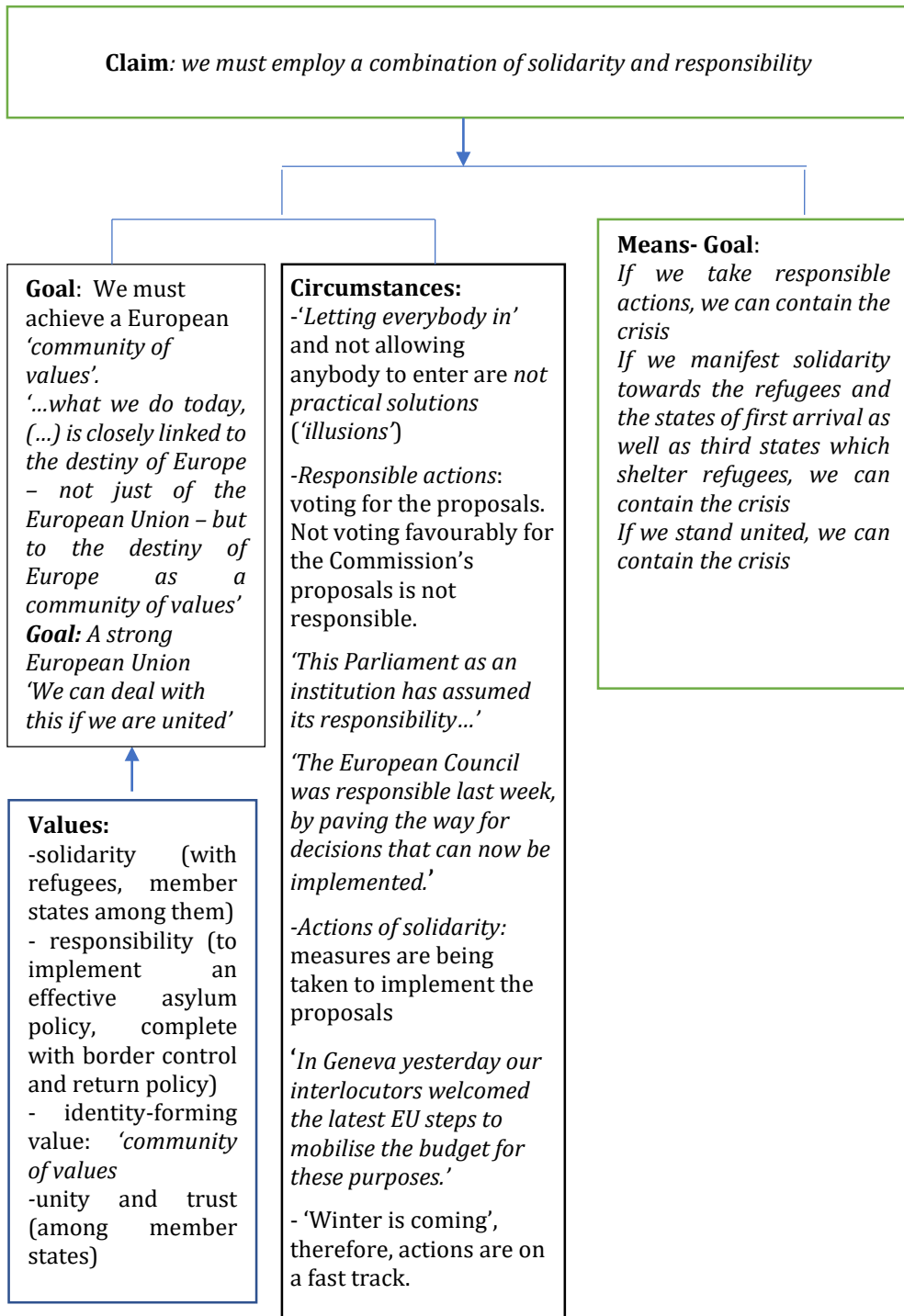


Fig. 2. Franz Timmermans's interventions as practical argumentation

In the excerpt, the speaker is sharing personal remarks in a familiar, quite informal tone, the explanation referring to people's behaviour generally, outside the institutional frame provided by the debate. In the next excerpt, the impersonal 'you' marks a generic reference which indicates institutional practices:

"When it comes to humanitarian aid, it is not enough to find necessary funding. You need to put in place necessary help mechanisms ..."
(Annex 6)

It is implied that the speaker takes the position of someone who has experience with this kind of practices and speaks as an 'insider' reflecting on the practical aspects of the process of attributing aid. Even though the remark is a personal one, it can be categorized as an element of institutional discourse.

III.2.4. Dialogical Stance

Frans Timmermans' engagement style is to a great degree influenced by his position as a representative of the Commission, however, in a few instances the speaker's discourse instantiates a more personal stance, indicated by a personal aside. This does not so much result in a shift concerning the issue of the migration crisis itself, as it reinforces the official stance by a more personal approach. His positions are realised through values of *proclaim* (*endorsement* and *pronouncement*) by way of various resources.

Endorsement of the President of the Commission

The most obvious manifestation of the speaker representing the official politics of the Commission is his complete *endorsement* of the discourse delivered by the President of the Commission, J.C. Juncker, communicating with those present within the frame charted by the Commission's main representative:

"I think you will agree with me that, while working on the humanitarian situation and sharing the burden with the most affected countries, we

should also not neglect the wider issue in relation to managing the situation and the root causes of the situation. The Valletta Summit will be important – however, I will limit myself to referring to what President Juncker has said about that.

Refugees, on the run from war and persecution, willing to risk everything for even the chance of a decent life, will continue to flee.”
(Annex 6)

In the excerpt above, the Vice-President reiterates the idea expressed by the President of the Commission, namely, that refugees cannot be stopped from seeking asylum in a safe country, therefore, the solutions to the crisis must be at the ‘*root causes*’, namely, making sure that have a safe shelter closer to their countries (see the State of the Union Address). The Valetta Summit⁵¹ was one meeting facilitating international negotiations about this issue.

The engagement values in the excerpt pertain to the category of *proclaim*, either *pronouncing* the speaker’s position (*‘I think you will agree with me’*) or endorsing J. C. Juncker’s idea related to the refugees. The *pronouncement* is an explicit confirmation from the speaker that he expects nothing less from his audience than alignment, given that the issue has been on the agenda and discussed before. It is not necessarily an imposition of authority as it is a self-evident acknowledgement of their position.

Regarding the endorsement, the speaker explicitly signals (*‘I will limit myself’*) his complete alignment with the President’s position and paraphrases his thoughts (Annex 1) from the Address (*Refugees ... will continue to flee*). It is a rhetorical strategy that indicates an identical position, given that both speakers represent the same institution, therefore, pursue the same policy. A similar demonstration of complete correspondence with the policy announced by the main representative of the Commission is realised in the next excerpt:

⁵¹ https://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/21839/action_plan_en.pdf

“With regard to Turkey, the President has said more than enough: we will continue working on this, and you will also be informed this afternoon about exactly what we will be doing in the next couple of weeks.” (Annex 6)

During the October 6 session, J. C. Juncker had an intervention in French, where, among other issues he touched upon the special political relationship with Turkey⁵². In this case, especially since it is the same session, nothing of what *‘the President has said’* is repeated, merely further reassurance is given to the audience that they would be informed.

During the first intervention, the session where the Commission proposals were presented, the Vice- President takes the special opportunity to voice his own support and, especially, his call for the MEPs to vote favourably:

“... I do not have to speak for a long time, because President Juncker has given you the full explanation of the plans of proposal of the Commission. I just want to use this opportunity, when three institutions are coming together to talk about this issue, to call upon the European Parliament to strongly support the Commission’s proposals today.”
(Annex 4)

Similarly to the previous instances, the speaker’s *endorsement* of the President’s message is complete, however, this time, due to the special setting, the Vice-President explicitly announces his own position in the matter. The role of this intervention is on one hand to serve as the record of an official stance in the matter, on the other, to ask for support as another leading representative of the Commission.

⁵² See Donald Tusk’s intervention – Annex 3

Pronouncement: Representing the Commission and the European Union

In his capacity of First Vice-President, Frans Timmermans speaks either in the name of the Commission, or the European Union, as an organization. In the excerpts below, the institution is explicitly named and their content conveys preoccupation with their efficient action.

Dialogically, the position of authority assumed by the speaker implies frequent monoglossic propositions in his speeches, with dialogic stance being realised through logical juxtapositions or contrast. Explicit stance markers are also present, similarly to other speakers, the three interventions containing many *proclaim: pronounce* values.

In his second intervention, before the first vote in the Parliament and after the Justice and Home Affairs Council⁵³ meeting where the proposal did not get unanimity, the speaker directly addresses the Parliament and its President as a leading representative of the Commission and formulates indirect criticism towards the Council representatives:

“I want to salute this Parliament and its President for your courageous steps forward, in line with the Commission proposals. I want to express my gratitude to the President of Parliament for having organised a vote, which will send a clear signal to all Member States and all capitals that the Parliament that represents the peoples of Europe wants action – and it wants it now – and so does the Commission.” (Annex 4)

The positive judgment of capacity realising the speaker’s attitude towards the Parliament also represents a gesture of praise formulated in recognition of this institution as an ally in implementing the proposals of the Commission. The judgement values are both explicit, *‘courageous steps forward’*, and invoked by the representation of concrete actions such as, *‘organizing a vote’* or *‘sending a clear signal’*. The positive value of these actions is further evaluated as a justified gesture implying that the

⁵³ <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/council-eu/configurations/jha/>

Parliament, as a representative body of *'the peoples of Europe'*, is voting for a quick and efficient decision, which is vital at this point, with the Justice and Home Affairs Council having caused a stalemate. *'Sending a clear signal'* is emphasized as being a message toward member states and their national governments that the citizens of Europe and the Commission *'want action', 'now'*.

In the excerpt the speaker conveys the official position of the Commission and negotiates legitimacy by associating the institution he represents with what *'Europe wants'*. *Pronouncement* is realised through the verb of volition *'want'*, intensified by the time phrase suggesting urgency (*'it wants it now'*). The process is rendered to both actors, *Europe* and *the Commission*, as a positive evaluation of their attitude, as opposed to the *Member states* and *capitals*, who do not represent the will of the Europeans (because they do not want the proposals), therefore, they are not acting in legitimacy. It is implied that while the Commission chooses to act responsibly and in accordance with the citizens' will, by acting towards containing the crisis, the national governments choose to not do so, an implication which involves negative judgement of capacity, and even propriety, given that it is their choice to keep *Europe* in indecision, and, consequently, in a politically vulnerable position. This way, an opposition is established in which the Commission, which the speaker represents is positively evaluated as a legitimate representative of the European citizens, while those who did not vote the proposals, are not.

In the next excerpt the speaker addresses a request toward the MEPs to inform *constituents* about the nature and content of the proposals, given that the media has mostly focussed on the notorious redistribution plan. As this one point of the proposals has become an object of contention and other details neglected, the Commission was risking to lose momentum in applying their solution package, rendering the European institutions inefficient:

“My plea is also to all of you to please explain to your constituents, and to your people back home, that our proposals are not just about a distribution key to express solidarity with those states who are really suffering today. They are also about the European Union being able to better guard its external borders, the European Union being able to offer more support to those states which bear the brunt of this crisis – states like Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey – which deserve far more support from the European Union. The European Union is also about offering the perspective of a sustainable migration policy and refugee policy.” (Annex 5)

The excerpt indicates the speaker in the position of a high official of the European Union manifesting preoccupation with people understanding the implications of the proposals, beyond the immediate concerns related to the controversy around the relocation plan. He repeatedly names the European Union (*‘the European Union is able to’*) as the active agent of the enumerated activities (*‘better guard its external borders’*, *‘offer more support’*, *‘offer the perspective’*), finally indicating the long-term goal, *‘a sustainable migration policy’*. The values invoke attitudinal evaluation through positive judgement of capacity, indicating the effort to bring about efficiency on the long term (*‘sustainable’*).

Dialogically, the excerpt represents a series of bare assumptions on the European Union’s capacity, with values of *pronouncement* realised by the modal expression *‘be able to’*, implying dynamism and capability but also the condition of the enumerated measures being implemented with the validation of the European citizens (i.e. the Parliament). The *pronouncement* is amplified by the repetition of *‘the European Union is able to’* affirming the organization as the capable agent of the measures that lead to the solutions for the crisis.

In terms of attitudinal values, the actions proposed invoke positive judgement of capacity and propriety through inscribed lexis like *‘guard’*,

'offer support', 'offer perspective' or 'sustainable'. Positive evaluative lexis is also used when the relocation plan is mentioned, as *'expressing solidarity'* with *'the states who are suffering'*, indicating the positive perspective of the organization on the matter as opposed to its critics who believe that it is not a solution. However, the use of the bare assertion excludes any sort of dialogical availability on this matter.

The September 9, first intervention of Frans Timmermans is both exhortatory, in the hope of obtaining Parliament validation for the proposals, and expository, since it is essential that the audience clearly understands and accepts them. It has already been established that the main values of the First Vice-President's interventions are *solidarity* and *responsibility*. They are inscribed in the three texts both as judgement values of capacity and propriety, with actions that concern both the humane treatment of asylum seekers and better border control with a more thorough monitoring of those who enter the European Union, integrating claims that have been formulated by the two opposing sides, representing pro- and anti-migrationist arguments. The effort to formulate a coherent policy concerning migration which can be implemented on the long term is the main preoccupation of the Commission. This concern is clearly indicated in the next excerpt where clear definitions of terms are formulated and categories are explicitly placed into complementary or contrastive positions:

"... we need to make a clear distinction between those who deserve our solidarity because they flee from war and persecution, and those who might have genuine feelings about seeking a better future but should not abuse the asylum system to attain that goal. To do that, we need a combination of solidarity and responsibility: solidarity with those who need refuge, solidarity with the States who are now burdened to excess because they are the States of first arrival, notably Greece, Italy and Hungary. There needs to be European solidarity with these States –

solidarity with the refugees and solidarity with the States in Europe who need it today.

That is the basis of our proposals, but also a call on responsibility: the responsibility to better guard our borders; the responsibility to make a swift registration of those who arrive at the borders so we can distinguish between those who have the right to asylum and those who do not; responsibility to create a list of safe third countries so that we can be swifter in returning people who have no right to stay; responsibility to organise the reception of refugees in a way that respects their human dignity. The combination of all these things is what the Commission proposes.” (Annex 4)

In his position as a high representative of the Commission, the speaker's preoccupation to obtain validation for the proposals in the name of the institution ('... *what the Commission proposes*') is manifest through transparent representation of categories, which either invoke or inscribe values of positive judgement of capacity and propriety as a strategy of positive self-presentation. The inscribed attitudinal values *solidarity* and *responsibility* are repeated with every example that illustrates them: "*solidarity with those who need refuge*", '*with the States*' who need help, then repeated '*solidarity with the refugees and solidarity with the States in Europe*'. Similarly, '*responsibility*' '*to guard borders*', '*to make a swift registration*', '*to create a list of safe third countries*', '*to organize the reception of refugees*'. The repetition of parallel syntax both intensifies the positive judgement in the propositions and clearly defines the terms which have been overused in the debate. The phrase '*European solidarity*' functions in multiple roles, as an inclusive term for the two perspectives on solidarity ('*with the refugees*' and with the '*European states who need it*'), as solidarity provided by the European Union, as an organization, and, implicitly the kind of solidarity resulting from the values considered to be European, based on humanity and providing help. As a combination of

these meanings, the phrase invites further positive judgement (both capacity and propriety) and contributes to a positive self-evaluation that is ultimately meant to benefit the institution the speaker represents.

The excerpt illustrates a dialogically contractive engagement style by *proclaiming* through *pronouncement* the official position of the Commission. As with the previous repetition of attitudinal values, the *pronouncement* is realised by the repetition of the deontic '*need to*', rendered to the measures described from the speaker's perspective: '*we need to make a clear distinction between those ... and those*', '*we need a combination of ...*', '*there needs to be ...*'. In the next paragraph, the same strategy is employed by the repetition of the infinitive of purpose: '*to guard*', '*to make*', '*to create*', '*to organize*'. An additional function of *pronouncement* is carried out by the nominalized actions '*distinction*' and '*combination*' which logically represent the basis of all these measures and activities. The whole undertaking of the Commission, in view of a coherent policy aims to *distinguish* between categories and *combine* perspectives in view of a comprehensive and viable output.

In the Council meeting on the 23rd of September⁵⁴ the relocation plan was not on the agenda. This issue had already been decided a day before. During the meeting on the 23rd numerous decisions were made concerning border control funding and setting up further meetings in view of the international cooperation to contain the crisis. These results prompt the First Vice-President to state that the '*European Council was responsible last week*' by deciding for these measures to be implemented. After enumerating them, the speaker concludes by evaluating these decisions as '*important*' (positive appreciation through its organizational value) and formulates an exhortatory directive ('*Let us implement them*'). In the excerpt below further *proclaim* values are realised and, now that the

⁵⁴[https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2015/558792/EPRS_BRI\(2015\)558792_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2015/558792/EPRS_BRI(2015)558792_EN.pdf)

Commission is able to implement its proposals, the idea of trust is introduced and, similarly to the other values in Frans Timmermans' speeches, is explained: trust means undertaking '*moral hazard*' and believe that each member state '*will do their part*'.

It has special value that the First Vice-President speaks of trust at this point and that he explains its concrete application this way. The migrant crisis was indeed an extraordinary event, and much of what caused the complications around it was the fact that member states did not manage to comply with established regulations causing the asylum system within the European Union to break down. This breakdown of the system is what caused the dissensions among the individual countries and lead to what has been called in these texts as '*finger pointing*'. By speaking about trust, and the implied value of unity, the speaker is suggesting that now that measures can be taken and the European Union, through its institutions, can legally act to contain the crisis, order can be restored and countries can each act in their own place to contribute to that. An indirect directive is also implied: countries should '*just do what we agreed*', that is, comply with organization regulations and act as responsible members of the organization. The negative evaluation (judgement of capacity) of the proposal '*we lack self-confidence*' strangely implies the much-desired unity: by the use of the first-person plural the organization is posited as one entity, a whole composed of its part, the individual member countries:

"These are important decisions. Let us implement them.

The issue here is not that we do not know what to do; the issue is that, as in other areas, we lack self-confidence. We can handle this – I agree with Chancellor Merkel: 'Wir schaffen das' – I have no doubts. We need to address the issue of what I would call also in this area 'moral hazard'. Member States need to be able to trust that other Member States will do their part.

This is the core issue here, that so-called frontline Member States will do their part in making sure that our external borders are better

controlled and that people who arrive are immediately fingerprinted, and that those Member States who are not frontline states will do their part in showing their solidarity with the Member States who bear the brunt of the arrivals. There is an issue here of just doing what we agreed, and then the self-confidence in Europe will increase, and mutual trust will also increase – and that is what we need between Member States.” (Annex 5)

In terms of engagement, the excerpt illustrates further *proclaim* values, by its subcategory, *pronouncement*, indicating a conciliatory perspective on the necessity of member states to trust each other (*‘Member States need to be able to trust’*) on one hand, and the belief that this will happen (*‘We can handle this’*, *‘I have no doubts’*, *‘will do their part’*). The values realised by the deontic *need to*, dynamic modals *can*, *will*, expressing willingness, and *be able to*, as well as an intensified negative (*have no doubt*) indicate a high degree graduation of the positive affect of hope invited by the positive attitudinal tokens. An additional attitudinal value of hope (positive affect) can be traced in the opposition between the negative present tense of *‘we lack self-confidence’* and the future *‘confidence in Europe will increase’*, containing positive tokens of affect. The negative self-evaluation for the present is complemented with the hope for a better attitude in the future.

Similarly to previous texts where terms have been explained by their repetition along with illustrative examples, the main point of the excerpt, countries *‘doing their part’* or its version *‘just doing what we agreed’* is repeated and further explained framed by bare assertions (*‘this is the core issue here’*, *‘there is an issue here’*, *‘the issue is’*) realising further values of *proclaim: pronounce*. The positive consequences of countries fulfilling their engagements realise intensified *pronouncement* through the repetition of *‘will increase’* and the concluding *‘that is what we need’*.

The most interesting value of engagement in this excerpt is the explicit *endorsement (proclaim)* of the German Chancellor’s notorious

slogan: *‘Wir schaffen das!’*. As with the other one used in these interventions, *‘winter is coming’*, it presents a very suitable, effective correspondence with Frans Timmermans’ message, the address toward member states to be united and comply with regulations, thus, contributing to the solution for the crisis. Chancellor Merkel’s words⁵⁵ originally referred to the resilience of the German people and her hope and determination that the challenge of the migrant crisis would also be solved. However, the words, taken out of their context, had grown to represent the ‘open door policy’, which its critics had been considering irresponsible.

The fact that the First Vice-President uses them in this context much rather indicates that the speaker is aware of the original context of the slogan, rather than the possibility that he might be an adept of the ‘open door policy’. However, the fact that he uses it, in full knowledge of the controversy that had been created around it, may qualify as a conciliatory gesture towards Germany, and perhaps even a statement of a pro-migrationist stance, given that, after all, Germany was one of the countries with the highest number of refugees accepted. Attitudinally, in the context of this particular text, the slogan functions as a token of positive judgement of capacity, and it is an element of positive self-presentation.

This function is reenforced in the concluding remarks of the intervention, when Frans Timmermans restates the main ideas of his intervention. The slogan becomes an element of self-evaluation, referring to the institutions of the European Union, and the organization itself:

“So, it is time to rebuild our self-confidence and our mutual confidence in our ability to deal with this most pressing humanitarian issue effectively, and together

Wir schaffen das!” (Annex 6)

The *proclaim: pronounce* value is realised by the time phrase *‘it is time’* functioning as a call towards his audience, amplified by the exclamation of

⁵⁵ <https://www.politico.eu/article/angela-merkel-wir-schaffen-das-5-years-on/>

the slogan. The proposition contains a range of inscribed attitudinal lexis ('self-confidence', 'mutual confidence', 'ability', 'effectively') realising positive judgement of capacity.

Possibility of Failure (entertain) and Call for Action (pronounce)

While the previous excerpt is part of Frans Timmermans' intervention during the session when J. C. Juncker presented the proposals, the next one happens after the meeting of the ministries of Home Affairs has failed (the proposals were rejected) and it is to be expected that the Council meeting will be affected by the existing tensions on the subject. In the First Vice-President's second speech the two main themes beside the already presented politics of responsibility and solidarity, are the importance of unity and the urgency of bringing decisions and implementing them. In this excerpt the speaker entertains the perspective of the possible negative consequences if the institutions of the European Union do not act efficiently in due time:

"... those of you who know Game of Thrones will know the expression 'winter is coming'. It is meant quite literally and it is meant metaphorically. This expression can be applied to the situation the European Union is in now vis-à-vis the refugees. Winter is coming, quite literally. But winter might also be coming metaphorically for the European Union if we are incapable of action in the next couple of days and weeks.

This issue, left unresolved, will undoubtedly lead to human suffering for the refugees, to political turmoil in our Member States, to strife between Member States and to tensions which Europe cannot afford to have. So, we have a strong, strong responsibility – Parliament, Council and Commission – to make sure that what we did not achieve last Monday in the Council will be achieved without delay. Yes, a lot has been achieved so far. Yes, it is difficult to have far-reaching results within five days of the Commission making proposals, but we have no time to lose.
(...)

We can deal with this if we are united, but we will fail if we are – and continue to be – divided.” (Annex 5)

The first *entertain* value is realised by a conditional followed by several possible negative consequences enumerated. The dialogic aspect of the proposition *‘if we are incapable of action in the next couple of days and weeks’* consists in considering a position, which may become real⁵⁶. A further conditional proposition (*‘left unresolved’*) introduces a series of negative consequences (*‘human suffering’, ‘political turmoil’, ‘strife’, ‘tensions’*) provoking negative judgement of capacity, introduced by the phrase *‘incapable of action’* and intensified by the parallel syntax of the prepositional phrases (introduced by *‘lead to’*). Acting in this context implies voting favourably for the Commission proposals so that their implementation can get under way.

Time is a particularly emphasized factor in this text, on one hand, considering the approaching winter (*‘winter is coming’*) which objectively poses some complications regarding the administration of the refugee camps and the journey of those who are on the road, and on the other, regarding the hesitations caused by the Home Affairs ministries’ Council rejecting the relocation plan which entails the delay in implementing those measures that could be efficient in managing the situation. In this context, lexical elements relating to timeliness become elements with attitudinal content, implying positive judgement of capacity for fast action and negative judgement for the delays. Elements like *‘winter is coming’* or *‘we have no time to lose’, ‘the next couple of days and weeks’, ‘without delay’* intensify not only the urgency of the measures that need to be taken (implying a sense of imminent threat if this does not happen – see attitudinal stance below) but the value of concerted action as well.

Even if a sense of threat is invited, what is foregrounded in the excerpt is the necessity of responsible action, described here as united and timely.

⁵⁶ for conditionals having a dialogic nature, White 2003, 273.

The necessity of this kind of action is *proclaimed* in the second paragraph of the excerpt through a bare assumption: '*we have a strong, strong responsibility*' and alternative viewpoints are *countered* by another assumption: '*we have no time to lose*'. In both affirmations an element of graduation occurs, with the repetition of '*strong*' in the first one, and the negative phrase '*no time to lose*'. Furthermore, they are placed in contexts where alternative ideas are *entertained*. In the first case, the future consequences of a possible inaction are enumerated realising values of *entertain* through propositional phrases. The *pronouncement* realised by the categorical assertion explicitly designates the agents of the responsible action, the three institutions constituting the leading bodies of the European Union. In the second one, the affirmation is preceded by two concessive propositions ('*a lot has been achieved*', '*it is difficult to achieve far-reaching results*'), introduced by '*yes*', functioning as an adverbial in this context. These propositions *entertain* attenuating details which are subsequently *countered* by the categorical assertion '*we have no time*', intensified by the repetition of '*yes*' in the previous propositions, as if implying that the more this urgency is considered unnecessary, or impossible to implement, the more important it is for it to happen.

The propositions in the second paragraph *proclaim* the speaker's perspective on the urgency of the vote and of implementing measures. The last proposition of the excerpt, and the conclusion of the second intervention, *proclaims* the idea of being united. The value of *proclaim: pronounce* is realised through a mobilizing categorical assertion, '*we can deal with this*', placed in an oppositional position with its negative counterpart '*we fail*', through the contrastive '*but*'. Further contrast is realised by the lexical elements '*united*' and '*divided*' posited as consequences of the two actions, inviting positive and negative judgement of capacity. The contrastive syntax implies the possibility of a choice, while

the explanatory aside, *'continue to be'* is not only a reflection on the present state of the debate but also an indication that positive change is possible.

Proclaiming Personal Position

As a leading representative of the Commission, the First Vice-President typically uses the first-person plural to refer to the institutions and the organization of the European Union. The plural sometimes alternates with the singular maintaining the representative nature of the message. However, at times first personal singular references are interposed which realise a more personal position declared by the speaker. This more subjective stance demonstrates a higher degree of affective investment into the work of the organisation, foregrounding its moral aspect beside the one pertaining to organizational efficiency:

"I want to add one more point, which to me is very important. The Commission is willing to build bridges between the different positions of Member States. We cannot afford the luxury of finger-pointing. We cannot afford the luxury of accusing one another of not wanting to reach a solution. There is no time for that. We have to have the skill, the openness and the willingness to build bridges to help countries come to a common solution which will express solidarity and responsibility."
(Annex 5)

The first excerpt of this category presents a mixture of both personal and institutional position. While the First Vice-President makes it clear that he is speaking on behalf of the Commission by naming it as an agent of the actions discussed, a personal aside is added (*'which to me is very important'*), signalling the reflective nature of the passage, and a personal perspective on the activity of the organization and the situation at hand, explicitly stating the effort to combine and integrate the alternative perspectives among the states of the European Union. The categorical assumption of *'the Commission is willing to build bridges between the*

different positions of the Member States' is both a statement of organizational agenda and a personal observation on the activity of the institution the speaker represents.

An opposition is construed between the action rendered to the Commission (*'building bridges'*) and *'finger-pointing'* established as two contrary perspectives, with implicit positive and negative attitudinal values, invited by the metaphorical representation of the Commission's action as a reconciliatory gesture and the negative conduct of the member states accusing each other, acting against the implementation of possible solutions (which *building bridges* implies). The opposition, attitudinally inviting positive and negative judgement of capacity, given its reference to institutional efficiency (and inefficiency) is moderately intensified by the expression of volition on one side (*'is willing'* and later, *'willingness'*) and the negative phrasing of *'cannot afford'* and *'there is no time for that'*, *'not wanting'*, on the other. While the expressions of volition realise the speaker's personal perspective, supporting the institutional position on the matter as values of *proclaim: pronounce*, the values rendered to the opposite perspective of those who are *pointing fingers*, realise an engagement type of *denial*, instantiating the speaker's disapproval and criticism regarding this conduct. Following this, a further *pronouncement* value by way of deonticity (*we have to have*) reaffirms the speaker's position (personal and institutional) supported by an enumeration of positively valued judgment tokens of capacity (*'the skill, the openness and the willingness'*) leading to *the 'common solution'* (further positive token of capacity).

While in the excerpt above the personal and institutional positions intermingle through the perspective of the speaker who renders both, in the next example the two aspects are better distinguishable, with a more foregrounded personal outlook:

“... what we do today, and what we will be doing next Monday, is closely linked to the destiny of Europe – not just of the European Union – but to the destiny of Europe as a community of values, where we need to respect what we see is being done by countless European citizens today. We need to respect the basic humanity that makes me so proud of being European.” (Annex 4)

In this excerpt the speaker distinguishes between the European Union as an organization and Europe as a community, composed, it is suggested, by ‘*countless European citizens*’ exercising ‘*basic humanity*’. By the explanatory personal aside ‘*not just of the European Union*’ the speaker’s perspective is indicated that the organization is an organic part of the community of Europe, subordinated to the ‘*values*’ (*we need to respect*) its citizens pursue. While this affirmation may well be stated from an institutional perspective, the speaker concludes in a personal note, *proclaiming* his own perspective by the subordinated clause, ‘*that makes me so proud of being European*’.

The *proclaim*: *pronounce* value of the engagement realisations in the excerpt (‘*need to respect*’ – *deontic modality*) is intensified by the repetition of the phrase, and the repeated lexeme *Europe* and *European* which realises positive appreciation suggested by its implicit social and moral value in this context. The *pronouncement* of the speaker’s personal position at the end of the excerpt places him into the positive category of *being European* (being part of Europe as a ‘*community of values*’) and realises an intensified instance of positive affect (so proud).

The next excerpt is the most personal manifestation as it is addressed to somebody interrupting the speaker with an untrue accusation, therefore, causing irritation for the speaker. It involves negative evaluation associated with positive self-justification through value of *pronounce*:

“I say this also:

(Interjection from the floor: ‘Go to the camps and talk to them’)

It is being said here – because this is apparently the way people who disagree with you think they can make a point – it is being said behind me here ‘Go and talk to them in the camps’. Well, that is exactly what I did. That is exactly what I did, but apparently you only hear what you want to hear when you talk in the camps.” (Annex 6)

The person interrupting Frans Timmermans suggests that he should go to the refugee camps and personally understand their perspective, probably implying, that the speaker is hypocritical when voicing his pro-migration position. Frans Timmermans’ reaction is to repeat the words of the interrupter and refute the unjust accusation by *pronouncement* (“*That is exactly what I did*”). He additionally formulates a negative assessment (‘*you only hear what you want to hear*’) inviting negative judgement of propriety.

Entertaining Oppositional Perspectives

The First Vice-President formulates the European Commission’s perspective as a leading institution of the European Union with an objective to integrate alternative views on the matter of the migrant crisis and formulate a coherent and efficient policy to contain it. Member countries have formulated very different positions on this issue and the aim of Frans Timmermans’ first intervention during the September 9 debate was to clarify that the Commission’s proposals represent a middle way between the *solidarity* demonstrated towards the refugees by the adepts of the ‘open door policy’ and the *responsibility* foregrounded by those who were insisting on defending borders instead. In the following excerpt the speaker analyses the two extreme positions and evaluates them from the perspective of the Commission:

“There are those who sell the illusion that simply by closing all the borders and sending everybody back we could solve this problem. There are also those who maintain that by simply opening all the borders and letting everybody in we could solve the problem. These are illusions.

They have the advantage of being clear in terms of proposals, but the disadvantage of being completely impossible in terms of practicality. Closing the borders and sending everyone back would mean that we take leave of our most fundamental values as Europeans. It would also mean acting in clear violation of our legal obligations. Opening the borders and letting everyone in would mean that we would put an end to the European social model as we know it, because it could not support people coming from all over the world in great, endless numbers.

For that reason, we need to make a clear distinction between those who deserve our solidarity (...), and those who (...) should not abuse the asylum system (...) we need a combination of solidarity and responsibility.” (Annex 4)

In terms of stance-taking, the central proposition of the excerpt is the evaluative categorical assumption *‘These are illusions’* referring to the two oppositional perspectives among the members of the European Union. While the term *‘illusion’* inscribes a negative value of appreciation toward both perspectives, further attitudinal meaning is merely invited by implications of the explanation the speaker offers. For instance, by discussing *advantages (clear)* and *disadvantages (lacks practicality)* some evaluative content (positive and negative) is rendered to the two positions but it is clearly subordinated to the negative realm of *‘illusion’*.

In terms of engagement, the same categorical assumption (*‘these are illusions’*) proclaims the speaker’s position by a value of *pronounce*. This position is further developed by explanatory assertions formulated in a similar syntax, semantically subordinated to it (*‘those who sell’*, *‘those who maintain’*, *‘there are’*). These semantically subordinated propositions and the subsequent hypothetical explanatory propositions realise values of *entertain* presenting both opposite aspects of the debate in order to explain the reason of their negative assessment with a pattern of action-consequence: *‘closing the border’* means *‘taking leave of our fundamental*

values' and *'violation of our legal obligations'* while *'opening borders... would put an end to the European social model'*.

In fact, the real opposition construed in this paragraph is between these extreme viewpoints presented as *'illusions'* and the speaker's own perspective, of *'combination of solidarity and responsibility'*, suggested by the use pronouns as well, marking the different perspectives (we -those), while the two perspectives are parallelly represented as two unsuitable aspects of the same issue, due to their extreme approach.

III.2.5. Attitudinal Stance

Tackling Fear

Due to his position as First Vice-President, Frans Timmermans does not target individual member states or governments but addresses the content of those strategies he disagrees with and which are opposed to the Commission agenda. As with all speakers in the debate, attitude is formulated around the threat the migrant crisis represents and the fear that results from this challenging situation among the population. As already demonstrated in previous excerpts, the characteristic of these three interventions is the realisation of the speaker's position through the construal of oppositions between categories. Attitudinal stance is realised similarly through inscribed and implied evaluative content. In the case of the speaker's remarks concerning the fear that has spread through European society, the opposition is constructed between politics that pursues *'easy solutions'* through fearmongering and the *'responsible politics'* the speaker vouches for with a concluding *pronouncement (I hope we will all be responsible in this phase)*:

"I know that, in this day and age, fear is an important factor in European society. Many European citizens are afraid, and you know what, fear has as a characteristic: when you are afraid you go and look

for proof that your fear is justified and you are not open to proof that your fear is unjustified. Responsible politics in this situation is not to cater to fear, not to create stereotypes, not to put people in groups, but to come up with solutions to a problem instead of just increasing people's fears in the hope that it will provide you with more votes at the next election.

This is also the time when politicians across Europe will be challenged on whether their integrity still prevails or whether they go for the easy solution of catering to fears in the hope of then gaining political position. I hope we will all be responsible in this phase.” (Annex 6)

The speaker's explanatory style employed throughout his interventions is used in this example as well, oppositional semantic relations being construed through a series of monoglossic propositions enumerating categories of the same kind, with frequent repetitions of the same lexical element (fear) or syntax pattern (negative infinitive), and positing opposed categories against each other. In this way, the speaker *pronounces* his position, while *countering* the opposing perspective.

The attitudinal content of the excerpt follows the same pattern: opposing categories are construed around the concept of *fear* (*citizens are afraid, look for proof that it is justified vs. not open to proof that it is unjustified, look for proof, increase people's fears*), on one hand, *responsible politics* (*not to cater, not to create, not to put people, to come up with solutions*) on the other, inviting either negative (judgement of capacity since faulty behaviour is described) or positive judgement (of propriety since ethical conduct is described). The opposition between fearmongering and responsible politics continues in the second paragraph with a similar construal of categories regarding politicians' conduct through inscribed (*integrity*) and invoked (*easy solution*) evaluative content.

Although the excerpt tackles fear, as a threat in European society, the speaker's expository style and the construal of a positive category to

counter its negative effects results in an effect of distancing from it. The speaker's aim is to address the phenomenon and find solutions to overcome it. However, for the European Union if the migrant crisis is not handled well:

"... those of you who know Game of Thrones will know the expression 'winter is coming'. It is meant quite literally and it is meant metaphorically. This expression can be applied to the situation the European Union is in now vis-à-vis the refugees. Winter is coming, quite literally. But winter might also be coming metaphorically for the European Union if we are incapable of action in the next couple of days and weeks." (Annex 5)

The speaker's choice of situation to a fantasy series, the speaker makes sure that adequate distancing from this sense of threat happens, however, the adequate simile (given also the time of year) is a vivid enough illustration to urge the audience towards quick and effective action. The slogan adopted from the show is literal enough to convey urgency at the time of the debate (October) and the comparison suitable enough to convey some negative affect of threat converted into a sense of bravery which the audience is supposed to adopt and vote the proposals. Even if the comparison is somewhat exaggerated, the speaker does point out its metaphorical dimension, in fact, it functions as a mobilizing strategy inviting positive judgement of tenacity, enhanced by the humour of the exaggeration, and urges for a responsible attitude, by doing the right thing (i.e. voting).

In the context of the proposals having been adopted, in his third intervention Frans Timmermans calls for unity and trust among member states. In the next excerpt, although threat is never explicitly conveyed, the dramatic rendering of the circumstances does invite some negative affect of fear:

"Mr President, today we are all put to the test. We are faced with what is arguably the biggest challenge to Europe in a generation. What is being put to the test is our capacity to handle a huge humanitarian crisis. What is being put to the test is our capacity to understand that

there will be solutions only at a European level. What is being put to the test is the very fabric of our European Union. What is being put to the test is actually the fundamental values we share, and much that was said this morning testifies to this.” (Annex 6)

The same fear is invited through the repeated idea that ‘we’ are tested and the suggestion that this is happening in every area identified as *European*, be that the organization of the European Union or the way of life and values recognized as *European* and that, if the test is not passed, all of these may be lost.

Mitigating Non-compliance

Frans Timmermans formulates a moderately critical dialogical stance towards the extreme perspectives on migration that imply either opening the borders to everybody or closing down borders altogether. However, when it comes to the negative assessment of member states that are not willing to vote the proposals, the criticism formulated seems more of an admonishment, due to the mitigating strategies employed. In this aspect, his stance is similar to that taken by J. C. Juncker (see Annex 1).

As already stated, the first intervention occurred before the Commission proposals were voted in the Parliament and rejected by the Justice and Home Affairs Council. At this point it was known that some states disagree with the relocation plan but the vote had not taken place. The speaker launches a call for the Parliament to vote favourably so that the Council vote could be countered and employs mitigating strategies to discuss the issue:

“I just want to use this opportunity (...) to call upon the European Parliament to strongly support the Commission’s proposals today. That would be a clear signal in the preparation for the Council on Monday, where we know that some Member States still have a number of steps to take before they can agree with the Commission’s proposal. The stronger Parliament can be today in coming out with its position, the better we are prepared for the Council on Monday.” (Annex 4)

The hypothetical structure (*‘that would be a clear signal’*) realises a value of *entertain* by the speaker pondering on the possibility of a favourable vote by the Parliament and the chances it offers the Commission (*‘we are better prepared for the Council’*) which construes a positively evaluated situational context (judgement of capacity) for the dismissal of those who are not likely to vote favourably. The negative evaluation of the states disagreeing with the proposal is significantly toned down in the proposition *‘we know that some Member States still have a number of steps to take before they can agree’*. It is suggested that their noncompliance is, in fact, a temporary omission or a delay which can be recovered in due time (*‘before they can agree’*) and a straightforward judgement of propriety (involving ethical issues, perhaps) is mitigated as a less serious negative judgement of capacity, as they *‘still have a number of steps to take’* and catch up with the Parliament.

More explicit criticism but still a moderate one is realised during Frans Timmermans’ third intervention, after the two Council meetings:

“I have to note that when people try to argue that those arriving in Europe today are, in the majority, people seeking a better future, not refugees – which is completely unfounded, there are no scientific data – and people say this in this House, I draw some hope from this because they do not want to be seen not to be doing something for real refugees. My hope is that once those in this House who currently reject everything, we do understand that we are actually dealing with a majority of real refugees, they will see the fallacy of their ways and come to the conclusion that there are only European solutions here. There is no need to hide from that fact.” (Annex 6)

In the excerpt the position of those who claim that the refugees are, in fact, economic migrants (*when people try to argue*) is *entertained* and then *disclaimed* through a *deny* value personal aside (*which is completely unfounded, there are no scientific data*). A further engagement value is the

pronouncement of his own position towards those '*who currently reject everything*' (*I hope...*). This description is evaluative, inviting negative judgement of tenacity (implying they will not accept any measure of solidarity). The oppositional categories typical of the speaker are construed around 'we' who have '*European solutions*' (positive judgement of normality) and 'them', who '*reject everything*' (see above, *who are the participants the speaker is addressing*).

It is suggested, similarly to the excerpt above, that those who '*reject everything*' rely on incorrect data when they are making their allegations ('*completely unfounded*') and that, in fact, there is *hope for them*, first, because they '*do not want to be seen*' not doing something for refugees, implying that they choose to claim refugees are economic migrants because it is easier on their conscience (therefore, they have one), and second, because (as in the previous excerpt) this is only a temporary misguidance and, in the future, '*they will see the fallacy of their ways*'.

Besides the explicit negative assessment ('*those who reject everything*'), the speaker's assumptions invite further negative judgement of capacity by the implication of a moral (and even cognitive) inferiority. It is implied that those who do not accept the proposals do not, yet, understand that there are '*only European solutions here*', therefore, they are lagging behind in accepting this situation. Further negative assessment originates from the speaker's own attitude which invites positive judgement of propriety. By indulging with the '*fallacy of their ways*', the speaker demonstrates generosity and good faith by refusing to believe that someone would not help refugees and suggesting that they would be welcomed when they draw the right *conclusions*. By categorically aligning with positive values (which are also European ones), the speaker, in fact, rejects any alternative position as non-European, and negative, therefore, invites negative judgement of propriety on those who do not comply.

Capability: Responsible Politics in Action

Similarly to J.C. Juncker (Annex 1), Frans Timmermans also uses indirect realisations of judgement of capacity to demonstrate the efficiency and suitability of the institution he represents. When explaining the measures taken in the implementation of the proposals, the First Vice-President provides a series of factual details pertaining to concrete actions that have been taken or are planned to be taken:

“The European Council was responsible last week, by paving the way for decisions that can now be implemented. Let me briefly go through them. They decided last week to strengthen external borders and increase the financial and human resources for our agencies (...), and to increase funding for the EU home affairs funding programmes, with EUR 100 million for emergency assistance (...) This is in addition to the EUR 73 million already exhausted. Much of this funding is going to address the immediate humanitarian needs – to help Member States provide the necessary shelter, health, welfare and other specific basic needs of new arrivals.

We speeded up the preparation of the Western Balkan conference next Thursday. We speeded up the roll-out of support teams in the hotspots in the most affected Member States, to identify, register and fingerprint migrants.” (Annex 6)

The positive judgement of capacity is invited in this excerpt through the enumeration of all the measures that are to be implemented by the organization. Lexis such as ‘*paving the way*’, ‘*strengthen*’, ‘*increase*’, ‘*help*’, ‘*speed up*’ construe the idea of an efficient organization implementing *responsible* politics. Additionally, large sums of money are mentioned, which have no attitudinal value per se, but in the context they contribute to the positive judgement on the organization.

Similarly to the previous excerpt, positive judgement of capacity and also, judgement of propriety is invited in the next example, implying that funds are not limited and nothing is more important than containing the crisis:

“I am looking forward to taking stock of these promises at the next European Council and I hope people understand that EUR 1 billion of funding is not too much to ask for in humanitarian aid.” (Annex 6)

Firstly, the excerpt demonstrates a preoccupation with people’s perception of the organization spending that large amount of money, therefore, the speaker *entertains* a possible alternative perspective (*people understand*), which is *countered* by the speaker’s perspective that this large sum is ‘*not too much to ask for in humanitarian aid*’. This perspective invites positive judgement of propriety by attributing a generous and humane behaviour to the organization.

Beside the positive judgement of capacity some negative evaluation of the organization is also present in Frans Timmermans’ interventions. Dissensions over the relocation plan and the tension around the vote which was not unanimous, prompts him to evaluate the community of the European Union as ‘*lacking self-confidence*’. As the excerpt has already been analysed above, this is only a completion to the strategies of self-evaluation, which is not unilaterally positive:

“The issue here is not that we do not know what to do; the issue is that, as in other areas, we lack self-confidence. We can handle this – I agree with Chancellor Merkel: ‘Wir schaffen das’ – I have no doubts (...)” (Annex 6)

In the excerpt invoked negative judgement of capacity is realised by ideational realisation (*‘we lack self-confidence’*), which however, is significantly mitigated by the speaker’s categorical assertions (*‘we can handle this’, ‘I have no doubts’*). As with the covert criticism toward the opposing member states, the speaker implies that this state is temporary and will be corrected in the future. Therefore, rather than insisting on this

perceived weakness (a similar attitude can be traced in J.C. Juncker's Address – Annex 1), the encouragement to overcome it is foregrounded.

Responsible Politics towards Asylum Seekers

It is the specific, institutional characteristic of these texts that the legal and legitimate aspect is acknowledged as primary over any type of other attitudes or positions. The speaker declares solidarity toward the refugees throughout, and emphasizes the humanitarian aspect of this gesture, however, this principle is applicable within the limits of laws and regulations.

It has been mentioned that the term '*migrant*' is avoided as well as any negative evaluation of the asylum seekers. This results in some euphemistic reference to this category. One of the less discussed and uncomfortable measures has been the establishment of an efficient return policy for those who did not qualify for a refugee status, meaning they were economic migrants. This was one of the controversial issues, since anti-migrationists were claiming the majority of asylum seekers were not originally from a country at war and that many of them had been deliberately disposing of their documentation to conceal that. It is a characteristic of Franz Timmermans' interventions as samples of institutional discourse, that explicit negative reference is avoided, especially in the case of the refugees towards whom he declares solidarity. It is in this context that the legal action of distinguishing between asylum seekers of a different status occurs:

"... we need to make a clear distinction between those who deserve our solidarity because they flee from war and persecution, and those who might have genuine feelings about seeking a better future but should not abuse the asylum system to attain that goal.

(...) responsibility to create a list of safe third countries so that we can be swifter in returning people who have no right to stay;" (Annex 4)

The return policy is not mentioned as such, it is explained instead, as *'distinction'* between those who *'deserve solidarity'* and those who *'should not abuse the asylum system'*. Even though the latter phrase does invite some negative judgement of propriety by the implication that they are indeed committing an abuse, this detail is significantly toned down, even neutralized, by the concessive observation that they *'might have genuine feelings about seeking a better future'*. It is implied that they are merely doing what anybody else would, by trying to find quality living standards, and with the addition of the evaluation of their *feelings* as *genuine* (the speaker probably meaning that their intentions are true) the endeavour of these illegal migrants is assessed as justified, even if not legal (since they abuse the asylum system). In a further paragraph, a slightly more explicit negative evaluation is used, when the speaker describes an efficient measure of the proposals as a *swifter* return of those who *'who have no right to stay'*, signalling, beside the benevolence of solidarity, the fact that, according to regulations they are committing an illegal act.

Solidarity towards refugees on one hand, and implementing efficient regulations, on the other, is the subject of the next excerpt as well:

"Refugees, on the run from war and persecution, willing to risk everything for even the chance of a decent life, will continue to flee. They simply have no other option. And we have no other option but to provide a safe haven for them, to protect them and to treat them properly, here in the European Union, as well as in other countries where they arrive. So, it is time to rebuild our self-confidence and our mutual confidence in our ability ..." (Annex 6)

The excerpt is, in fact, part of a call for unity and trust (see above), in the hope of increasing organizational effectiveness. However, solidarity for refugees is considered to be part of that. Two categories are construed, *'they'* and *'we'*, representing the refugees and the European community, with both categories positively evaluated. The repeated bare assertion (and

pronouncement value) *'have no other option'* suggests the validity of both perspectives. Refugees are represented as *'fleeing'*, *'on the run from war'*, *'willing to risk everything'*, inviting positive judgement of tenacity, implying their determination and a positive affect of solidarity. At the same time, self-evaluation is realised through parallel syntax with infinitive and lexis inviting positive judgement of propriety (*'to provide a safe haven'*, *'to protect them'*, *'to treat them properly'*), suggesting that the European Union has both the capacity and the will to help refugees.

III.2.6. Partial Conclusions

Throughout his interventions Frans Timmermans is foregrounding the values of *solidarity* and *responsibility* as guiding principles for the member countries of the European Union and the organization as a whole. While the abstract notions are clearly defined and circumscribed by ideational resources, the bare assertions constituting the speaker's explanation define his dialogic stance and inscribed and invoked evaluative resources realise his attitudinal position.

His dialogical stance, similarly to other speakers, is realised by a series of *proclaim* values which convey the perspective of the organization, and the institution, he represents. Due to this fact, *endorsement* values concerning J. C. Juncker's position are present in his interventions, vouching for the proposals that have been presented on the September 9 debate by the President of the Commission. Besides the *pronouncement* of the perspective of the institution, some stance taking with a higher personal investment is realised with the speaker reflecting on various aspects of the debated issues. The shortcomings in the functional aspects of the organization are pointed out as temporary and countered by further *pronouncement* of a responsible politics and exhortation for action.

The tone of Frans Timmermans' interventions is moderate, conciliatory and inclusive, in the spirit of one of the values formulated,

unity, and its complementary trust among member states. Even though establishing opposite categories is a typical strategy, their role is one of ascertainment and observation without adopting a combative position, not even when opposing points of view are tackled. In these cases, opposition is interpreted as a temporary failure that would be repaired in the future. The aim of these contrastive representations is a clear stance taking and a transparent definition of categories in a tensioned debate.

Opposition is formulated towards extreme political attitudes rather than one particular concrete category. These are evaluated negatively as *easy solutions*, *illusions* which lack practicality. It is around these oppositions where the notion of threat and the connected affect of fear appears, by an enumeration of negative consequences. However, this is always countered by the positive tone of the speaker's call for a policy combining solidarity and responsibility. Discourse on threat is contemplative with an expository aim, and by merely *entertaining* the possibility of negative consequences it remains distant.

Metaphorical representation is not very characteristic of these interventions, although, it is effectively used in one instance, with an opposition established in connection with the inclusive policies of the Commission and the non-cooperating member states. In this context, the generically used metaphor of '*finger-pointing*' countered by the representation of the Commission's perspective as '*building bridges*'.

As with other speakers, the typical strategy for higher degree graduation is the repetition of key lexis, parallel syntax, or entire propositions. The aim of these instances is usually one of clarification of terms and definitions and it contributes to the attitudinal graduation of judgement of capacity and propriety. On one exception, repetition is used to a dramatic effect ('*What is being put to the test*') and it realises implied affect as a sense of fear.

Supporting the conciliatory tendency of the speaker's stance, mitigating strategies are used in connection with toning down criticism towards noncompliant member states or illegal migrants. Opposition is represented as a temporary flaw or a valid perspective, which, however, needs to be treated in compliance with the law. Mitigating strategies discursively realise the Commission's effort to establish a balanced middle course for its approach of the crisis.

In terms of self-evaluation, positive judgement of capacity is predominant presenting the Commission and the European Union as a legitimate representative of the citizens of Europe, striving to implement effective measures for containing the crisis. When pointing out flaws like lack of trust and unity, mitigating strategies are employed to suggest these flaws are temporary and possible to correct in the future.

Evaluation of member states who are critical towards the Commission's proposals is similar, and positive attitudes, such as responsibility and solidarity are foregrounded instead of an antagonizing stance. Attitude towards the refugees is construed in the same spirit of acceptance and solidarity, however, the importance of a viable and effective, *sustainable asylum policy* is emphasized in this context, in accordance with a moderate stance between offering help and complying with regulations. Demonstration of solidarity means alignment with European *values*; however, these are to be implemented responsibly, within the requirements of laws concerning migration.

CHAPTER IV

SELF-REFLECTIVE STANCE

The self-reflective stance preserves the previous speakers' exhortatory undertaking in that it urges the members of the audience to take their actions in the spirit of preserving Europe's '*good name*'. However, its tone is more moderate, inviting to cautious self-scrutiny, rather than immediate action.

IV.1. Donald Tusk – President of the European Council

The texts produced by President of the European Council, Donald Tusk and First Vice-President of the European Commission Frans Timmermans provide ground for comparison. The similarity between the two sets is the effort to balance the two polarities created due to the disagreements and different perspectives among the member states. Regarding their political orientation, the speakers maintain a different perspective on the migrant crisis. Donald Tusk has a conservative, more reserved outlook on receiving migrants seeking consistency in enacting an authentic role for Europe as a symbol of humanity but also responsibly guarding those assets which allow it to be that symbol, namely applying a stricter asylum policy and maintaining the existent Schengen agreement by guarding external borders. The fact that he elaborates on some of the arguments of the anti-migrationist perspective of the Central European members, namely the importance of border control and the emphasis on the unrealistic aspect of the open-door policy, indicates Donald Tusk's cautiousness in the matter. However, at this point he maintains a balanced view regarding European asylum policy, accepting both the idealistic, humanitarian aspect and the more practical one in the hope of obtaining a consensus and unity of action from member states.

Frans Timmermans favours a significantly more open policy toward asylum seekers, his main argument being that of acting humanely towards those in need (similarly to J. C. Juncker) but at the same time acknowledges the validity of the argument pertaining to defending borders and applying a stricter policy.

Considered from a discursive point of view, the texts from the two speakers are illustrations of the dynamic process through which political discourse emerges as an interactive system of meaning production (Berlin and Fetzer 2012, 9). In these concrete examples, the negotiation of what constitutes European values pursues to integrate discordant perspectives into a workable frame, allowing validity to the two opposite sides by a dialogically expansive engagement style and adequate attitudinal position. At the same time, a high degree of personal investment from both speakers indicates their effort to align their audience to the values they proclaim.

During the September 23 meeting on migration of the European Council details of the European Union's long-term plan were discussed, included among those presented by the President of the Commission on September 9th. The controversial relocation scheme which had been voted in the Justice and Home Affairs ministers' meeting a day before was not included on the agenda. The European leaders agreed upon increasing financial assistance for countries sheltering refugees, strengthening external borders through various patrol and surveillance operations and setting up so called 'hot spots' where asylum seekers can be identified, registered and relocated or returned if they are not entitled to refugee status. Further measures were established concerning diplomatic efforts with non-EU countries sheltering migrants, especially Turkey.

The analysis of Donald Tusk's stance-taking is conducted on two interventions which took place during the October 6 debate in the European Parliament. This debate analysed the outcome of the September 23 meeting of the European Council, where several measures of the

Commission proposals had been discussed. As no consensus had been reached on the relocation plan, which was one of the Commission proposals, the package was eventually adopted with a qualified majority vote. This gesture on the Commission part, considered to be overbearing by the critics, enabled the implementation of the plan and facilitated some kind of resolution in the management of the crisis.

IV.1.1. Values and Representational Frame

As President of the European Council, Donald Tusk presented his conclusions in front of the European Parliament in Strasbourg. The values he builds his intervention on are well summarized in a plea he is making: *'we have to take care of our good name, together'*. Similarly to Federica Mogherini and Dimitris Avramopoulos, two other leading figures of the European Union involved in implementing effective policies to handle the crisis, the value of the *'good name'* for Donald Tusk is represented by credibility in the international arena. Achieving unity, the consensus of all 28 states is the instrument to reach this state and a very challenging one, given the ongoing dissensions among member states. Similarly to J. C. Juncker, Donald Tusk's reproof goes against the lack of unity that dominates the debate on the migrant crisis and its consequences on the credibility that Europe is losing on a global scale.

As credibility results from unity, the president of the European Council calls on the leaders of member states and the representatives in Parliament to demonstrate solidarity, a concrete gesture of unity, and the responsibility of avoiding extremes in taking their decisions. The way these values manifest in the leaders' conduct, according to Donald Tusk, is that of avoiding extremes by complying with the regulations both in assisting the refugees and in protecting external EU borders. These two concrete actions represent the main claims of the pro- and the anti-migrationists, which the speaker seeks to validate in his interventions:

"It is our common obligation to assist refugees as well as to protect the EU's external borders. Everyone must take up this obligation and at the same time, no one should be left alone with the burden. That is how I understand solidarity." (Annex 2)

The necessity to act as one and comply with '*common obligations*' is more important than ever, Donald Tusk implies. There is a sense of urgency in his interventions, generated by the circumstances he describes Europe is in. Due to the crisis and the dissensions around the possible solutions for containing it, the position of Europe is described as a dire one, isolated, and criticised due to the inconsistencies of its asylum policy and left on its own to deal with the migrants. Additionally to the values underlying the speaker's plea, the circumstances of Europe being subjected to '*scathing criticism*', as well as forced to *count mainly on itself*, represent the premises based on which the speaker formulates his plea toward the leaders and representatives of member states to exercise solidarity and responsibility leading to common action.

Donald Tusk calls helping refugees a '*common obligation*' of all members and solidarity is primarily a pragmatic value that all members must share in mutual support for each other. Although the moral dimension is not denied, the foregrounded content of the values of solidarity and responsibility pertains to the unity and political credibility of the organisation and the necessity to maintain a commonsensical attitude towards the crisis. This aspect conveys little or no moral quotability and specificity to the concept of solidarity in his discourse and places it within a realm of general indeterminacy. However, when it comes to interpreting responsibility, a degree of specificity and even determinacy can be detected in the urge towards politicians to use the power invested in them with caution and with regard towards the common good. This stance conveys a perspective that defines political influence in its most noble understanding of service to the community.

IV.1.2. Stance in Donald Tusk's Interventions

As its name suggests, caution and situational analysis are the main aspects of the stance realised in Donald Tusk's interventions. While the humanitarian aspect of helping refugees may be interpreted as implied, the speaker focusses on the analysis of the organisation he represents and defines institutional values in this context. A negative assessment of the situation in Europe and a critical evaluation of the leaders involved is outlined in his urgent call for change in attitude.

The dialogical stance is realised by values of *proclaim: pronounce* through which the speaker engages his audience to (re)consider their conduct and demonstrate a more responsible attitude by pursuing unity of action and avoid extreme positioning in both anti- and pro-migrationist flanks. Concomitantly, criticism directed towards Europe is countered by the realisation of negative affect and judgement towards those critics while alignment with the audience is easily achieved by striking a familiar tone with those present.

Attitudinal values dominate this discourse with the speaker's negative evaluation of those who fail to approach this crisis in a responsible way, specifically addressing fearmongering, exaggerated optimism or simplification of the issue. Affect displaying indignation and negative judgement of the hypocritical attitude of critics alternates with the negative judgement of capacity towards those members who fail to demonstrate common sense.

IV.1.3. Who are the Participants Donald Tusk is Addressing?

Following the Council meeting and having drawn the conclusions, Donald Tusk's two short interventions are definitely addressed to the representatives participating to the meeting. This intention is confirmed by the choice of leadership as a topic and the speaker's occasional invitations to reflection. In the introduction of his first intervention, the President of

the European Council uses the term '*stress test*' to describe the effect the migrant crisis has on the European Union:

"Just as we check our banks using stress tests, today life itself is using a dramatic migration stress test to check our community." (Annex 2)

Just as such tests reveal if a bank has enough assets to withstand negative economic shock, in the case of Europe, the question is whether the community has enough resources, material but mostly related to solidarity and Stress tests are used in various domains but it may not be accidental that the speaker chooses banks as the source domain for describing the situation the responsibility, to withstand the shock of this crisis. This asset, Donald Tusk implies, is mainly in the hands of leaders and national representatives in the way they handle their responsibility to act and to represent their countries.

The attribution Donald Tusk endorses in the next excerpt, Max Weber's concept of a leader's responsibility, could probably qualify as a declaration of professional ethos but the endorsement is mainly due to its applicability on the situation, namely, that a leader should be aware of the effects of his actions, and control those if potentially harmful for his community, regardless of his convictions⁵⁷:

"Dear colleagues, you all know the notion of ethics of responsibility from the works of Weber – not Manfred but Max Weber. Today, the ethics of responsibility requires us to refrain from extremes." (Annex 2)

Apart from the speaker acknowledging the homonymy with his colleague, one of the leading figures of the German conservatives, treating it as a source of humour and collegial interaction, the reference also qualifies as a personal preference shared among peers rather than a directive (*you all know*'), in an attempt to submit his own perspective to the scrutiny of those present, and request the reconsidering of their positions. This is an

⁵⁷ <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/weber/>

invitation to self-reflection to which he also submits himself: *'the ethics of responsibility requires us to refrain from extremes'*. The speaker's focus on maintaining his interventions as collegial are also indicated by his address toward his colleagues (Dear *colleagues*) and the use of the inclusive 'we', throughout.

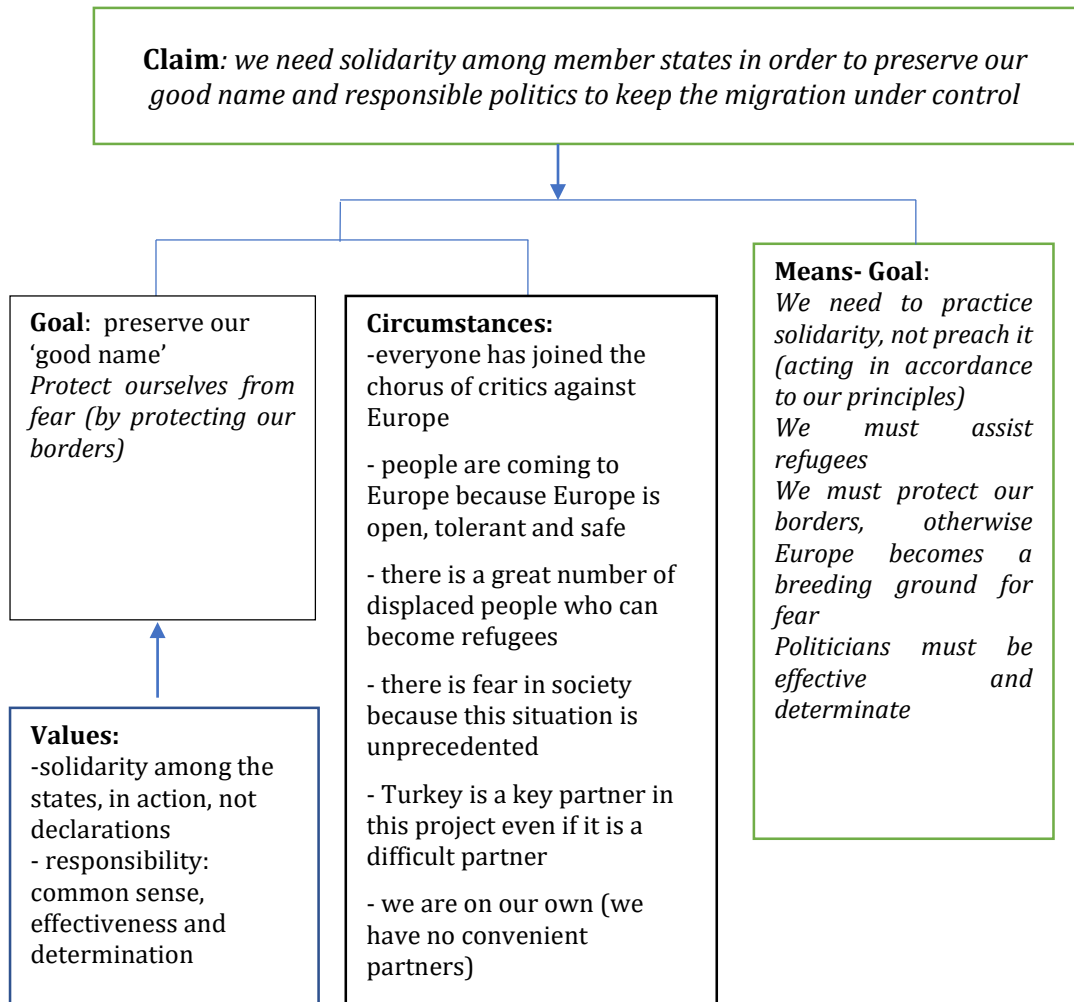


Fig 3. Donald Tusk's interventions as practical argumentation

IV.1.4. Dialogical Stance

A Call for Unity of Action

The excerpt illustrates the exhortatory nature of Donald Tusk's intervention, calling for unified action in the migrant crisis, which the speaker qualifies as responsibility in leadership. In this part of his speech, *defending the good name of Europe* represents this responsibility, as it can be preserved by unified, responsible action:

“Historical changes and threats on a large scale demand a sense of dignity and self-belief from every community, particularly now, when the whole world is focusing its attention on Europe and on its reaction to the wave of refugees. Europe is subject to increasingly scathing criticism, and our internal disagreements and mutual recriminations only help our opponents. Almost everyone in Europe has joined the chorus of critics, while very few defend its good name. In the United Nations, one could have the impression that Europe is the worst place in the world for refugees. Believe me, I felt isolated there when I defended Europe's good reputation, trying to convince the audience that the truth about Europe is completely different.

Hundreds of thousands of refugees go to Europe because they know that our community is still the most open and tolerant of all. It is still we who respect international standards and conventions, and it is Europe where people – all people – are safer than anywhere else. Let us not let Europe become a scapegoat as a result of our quarrelling and blaming each other without restraint. Otherwise, before long, theocracies will start to lecture us on what religious tolerance means; (...) That is why we have to take care of our good name –together.” (Annex 2)

The text presents a situation in which *Europe* is subjected to ‘*increasingly scathing criticism*’ (highly intensified negative judgement) due to ‘*internal disagreements and mutual recriminations*’ which demands a ‘*sense of dignity and self-belief*’. This explicit attitudinal lexis evokes negative judgement of

capacity, contrasted by the abstract positive nouns inviting positive judgement. The initial context of abstract nouns is exchanged with a more personal tone, due to an account of the speaker's experience at a United Nations meeting where he was forced to defend Europe's good name. The personal interjection '*believe me*' implies familiarity and assumes the presence of an aligned audience which is solidary and empathetic about his experience. In the supposition with the engagement value of *entertain*, '*one could have the impression that Europe is the worst place in the world for refugees*', the epistemic modal '*could*' denies the validity of the critics' allegations or at least renders it unlikely. In the context of his experience at the United Nations, the statement features as a negative judgement of those critics, and negative affect on the speaker's part who shows himself aggrieved for Europe being criticized, suggested by the obvious exaggeration of the statement, which his audience understands and aligns with.

A high degree of personal investment is demonstrated by the speaker's insistence on the positive aspects of Europe: '*our community is still the most open ... are safer than anywhere else*'. The proposition has an engagement value of *countering* the criticism evoked, intensified by the repetition of '*still*' and the personal aside '*all people*' suggesting that safety extends to refugees as well.

The core of the text, and the actual engagement the whole excerpt leads up to is the encouragement realised by a *proclaim: pronounce* value by the use of negative directive: '*Let us not let Europe become a scapegoat as a result of our quarrelling and blaming each other...*'. The negative affect and judgement related to the critics of Europe as well as the contrastive situation of '*chorus of critics*' opposed to the '*few who defend its good name*', prepares an affectively intensified background for the plea the speaker addresses to his audience. The attitudinal charge of the excerpt culminates with the symbolic term '*scapegoat*', summarizing the entire context of

negative attitude aimed at Europe emphasizing the urgency of the speaker's plea.

The last statement of the excerpt (*'That's why we have to take care of our good name together'*) concludes the demonstration and reiterates the speaker's appeal, emphasizing the necessity of a common effort of the community.

Critical Reflection on Member States' Conduct

Concomitantly with the assessment of the position of Europe in the international context, an alternative focus of the speaker's dialogical positioning in the text aims the detrimental attitude of various member states which, in the speaker's perspective, damages European credibility, hence, capacity for action and solution of the crisis. In the first excerpt, the president of the European Council tackles the shortcomings of the two opposing perspectives on the asylum policy by evaluating the alternative positions and inviting his audience to consider both:

"Dear colleagues, you all know the notion of ethics of responsibility from the works of Weber – not Manfred but Max Weber. Today, the ethics of responsibility requires us to refrain from extremes. And by extremes, I mean both, on the one hand, anti-immigration rhetoric and, on the other, inviting everyone who wishes to come, despite being unable to take them under our roof. We need to understand that today millions of potential refugees and migrants – not only from Syria but also from Africa, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq and other places – are dreaming about Europe. For all refugees, easy access to Europe and lack of external borders have become, alongside the Willkommen-Politik, a magnet attracting them to us." (Annex 2)

The speaker *proclaims* his perspective by values of *pronouncement* realised through the directive verb 'require' (*'the ethics of responsibility requires us to refrain from extremes'*) and the deontic modal *need to* (*'we need to*

understand'). Both oppositional positions are proposed for scrutiny towards the audience (*'I mean both', on the one hand anti-migration rhetoric, on the other, inviting everyone who wishes to come'*) and the use of the inclusive 'we' marks the exhortatory nature of the proposition: the speaker is inviting those present *'to understand'* the danger of irresponsible political gestures. It must be noted, that while he does refer to the *'anti-migrationist'* rhetoric as one of the *'extremes'*, he emphasizes the dangers of the open-door policy. Thus, an implicit value of *entertain* is realised regarding the perspective of the Visegrad Four, and its most vocal representative, the Hungarian prime minister, who argued that the acceptance policy equals an invitation addressed to the migrants. Further negative attitudinal evaluation is realised regarding the open-door policy by tokens of judgement (capacity), when the speaker evaluates invitations as a *'magnet that attracts them to us'* implying irresponsibility on the part of those who profess a *'Willkommen-Politik'*, this latter term refers explicitly to the German Chancellor's acceptance policy and evaluates it through negative appreciation.

A further categorical alignment with the Visegrad Four is realised by the speaker's admittance that control of the external borders directly influences the future of a common Europe, which can lead to a *'political catastrophe'*. Although not explicitly stated, it is assumed that the audience understands the nature of this catastrophe, namely that the collapse of the Schengen system due to failure to control external borders leads to the dissolution of the European Union itself, the main purpose of which has been free movement of goods and people:

"We have to say it finally, loud and clear: Europe without its external borders equals Europe without Schengen. Europe without its external borders will become a breeding ground for fear in each and every one of us. And this will lead us, sooner rather than later, to a political catastrophe." (Annex 2)

The thesis, *'Europe without its external borders equals Europe without Schengen'* is framed by a proposition (*'we have to say it loud and clear'*) in which the speaker *proclaims* his position by values of *pronouncement* realised by the deontic *'have to'* and the intensifying explicit lexis *'loud and clear'*. The negative consequences are evaluated through high degree attitudinal lexis, *'breeding ground for fear'* and *'catastrophe'*. The urgency and the extent of these consequences are intensified by the proximizing effect of the indications of space, this fear is produced *'in'* us, and of time, *'sooner rather than later'*. The phrasing *'each and every one of us'*, by use of singular determiner and first-person plural indicates the pervasive negative effect both on an individual and a community level.

As the main focus of these interventions is to emphasize the urgency and importance of common action and mutual support among member states, the values of *proclaim: pronounce*, through which the speaker engages his audience, convey his insistence on community leaders understanding the importance of complying with commonly agreed community rules. What mostly generated the crisis during 2015, beyond the extraordinary number of asylum seekers coming to Europe, was the failure of certain member states to apply and observe community rules. In the excerpt below, Donald Tusk refers to the Dublin regulation, which requires the state of entry to register the asylum seeker, and the mandatory quota, which was considered to be a general rule, even if it had been continuously contested by the Visegrad Four. It is implied in the excerpt that failure to comply with regulations undermines the effort of a common, concerted action. Its message is especially emphasized by the speaker breaking the common convention of political discourse of not nominating the addressee of a negative remark or accusation:

"We have to respect commonly agreed rules. When someone says that they have no intention of observing European law, for example the Dublin Regulation or quotas, they undermine the essence of solidarity

and our community. Observing rules will always mean sacrificing part of our interests. I would like to dedicate these words to the Hungarians and the Italians, to the Slovaks and the Greeks.” (Annex 2)

The two propositions opening and ending the excerpt deserve attention from the perspective of engagement. In both cases values of *proclaim: pronounce* are realised. In the first case, ‘*we have to respect commonly agreed rules*’, the proclamation of the speaker’s perspective is realised by the deontic *have to*, suggesting external obligation, as the statement refers to *rules*.

In the case of the second proposition, ‘*I would like to dedicate these words ...*’, the speaker’s commitment softens, and the names of the non-complying member states are framed by a mitigating optative, given that the speaker aims to maintain a moderate tone and not jeopardise the unity he is pleading for by singling out one state or another. The criticism he is addressing cannot become more direct due to the context of collegial address and a general state of discontent. In this context, the speaker’s position of authority prescribes impartiality rather than direct rebuke, impartiality which is observed in the rest of the excerpt where the agent of ‘*respecting rules*’ is designated as the neutral ‘*someone*’ or in the general ascertainment with a first-person plural reference in ‘*observing rules will always mean sacrificing part of our interests*’.

The conclusion to his second intervention closes with a similar message addressed to all parties involved, and to ‘*some leaders*’ to whom the discussion on unity of action can serve as a ‘*real inspiration*’:

“It is obvious to me that we, and of course also the Member States, have to engage. That is why I am absolutely sure that our next European Council will be dedicated to this issue, and I hope that the discussion today here in Parliament will also be a real inspiration for some leaders and for some Member States – and I am sure that you know what I mean.” (Annex 3)

Similarly to some previous *proclaim: pronounce* values the speaker demonstrates high degree of investment (*'it is obvious to me'*) into the statement that the community of those present in parliament and the representatives of the member states, inscribed by the inclusive *'we'*, *'have to engage'* (*pronounce* realised by deontic modal). A further *pronouncement* is introduced by the personal optative *'I hope'* suggesting the speaker's expectation that the discussions will serve as a *'real inspiration'* for some member states. The personal aside *'I am sure that you know what I mean'* realises a similar engagement to that in the previous excerpt. The speaker's request for the member states, this time without naming them, to demonstrate higher commitment towards respecting the common regulations, regardless of whether those represent their interests or not, is mitigated by the softly ironic supposition that member states will find *'inspiration'*, implying changing their mind and complying with regulations. The addition of *'you know what I mean'* implies a further reminder that responsible conduct is not an option but a binding promise due to their membership in the European Union.

A more explicit reminder of the importance of complying with regulations is realised through values of engagement and explicit attitudinal lexis in the following example. Here, the speaker explains his personal definition on solidarity, implying mutual respect and observation of regulations, regardless of convictions and opinions:

"We keep talking about solidarity, about quotas and greater assistance for refugees on our soil, and for those who remain in camps in countries outside the EU. Let us remember, however, that solidarity requires mutual understanding and respect. Without solidarity among Member States, we will not be able to help others. It is our common obligation to assist refugees as well as to protect the EU's external borders. Everyone must take up this obligation and at the same time, no one should be left alone with the burden. That is how I understand solidarity." (Annex 2)

The speaker's pronouncement on solidarity and its practical manifestation is realised by two propositions, with a directive (*'Let us remember ... that solidarity requires mutual understanding and respect'*) and deontic modals (*'Everyone must take up..., no one should be left alone...'*) as well as one concluding statement, explicitly indicating that the statements of the explanation represent the speaker's perspective on solidarity (*that is how I understand solidarity*).

The assertions proclaimed include claims of both opposing sides, *'assisting refugees'* and *protecting external borders*, and the speaker's assessment suggests the necessity of a general involvement, without exceptions (*everyone... no one...*). Additionally, the emphasis on cooperation through lexis, such as *'mutual understanding and respect'*, *'solidarity among Member States'*, *'common obligation'*, *'help others'*, invites positive judgement of propriety, suggesting an ideal conduct among states and completing the speaker's engagement through *pronouncement*.

This ideal conduct is contrasted with the introductory proposition, through the phrase of a negative attitudinal value *'we keep talking'*, admitting (by a value of *entertain*) the existence of a discussion which is leading nowhere (suggested by the negative value of *'keep'*) and to which the remedy is represented by personal perspective described further, concluding that a common approach is absolutely necessary.

IV.1.5. Attitudinal Stance

Tackling Fear

The attitudinal values of the two interventions by Donald Tusk are mainly realised by explicit lexis supporting the dialogic positioning of the speaker, inviting the audience to apply self-reflection and moderacy. In this context it is highly relevant, that one of the issues the speaker tackles is the fear and uncertainty around this uncommon and confusing situation, greatly

contributing to the dissensions among the member states and, even more so, to the reluctance of the citizens to accept a pro-migration stance. The following excerpt is part of Donald Tusk's second intervention, after the discussion on the conclusions that occurred during the Council meeting with the member states' representatives:

“Thank you, Members, for the discussion. I think after this discussion we are fully aware that this issue is still dividing Europeans – at Member State level and also here in the European Parliament – and I can understand why. At the same time, I feel that today the chance for having a more common approach is much greater than it was a few weeks ago. I have no illusions and I have no doubts: nothing in this matter is easy, firstly because the scale of this issue is bigger than ever before, and that is why it is full of emotion – and not only in this House. First of all, I would like to underline that the issue today, because of its scale, is absolutely unique. That is why nothing is easy. Today we are talking about almost 70 million displaced people in the world, and almost all of them are around us. In Africa and Eurasia, there are 70 million.

When it comes to Afghans, for example, we have almost three million Afghans on their way to other countries. They are today in Pakistan, in Iran, in Iraq and in Turkey. Some of them, three million, are already in Europe. We have to be aware that, maybe not for all of them, but for sure for the majority of them, Europe is or can be the final destination. We have about eight million internally displaced people in Syria. There are three million Syrians in Turkey, Jordan and Iraq. There are hundreds of thousands of potential refugees from Yemen.

This is why nothing is easy in this case. This is why some of us in Europe are so nervous. This is why we feel something like fear, and I can understand why, because this is something new. For sure it is not a new problem but this scale, this new exodus, is something new, and some Member States have no experience with this kind of problem. That is why emotions are running so high.” (Annex 3)

In the first paragraph the speaker proclaims his position on the importance of solidarity in the difficult situation Europeans are confronting. This idea leads up to discussing the presence of fear, the common reaction to an unusual situation. The speaker's engagement style is one of concession to the uncomfortable idea that fear is present in our society combined with the exposition of his own perspective, realised by alternating values of *entertain* and *proclaim* through attitudinal verbs and verbal phrases such as *think, feel, be aware, have illusions, have doubts* and the modal of ability *can* (*I can understand*). The propositions have various degrees of intensity and dialogical expansion, with the more expansive *I think, I feel* or *I can understand* (*entertain*) to the contractive *I have no illusion and no doubts* (*proclaim: pronounce*). This specific choice of lexicogrammar indicates the speaker's own intention to understand and explicate the complex cognitive and affective processes that generate fear and draw his conclusions in order to contain this harmful effect, manifested by the repetition of conclusive statement structure with *this is why/that is why*.

Proclaim values throughout indicate personal observations that the speaker has already ascertained as valid and can safely state them as fact. For instance, the *pronouncement* '*I would like to emphasize*' indicates the conviction that this issue *is unique*, due to *its scale*. Other certainties are indicated by the modal attitudinal expressions *we are fully aware*, with the intensifying graduation by force of adverb *fully*, or the deontic '*we have to be aware*' and the negation of *doubt and illusion* (explicit negative attitudinal lexis). The ascertained facts are that '*this issue still divides Europeans*', '*Europe is or can be a final destination*' for many of the displaced people in Asia, and that '*nothing in this matter is easy*'.

The engagement values of *entertain* and *proclaim* frame factual assertions which can be divided into two categories. On one hand, there is the series of assessments of the phenomenon and Europeans' reaction to it ('*this issue is still dividing Europeans*', '*today the chance for having a more*

common approach is much greater than it was a few weeks ago, *'the scale of this issue is bigger than ever before*', *'the issue today, because of its scale, is absolutely unique*'), on the other hand, there is a range of factual assessments regarding the phenomenon itself, a presentation in figures and locations (*'Today we are talking about almost 70 million displaced people in the world*', *'we have almost three million Afghans on their way to other countries*', *'We have about eight million internally displaced people in Syria*', *'There are three million Syrians in Turkey, Jordan and Iraq. There are hundreds of thousands of potential refugees from Yemen*).

The range of attitudinal verbs and the first-person perspective convey a reflective and personal nature to this exposition, completed by the careful selection of graduation values, by which the speaker himself is approximating the scale of the matter and trying to make sense of it. First, there is a series of comparatives and lexis related to quantity connected to the crisis. The speaker establishes that *the scale of the issue is unique, it is bigger than ever before, it is something new, it is full of emotion*, it is a *'new exodus'*. Furthermore, the use of *something* as graduation by focus (*'something new'* used repeatedly, *'something like fear'*) suggest an uncertainty about defining this phenomenon even on the part of the speaker, an uncertainty shared with his audience as if emphasizing that there cannot be definite reactions to this, as the phenomenon is new and nobody knows how to handle it. Still, it invites positive judgement, due to the straightforward and honest approach through which the speaker seems to invite his audience into a common thinking process through which this issue can be defined, can be given a name.

In fact, the hesitation around *'something like fear'* demonstrates a reluctance to give in to this label that – everybody present is aware – has been used in order to increase the anxiety this issue has generated and create panic which can afterwards be exploited (see Viktor Orbán's discourse). It seems like he is in full awareness that his choice of words has

a stake and he is very circumspect in using them, in line with the responsible behaviour he is calling for among European leaders. A similar strategy can be traced by the use of phrases and lexis like *'emotions re running high'*, *'full of emotion'*, *'some of us in Europe are nervous'*, which, in the present context, function as euphemisms for *'fear'*, mitigating the negative affect it might provoke. Some positive values of appreciation are realised by the comparative of adjectives when the speaker mentions that a *'more common approach'* that is *much greater* has been reached by this discussion indicating opinion (value of entertain *I feel*) that results can be obtained if constructive discussions occur.

In approaching the phenomenon itself, the speaker uses data rendered with approximation which has no attitudinal value in itself, but in a context *'full of emotion'* it evokes the idea of cautiousness. However, circumspection is certainly applied in expressions like *'maybe not for all of them, but for sure for the majority of them, Europe is or can be the final destination'*, *'almost all of them'* or the syntagm *'potential refugees'* in an attempt to mitigate the large numbers that are mentioned. Although the numbers are undeniably high, quantities are transmitted with determiners that modify the negative affective impact. Also, Europe is not designated as a certain, but only potential destination (*can be*).

Further values indicating the speaker's attitude toward this phenomenon, and his approach to understand it together with his audience are the realisations of *entertain* displaying concession towards the emotional manifestations related to this issue. Propositions like *'I can understand'* or the repetition of *'this is why nothing is easy'*, *'this is something new'* frame the repeated reference to affect, demonstrating the speaker's effort to understand this phenomenon. Additionally, the mitigating effect of avoiding the term *'fear'* (see above) realises a down-scaling in term of graduation, avoiding a negative judgement on *'some of us in Europe'* who feel *nervous*. The speaker's effort to not only avoid negative judgement but discuss the

phenomenon as one that affects the whole community is emphasized by the use of the inclusive 'we' or *us*. The only reference that singles out 'some Member States' is another concessive statement ('*they have no experience with this kind of problem*') mitigating for their negative attitude.

As this excerpt is the representation of the situation of refugees and displaced people, it is worth comparing it to representations of the same issue by Viktor Orbán and J. C. Juncker, both realising values of affect. Viktor Orbán represents the situation of the refugees and displaced people within a metaphorical frame which realises a scenario of war or siege by related attitudinal lexis and hyperbolization, provoking fear and a sense of threat with an effect of proximization. In the case of J. C. Juncker, the plight of the refugees is compared to that of European ethnic groups and communities who have experienced displacement, realising a proximization which invites empathy.

Distinctly from both, the reason why Donald Tusk engages into a description of the situation in the Asian region is to support the idea that this phenomenon is an extraordinary and highly unusual one, and, for this reason, fear is an understandable reaction. The details on the numbers and the regions where these phenomena are occurring are used with the purpose of explaining the harmful effect of a new and large-scale occurrence which people do not know how to relate to, with carefully selected lexis and mitigating strategies resulting in distancing rather than proximization, due to the reasoning and circumspective approach Donald Tusk adopts while discussing it.

Tackling the Refugee/Migrant Divide

Throughout previous analyses it has been established that speakers on the two opposite sides were using the terms *refugee* and *migrant* in order to acknowledge or deny the special treatment asylum seekers are entitled to if they come to Europe. By his tackling of this issue, Donald Tusk draws

attention to the ideological aim determining the use of these terms by dismissing it as artificial:

“I cannot agree with the thesis that the majority of refugees are social migrants. First of all, it is impossible today to distinguish between refugees and migrants because, in fact, all of them are escaping war, poverty and hunger – at the same time – from Afghanistan, from Syria and from other countries. This is why the situation is really difficult for us, because we have to treat almost all of them as potential asylum seekers.

The second reason why nothing is easy in this case is because this new conflict in Syria – the war in Syria – could very possibly transform into a global conflict (...) I have no doubt that the current situation is bad enough to provoke a new wave of refugees from Syria.” (Annex 3)

The negative statement introducing his approach of the subject (*‘I cannot agree with the thesis’*) is an explicit, unequivocal pronouncement of the speaker’s position (and implicit *denial* of those others who perpetuate this divide). The categorical assertion of the modal attribute *‘it is impossible to distinguish’* and further of the subjective assessment *‘I have no doubt’* provide further values of *pronouncement* for the speaker’s position which frame the various types of representation of the category reproduced by the speaker: refugees, migrants and asylum seekers. A further explanation is added with an overall implicit evaluation of the whole category, as victims *‘escaping war, poverty and hunger’* realised by tokens of *judgement*, intensifying the *pronouncement* by the use of *‘in fact’*. The speaker’s conclusion that *‘almost all of them’* qualify as *‘potential asylum seekers’* balances the evaluative gap between the two terms (refugee and migrant) and realises further positive *appreciation* of the category. A further similar value is used in the next paragraph discussing the latest event of the Syrian conflict, where the speaker provides a personal perspective on the negative developments, namely the *‘war’* provoking a *‘new wave of refugees’*. In the

context of the report, these two values qualify as attitudinal tokens of appreciation, inviting further positive assessment on the status of the category, as victims of the war and, therefore, entitled to the much-contested refugee status.

Evaluating the International Position of Europe

When speaking about the challenging position of the European Union in the international arena, Donald Tusk constructs an oppositional relation between Europe and other countries, their negative attitude being motivated by various reasons. While recounting his experience with the United Nations where he felt isolated and attacked by other countries for the inconsistent policy the European Union is applying in the case of the migrant crisis, the President of the European Council gives voice to his indignation by representing such countries as hypocritical, through a series of oppositions intensified by the repetition of the same syntactic structure:

“... before long, theocracies will start to lecture us on what religious tolerance means; dictators will tell us what democracy means; and those responsible for this massive exodus will tell us how to treat refugees. In fact, they are already doing this. There are countries which admit virtually no refugees but which are most vocal when it comes to urging Europe to show more openness.” (Annex 2)

The opposition is established semantically through a taxonomic relation of antinomy between the term used for the type of violation of state governance and its opposite (or the definition of it). Thus, pairs such as *theocracy – religious tolerance, dictators – democracy* are juxtaposed, after which opposed actions and situations follow, suggesting the same contrast: *‘those responsible for this massive exodus’ – ‘tell us how to treat refugees’*. The series of hypothetical situations using ironical exaggeration to amplify the negative judgement of veracity provoked by the repeated pattern is interrupted by the insertion of a *proclaim: pronounce (in fact)* value

contrasting hypothetical with a real situation: *'countries who admit no refugees'* – *'vocal'* about Europe's openness, with the last opposite pair being linked by a contrastive conjunction (*but*). In addition to the negative judgement of veracity, the enumeration and the repeated pattern of antinomy provoke a negative *affect* of indignation, towards the suggested hypocrisy of these critics, also indicating the high affective investment of the speaker.

The next excerpt presents a different type of rogue behaviour from countries which have no scruples in using human beings to consolidate their political influence, a behaviour which is presented in the context of Europe being isolated and left to deal alone with its problem:

"Let us have no illusions. Today, we have to count mainly on ourselves. The world around us does not intend to help Europe. Many of our neighbours have much bigger problems to tackle, and some look with satisfaction at our troubles. For us, refugees are specific people – individuals who expect our help. There are forces around us, however, for whom the wave of refugees is just dirty business or a political bargaining chip. We are slowly witnessing the birth of a new form of political pressure, and some even call it a kind of new hybrid war in which migratory waves have become a tool, a weapon against neighbours. This requires particular sensitivity and responsibility on our side." (Annex 2)

The attitudinal stance taken towards the countries who use the plight of refugees in their own advantage is introduced by an assessment of Europe's isolated position realised through engagement values of *pronouncement* by use of a directive (*Let us have no illusions*), a deontic modal (*'we have to count on ourselves'*) completed through an explanation by *denial* (*the world 'does not intend'* to help Europe). The speaker uses the inclusive *we* addressing his audience as representatives of the community, and cautioning towards *'particular sensitivity and responsibility'*.

The opposition construed by the text is further developed by representing the different perception on the refugees: people, *'individuals who expect our help'* as opposed to the metaphorical realisation provoking negative judgement of propriety, their perception as *'dirty business'* and *'political bargaining chip'*, and later *'tool, a weapon against neighbours'*. The last, concluding statement is an assertion based on the previous presentation, warning towards a proper political conduct with these countries, inviting negative affect by urging to caution.

The last excerpt concerning attitudinal assessment of Europe's international relations concerns Turkey, specifically. Turkey has been playing an important part in the solution, or at least the temporary containment of the crisis, by agreeing to shelter migrants bound to Europe in refugee camps, in exchange for European funds⁵⁸. The relation with Turkey, a country seeking to join the European Union since the 1990s, has not been seamless, as the Turkish president has often been claimed to be using its status as the country hosting the most refugees (3.6 million Syrians, for instance), as a political lever to obtain various benefits:

"Thirdly, the situation is also difficult because we have no convenient partners around us. I have no doubt that we have to cooperate with other countries, for example Turkey. I can fully understand why some of us are very critical or sceptical when it comes to Turkey but, on the other hand, if we want to cope with this problem we have to consider Turkey as an absolutely key partner in this project. Do we want to lecture Turkey today or do we want Turkey on board to tackle the refugee problem?"

I know this is a dramatic dilemma, but today we have to solve this dilemma and our opinion, the opinion of the European institutions, is that we have to try to cooperate with Turkey because we have no other option. As you know, we have more difficult partners around us than Turkey. Turkey is not easy, but it is definitely the best possible partner when it comes to our neighbourhood in the south and in the east."
(Annex 3)

⁵⁸ <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/turkey-migration-history>

The excerpt is not as much an evaluation of Turkey itself, as one on the situation of Europe being forced to accept help from this questionable partner, as the speaker explicitly names it, in *'a dramatic dilemma'*. Nevertheless, with the background knowledge of this peculiar relation, the speaker's engagement style and the factual assessment of the situation with very little explicitly attitudinal lexis, a stance is construed about Turkey, which very clearly indicates a slightly negative judgement on the country, particularly intensified due to the fact that Europe is not in a situation to be able to choose.

The speaker explicitly voices the *'opinion of the European institutions'* when stating that *'we have no other option'*, rendering a negative judgment of capacity to Europe's position. After this statement a series of evaluative propositions are made regarding Turkey, by comparing it to other options. The fact that Turkey's suitability is commented in negative statements scales down a potentially positive judgement, as the choice of partnership is due to necessity more than suitability. It is stated that Turkey *'is not easy'*, we have *'no option'* and that other partners are *'more difficult'*, which is also a negation of an ideal choice. The positive judgement invited by *'an absolutely key partner'* or *'the best possible partner'* is conditioned by the necessity of *'coping with this problem'*.

An indirect evaluation of the situation of Europe, and of European institutions is also realised in the text by the use of the rhetorical questions which illustrate the dilemma: *'do we want to lecture Turkey'* or *'do we want Turkey on board to tackle the refugee problem'*. The additional *proclaim* values of *'I can fully understand'* and *'I have no doubt'* indicate the speaker's *concurrency* with those *'some of us'* who are *'very critical and sceptical'* about Turkey. The explicit attitudinal lexis indicates negative judgement of capacity towards Turkey, but one that Europe, it is indirectly suggested, cannot afford, therefore, the judgement of capacity is implied towards Europe as well.

Evaluation of Member State Leaders

The following three excerpts represent the conclusion to Donald Tusk's first intervention, reminding his audience of the responsibility and common sense necessary in finding a responsible, common course of action. During this intervention, the speaker focuses on the importance of a consistent action in view of a common goal. The excerpts emphasize the importance of responsible action as opposed to declarations and reiterates the fact that *'restoration of control on the EU's external borders'* and *'humanitarian and safe migratory policy'*, the two main claims the opposing parties within the European Union emphasize, are integrative to the same common action plan. The text also construes an opposition between declarations and action with an emphasis on the latter as necessary in this situation:

"Declaring solidarity is always greeted with applause, but calling for responsibility and common sense hardly ever. Practising solidarity is a lot harder than preaching it. I am speaking as a decades-long practitioner." (Annex 2)

The attitudinal value of the example is provided by the contrastive comparison between *'declaring solidarity'* and *'calling for responsibility and common sense'*, establishing a negative-positive polarity between *'preaching'* and *'practicing'*. Although, there is an explicitly attitudinal noun (common sense), the positive and negative judgement of propriety is invited by the contrastive context of the syntactic structure. The speaker indicates the perspective of personal experience (*'I am speaking as a ... practitioner'*) and realises positive self-presentation by suggesting his expertise in the discussed subject.

In the next fragment, the reference to the German chancellor and the French president as *'we all know how much depends on them'* is an acknowledgement (by a value of *proclaim: concur*) of the influence they represent in the European Union:

“This is why I ask you all to show responsibility and common sense. The first commandment today is the restoration of control on the EU’s external borders as a sine qua non of an effective, humanitarian and safe migratory policy. Tomorrow, in the European Parliament, you will hear Angela Merkel and François Hollande⁵⁹. We all know how much depends on them. In this crisis situation they have both demonstrated beautiful moral gestures which we all highly appreciate. Tomorrow, they must pass an even harder exam, an exam in responsibility for the protection of the European Community, and its external borders. Otherwise, they, and all of us, will become responsible for the re-emergence of walls and barriers on our internal borders, here in Europe.” (Annex 2)

A concessive remark is made with the speaker’s comment on the leaders’ *‘beautiful moral gestures’*, which are *‘highly appreciated’*(*concur*). However, the text continues with the addition that an *‘even harder exam’* follows, one in *‘responsibility’*, which has to be passed even by the heads of leading member states. The implied negative appreciation of *‘hard exam’* significantly scales down the positive judgement of propriety provided by *‘beautiful’* and *‘moral’*. It is suggested that acting responsibly may at this point be of higher value than moral gestures, and that no leader, regardless of their status is exempted from it. Acting responsibly in this situation, the speaker implies, means accepting responsibility for defending external borders, an action which is not easy (as the appreciation *‘hard exam’* implies) but it is necessary to avoid the negative consequence, the collapse of Schengen. The speaker designates these important leaders and *‘all of us’*, meaning his audience present in the parliament, as representatives of member states, responsible for potential negative consequences. By the use of the inclusive first-person plural, he wishes to avoid blaming third parties

⁵⁹ <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/press-room/20150929IPR94921/francois-hollande-and-angela-merkel-face-meets?quizBaseUrl=https%3A%2F%2Fquizweb.europarl.europa.eu>

and places responsibility on all representatives, collectively, as leaders of the European Union.

It is not accidental that the closing remarks refer to what '*ordinary people*' expect from their representatives, given that they should be the ultimate beneficiaries of responsible political action:

"What ordinary people expect from politicians is, first and foremost, effectiveness and determination. If the leaders of mainstream politics do not realise this, people will start to look for different kinds of leadership, radical and ruthless, because what people want from their leaders above all is a guarantee of order and security for their own community. Either we will face up to the challenge, or others will take our place. The queue of political machos is quite long, but there is still time to stop them. And that depends entirely on us." (Annex 2)

At this point, beyond any measure to contain the crisis, Donald Tusk launches a more general warning: if mainstream politicians do not demonstrate '*effectiveness and determination*' (qualities that result from responsible action realised through explicit lexis), people will try to find these values with '*political machos*'. The label of extremists and populists as *machos* provokes negative judgement of capacity and its context amplifies its warning: there is a *queue*, 'quite long' implying urgency for action. This '*different kind of leadership*' is evaluated as '*radical and ruthless*', explicit judgement values of propriety. Urgency is also suggested by the sharp opposition of the *either ... or* structure of the statement: *Either we will face up to the challenge, or others will take our place*. The contrastive structure places the two types of leaders in sharply distinct categories by creating an *us versus them* scenario. It is the only sharp opposition outlined in the texts, by the strategy of aligning with the audience in order to counter the position of a third party, suggesting that beyond humanitarian gestures or protection of borders, this '*different kind of leadership*' is the only negative factor that cannot be negotiated. The last proposition is a *proclaim: pronounce value* of an exhortatory nature, suggesting – by use of

the first-person plural – that the speaker assumes responsibility along with those in the audience.

IV.1.6. Partial Conclusions

Donald Tusk's main aim through his two interventions during the discussions after the Council meeting was to point out the importance of a responsible and rational conduct for European leaders in the challenging situation of Europe having to deal with the migrant crisis on its own. Consequently, the speaker's attitudinal stance demonstrates resolution and responsibility towards acknowledging and handling the political isolation by frequent instances of explicit emphasis on values such as responsibility, solidarity among the member states, common sense and moderation. To this end, the speaker makes use of Max Weber's ethics of responsibility and invites his audience to apply it in the case of the migrant crisis, that is, to refrain from extreme convictions and pursue the common interest of demonstrating unity of action on the international arena by cooperate in complying with regulations, even if they are not in accordance with their political interests.

In the spirit of this definition of responsibility, the speaker acknowledges the validity of both anti- and pro-migrationist claims, by an expansive dialogical stance, making use of values of *entertain* by conceding to both sides and adopting a reflective, personal tone displaying subjective investment and inviting his audience to self-reflection and to common action.

The speaker's effort is generally invested into expressing a clear statement of position with the purpose of bringing about a unity of action and to shed light on the process the European Union is undergoing. Therefore, attitudinal stance is taken towards other states in view of discussing their reliability as potential political partners and toward the crisis itself, involving the representation of refugees and the development of the crisis situation in the east.

CHAPTER V

PRINCIPLES IN ACTION

The common feature of the following speakers is that they were part of the Juncker Commission in 2015 serving in positions on a ministerial level on behalf of the European Union and contributing to the planning and implementation of the rules adopted. Dimitris Avramopoulos had been nominated European Commissioner for Migration and Home Affairs and Federica Mogherini had been appointed as High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. Consequently, their support for the proposals is self-explanatory.

The similarity of the two texts of the European high officials is their transparent structure and their focus on concrete details illustrating the value they align to: a correlation of discourse on principles with concrete political action which benefits the organization on the long term and demonstrates its intentions and premises. Due to the assertive and practical tone of the texts, this stance has been named Principles in action.

Both speakers centre their text around the concept of *credibility*. *Credibility*, beyond values of solidarity, unity and responsibility often defined by speakers, represents, perhaps, the most important value from the perspective of a political organization, especially one such as the EU (due to its many members with various visions). If regarded from a discourse analytical perspective, credibility is where the performative nature of language is best demonstrated by the mutually supportive relation that political action and discourse accomplish (Chilton and Schäffner 2002, 10-11). Credibility is the result of the *felicity condition* that consistent political action offers to discourse, while discourse is instrumental in the success of political action.

When they speak about credibility, the High Representative and the Commissioner for Migration and Home Affairs consider the guarantees Europe can offer on an international level when negotiating accords on migration with states outside the Union. Also, it is continuously implied that credibility is important within the Union as well, as proof towards citizens that European leaders are in control of the situation. Credibility, in fact, is the decisive value, and the quality, which establishes the organizations' (and its leaders') legitimacy to handle the issues that regard each member state individually, and the cooperation among them as a group. Setting it as the main focus of their actions, the speakers admit, in fact, that from the point of view of the organization, credibility subsumes all the other qualities and values that are regarded as relevant for the performance and existence of the organization.

V.1. Federica Mogherini – High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy

During the migrant crisis of 2015, Federica Mogherini held the appointment of European Union High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. As a representative of the European Union in its external affairs, her role during the crisis was a diplomatic one, by establishing cooperative relations with non-EU countries in order to administer the crisis. Her efforts did not only aim immediate solutions to put an end to the large number of asylum seekers heading towards Europe, but focused on a global approach of the problem of migration and had the purpose of identifying long-term strategies for this social phenomenon. Seeking to address the root causes of this issue, Federica Mogherini sought to find common solutions with Mediterranean countries and countries of the Middle East and established partnerships with African nations in order to reduce the migrational pressure.

Given her position at a high diplomatic level in the resolution of the migrant crisis (and the much more extended and complex phenomenon of migration as a global issue), it can be assumed that her perspective is the complete opposite of those politicians who represent member states and approach the issue from a narrower, national perspective.

V.1.1. Values and Representational Frame

Federica Mogherini participated to the September 9 debate, on the State of the Union. In the introduction of her speech, the High Representative summarizes and reiterates the values the previous speaker discussed. Frans Timmermans distinguished between the Europe of the European Union and the Europe which represents a '*community of values*' and defined *solidarity* and *responsibility* applied specifically in the situation of the migrant crisis. Federica Mogherini repeats the same definition for the latter two and explicitly adds to the conceptual field of 'community values' the aspect of *identity*, which is then explained as authenticity and consistency in aspects of community (*if we are really Europeans*) and organization (*are really a Union*), which adds *specificity* to her description of the value:

"(...) the refugee crisis we are facing – not only us, but the region and the world – puts our deepest values, and indeed our identity, to the test. It is a moment of truth, to see if we are really Europeans and if we are really a Union. That is what it is about: our responsibility to protect the lives of human beings, and human rights and solidarity among Member States and towards those in need." (Annex 7)

The alignment with the previous speaker's value orientation indicates the undertaking of a common perspective but also a signal of unity with institutional and organizational principles, given that both Frans Timmermans and Federica Mogherini are leading members of the Juncker Commission. The values mentioned indicate both concerns related to morality, as representing community values and legitimacy, pertaining to

organization efficiency. However, the excerpt above indicates the specific perspective of the speaker, extended not only on the organization, but *'the region and the world'*, considering that Federica Mogherini is the European Union representative in Foreign Affairs. The concept of identity summarizes the values held as principles of the organization (solidarity and responsibility) and it also adds the dimension of authenticity, indicating that the speaker's perspective on organizational efficiency is one guided by consistency in political action as demonstrated to outsiders in view of gaining their confidence for better cooperation.

This element of her introduction defines the value that the text is organized around, which the speaker calls *credibility* and her thesis is formulated in one of the introductory remarks, *'Our external credibility depends largely on our internal coherence and consistency'*. For the European Union to be perceived as worthy of trust, its member states have to be united and demonstrate reliability. This is a value pertaining, first of all, to legitimacy by demonstrating the efficiency of the organization. Although the term itself, *credibility*, is used only twice throughout the text, the speaker's description of the process of implementation of the measures addressing the migrant crisis specifically, and the phenomenon of migration generally, seeks to demonstrate how acting on behalf of the European Union happens in accordance with its principles, constituting its *identity*.

In her perspective, *credibility* involves both moral principles and concerns for legitimacy. The speaker names three tasks undertaken by the Commission as its policy in the spirit of credibility and provides factual details for each, pertaining to both moral values (*saving lives*) and organizational ones (*'addressing root causes', 'fighting smugglers and traffickers'*). This classification and the connecting details demonstrate the interlocking of principles (reflecting moral values) with the concrete actions meant to assure efficiency (pertaining to legitimacy). The concrete details on the steps taken in reaching a deal with Iran, allocating funds for

refugees and their children's education, the dialogue initiated with the countries of the Sahel, upscaling security operations at sea, provide *specificity* to the concept of *credibility* as they demonstrate through concrete action what this principle represents in the speaker's perspective. While the category is not specifically *determined* as moral throughout the intervention, it involves morality as the concrete actions pursue humanitarian values (through the principle of solidarity).

What differentiates Federica Mogherini's intervention from all the other speakers' is that she does not merely address the ongoing migrant crisis but emphasises instead long-term strategies, that span wider than the limits of the European Union and longer than a ministerial mandate or the five-year period between elections. Her representations of the measures taken describe steps taken in a particular direction, not entire processes, as in the following excerpt:

"The long-term answer obviously is putting an end to the conflicts and the wars, facing the threat of Daesh, starting processes of national reconciliation. The deal we reached with Iran, although primarily a non-proliferation deal, can open the way to new possibilities, and the work in this direction, with all our international and regional partners and all the international and regional powers, has already started."
(Annex 7)

The long-term focus is the end of the conflict but the action that leads to a possible solution is sequenced in several stages which suggest a long span of time, both by lexical elements (*open the way, direction, possibilities*) and the use of tenses from past to present and present perfect (*reached, can open the way, can work, has started*). Action, from this particular perspective, implies steady steps and interaction with many regional actors. This specific aspect of international affairs represents a challenge for the organization's demonstration of legitimacy which other speakers are aware of as well. Donald Tusk discusses the threat of '*radical politics*' carried out by '*political machos*' (Annex 3), Frans Timmermans speaks

about the threat of *'easy solutions'* (Annex 4). The aspect of threat is not present in Federica Mogherini's intervention, instead she focuses on the practical aspects of responsible politics; taking efficient and proactive action in the present spares coming generations of this effort:

"We all know there is no magic fix to the crisis around us, and most of the external action we can take – and we are taking – will give results in the medium and long term. Still, it is important that we do act now. It is difficult for politicians to explain the reason for taking actions that will pay back, in some cases, in years, but if we do not do that responsibly, generations coming after ours will face the same problem again and again." (Annex 7)

Similarly to the other speakers, the High Representative contrasts *'magic fix'*, the temporary solutions that bring immediate success to (populist) politicians with the *'medium and long term'* results that responsible actions can have. Her perspective is a pragmatic one, and she does not associate any affect with it (unlike the speakers mentioned above) which is consistent with the arguments of her speech, focussing on pragmatism and efficiency.

The High Representative's perception on solidarity is not explicitly stated. Apart from the introductory remarks where she repeats Frans Timmermans' commitment to solidarity, she does not mention this value. However, the fact that she aligns to it is implicit in her presentation of *'external plans'*. In accordance with European principles the first priority in these plans is *'saving lives'*. It is probably not a coincidence that the two successful measures she evaluates as important from a personal perspective (see below) are the allocation of funds for schools and education of refugee children while pointing out the drama of the Syrian population (*'we see Syria losing an entire generation to war and exile'*) and saving the lives of *'1 500 men and women at sea through our operation'*. These actions do illustrate solidarity applied through the concrete specification of the speaker's practical perspective on it and bring both moral dimension and legitimacy to the measures proposed. From a moral

perspective they can be qualified as *specifically indeterminate* since it is not the speaker's aim to define them as moral. The High Representative's emphasis in the intervention lies on the importance of consistency and efficiency which result in credibility for the organization; however, they do bear importance from a moral point of view since they also demonstrate solidarity.

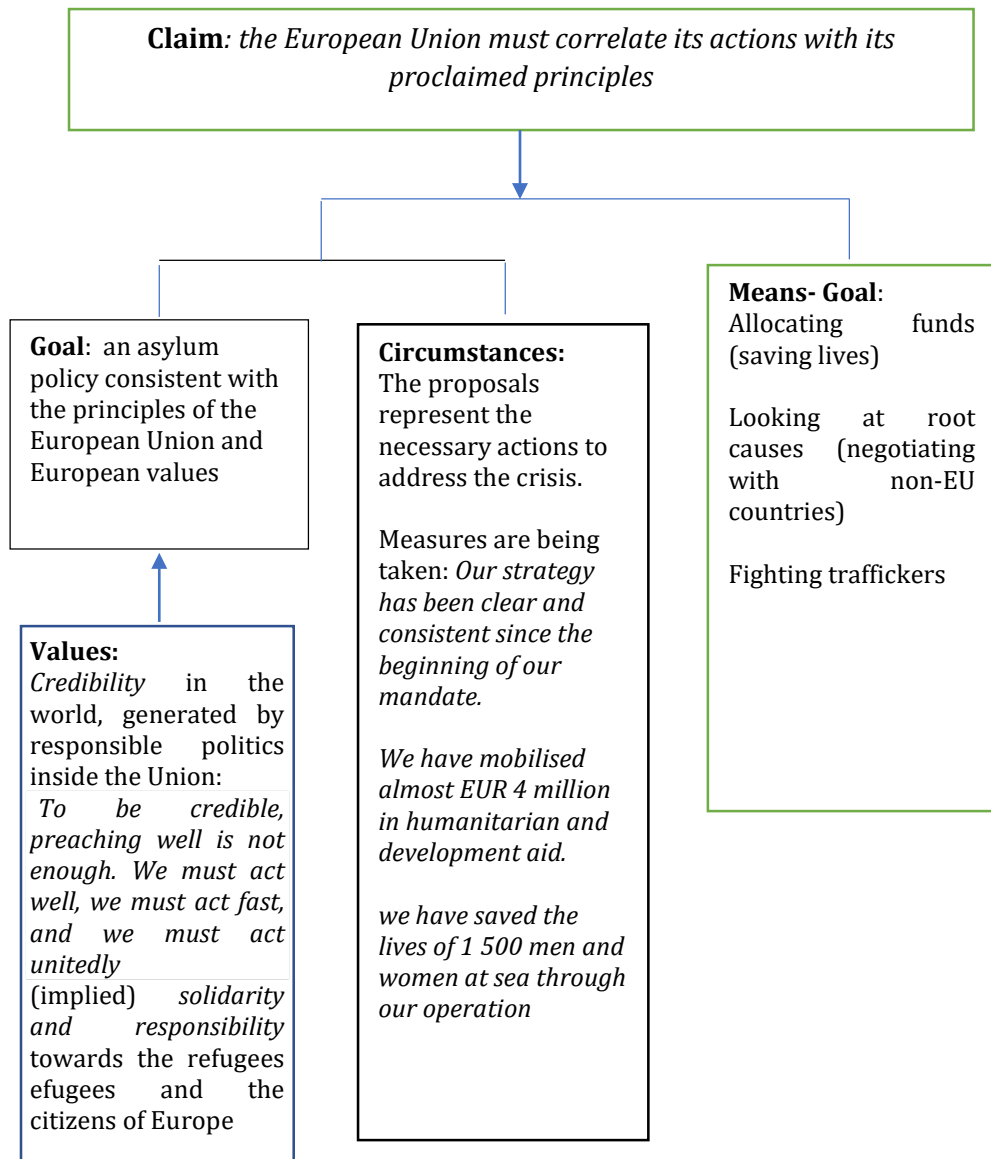


Fig. 4. *Federica Mogherini's intervention as practical argumentation*

The imperative of *'responsible politics'* is implied throughout the entire speech and is associated specifically and explicitly (quotability and specificity), to action that will benefit the European Union on the long term (*'if we do not do that responsibly, generations coming after ours will face the same problem again and again'*) and action that is not influenced by emotions but based on solid principles:

"Emotions are not enough. We need to act and this is the time.

I hope that all the EU institutions, the Member States, citizens and public opinion – because this wave of emotion in public opinion can change, and we have to be aware of that – will finally take responsibility for, and live up to, our values. ..." (Annex 7)

In both cases, opposition is established between politics practiced through long-term and short-term actions, where the two categories become antithetical due to their implied evaluation. In the first case, short-term measures which offer immediate success (materialised in votes and political power) are set against the responsible actions which *'are difficult to explain'* to voters due to their lack of popularity (therefore, seriously affecting the population's perception on legitimacy) while in the second example, responsibility is connected to measures taken based on lasting principles as opposed to those taken under the influence of temporary, short-lived emotions, which, considering the previous example, will probably need to be repaired by future generations.

The values underlying the speaker's intervention influence both the circumstantial premises detailed by the speaker and the manner in which they are reported. The measures taken (or about to be taken) are classified into three categories, each consisting of subordinated activities. The objectives of saving lives, cooperating with the international community and fighting human traffickers are represented through the description of the extent of the undertaken activities such as protection of refugees *'far*

from us' and *'close to us*', developing humanitarian aid programs and bilateral cooperation with relevant states, or deploying military power if necessary to fight smugglers. These operations are recounted in an organized and concise manner.

V.1.2. Stance in Federica Mogherini's Intervention

As a High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs, Federica Mogherini takes the stance of an expert, reporting on results heretofore and formulating further directives for the future. Interpersonal elements are all employed to manifest this. Her commitment toward credibility is manifested throughout the text by the coherent and transparent structure. The force of her stance does not stem from affective elements, which are avoided and explicitly denied but by the clarity and coherent structure of syntax and discursive elements, clearly articulated and supported by examples and relevant details. There is one explicit realization of affect, when the speaker expresses personal pride in contributing to *'saving lives*'. Metaphors or other figurative type of representation is avoided.

Her engagement style reaches the audience through bare assertions, frequent and explicit directives or even imperatives, tracing future actions and instructions. They convey both organizational and personal perspective and they are addressed towards the members by the inclusive *'we*', aiming the organization as a professional community which she is a part of. Repetitions are occasionally present to intensify the speaker's position and so are mitigating strategies that down-scale occasional negative judgement.

The speaker's attitudinal stance in the evaluation of the organisation is realised on an objective tone, with the analysis of deficiencies and achievements. Although some warnings are formulated related to organizational efficiency and the observance of values, the subject of threat,

commonly approached by other speakers, is avoided by the High Representative, who prefers to foreground the importance of responsible decisions.

Alignment with the value of solidarity toward those in need, endorsed by the speaker as an organizational value similarly to other speakers, is realised implicitly. Some positive affect of empathy is invited when measures taken for their aid are reported.

V.1.3. Who are the Participants Federica Mogherini is Addressing?

The High Representative addressed the Parliament on September 9th, on the occasion of the State of the Union debate, when the President of the Commission presented the proposal package aimed to contain the migrant crisis. She is addressing her audience by the inclusive ‘we’. Similarly to Frans Timmermans, some propositions have a first-person singular perspective, indicating higher personal investment as a representative personally involved in the organization’s effort to manage the crisis and find long term solutions.

Despite the fact that one form is used, the inclusive ‘we’ proves to be versatile in terms of address, depending on the context. In the following excerpt, the pronoun and the related possessive adjective explicitly designates the European Union as the speaker’s centre of reference:

“... this is a defining moment for our Union. (...) the refugee crisis we are facing – not only us, but the region and the world – puts our deepest values, and indeed our identity, to the test. It is a moment of truth, to see if we are really Europeans and if we are really a Union.” (Annex 7)

The reference is made on the organization (*our Union, we, the Union*) situationally (*we are facing a crisis*) and geographically (*us, the region, the world*) but it also contains its conceptual and moral coordinates (*our values, our identity*) summarized in the conditional ‘*if we are Europeans*’.

The next excerpt presents a more obvious reference to the European Union as an organization:

“But this is also a test for our international credibility. Do not think that we can go around the word promoting human rights if we do not guarantee the highest asylum standards inside the Union. (...) Our external credibility depends largely on our internal coherence and consistency. We have to be aware of that.” (Annex 7)

Due to the associated value of credibility (*our credibility*) which is a clear reference to the organization, as well as the political conduct explained afterwards (*we-go around; we-guarantee asylum standards in the Union, our credibility, our coherence*) the reference is made on the organization as one coherent entity, acting as an international political actor.

In the next excerpt, the role of *our* and *we* is to specifically designate the Juncker Commission, given that the discussed topic is the proposals which are put to the vote:

“Today, we are presenting a communication setting out the way forward for all the external action needed to address this crisis.” (Annex 7)

‘We are presenting’ refers to the Commission which has put together the proposal package, similarly to *‘our’* in the next excerpt:

“Our strategy has been clear and consistent since the beginning of our mandate. We cannot focus only on the last mile of the tragedy: we must also consider all the steps of the refugees’ odyssey.” (Annex 7)

The use of *‘our’* is more explicit by the use of *‘since the beginning of our mandate’* which makes a clear reference to the team of the Commission which has been working on the migration package before the crisis got to its peak. After this statement, however, the speaker returns to a general inclusive *‘we’* which refers to the organization as in the examples above.

A different reference is construed in the next example, where *‘we’* does not designate the collective entity of the organization or the Commission but the group of individuals constituting the collective:

“To conclude, we need to realise as Europeans that this is not just a time for emotion: that is the easy part. Let me be cynical: as politicians we are not asked to express our emotions;” (Annex 7)

The first reference is correlated with the plural *Europeans*, designating the identity individuals from the audience align to. The next identification refers to the professional identity of ‘*politicians*’ a further quality of those in the audience, with an individual reference.

In the next excerpt, even if it is primarily addressed to the politicians present in the audience (‘*we have to be aware of that*’) reference is made to a wider addressee:

“I hope that all the EU institutions, the Member States, citizens and public opinion – because this wave of emotion in public opinion can change, and we have to be aware of that – will finally take responsibility for, and live up to, our values, the values of our history, (...)” (Annex 7)

The nomination of all the categories makes it explicit, that living up to ‘*our values*’ and ‘*our history*’ is an exhortation addressed to the whole community that calls itself European, ‘*the EU institutions, the Member States, citizens and public opinion*’. It is suggested that taking responsibility is not merely the task of politicians, although they bear the primary responsibility, but it includes the whole society, each taking their actions based on common principles.

Individual reference by the first-person singular occurs in the intervention, designating the speaker in her professional capacity, acting on behalf of the organization, as a representative:

“Let me say too that it is going to be very important – and we are looking very much in this direction – to work to the south of Libya. (...) That is why I have started an unprecedented dialogue with the countries of the Sahel.” (Annex 7)

The transition from first-person plural to first-person singular indicates a coherence of action, with the speaker acting on behalf of the organization (*that is why I started*) in order to pursue its political strategies (*'we are looking in that direction'*).

A few personal, first-person singular references are made throughout the intervention which indicate an endorsement of the perspective of the organization and demonstrate personal investment:

"Let me stress this, because I believe that – as we see Syria losing an entire generation to war and exile – we have to invest in Syrian children." (Annex 7)

The speaker's perspective is personal (*'I believe'*) and she explicitly emphasizes it (*'Let me stress this'*) as an undertaking that coincides with her convictions. Similarly in the next excerpt she makes a personal evaluation of the performance of saving 1500 people:

"But there is something else of which I am proud: that in these very first weeks of common action in the Mediterranean we have saved the lives of 1 500 men and women at sea through our operation. This is not the main purpose of the operation but it is an important component of it." (Annex 7)

In this case, the focus on the humanitarian aspect is secondary to the organizational goals (*'this is not the main purpose of the operation'*), however, it is counterbalanced by the speaker's personal investment expressed and emphasized by the personal remark (*'there is something else of which I am proud'*).

V.1.4. Dialogical Stance

Action over Words

Although the High Representative aligns with other leaders of the Commission in their discourse on responsibility and solidarity, she constructs her position around the value of *credibility* which is represented as a relation of interdependence between words and credibility (translated as concrete actions taken in view of containing the crisis), *external credibility* (demonstrated to international partners) and internal *coherence and unity* (among member states), and the opposition between politics conducted as a response to short-lived emotion or *responsible politics* based on organizational principles that yield long-term results.

Similarly to other speakers, Federica Mogherini's engagement style is predominantly constructed by *proclaim: pronounce* values which are contrasted with alternatives by values of *disclaim: deny*. Words and action seem to be opposingly represented at times, but their relation is explained more as complementary, and the speaker's argument is that the two categories cannot, in fact, be applied one without the other if a consistent policy is to be pursued by the European Union:

"Mr President, Frans Timmermans said quite rightly that this is a defining moment for our Union. Words are important, I believe, and the refugee crisis we are facing – not only us, but the region and the world – puts our deepest values, and indeed our identity, to the test. It is a moment of truth, to see if we are really Europeans and if we are really a Union. That is what it is about: our responsibility to protect the lives of human beings, and human rights and solidarity among Member States and towards those in need.

But this is also a test for our international credibility. Do not think that we can go around the word promoting human rights if we do not guarantee the highest asylum standards inside the Union. Do not even imagine that we can promote peace and cooperation among parties

currently at war if we do not accept the others inside our own communities, and if we do not manage to find unity among ourselves. Our external credibility depends largely on our internal coherence and consistency. We have to be aware of that.

Do not imagine that there is only an external response to the crisis, just as there cannot be only an internal response to the crisis. The two dimensions of our action – and of our identity and our response – reinforce one another or weaken one another. This is the truth, like it or not, and we have to face it. To be credible, preaching well is not enough. We must act well, we must act fast, and we must act unitedly.” (Annex 7)

In the introduction of her intervention, the High Representative *endorses* (*proclaim*) the previous speaker’s words (see Annex 4) and aligns with his ideas. The *endorsement* is realized by both explicit means (*‘Frans Timmermans said quite rightly’*) and implicitly by paraphrasing the closing ideas of the previous intervention. What Frans Timmermans qualified as a moment *‘closely linked to the destiny of Europe – not just the European Union but (...) as a community of values’*, is defined by Federica Mogherini as *‘a decisive moment’*, putting *our deepest values, and indeed our identity, to the test*”. Also, she reiterates the two values emphasized by the First Vice-President (*‘responsibility to protect the lives of human beings and human rights and solidarity among Member States and towards those in need’*).

However, the dominant engagement realization of the excerpt is a *proclaim* value instantiated by the *concur/pronounce* monoglossic pair: *Words are important (...) But this is also a test for our international credibility*. The two elements of the realisation ideationally establish an interdependence in terms of efficiency of the realm of *words* to that of *actions*, the central argument of this text. The excerpt continues by establishing a similar, taxonomic connection between, what the speaker calls, *external and internal response*, meaning the actions that are undertaken at an international level by the organization and the degree to

which the member states align to its declared principles (by acting unitedly). The interdependence is explicitly stated through another bare assertion: *The two dimensions of our action (...) reinforce one another or weaken one another*. The inserted aside (*'of our identity and our response'*) functions as a definition of *action*, to clarify the speaker's perspective: the measures the organization takes, does, in fact, represent what the European Union is and what it stands for (our identity), and it represents the expression of that identity in the (political and social) debate/dialogue among the nations of the world on migration (*our response*).

The argument of the proposition *'this is a test for our international credibility'* is further reinforced by the parallel syntax of the negative imperatives: *'do not think that...'*, *'do not even imagine ...'*, *'do not imagine'*, realising graduation by force of the original pronouncement. All these imperatives introduce examples of what the speaker perceives as deficiencies (*promoting human rights ... if we don't guarantee asylum standards; promoting peace and cooperation ... if we don't accept others, if we don't find unity*), in the politics of the European Union concerning migration and are presented in order to point out flaws. Dialogically, the negative imperatives function as values of *disclaim: deny* to signal the speaker's perspective over these diplomatic and political mistakes. From an evaluative point of view, the negative imperatives also realise negative judgements of capacity. A further value of *proclaim: pronounce* realised by a deontic *have to* reinforces the speaker's conviction in the matter (*'We have to be aware of that'*).

A similar pattern in the next paragraph realises the *denial* of *external* and *internal responses* being able to exist one without the other, followed by another *pronouncement* by bare assertion and deontic *have to* (*'this is the truth'*, *'we have to face it'*). The interposed observation, *'like it or not'*, carries evaluative meaning, suggesting, the speaker's acknowledgement of a difficult reality, one she supposes is not easily accepted or followed by her

audience. It is a categorical assertion suggesting that the facts exposed are not a matter of choice or perspective but the details of an objective state of affairs that can only be accepted.

The *pronouncement* is supported by the next propositions, where *internal* and *external* response is represented by subcategories: *preaching* and *acting*, respectively. Some evaluative classification is also realised in this case, by the negative assessment (judgement of capacity) of '*preaching well*' not being *enough* (down-scaling) on one hand, and the intensified parallel structures of '*act well*', '*act fast*', '*act unitedly*'. It is implied that *preaching* is inferior to *acting*, which is also reenforced by the *pronouncement* of the deontic modal '*must*'.

A somewhat similar contrastive relation is established between emotion and *responsible politics* where politics based on temporary surges of public emotion is dismissed in favour of decisions made on the basis of principles, yielding long-term results:

"To conclude, we need to realise as Europeans that this is not just a time for emotion: that is the easy part. Let me be cynical: as politicians we are not asked to express our emotions; we are asked to take decisions that are consistent and coherent with our emotions, and to be strong in so doing. Emotions are not enough. We need to act and this is the time."
(Annex 7)

The concluding remarks of the intervention realise a series of *disclaim: deny* values combined with *proclaim: pronounce* demonstrating the speaker's categorical choice concerning the type of political conduct she is aligning to. Through the *deny* values, realised by the negations associated with the lexical term itself ('*not just time for emotion*', '*we are not asked to express our emotions*', '*emotions are not enough*') the alternative of '*emotional*' politics is evoked, and negatively evaluated (implicit judgement of capacity) as opposed to the *pronounced* value of '*we are asked to take decisions*' and '*we need to act*', which invite positive judgement of capacity.

Even if the two alternatives are contrasted through this engagement style, the *'emotional'* alternative is not categorically dismissed, just as the alternative to be *'cynical'* is not really endorsed either. *Emotions* are *'the easy part'*, now is not *'just'* time for emotion implies some validity and adds a concessive dimension to the speaker's position.

The suggestion *'let me be cynical'* introduces a proposal which *denies* the emotional approach, so that the speaker can subsequently expound on her position. The alternative of emotional approach is represented as one with reduced efficiency for the organization and one that should not be adopted by politicians as a professional class (also implying negative capacity for those who do). In the proposition *'we are asked to take decisions which are consistent with our emotions'*, the term is used as a synonym of *principles* which are to be followed for long-term results. Additional *pronouncement* values (*'we are asked ... to be strong'*, *'we need to act and this is the time'*) add an exhortatory aspect to the speaker's position by invoking a value such as decisiveness (*be strong*) or the time factor associated with this value (fast action is necessary).

The next example is a further illustration of the speaker constructing contrastive pairs in order to take her stance, established between short-term solutions and long-term ones, external actions and internal ones. While in the first case the short-term *'magic fix'* is dismissed by a *denial*, in the case of the second contrast the two types of action, external and internal are presented as complementary:

"Today, we are presenting a communication setting out the way forward for all the external action needed to address this crisis. We all know there is no magic fix to the crisis around us, and most of the external action we can take – and we are taking – will give results in the medium and long term. Still, it is important that we do act now. I know it is difficult for politicians to explain the reason for taking actions that will pay back, in some cases, in years, but if we do not do that responsibly, generations coming after ours will face the same problem

again and again. Let me say that our external action finds us united for once. While this is not enough, because we also have to find internal unity on domestic policies, it is crucial for our action.” (Annex 7)

Most of the speaker's propositions are realisations of *proclaim: pronounce* values with very categorical stance-taking. In '*we all know there is no magic fix*' the unequivocal *denial* of short-term solutions is framed by a dialogically contractive frame ('*we all know*') which renders this knowledge as self-evident. The next proposition ('*most of the external action we can take will give results in the medium and long term*') is a statement of the limited ability of the organization conveying negative judgement of capacity, which is immediately countered by the affirming aside '*and we are taking*' to mitigate this deficiency.

A further contrast is introduced by '*still*', established between the actions that will have long-term effects and the importance to take that action now. The *pronounced* '*we do act now*' is twice amplified by the emphatic 'do' and the evaluative frame '*it is important*' (positive appreciation for value). Highlighting the urgency of taking action aligns with other speakers' position reiterating a common concern for the organization and allows the association with those situations where politicians do prefer to take '*magic fix*' solutions (and not *responsibly* try to explain often unpopular or unspectacular long-term solutions) as they bring immediate results (and help those politicians maintain power). However, no reference is made to these situations with the speaker only *entertaining* through the use of a conditional ('*if we do not do that responsibly, generations coming after ours will face the same problem again and again.*') the possible negative consequences of such actions. The imperative of this urgency is somewhat mitigated by the concessive remark ('*I know*') signalling awareness on the speaker's part of the challenges politicians face in such situations, and inviting some positive affect of sympathy.

A low degree value of *pronounce* (*'let me say'*) introduces a positive value of judgement of capacity (*'external action finds us united for once'*) with a negative concession (*'while this is not enough'*) which scales down the positive aspect observed by the speaker, continued with a further value of *pronounce* (*'it is crucial for our action'*). The strategy of down-scaling positive judgement of the organization is used throughout the text to point out deficiencies in the efficiency of the organization in order to call for further action (see attitudinal stance).

The next excerpt employs similar strategy, yet, its role this time is to *entertain* and implicitly criticize alternative positions:

"The institutions will provide EUR 1.8 million to this fund and I expect the Member States – all of them – to do their fair share. You cannot ask for international cooperation at European level and then not put up the money for it. Remember this when we come to discuss the budget."
(Annex 7)

The central, high degree value of engagement in this excerpt is the *pronouncement* *'I expect'* which functions as an imperative in this context, summoning the member states to *'do their fair share'* and contribute to the funds. The imperative is further amplified by the aside *'all of them'* implying the measure must be taken without exception. The following proposition has an explanatory value by implicitly realising a value of *entertain*. The possibility is implied that some states may have been asking for *'international cooperation at European level'*, but when they had to take action in this respect (i.e. contribute to funds) they failed *'to put up the money'*. The speaker's criticism of this attitude (implied negative judgement of propriety) is realised by a deontic use of *'cannot'* and amplified by the two negations (*'cannot'*, *'not put up'*).

The specific aspect of the excerpt above is that the speaker uses first-person singular reference to address her audience as a high representative of the Commission. The imperative used above, along with the several bare

assertions, marks the high degree of authority assumed, unlike in other situations where the first-person singular marks a personal position. In the next excerpt, discussed in more detail for its attitudinal values below, the *pronouncement* value (*'let me stress this'*) foregrounds a personal perspective:

"We have to show coherence in our decisions. A regional trust fund for Syria has already started in recent months, and the first contract opened through the fund deals with schools and education. Let me stress this, because I believe that – as we see Syria losing an entire generation to war and exile – we have to invest in Syrian children."
(Annex 7)

There are three *proclaim: pronounce* values in the excerpt, two (*'we have to show coherence'*) realise the position of the organization by the use of the inclusive *'we'* and the deontic *'have to'*. In the case of the personal *pronouncement* value, a higher degree of intensification is achieved by the explicit suggestion (*'let me stress this'*) and the explanatory personal aside.

V.1.5. Attitudinal Stance

Balanced Self-evaluation

The speaker's attitude of solidarity towards refugees and her endorsement of the proposals is not the focus of her intervention, the few references she is making regarding these categories are made by the use of implicit tokens and are usually assumed as self-explanatory, given the speaker's position. However, some typical evaluative strategies can be identified. The next excerpt illustrates a strategy already mentioned above (see dialogic stance) used by the speaker to point out both positive and negative aspects of organizational efficiency by realisations of positive judgement down-scaled by foregrounding a negative one:

“Our strategy has been clear and consistent since the beginning of our mandate. We cannot focus only on the last mile of the tragedy: we must also consider all the steps of the refugees’ odyssey. (...) Let me say one thing: we have rightly focused in recent months on minorities in need of protection in the Middle East – Christians, Kurds or Yazidis – supporting their right to stay on the land, and go back to the communities, where they have been living for centuries. But let me also say clearly that it is not sufficient to protect them only when they are far away from us. We also have a duty to protect them – and all their fellow countrymen – when they become close to us.” (Annex 7)

The self-evaluative proposition referring to the Commission realises an explicit value of positive judgement of capacity. The speaker evaluates the Commission’s strategy as *‘clear and consistent’* in a monoglossic bare assertion. However, going on she undertakes an analysis of the institution’s performance that includes both positive and negative judgement framed by *pronouncement* (*‘let me say’, ‘let me also say’*) contrasted by the conjunction *‘but’* linking these opposed values. On the one hand, a correct course of action is indicated (*‘we have rightly focussed’*) which realises positive judgment of capacity, on the other, it is down-scaled by its opposite counterpart *‘but let me also say clearly’* completed with the explicit negation *‘it is not sufficient’*. This negative judgment of capacity is completed by a complementary directive (*‘we also have a duty’*) mitigating the observed deficiency. In the previous clause a similar contrast is constructed by a correlative conjunction between the negative judgement of the dynamic modality *‘we cannot focus’* evaluated as insufficient by the down-scaling adverb *‘only’*, and the deontic *‘must’* setting a further directive. These correlations, along with the explicit lexis (*clearly, rightly, only, duty*) realise a balanced evaluation of the organization where both positive aspects, measures already taken and achievements are juxtaposed to objectives that are necessary for a better performance. These values do not

exclusively pertain to capacity, an implied judgement of propriety indicating concern with the morality of these actions (since they reflect declared principles) is almost always present.

In the second excerpt the speaker's position as a representative is somewhat different from her personal perspective which is emphasized through the addition of affect (*'I am proud'*). The High Representative speaks about the third objective of the Commission's proposals, namely, to monitor and bring down human trafficking routes. The situation she is discussing is one of organizational efficiency, implying not only the discouraging of the smuggling activity but applying punishment as well, *'in full observance of the international law'*. In the speaker's perspective as a representative, this would be *'an opportunity for us to show'* that the European Union is capable of fast, concerted action by gathering resources from member states, when the situation requires it:

"We gathered intelligence and information on the smugglers' routes, assets and strategies. (...) we identified 16 cases in which we would have been able to go after the smugglers, bring them to justice and capture the vessels. That is why I proposed last weekend in Luxembourg, where the Defence and Foreign Ministers were meeting, that we move to Phase 2 on the high seas, in full observance of international law, and I asked Member States to contribute to the mission, because this is also an opportunity for us to show that, when we have political will and a sense of urgency and unity, we can use the military and security tools that we already have to hand.

But there is something else of which I am proud: that in these very first weeks of common action in the Mediterranean we have saved the lives of 1 500 men and women at sea through our operation. This is not the main purpose of the operation but it is an important component of it."
(Annex 7)

There is a mild implicit negative assessment of the situation (as a negative judgement of capacity) given the lost opportunity *'to go after the smugglers'*

identified, realized by the conditional *'would have been able to'*, which also realizes a value of *entertain* by contemplating a hypothetical situation. However, the speaker's focus is on the positive potential to demonstrate efficiency and capability for action (implicit positive judgement of capacity). The possibility for member states to provide *'military and security tools'* when needed – patrol the Mediterranean and seize smugglers' ships – is an opportunity for the European Union to demonstrate *unity* for the international community, applied in an *urgent* manner (Which may theoretically be problematic given that the European Union does not have an army of its own).

The personal position marked by the first-person singular comes as an addition and a slightly different perspective on the situation evaluated as a humanitarian issue and not primarily as one of organizational efficiency. The realisation of affect is especially significant, given that it is the only one in the speaker's intervention, in which overall, explicit negative evaluation is manifested toward politicians relying on and expressing emotion. The speaker's personal perspective is signalled twice as being subordinated to the organization's, and yet relevant, by the contrastive *'but'* realising *concession/counter-expectation* (*'but there is something else'*, *'not the main purpose ... but it is an important component'*). Additionally to its affective value, this proposition invites positive judgement of propriety by implying that *'saving lives'* (and the *specified* value of *solidarity* through humanity) is a genuine concern within the organization.

Addressing Emotion with Pragmatism and Efficiency

In a manner similar to the above between positive and negative aspects of capacity, the speaker's attitude towards expressing emotion is reserved while *'taking responsibility'* is proclaimed as the ideal conduct for politicians. The High Representative implies that demonstrations of affect

do not only represent insufficient action (*'this is not just a time for emotion', 'emotions are not enough'*) but they lack efficiency and professionalism in the case of politicians (*'we are asked to take decisions'*):

"To conclude, we need to realise as Europeans that this is not just a time for emotion: that is the easy part. Let me be cynical: as politicians we are not asked to express our emotions; we are asked to take decisions that are consistent and coherent with our emotions, and to be strong in so doing. Emotions are not enough. We need to act and this is the time. I hope that all the EU institutions, the Member States, citizens and public opinion – because this wave of emotion in public opinion can change, and we have to be aware of that – will finally take responsibility for, and live up to, our values, the values of our history, the challenges of the most difficult times our history has recently faced, and the potential of our regional and global role. What is at stake, as Frans Timmermans said very well, is not only the lives of human beings – though a single life is enough – but also the state of our Union." (Annex 7)

Similarly to the judgement values of capacity pointed out above, the speaker's attitude towards affect is balanced, in that the validity of emotions is to some extent allowed as informing political decisions (*'consistent and coherent with our emotion'*). Negative judgement of capacity for such behaviour is realised by negations (*'not just time for emotion', 'emotions are not enough'*) but mitigated by adverbs *'just', 'enough'* which tones down the contrast between emotion and responsible decisions to some extent. The true opposition is, in fact, between misguided decisions based on momentary *'waves of emotion'* fuelled by public opinion and *'taking responsibility'* which implies following principles (*'our values', 'our history'*), which is named as the ultimate test for the organization.

In the case of the High Representative, the challenge of the test, one that reoccurs with every speaker as a representation of the crisis, is met with decisions being taken in accordance with values, principles and the

'potential of our regional and global role'. This is a particular perspective, not typically present with other speakers, but not unexpected since it is formulated by the politician who represents the organization in foreign affairs. It implies an implicit negative judgement of capacity on the European Union, for failing this far to live up to its potential, and an implicit warning (*'what is at stake'*) that this could affect the very existence of the European Union (*'the state of our Union'*). In this example, the correlative conjunction juxtaposes two values, that of solidarity, (*'the lives of human beings'*) and the functionality and efficiency of the organization and establishes organizational efficiency as superior to solidarity, although, a concessive remark is used to mitigate for this choice (*'though a single life is enough'*).

The idea of the test and *'the challenges of the most difficult times our history has recently faced'* contains an implicit idea of threat, but this issue, whether entertaining alternative positions (as in the case of Donald Tusk or Frans Timmermans or inviting the affect of fear as a resource of attitudinal content is never realised in Federica Mogherini's intervention. Although some negative judgement toward the organisation is realised in the text as the speaker points out its deficiencies, the foregrounded value is the *proclamation* of the necessity for responsible action, which is, to some extent, opposed to the implied inefficiency as a possible solution for those flaws.

Solidarity towards Refugees and Capacity of the Organization

The attitudinal content in the intervention regarding migrants is realised in accordance with the value of solidarity declared by other leaders of the organization (see Mobilizing Stance). The aspect which differentiates the present text from the others is that, in the spirit of the expressed dismissal of emotion, this solidarity is assumed as self-evident and is mostly realised through indirect means. In the next excerpt, the speaker's attitude is realised through a categorical assertion:

Most of the people we see today coming to Europe are fleeing from conflict and persecution. This is the first issue we need to address. Four million have fled Syria. Between Syria and Iraq, more than 10 million have left their homes and are internally displaced.

The first proposition of the excerpt monoglossically *proclaims* the speaker's position on the subject (*pronounce* value). The lexical elements invoke negative appreciation for the refugees' situation (*'conflict and persecution'*) and the positive affect of empathy through the use of *'flee'* as the action undertaken by them. The quantification *'most of the people'* indirectly alludes to the migrant/refugee dispute, however, its premisses are not addressed and not even considered relevant in the context of containing the crisis internationally. The excerpt, and the whole intervention indeed, addresses the identification of solutions in a situation of humanitarian crisis, hence, the premises which represent a matter of contention for other speakers, in this text, however, they merely become the circumstances of a problem that needs to be solved.

The personal tone of the following excerpt has already been analysed. It is another indirect realisation of positive attitudinal value by positive affect being invited through the rendering of the dramatic situation of Syrian children:

"Let me stress this, because I believe that – as we see Syria losing an entire generation to war and exile – we have to invest in Syrian children. That is an investment not only for the future of the country and the region but also for our security, because it is the best investment we can make against terrorism and radicalisation." (Annex 7)

Again, inscribed attitudinal content is absent in the excerpt, perhaps, with the exception of the *pronouncement* value of *'I believe'* which is a realisation of a personal position, implying its special importance for the speaker, intensified by the volitive *'let me stress this'*. However, the positive affect of empathy is invited by the concise but quite intense categorical assertion

'we see Syria losing an entire generation to war and exile', foregrounding as fact the drama of a whole nation that we, other nations in the world are witnessing. The speaker continues with a further *pronouncement* (*we have to invest in Syrian children*). The deontic *'have to'* implies a directive: we cannot be impassive to this drama and we have to intervene and *'invest'* into this generation so that they may not entirely be lost. *'Invest'* and *'investment'* are also attitudinally laden lexical items, also suggested by their repetition. They carry both positive appreciation of the children, implying their value (since they represent a lost generation that may, perhaps, be recovered) but it is also an instance of positive judgement as self-evaluation, implying a wise investment on the part of the organization, both in terms of morality (judgement of propriety) for helping those in need, but also as a long-term security measure as an *investment* made against *'terrorism and radicalisation'* (judgement of capacity).

In the spirit of the speaker's stance claiming the superiority of action against words, of responsible decisions against emotion, and a clear and transparent structure of the text which formally illustrates this principle, it is not surprising that metaphorical representation, which other speakers often rely on, is also missing. An instance which could, however, qualify as metaphorical is the literary reference to the refugees' journey as an *'odyssey'*:

"We cannot focus only on the last mile of the tragedy: we must also consider all the steps of the refugees' odyssey." (Annex7)

The excerpt refers to the solidarity demonstrated towards refugees which, in the speaker's perspective, realised through proclaim values (*'see above'*), has to be constant, in their countries of origin, on the sea where they may become victims of smugglers or drowning, and at their destination, in Europe. Considering the aspect of the refugees taking an actual journey from their countries across the sea and into Europe, the representation is literal. However, a metonymical representation representing part of the whole can be traced in the representation of the last phase as *'the last mile'*

of the journey. Furthermore, the use of *'tragedy'* implies the identification of the literal journey with the overall drama these displaced people are going through and invites the affect of empathy toward this category.

Another figurative representation is the identification of the journey the refugees are taking as an *odyssey*, invoking hardship and extraordinary circumstances as the common aspects with the literary source domain. Due to its common usage as a rhetorical convention, however, this metaphor does not necessarily bring additional evaluative content to the representation of the refugees' situation.

V.1.6. Partial Conclusions

The speaker addresses her audience as a leading representative of the Juncker Commission, with a specific perspective focussed on the European Union's international relations concerning the crisis. The clearly structured text formally illustrates the speaker's explicit stance favouring action over words and responsible decisions over emotions. Although these categories are constructed as opposing, the use of mitigating devices prevents an effect of polarization, and a balanced, although authoritative tone is preserved throughout the intervention.

The speaker's dialogic stance is realised through a series of *proclaim: pronounce* values which are usually associated with values of *deny* for alternatives that are used to point out organizational deficiency. The speaker's stance is at times intensified by repetition and the use of directives, even imperatives. The speaker's perspective is usually consistent with a first -person plural referencing an organizational perspective but singular references occur with occasional realisations of stances with a high degree personal investment related to values the speaker personally aligns with.

Attitudinal stance is realised in the same scheme of moderacy. Although some implicit affect is realised as solidarity towards refugees, the

speaker avoids it and explicitly evaluates it as *'not enough'*. The issue of threat, which one way or another is discussed by other speakers is not tackled by the High Representative. The only common aspect with others in this respect is the representation of the crisis as a test. Metaphors are absent from the text with one possible exception of a metonymy and a conventional metaphor used as a common rhetorical device.

Self-evaluation occurs from an organizational perspective, as an assessment of the performance and efficiency demonstrated both by the Commission and the European Union. Attitudinal values are predominantly from the category of judgement, capacity and often propriety, realising both positive and negative values as criticism on the deficiencies observed or highlighting adequate performance. Polarization of values is again avoided by mitigating strategies, with negative judgement counterbalancing positive evaluation.

V.2. Dimitris Avramopoulos – European Commissioner for Migration and Home Affairs

While Federica Mogherini's engagement style realises more values of *pronouncement*, consequently rendering a more authoritarian style to the speaker, Dimitris Avramopoulos produces a more impersonal discourse through more numerous monoglossic propositions. His perspective is that of the expert examining the crisis as a matter of logistical challenge due to the extraordinary dimensions of this phenomenon and presenting a series of measures which are expected to bring a positive outcome. As if in a troubleshooting process, the speaker points out shortcomings which are then countered by the measures that have been proposed to counter them. Although organizational values are observed, solidarity, responsibility and unity feature as implied organizational values are not tackled explicitly.

V.2.1. Values and Representational Frame

The benchmark of the Commissioner's perspective is organizational efficiency and his position is that of the expert assessing the performance of the organization he manages. His engagement style and all evaluative content of his intervention is submitted to this criterion and not that of morality, therefore, it can be stated that moral talk is not present in his speech. Although it is never explicitly named, the observations related to the organizational deficiency he points out, the solidarity demonstrated towards the refugees, or the support offered to first-entry member states are examined from the perspective of efficiency.

It is also from the perspective of efficiency that the Commissioner uses the term '*credibility*', assumed, similarly to the previous speaker, Federica Mogherini, to be the main value of the organization, which conveys its functionality and the possibility to effectively cooperate with other partners. The concept is explicitly named twice in the text, in contexts which describe measures taken in order to manage the crisis. The first instance occurs in an evaluative proposition representing the crisis as a '*crash test for Europe and for the Union's credibility*', implying all values that the organization subscribes to and regards as part of its identity. It is characteristic of the practical approach of Dimitris Avramopoulos that no other values are named or discussed, although representation of the circumstances signals that they are implied. Credibility is implied to be the ultimate value the organization has to comply with and as such is assumed to be an ultimate proof of legitimacy. Credibility is next named as a criterion of assessment when the European Union's return policy is discussed:

"Currently Europe has a very low rate of return: around 40% of third-country nationals. This undermines the credibility of our migration policy. We, therefore, also present here today a European return programme aiming at fostering a clean-cut return policy." (Annex 8)

As opposed to the general context of the first mention (credibility increased with a set of proposals), in the second instance concretely refers to the higher rate of returns in the cases when applicants do not meet the criteria of granting asylum. For these situations, the proposals established a list of safe countries of origin whose citizens were not in immediate danger due to war and conflict; therefore, it was stated, that they did not qualify for asylum and they were due to be returned. It was expected that the *'clean-cut return policy'* established in the proposals would set a clear standard of which countries' citizens were entitled for asylum (for instance, Syria) and would discourage people from other countries (Turkey and the Balkan countries are mentioned in text), to travel and enter the Schengen area. The Commissioner, similarly to Frans Timmermans (Annex 4), also a member of the Commission, foregrounds the necessity of this measure and the benefits it might bring.

V.2.2. Stance in Dimitris Avramopoulos' Intervention

The Commissioner's engagement style is prescriptive as he is communicating the deficiencies that have been observed and the measures to be implemented in order to correct them. Even if the alignment of the audience is explicitly requested, given the context (the proposals being presented in front of the Parliament), from the perspective of the speaker's engagement style, the alignment of the audience is implied, considering the history of a working relationship between the two institutions, Commission and Parliament. It is assumed that the two entities have the common goal of optimizing the functionality of the organization as a practical aspect. Therefore, dissensions, drawbacks, or any kind of negative factors, apart from that of the efficiency, are not addressed. A series of proclaim: pronounce values are realised in the text, with resources pertaining to deonticity, but an even more typical dialogical value for this text is the monoglossic propositions which simply announce the agenda set by the Commission's proposals.

The same tone of neutrality and professional distance is realised in the speaker's attitudinal stance as well. What other speakers categorized as a *threat*, in this intervention is represented as a flaw in the mechanism of the organization, about to be remedied in view of better functionality. The metaphorical representation of the crisis as a test is rendered through the source domain of car manufacturing as a '*crash test*', associating the situation with that of technical safety design. Solidarity towards refugees, even if invited, is implied as a detail of the organizational profile and observed in accordance. All other elements of attitudinal stance align with the central purpose of taking up the challenge of the present situation and achieving an efficient and workable form of managing the crisis. Intensification occurs at times, by inscribed means or by repetition, with the same purpose of foregrounding motivation to achieve efficiency.

V.2.3. Who are the Participants Dimitris Avramopoulos is Addressing?

As all the speakers during the September 9 debate on the state of the Union, the Commissioner is addressing firstly to the President of the House, implying the house of Parliament and the members of this Parliament gathered for this special occasion:

"Mr President, as you noticed, the State of the Union speech was mostly on migration and shows what our priorities are." (Annex 8)

As the aim of this session is to obtain a favourable vote from the European Parliament for the implementation of the Commission proposals, the speaker's objective is to present the proposals in front of his audience and point out their advantages for the organization. The first-person plural reference in '*our priorities*' is a specific reference to the Commission which is being assessed in this session through the proposals they are presenting. The closing remarks of the Commissioner's short intervention refer to this context again:

“I really count a lot on your support to implement this package as you have done, and I have to commend once again this House for being very supportive from the very beginning of our efforts to adopt a common European migration policy. I count on you and I thank you very much for the support you have provided thus far.” (Annex 8)

The speaker is personally addressing the members of the Parliament a request for a favourable vote (*‘I really count a lot on your support’, ‘I count on you’*) and implies that the *‘implementation of the package’*, meaning the containment of the crisis, depends on them as well. An additional praise is included for the supportive activity of the House in the past (*‘I have to commend again’, ‘thank you very much’*), with an aim to remind the audience of their decisive role. Expressing gratitude and praise has already been mentioned as a common and effective way of strengthening working relationships (see the analysis of J.C. Juncker’s address). It is not only a sign of cooperation but it also demonstrates the efficiency of the organisation, by the cooperation of two of its institutions, the Commission and the Parliament, that speaker and addressees are part of. The reference to *‘our efforts’* is a specific indication of the Commission and the work it has undertaken to elaborate the proposals which should now be put into practice.

As the excerpts above indicate, the Commissioner is using first-person singular and plural references to index a variety of addressees throughout his intervention. The next excerpt illustrates both first-person singular references when directly addressing colleagues present in the plenary hall, and the inclusive *‘we’* referring to both the organization and the community he represents and is part of:

“I want to express my thanks to both First Vice-President Frans Timmermans and Federica Mogherini for their opening remarks and for the excellent cooperation we had throughout the last month in putting together this ambitious and much-needed package. Today’s package is our response to an unprecedented refugee crisis happening right in front of our

eyes. As the refugee crisis around Europe becomes bigger, our answers need to become bolder, more comprehensive and more ambitious.

This is the Europe we want. This is the Europe we must have. So today we are putting forward four very concrete measures that in the short- and medium-term can help tackle all the major challenges we are confronted with.” (Annex 8)

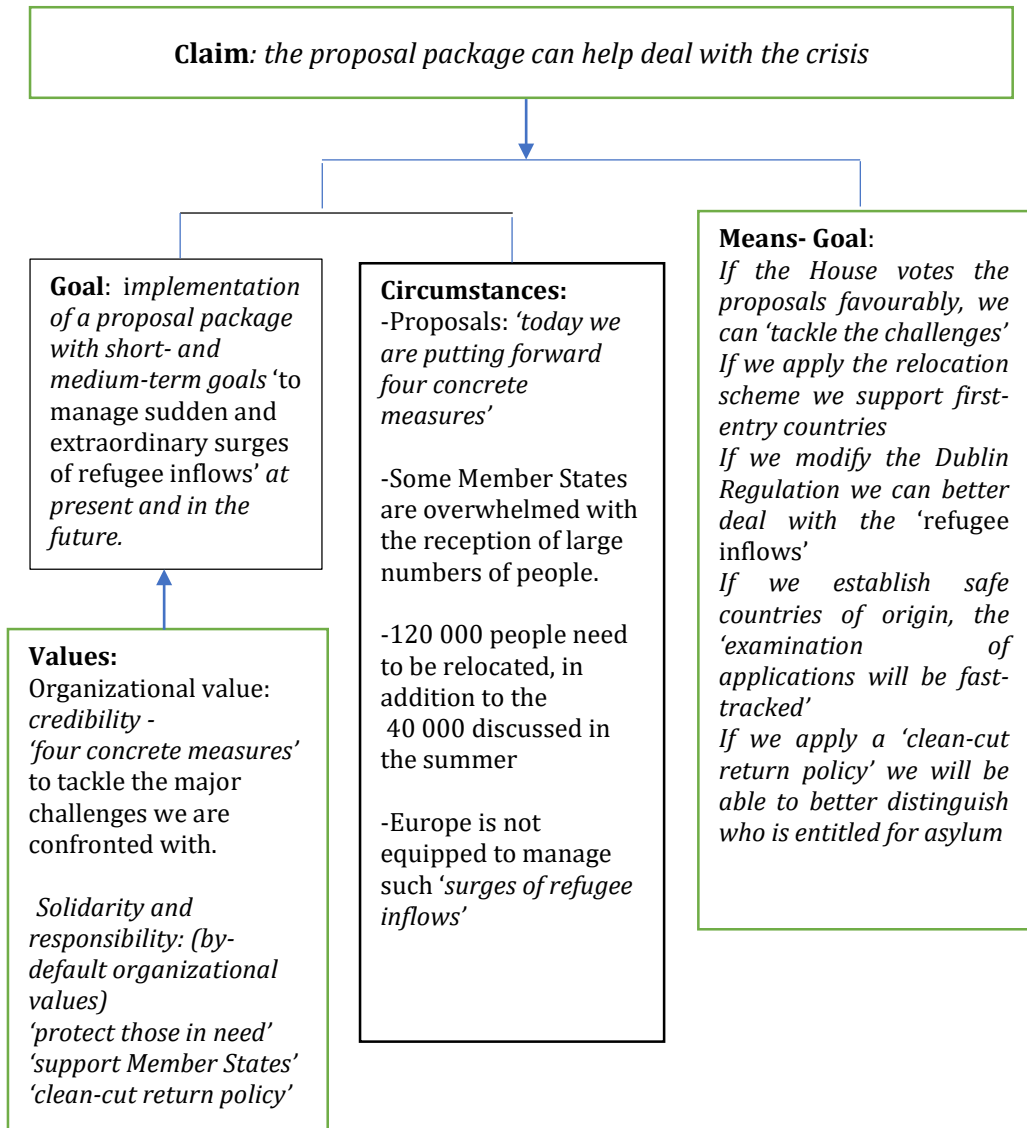


Fig. 5. Dimitris Avramopoulos' intervention as practical argumentation

In this excerpt, Dimitris Avramopoulos is directly addressing two other members of the Juncker Commission (Frans Timmermans and Federica Mogherini), by thanking them (*I want to express thanks*), who have also contributed to the elaboration of the proposals presented by the President of the Commission, and who hold leading positions in the European institution. The first-person plural used after this instance (*the excellent cooperation we had throughout the last month*) refers specifically to the working cooperation among the members of the Commission.

The following references by the possessive adjective refer to both organization (*our response*) and the wider community of European states and citizens witnessing the crisis *'happening right in front of our eyes'*. This widened perspective is signalled by the explicit reference to the community, *'the refugee crisis around Europe'*, and the reaction to it, by the leaders who are in charge with the decision-making process (*our answers*). It is implied that the *bolder, more comprehensive and more ambitious* answers represent a *'Europe we want'*, they are the proposals which represent the community and its citizens, in both actions and principles. The measure taken in order to contain the crisis, this time the plural *'we'* refers to the working group of the Commission again, is claimed to be one that is consistent with the aims and principles of the organization and represents the community.

In a similar way to the excerpt above, the next example includes singular and plural references to indicate a personal address to those present (*I expect*), reference to the organization (*we have learnt a lesson*), the wider community it represents (*Europe*), and, finally, the Commission (*we propose*):

"I expect that a vast majority of the Members of this House will vote in favour of this proposal later today and will also support in the future the new temporary relocation scheme. At the same time, we have to learn the lesson that the current crisis is teaching us. Europe is not well-equipped to manage sudden and extraordinary surges of refugee inflows.

We need structural solutions to face such events in the future so that we can systematically support Member States and guarantee protection for those who are really in need. That is why we propose establishing a permanent crisis relocation mechanism by amending the Dublin Regulation.” (Annex 8)

Through the first-person singular address to the members present, the speaker formulates an expectation from the Parliament, as part of the organization and a contributor to the effort of managing ‘*extraordinary surges of refugee inflows*’. This request and expectation, it is suggested, aims the efficiency of the organization, and the present situation is a ‘*lesson*’ all institutions and the whole community needs to learn. In stating the need for ‘*structural solutions*’, the speaker refers to the whole community, where each member state contributes to the efforts of relocation and benefits from them, in its turn. The last reference of the excerpt, ‘*we propose*’ refers specifically to the Commission again, with the proposal referring to the modification of the Dublin Regulation.

V.2.4. Dialogical Stance

Announcing the Implementation of Measures Against the Crisis

The Commissioner’s engagement style is in line with his assumed role as a leading member of the institution he represents, speaking with the purpose of setting an agenda in front of an audience whose alignment he assumes as a regular working relationship. This assumed alignment is demonstrated by direct addresses or the presentation of the proposals as details on a working plan for the organization:

“I expect that a vast majority of the Members of this House will vote in favour of this proposal later today and will also support in the future the new temporary relocation scheme.” (Annex 8)

The speaker addresses his audience both in acknowledgement of their compliance and as an indication of the upcoming steps towards further measures, also signalled by the monoglossic future form of the verbs (*'will vote', 'will support'*). The same acknowledgement, this time in the shape a formal request is repeated in the concluding remarks of the intervention:

"I really count a lot on your support to implement this package as you have done, and I have to commend once again this House for being very supportive from the very beginning of our efforts to adopt a common European migration policy. I count on you and I thank you very much for the support you have provided thus far." (Annex 8)

The alignment of the audience is based on past experience and the addition of praise is a form of securing a working relationship in the future (see above).

Apart from the direct addresses toward the audience, the typical type of engagement, similarly to other speakers, is realised by *proclaim* values, which *pronounce* the speaker' perspective on the crisis and the solutions that can contain it:

"Today's package is our response to an unprecedented refugee crisis happening right in front of our eyes. As the refugee crisis around Europe becomes bigger, our answers need to become bolder, more comprehensive and more ambitious.

This is the Europe we want. This is the Europe we must have. So today we are putting forward four very concrete measures that in the short- and medium-term can help tackle all the major challenges we are confronted with. (...)

To address this migration, we need a coordinated European approach. That is why we are now proposing to relocate 120 000 people fleeing war, persecution, oppression and chaos from Italy, Greece and Hungary according to a distribution scheme." (Annex 8)

The excerpt contains a variety of resources realizing the speaker's *pronouncement* on the proposals and their implementation, which are usually dialogically contractive, even maximally so through some bare assertions. Monoglossic propositions such as *'today's package is our response'*, *'today we are putting forward'*, *'we are now proposing'* represent a step-by-step presentation of an agenda that is already being acted on, suggested by the present continuous tense of the actions. In addition, *pronouncement* is realized by deontic modality, through *need to* (*'our answers need to become bolder'*, *'we need coordinated European approach'*) and *must* (*'this is the Europe we must have'*) and a *verb of volition* (*'this is the Europe we want'*). The engagement values are supported by positive judgement of capacity suggesting motivation (*'the Europe we want'* intensified by the repetition with a stronger deontic verb, *'must have'*) and the ability to act (the present continuous tenses and the inscribed *'concrete'*) in a unified manner (*'coordinated'*). An additional graduation value is added through the intensification of the three lexical items *'bolder, more comprehensive and more ambitious'*, implying high determination to change the present situation. The only low degree value is *'can help tackle'*, through the epistemic modal *can*, implying possibility but not certainty that the desired change will happen. This low value is, on the other hand, validated by the high value evaluation of the crisis, intensifying its negative impact through lexicalized, inscribed values such as *'major challenges'* and *'unprecedented'*.

The strategy of *pronouncing* the Commission's perspective in handling the crisis is followed throughout the text, with further monoglossic values signalling implementation that is already under way, combined with an expression of determinacy:

"As a first step, Member States shall be in a position to steadily process unfounded or unlawful requests so they can devote their human and financial resources to legitimate requests, filed by those who urgently require international protection. That is why we are putting forward today the introduction of an EU list of safe countries, including the Balkan countries and Turkey." (Annex 8)

This excerpt indicates the proposals' status as a general rule being implemented throughout the European Union by the use of *'shall'* (*'shall be in a position'*) and a further present continuous with a future meaning, realising values of *pronouncement* in front of an aligned audience (*'we are putting forward'*). The fact that these actions are part of a process is suggested by the explicit *'as a first step'* and the evaluative *'steadily'* implying a consistent capacity to handle this operation (positive judgement of capacity).

Further monoglossic utterances realise the speaker's perspective in terms of expectations as a result of these measures being implemented:

"By including these countries in the list of safe countries of origin, the examination of the applications for international protection will be fast-tracked. This will increase the efficiency of asylum systems, and will allow Member States to devote greater resources to protect those in need and to return the applicants of unfounded requests faster." (Annex 8)

The repetition of the future form with *'will'* associated with the evaluative content of the action verbs (*'fast-tracked', 'increase', 'allow'*) realises a high degree graduation for positive judgement of capacity of the organization and the member states that constitute it, rendering an impersonal expectation of positive outcome, brought about by the measures being implemented.

V.2.5. Attitudinal Stance

The Crisis and its Management

In the introductory part of the intervention, the crisis is metaphorically represented as a *'crash test'* (*'The management of migration is a crash test for Europe and for the Union's credibility.'*) mapping the target domain onto a technical source domain evoking vehicle performance, thus, inviting judgement of capacity, indicating a preoccupation with functionality, efficiency and operational capacity. Attitudinal stance is often inscribed, clearly realizing the speaker's evaluation. For instance, the proposal

package is evaluated through positive appreciation values regarding its quality (*'ambitious and much-needed package'*). Further appreciation and judgment values are realized in the next excerpt concerning the crisis and its administration:

"Today's package is our response to an unprecedented refugee crisis happening right in front of our eyes. As the refugee crisis around Europe becomes bigger, our answers need to become bolder, more comprehensive and more ambitious." (Annex 8)

The excerpt contains high degree appreciation of the crisis, with the inscribed value of *'unprecedented'* (negative reaction), further intensified by the representation through proximization through the phrase *'happening right in front of our eyes'*. In the next proposition the parallel syntax realises an inscribed evaluation of the crisis on one hand (*'becomes bigger'*), continuing the negative reaction of the previous proposition, and the inscribed lexis, *'bolder, more comprehensive and more ambitious'*, on the other, realising positive judgement of capacity. The choice of the comparative degree realises further graduation for the attitudinal values on both the categories of the crisis and that of the response to it from the organization.

Further evaluation of the measures of crisis management realises positive appreciation due to its estimated impact. The speaker discusses *'four very concrete measures'* that *'can help tackle all the major challenges we are confronted with'*. In the context of the debate where the need of effective action is emphasized, *'concrete'* indicates organizational efficiency that has the desired effect.

In what concerns the present state of the organization however, negative judgement of capacity is realised, when the speaker points out deficiencies of the European Union's migration policy that needs overall revision:

"At the same time, we have to learn the lesson that the current crisis is teaching us. Europe is not well-equipped to manage sudden and extraordinary surges of refugee inflows." (Annex 8)

An inscribed value of negative judgement of capacity is realised in the excerpt, concerning *Europe's* resources to handle the crisis through the negation of a potentially positive trait, *'not well-equipped'*. This low-degree graduation indicating a negative state is associated with a high degree graduation of the phenomenon itself: the crisis is caused by *'sudden and extraordinary surges'* of *'refugee inflows'*, which, to a certain extent, allows a concession for the deficiency of the European administrative and legal mechanism. The foregrounded element of the evaluative remark is not the deficiency, but the unusual nature of the phenomenon, which, beyond signalling that deficiency, is *'teaching us'* a lesson. It is suggested that the flaw revealed through this extraordinary situation is also one, in which improvements are being enacted. Beyond the (low-degree) negative-positive polarity of the evaluation what should be noticed is the lexical choice they are realised by. The situation of Europe, *'not well-equipped'*, is, in fact, an entailment of the *crash test* metaphor used in the introduction of the intervention, evoking a situation in which troubleshooting of a mechanism occurs for better performance. Facing an *extraordinary surge*, Europe *'has to learn a lesson'* in order to achieve better performance, and become *'better equipped'*.

Such a troubleshooting process is suggested by the syntax of the clauses linked by an adverb indicating consequence. The speaker points out a detail which should be remedied and then adds the possible solution for that deficiency. Such is the discussion on the return policy in the next excerpt:

"Currently Europe has a very low rate of return: around 40% of third-country nationals. This undermines the credibility of our migration policy. We therefore also present here today a European return programme aiming at fostering a clean-cut return policy." (Annex 8)

The negative appreciation of the return mechanism is invited by the statistical number, *'40%'* which is implicitly evaluated as high, through the

following proposition: *'This undermines the credibility of our migration policy'*. The negative impact of the appreciation is countered by the next proposition, presenting measures being taken and realising positive appreciation of the return policy, suggesting efficiency through the inscribed value of *'clean-cut'*.

Solidarity and Responsibility towards the Refugees

Since the general representational frame is that of a troubleshooting process through which the asylum system is being remedied, the representation of refugees is subordinated to this concept. The impersonal representation as *'surges'* of *'refugee inflows'* also pertaining to the technical domain realises the practical tone of the whole intervention, foregrounding preoccupation with organizational efficiency with moral aspects or alternative viewpoints on the proposals avoided. This representation is in line with common approaches of the phenomenon of migration in institutional discourse, which are not as much negative evaluations as they are impersonal and neutral in terms of affect (KhosraviNik 2014).

The main purpose of the intervention is the presentation of the proposals, which are positively evaluated as timely and efficient and generally realise a positive self-evaluation for the organization. This text does not approach the values of solidarity and responsibility explicitly and specifically; however, they are realised implicitly through the representation of refugees in a general context of organizational values. Efficiency implies application of measures which align with organizational principles, therefore, the actions taken to contain the crisis should, ideally, include solidarity and responsibility as well. Such representation is realised in the following excerpt on the return policy planned by the Commission:

"In parallel with increasing our support to guarantee shelter for those in need of protection, we have to make sure that those who do not have the right to stay in the European Union are promptly returned." (Annex 8)

Two categories are established, those who are *'in need of protection'* and those *'who do not have a right to stay'*, inviting positive and negative judgement of propriety. The evaluation which dominates the proposition, however, is the positive judgement of capacity toward the organization, which, by making this distinction is able to take effective action in containing the crisis while applying its principles as well: *'supporting'* and *'guaranteeing shelter'* on one hand, and *'promptly returning'* those who are not entitled for refugee status, on the other. Solidarity is demonstrated towards those who *'need protection'*, called elsewhere in the text *'people fleeing war, persecution, oppression and chaos'* (realisation of affect through inviting solidarity). Responsibility in reestablishing order, on the other hand, is manifested through a *'clean-cut return policy'* (see above) for those who are economic migrants.

The same differentiation is made in the following excerpt, where the necessity of applying adequate measures is pointed out, with the purpose of applying the two principles, while realising a positive evaluation of the organization through further values of judgement of capacity. This excerpt tackles specifically the measure of putting the Balkan countries and Turkey on the list of safe countries, which implies that nationals from these countries cannot obtain refugee status:

"In 2014, nationals from these countries submitted over 17% of the total of 562 000 applications filed in the European Union. These requests put a heavy burden on the European Union's national asylum systems, while the vast majority of them were clearly unfounded.

By including these countries in the list of safe countries of origin, the examination of the applications for international protection will be fast-tracked. This will increase the efficiency of asylum systems, and will allow Member States to devote greater resources to protect those in need and to return the applicants of unfounded requests faster." (Annex 8)

Negative judgement of propriety is realised towards applicants who are not entitled for refugee status by inscribed values, such as '*heavy burden*' or '*clearly unfounded*'. The graduation values *heavy* and *clearly* refer both to the conduct of the applicants but they are also meant to intensify the challenge represented for the organization in dealing with these '*unfounded*' requests, which, obviously hinder organizational performance. The size of this challenge is also suggested by the reference to statistics, '*over 17% of the total of 562 000 applications*', inviting further negative judgement for the applicants and positive appreciation for the system itself, due to the significant negative impact which puts '*a heavy burden*' on member states' national asylum systems.

While the negative appreciation refers to the system functionality and those factors which negatively affect it, the official formulations create a distancing effect from the humanitarian aspect of the issue, the emphasis laying on efficiency. Taking these measures in the present allows an estimation in the future of positive effects realised by a series of actions inviting positive judgement of capacity ('will be fast-tracked', 'will increase', 'will allow ... to devote greater resources').

V.2.6. Partial Conclusions

The text revolves around the value of credibility, with an emphasis on aspects of efficiency for the organization, concretely aiming issues of functional rules and successful implementation of these, conducive to a trouble-free operation of the European Union's legal and administrative mechanism.

The dialogical stance realised in this text is mostly monoglossic, given that the speaker is presenting a set of measures which are assumed as being much necessary and mostly accepted by the audience. The speaker's *pronouncement* related to these measures focusses on the necessity of a '*coordinated approach*' and '*concrete measures*' that allow immediate action

on the issue. Many of the actions representing the details and steps of the plan are realised as unchallenged, about to be implemented as part of the proposal plan, or actions that are expected to yield a positive outcome in the future. The relatively low degree of interpersonal values (except for the direct interaction with the audience and colleagues by addressing them praises and requests) indicates the speaker assuming a high level of alignment from the audience.

The elements of the speech focus, instead, on the efficiency and the positive outcome of the measures proposed, there being realised several instances of judgement of capacity, to a certain extent countering the high degree negative appreciation of the '*challenging*' situation of the European Union. Self-evaluation is realised concomitantly with the evaluation of the crisis. While the present state of the organization is negatively evaluated, the positive evaluation of the proposals and the foregrounding of their future positive outcome counters this. Some repetitions occur as a form of graduation in order to intensify the organization's motivation to deal with its present challenges, however, the typical attitudinal realisation happens through inscribed values.

The metaphorical representation of the crisis as a *crash test* and an entailment (*Europe is not well-equipped*) maps the migrant issue onto a technical source domain which foregrounds concerns related to organizational performance and efficiency, and along with other attitudinal values pertaining to the same area of interest, backgrounds issues raised by other speakers, related to the morality of the measures taken, the dissensions occurring among the member countries and the threat that present shortcomings may represent for the organization.

CHAPTER VI

ANTAGONISTIC STANCE (ANTI-MIGRATIONIST)

VI.1. Viktor Orbán's – Prime Minister of Hungary

The perspective of Orbán's speech is a sharp opposite from the President of the European Commission's, mostly influenced by the more limited, national angle that he formulates his stance from. As the most fervent opponent of receiving migrants and distributing them according to mandatory quotas, Viktor Orbán earned notoriety during the crisis of 2015, so much so, that his treatment of asylum seekers was compared to Hitler's deportation of the Jewish by Austria's chancellor at the time⁶⁰ and J. C. Juncker himself jokingly saluted him⁶¹ on one occasion with the typical Nazi gesture.

Due to its sharp oppositions and confrontational style, this stance has been named Antagonistic. It must further be noted that while interpersonal values duely realise the speaker's fervent opposition to 'Brussels' politics, the main factor that contributes to the construction of the anti-migrationist position is representational. Firstly, the speaker creates an alternative narrative that places his government as the defender of European values against the irresponsible politics of Brussels; secondly, an effective metaphorical scenario is produced representing the migrants as a formidable army besieging the borders of the European Union.

The prime minister's resolution to build a fence on the southern borders of Hungary and to maintain a state of high readiness there by police and military force has raised the greatest public disapproval, despite

⁶⁰ <https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSKCN0RCOGL/>

⁶¹ <https://www.euronews.com/2015/05/22/here-comes-the-dictator-juncker-s-cheeky-welcome-for-hungarian-pm>

receiving criticism from the opposition and protests from certain civil organizations⁶², adding to the series of disagreements with the European Union. The large numbers of people crossing the borders of Hungary may have generated unease among the population but Viktor Orbán's anti-migrationist rhetoric certainly polarized that. A national consultation on immigration was initiated in April 2015, followed by a nationwide billboard campaign and, the following year, by a referendum⁶³. Even if the results revealed a low participation, Orbán used this as political leverage to justify his controversial position towards Brussels and its politics in the migrant situation. However, what gained influence to some of his arguments, most importantly, the issue of the Schengen zone, was the support and agreement his government received from the other members of the Visegrad Four and the German CSU (Christian social Union in Bavaria) whose growing impatience with then Chancellor, Angela Merkel's pro-immigration policy⁶⁴ prompted the Bavarian party to consider the Hungarian prime minister's position.

Viktor Orbán has given a lot of declarations, press conferences and interviews during the crisis, and long afterwards, in which he has put forth his anti-migrationist stance, which may be slightly modified by the context of the situation and the audience he is addressing. The address delivered in the Hungarian Parliament on 21 September, on the first day of activity summarizes some of his arguments and illustrates his interpersonal strategies. Starting his speech, the Hungarian prime minister sets a clear agenda, clarifying that the address is conveying the perspective of the Hungarian government, specifying the source of the value position

⁶² https://budapestbeacon.com/protest-against-govt-treatment-of-refugees-border-fence/?_sf_s=fence+at+the+border&sf_paged=18

⁶³ *'The Social Aspects of the 2015 Migration Crisis in Hungary'* a study conducted by the TÁRKI Social research Institute, https://www.tarki.hu/hu/news/2016/kitekint/20160330_refugees.pdf

⁶⁴ <https://www.politico.eu/article/viktor-orban-bavaria-hardline-hero-seehofer-migration-borders/>

presented throughout. Further, he explicitly establishes the purpose of the discourse, of elaborating on ‘the question of why we are at odds with the European Union’, which clarifies the source of the opposite position he is about to formulate his justifications against.

As in the case of J. C. Juncker, the Hungarian prime minister also uses praise to gain solidarity from his audience, but the thank offering towards ‘*members of the police and military forces serving at our borders*’ also sets the tone of the speech he is about to deliver. The action of deploying security forces to the borders, along with erecting the fence have been highly controversial and harshly criticised by the opposition and Brussels. Therefore, the thank offering which usually follows a positively assessed action is an indication that the prime minister’s perspective opposes that of his critics. The military and police forces ‘*are serving*’, that is offering a noble gesture toward the nation (‘*our borders*’) which is in line with the prime minister’s claim of the necessity to take urgent measures towards defending European borders.

VI.1.1. Values and Representational Frame

Even if not explicitly formulated (at least, not in this text), the values underlying the Hungarian prime minister’s address are easily distinguishable. While the action foregrounded in J. C. Juncker’s speech in order to contain the crisis is offering help, Viktor Orbán’s speech revolves around defending the material and immaterial assets that have been acquired throughout history. With J. C. Juncker a history of suffering and persecution has accumulated the capacity for action in the interest of humanity. In Viktor Orbán’s case, accumulating the experience throughout history of defending essential values such as nation and Christianity conveys the ability to continue defending them now, when they are in danger, once again. This attitude determines the moral content of his discourse as well.

According to an interpretation (Klein 2016), the role of history in Orbán's case is to record all past events in a nation's existence so that it can be used as guidance for present action. The 'nation', in this context, is part of a '*metaphysical Christian Europe*', coinciding with nineteenth century romantic ideology, which stands in opposition with the principles of the enlightenment adage: '*liberty, equality and fraternity*' (2016, 22-23). However, despite his Euroscepticism, Orbán does not reject *Europe* as 'homeland', rather than regard its '*left-liberal*' policies as '*misguided*' which can be redeemed by reestablishing a '*localized*' interpretation of '*Europe*' as a '*community of Christian, free and independent nations*' (2016, 26).

Orbán's view on Europe, referred to as the *European family* reflects a conservative, tradition-based perception. For Orbán, European history translates as cultivating historical connections with other sovereign states, connections the value of which has accrued in time throughout common experience and mutual support. The prerequisite of such a perspective is the stable, enduring existence of a sovereign state, and national borders are a materialization of that. Defending physical borders is very much the symbolic gesture of protecting those immaterial values that are connected to this view in public consciousness, cultural, national or Christian.

In this context, Hungarian history and statehood entwines with European identity, as '*Hungary has been a valued member of the larger European family for a thousand years*', and it stems from this ideology that Viktor Orbán heavily relies in his declarations during the crisis on metaphor and myth in his representation of the events. The central myth based on which he formulates a metaphorical scenario, the so called *Antemurale* myth⁶⁵ (*Antemurale Christianitatis*, in English, *the Bulwark of Christianity*) dominates his representation of facts in the analysed

⁶⁵ For the connection between the myth and political justification for building walls, see Blažević, Zrinka (2021). *The Image of the Wall: The Antemurale Christianitatis Myth from an Imagological Perspective*. In: Jürgen Barkhoff and Joep Leerssen (eds.), *National Stereotyping, Identity Politics, European Crises*, Leiden-Boston: Brill (p.160-172)

address and represents the main element of moral specificity and determinacy. The statement that it is Hungary's *'historic and moral duty to protect Europe'* (quotability) is a confirmation that according to this ideology, Hungary and Europe stand in an essential interdependence, reenforced in these discourses by various metaphorical or non-metaphorical references:

"Hungary has been a valued member of the larger European family for a thousand years. It is its historic and moral duty to protect Europe, as we thereby also protect ourselves. The reverse is also true: when we protect the borders of Hungary, we also protect Europe." (Annex 9)

The Antemurale myth specific for countries in Eastern and Central Europe has contributed significantly in forging a typical frontier identity (Berend 2001) based on creating an ethos of defending Christian Europe from the various Eastern raiders. The analogy between the myth and the geography of the 2015 crisis is obvious, even if anachronistic. However, it effectively elicits an indirect attitudinal response by invoking affect related to both pride, due to the tradition of great resonance, and fear, due to the threat and danger connected to it. The *European values* and Hungarian ones, therefore, represent a common background, based on the continuity of interdependence the speaker explicitly states in the excerpt above and assumes as a premise underlying his discourse.

A present-day consequence of this historical connection, and another achievement to take pride in is the Schengen membership, which not only Orbán but his fellow politicians from the Visegrad Group regard as an affirmation of freedom that has been regained after the years of communism. Due to this specific aspect, the value of freedom occurs only among the Central European speakers but as the debate over the crisis advanced, the threat of losing Schengen due to the necessity to reestablish internal borders became the main subject on the agenda, prompting Czech foreign minister, Lubomír Zaorálek to say on one occasion: *'As V4, we*

especially appreciate that the EU now considers the control of its external borders as its top priority, which is something we have been calling for since the very beginning.’⁶⁶.

The circumstances Prime Minister Orbán is describing in the analysed speech are submitted to a regime of statements which much rather evaluate the situation and the other participants referred to and cannot be considered neutral. The crisis itself is presented as *mass migration*, the dissensions with the European Union as stemming from ‘*Europe’s short-sighted policy*’, whereas the speaker’s own perspective is one based on common sense and a sense of duty prescribed by agreed obligations towards the European Union and a self-assumed historical obligation, entwined with Hungarian identity. The situation report on the causes and state of the phenomenon is dominated by a succession of alarming numbers, and migrants are represented through a series of negative assessments dominated by mistrust.

The measures proposed to be taken, representing the claim the speaker puts forth are formulated both as stemming from the aforementioned common sense and duty of obligations, restrained, however, by the European perspective. This is why the attempts to apply these measures become ‘*a fierce struggle*’ and the necessity to ‘*stand pat*’.

The speaker’s reasoning contains some elements referring to the benefits of Schengen and the ‘*disastrous*’ consequences its collapse might entail ‘*for us*’ and ‘*for Europe*’ and suggests that this possibility is against everybody’s interests. However, in this text, the arguments in favour of defending external borders are of a moral nature, as they pertain to historical duty and treaty obligations. Similarly to J. C. Juncker, Viktor Orbán’s claim and representation of the crisis are based on moral values, therefore, conveying moral determinacy, specificity and determinacy to his discourse.

⁶⁶<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0Ac0Lw92Tgo&list=PLNRhsq8EkDAaQoEB8l0q9pDl6n6L5TUPR&index=2>, the Czeck Foreign Affairs Minister’s keynote speech at the Prague Summit in 2015

VI.1.2. Stance in Viktor Orbán's Address to the Hungarian Parliament

As head of the Hungarian government, the speaker's main objectives are to present Hungary's official position on the migrant crisis, and provide justification on opposing Brussels' politics of acceptance. Since at this point, September 21, the anti-migrationist actions the Hungarian government had been taking were widely known, this official address is mostly occasioned by the start of the autumn session of Parliament activities and is, in fact, a summary of the overall position of the government and an official reinforcement of it, rather than an informative account.

The main claim of defending external borders is justified by a series of categorical assertions of the speaker's perspective, combined with negative attitudinal content. This strategy, as well as other dialogically contractive engagement types, such as *proclaim* through *pronounce* and concessions made in order to *deny* opposite alternatives, construct a strong authoritativeness (White 2003) which allows no dialogical engagement. The audience is presented the speaker's stance as the only viable alternative, categorical and firm.

Attitudinal stance manifests a sharp polarity between negative evaluations pertaining to Brussels' politics and the category of migrants, with the latter containing some concession made on behalf of their difficult position. Typically, negative assessment is embedded within categorical assertions, mainly in the form of metaphors, in fact, a metaphorical scenario is followed through the text based on the source domain of WAR, especially with entailments implying a siege scenario. A further metaphorical scenario is mapped onto the domain of the HOUSE, commonly used for Europe, as the COMMON EUROPEAN HOUSE. In the present text the scenario invokes negative attitude through judgment (esteem: capacity).

The two value positions tackled in the text, the '*short-sighted policy*' of Europe and the '*simple, logical solutions, dictated by common sense*', proposed

by the Hungarian government are constantly polarized, both by values of engagement and attitude. The stance assumed by the speaker is often instantiated by objective, impersonal elements, implying his perspective to be the generally accepted norm rather than a personal position.

VI.1.3. Who are the Participants Viktor Orbán is Addressing?

The Hungarian prime minister is formally addressing his discourse to the Speaker, and his fellow members of Parliament. Throughout the text, the first-person singular perspective, when communicating 'on behalf of' the government, or the '*entire country and every Hungarian*' (when he thanks the military and police force) shifts towards the plural perspective signalling either a position taken by the government or that of the community, the wider public, depending on the topic of his proposal. In both instances, the highly authoritative stance of the whole text is preserved, as the use of pronouns is associated with categorical assertions and a dialogically contractive engagement style.

Given that the speaker addresses his speech to his fellow politicians, members of the Hungarian parliament, Brussels and the politics conducted there represent a third-party perspective, which the speaker assumes alignment against from his audience. Even if the actions and perspective of the European Union are presented, the text contains, in fact, a series of assessments on this alternative. The speaker never becomes dialogically expansive towards it, he never entertains those options but negatively evaluates them, instead.

This even happens when it is not the policy of the European Union which is evaluated but the position of the Hungarian opposition, whose representatives are present in the plenary hall. What conveys force to his position in the next case is the monoglossic aspect of the statement. Here, Viktor Orbán indicates, that the influence of the '*left*' is present in Hungary as well:

“In 2015 there are two political trends in Hungary: one that wants to defend Hungary and the Hungarian people, and wants to preserve our national culture and European identity; and one which for some reason works against it.” (Annex 9)

Even if he indicates the existence of the opposite value position, the two alternatives are framed within a contrastive conjunction, with no dialogical expansion whatsoever. The efforts of the first ‘trend’, those of *defending the Hungarian people and preserving national culture and European identity* are placed into a complete contrast with the action of those who ‘*work against it*’, without offering any (discursive) space to negotiate the assessment. This categorical aspect invokes a strong attitudinal content through negative judgement (esteem: tenacity), instantiating indirect criticism of this conduct.

The shifting from an impersonal statement to the first-person singular occurs when observations and assessments are formulated, as in the following example, when the speaker is pointing out the unruly behaviour of migrants:

“A minimal understanding of economics and our experiences to date are enough to tell all of us that we are unable to provide jobs for everyone. Furthermore, it is not even certain that they all want to work. I would, for that matter, reflect on some who are not even satisfied by Austria and kind of seeks refuge over in Germany. And I would also reflect on a scene when the migrants are protesting in Germany because they want to go to Sweden, all of this being worsened by a series of serious crime.”⁶⁷ (Annex 9)

⁶⁷*Minimális közgazdasági ismerettel, illetve eddigi tapasztalataink alapján azt is tudjuk, hogy nem tudunk mindenkinek munkát adni. Ráadásul még az sem biztos, hogy mindannyian dolgozni akarnak. Én azért elgondolkodnék azon, hogy van, aki Ausztriával sincs megelégedve, és mintegy átmenekül Németországba. És elgondolkodnék azon a jeleneten is, amikor Németországban azért tüntetnek a bevándorlók, mert Svédországba akarnak menni, mindezt súlyos törvénytelenések sorozatával súlyosbítva. The translations of the original texts have been completed by me, Kinga Kolombán.*

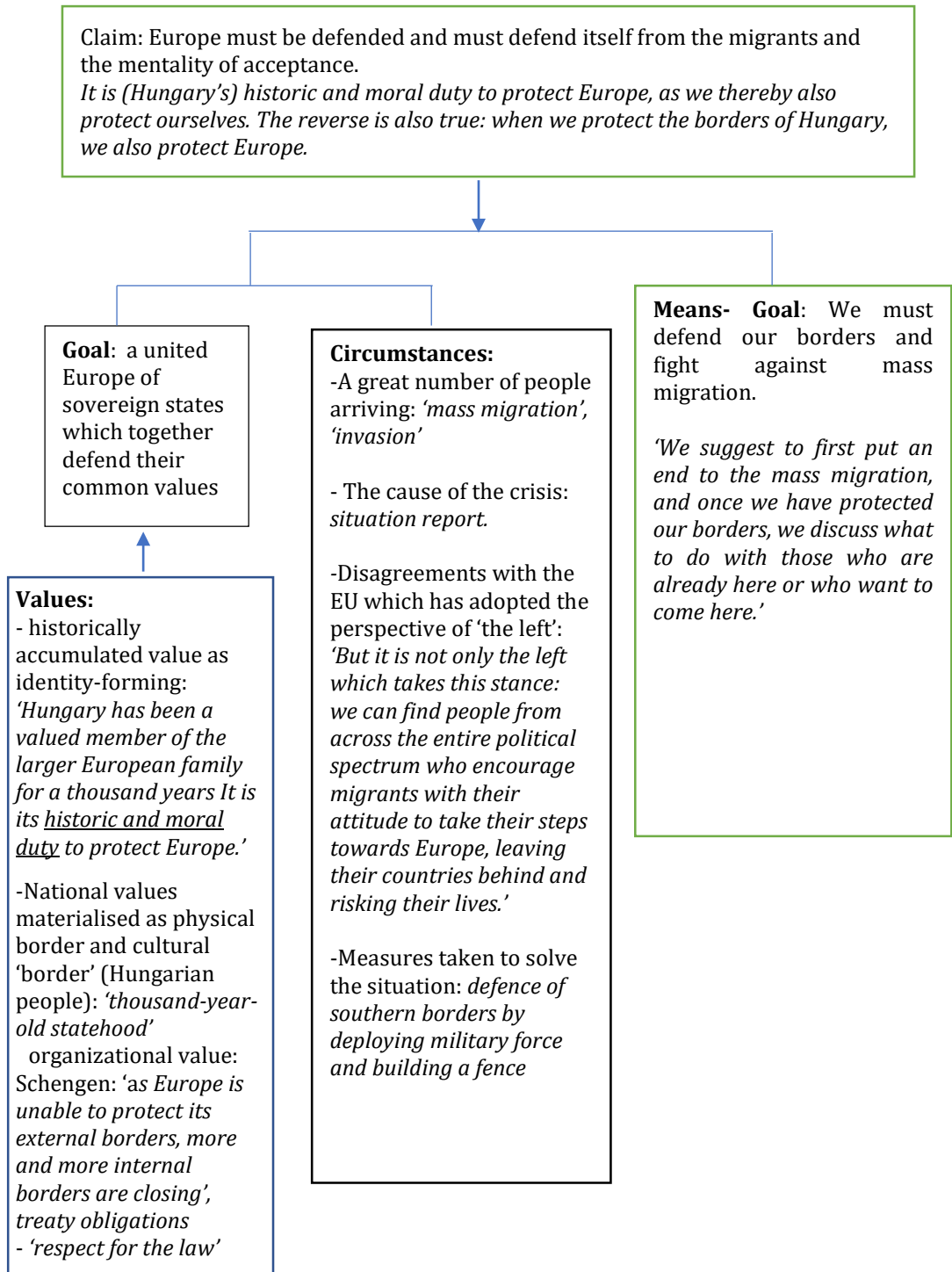


Fig.6. Viktor Orbán's Address to the Parliament as practical argumentation

By starting his observation with the objective *'it is not even certain'*, the speaker entertains the possibility that the migrants may be taking advantage of the status of victimhood that has been granted to them. The conclusion that they *'may not all want to work'* is drawn based on a personal reflection he is making based on the fastidious attitude they seem to have, by refusing to stay in the place they were designated (which is not 'victim' behaviour). The speaker's disapproval, and implicit negative judgement (sanction: veracity), is signalled by pointing out the fact that they are *'not even satisfied by Austria'*, given that standards of living are higher there as in Hungary, as well as the ironic phrasing with graduation by focus (*'kind of'*) of the verbal phrase *'seek refuge'*, drawing attention through the discrepancy between the serious tone of the action and the mitigating modifier, to its falsity: the migrant does not need refuge at this point, since his life is not in danger. In fact, he is looking for a country with a higher standard of living and a higher prospect of social welfare he will not have to work for. According to Wilson and Sperber (1992), the interpersonal function of irony is to achieve solidarity with a third party at the expense of the subject being discussed (1981, 313). In Viktor Orbán's discourse, and in this concrete instance, irony is a way to achieve alignment with the wider audience, that is, the general public. His authoritative assessments are, in fact, formulated with a mind towards those who follow governmental activity and whom the Prime Minister claims to continuously communicate with, through various strategies.

Such a strategy is the national consultation referred to in this text, used as a tool for achieving legitimacy for political action. The next excerpt illustrates the shifting perspective from singular to plural, as described above, but includes a third one, that of the *'Hungarian people'*, as an alternative location of authority, besides that of the speaker's:

"We have been doing everything that has been possible within the law. We are going to perform above our strength in the future as well. I

believe this is what people expect us to do. More than one million citizens have offered their opinion on immigration. The results of the national consultation can now be read by anybody, we have also published them online. More than eighty percent of Hungarians think that Brussels' ill-chosen immigration policy has failed, and the rules must be tightened.

Honourable Fellow Members of Parliament,

The Hungarian people have decided: the country must be protected. Every step the Hungarian government has taken, and every measure it will take derives from this overriding duty. In 2015 there are two political trends in Hungary: one that wants to defend Hungary and the Hungarian people, and wants to preserve our national culture and European identity; and one which for some reason is working against it.” (Annex 9)

The first-person plural at the beginning of the fragment indicates the actions undertaken by the government: *‘We have been doing everything that was possible within the law. We are going to perform above our strength.’* Further, the first-person singular introduces a personal reflection: *‘I believe this is what people expect us to do’.*

Following these statements, the prime minister summarizes the results of the national consultation by referring to *‘more than one million citizens’*, who have participated, then *‘eighty percent of Hungarians’* who align with the government’s idea that *‘Brussels’ ill-chosen immigration policy has failed’* and then, uttering the categorical statement: *‘the Hungarian people have decided: the country must be protected’.* The reference to statistics construing a gradually increasing amount of support leads to the categorical assertion of the defence of the country as being the Hungarian people’s will, announced through the national consultation, serving as evidence for the legitimacy of governmental action. This transfer of authority occurs in the same paragraph in which the opposition is

indirectly rebuked (see above) for working against the defence of Hungary, the Hungarian people and national culture.

The gesture of authority transfer is not only a strategy of seeking legitimacy but also a method in the text of seeking solidarity with the wider public against the third party, which this time is the opposition. By establishing alignment in proving that government and *'Hungarian people'* pursue the same course of action, the speaker demonstrates a connection of solidarity between the two categories. Therefore, the monoglossic categorical assertions and the dialogically contractive engagement style announces the authoritativeness of the speaker, which he legitimizes by indirectly engaging the wider audience and assuming their absolute alignment.

Personal Aside as a Means to Create Polarization and Confusion

As mentioned above, a typical strategy in Viktor Orbán's discourse is the indirect involvement of the audience by negative assessment of a third party. The following two examples are instantiations of that strategy realised by way of personal asides, in order to create suspicion and polarize opinion:

"The North African line of defence has collapsed: the "Arab Spring" resulted in chaos, as the institutions of representative democracy – regarded by us, or rather by the West, as the only blissful form of state – are inoperative in places where there is no will to operate them. Additionally, above all this, the European Union is weak. It was observable at the beginning of the year already, that this would not end well. Whoever had eyes to see was able to see the migrational pressure was increasing. More and more people have set out, human traffickers, practically with the help of the authorities, have created their routes, and Europe has not only left its doors and windows wide open, but has even sent out invitations to immigrants." (Annex 9)

In the case of the previous speaker, J. C. Juncker, personal asides were used to explain and clarify certain aspects to the issue at hand, or to add further details to it. What the two such elements have in common in this text is that the information they add does not clarify the issue, they rather generate confusion and, perhaps, alarm, consequently they are part of the repertoire of fear employed by Viktor Orbán, together with the metaphors and hyperbolizations.

In the first case, the speaker is explaining that the tensions in the North African countries have been generated due to unsuccessful attempts to install democracy. The insertion of the aside *'regarded by us, or rather by the West, as the only blissful form of state'* not only relativizes the value of representative democracy but suggests a further divide between *'us'* and *'the West'*. A series of implications result from this casually inserted comment. By suggesting an opposition between *'us'* and the *'West'* it is deducible that the *'us'* of the text, namely, the audience, the Hungarian public, is not part of the western world but bears a different identity or allegiance. A further implication is that the speaker suggests the existence of other *'blissful forms of state'*, to which the audience never gets an example or a further explanation. Similarly, a further comment claims that the routes human traffickers have used, have been created *'practically with the help of the authorities'*. As no explanation is offered to this allegation, it is implied that the detail is so common or widely known that no explanations are necessary, even if the information is rather controversial. These personal asides operate similarly to the metaphorical entailments which carry attitudinal force due to the familiarity of their source domain. The more common the source domain, the clearer and more reliable the approached topic is. In these two cases, the casualness of the hint suggests a common-place banality or peculiarity of the detail. Yet, the allegation itself is meant to polarize and confuse.

VI.1.4. Dialogical Stance

Authority: Categorical Assertions and Metaphorical Frame

Neither assertions nor metaphor pertains strictly to the domain of engagement, the dialogical positioning of a speaker towards a discussed issue or other participants. From the perspective of appraisal theory, metaphors are relevant to the domain of attitudinal analysis as they indirectly invoke various type of affect, judgment and appreciation. Categorical or bare assertions represent the lack of engagement from an intersubjective perspective, since the use of such monoglossic statements implies the lack of dialogistic alternatives, either because the implied proposition is taken for granted or because the speaker does not indicate willingness to engage with alternatives. However, it is the specific aspect of Viktor Orbán's discourse those metaphors, specifically the whole range of entailments that constitute the siege/war scenario, are embedded within a series of categorical assertions conveying the prime minister's, and the Hungarian government's, position and representation of the migrant crisis.

One way in which metaphors carry evaluative content is the choice of a particular source domain used to map onto the speaker's field of experience (Deignan, 2010). It is one of the most specific aspects of the Hungarian prime minister's strategies of representation to use WAR as a source domain, often in its more specific aspect of siege warfare. The term '*mass migration*' which he uses to define the crisis is connotative of the historical period of the Middle Ages (HU: *népvándorlás*), implying both the amount of people arriving, as well as the danger it represented for the locals. This attitudinal content evoking the negative affect of fear is further intensified by often hyperbolized quantification (see below).

"In simple terms, to call a spade a spade⁶⁸, the problem is mass migration." (Annex 9)

⁶⁸ HU: '*hogy nevén nevezzük a gyereket*'=*to call a child by his name*

The personal aside *'to call a spade a spade'* implies the existence of an alternative position, the agent of which may not be able or willing to formulate a straightforward assessment, such as this one. The saying intensifies the categorical assertion it is combined with as an indication that an inconvenient truth is being uttered, in spite of the hesitations or unwillingness from the other party to do so. Uttering this inconvenient truth, implicitly attributes positive judgment to the speaker who, by his courage, demonstrates capacity (positive esteem) to effectively address the issue, unlike other participants.

Another indication of the WAR metaphor, besides the term *'mass migration'* used to represent the crisis, occurs further in the text by the use of *'invasion'* (HU: *lerohanás*), evoking this time a speedy, overwhelming military attack like a blitzkrieg⁶⁹, adding a further ramification to the source domain:

"(...) Hungary is in danger and the whole Europe as well. What is now happening is an invasion; in fact, we are being invaded. Whereas, it is a daily European experience that if one is invaded, they cannot offer shelter." (Annex 9)

An additional detail to consider in the excerpt is the passive construction *'we are being invaded'*, representing the speaker's perspective as that of a victim and the incompatibility of that position with the alternative one, seeking to apply the policy of acceptance, claiming that one who is not in a position of power, like a victim is, *'cannot offer shelter'*, implicitly countering by this denial the justification of the opposite party.

Even if the prime minister calls the following excerpt a *'situation report'*, implying a factual summary of a situation, it bears ample attitudinal content, due to entailments of the SIEGE scenario and the enumeration of data by parallel syntax:

⁶⁹ The Hungarian term is specific, referring to the military use, unlike the English one which carries the meaning of *'intrusion'* as well.

"In simple terms, to call a spade a spade to call a child by his name, the problem is mass migration. Immigrants are not just pounding on our doors, but are downright breaking them down on us. Not just a few hundred or thousand, indeed, tens of thousands, millions of migrants are besieging the borders of Hungary and Europe. We cannot see an end to this. There is plenty to supply: millions are setting out. Without the pretense of an exhaustive account: Iraq is a country of 33 million. Today there are 8 million who are in need of humanitarian assistance; in other words, there are 8 million people who rely solely on humanitarian aid, and according to our projections this number will increase from 8 million to 10 million by the end of this year. And of this 8 million, today we can already consider 4 million as internal refugees. Syria: four years of civil war; 12 million receiving humanitarian aid; 7.6 million internal refugees, 4 million of whom have been forced to leave for neighbouring countries and are currently living in refugee camps. Afghanistan: 950,000 refugees in Iran, 1.5 million refugees in Pakistan. There is a civil war in Libya; continual internal insurrections in Eritrea; Mali is facing an internal war; in Somalia, there is a semi-civil war situation. If we add up the sub-Saharan figures, number of people and situations of war, then we can say that in the sub-Saharan region the number of internal refugees is 12.5 million. This is the short situation report.

The North African line of defence has collapsed: the "Arab Spring" resulted in chaos, as the institutions of representative democracy – regarded by us, or rather by the West, as the only blissful form of state – are inoperative in places where there is no will to operate them. Additionally, above all this, the European Union is weak. It could already be seen at the beginning of the year, that this would not end well. Whoever had eyes to see was able to see the migrational pressure was increasing. More and more people have set out, human traffickers, practically with the help of the authorities, have created their routes, and Europe has not only left its doors and windows wide open, but has even been sending out invitations to immigrants." (Annex 9)

The SIEGE metaphorical scenario is continued by representing the immigrants as *'pounding on our doors'* and *'breaking them down'*, invoking fear and foregrounding the urgency of the phenomenon and further in the text, by the military term *'line of defence'*. The action of *'besieging the borders'*, literally suggesting SIEGE warfare, is further intensified by the quantified agent of the action, *'not just a few hundred or thousand, indeed, tens of thousands, millions of migrants'*. The intensification through enumeration of numbers is further boosted by the hyperbolic image of *'millions setting out'*. Further evaluative lexis, such as *'collapse'* or *'chaos'* indicates a situation of warfare or some kind of threatening abnormality.

The large amounts of population in Iraq, Syria, Afghanistan and Libya displaced due to *insurrection* and *civil war* are described as *'in need of humanitarian assistance'*, *'relying on humanitarian aid'*, *'being forced to live in refugee camps'*. The numbers indicated are *'increasing'* conveying the representation an aspect of boundless proportion and uncontainable nature. A sense of dynamism is incurred by the parallel syntax, and the lexis and the numerals acquire the effect of urgency. The mention of geographical regions and the comprehensive coverage of the situation of displaced populations in war-torn regions in a monoglossic manner may bear the traits of an impersonal report, however, the addition of the next assertion - *'the European Union is weak'* – places the report into an alarming perspective. The frame provided by the metaphorical scenario of WAR and the subjective remark *'we cannot see an end to this'* generates an effect of *proximization* (Hart 2010, Chilton 2004, Cap 2006), provoking the negative affect of fear and alarm, as *'the migrational pressure'* has been increasing and *'more and more people have set out'*. It is suggested that the amount of people enumerated before will make its way toward Europe in the future.

The next part of the fragment contains an attitudinal assessment of *'Europe'* through explicit and indirect means of representation, provoking negative judgment of capacity (esteem). The evaluation starts with the

categorical assertion of *'Europe is weak'*, which, however, contains an explicit, unequivocal negative judgement of capacity. The speaker continues with two objective insertions, instancing *pronouncement*: *'it could be seen'* and *'whoever had eyes to see was able to see'*⁷⁰, which are set against the other metaphorical representation in the text, EUROPE IS A HOUSE. This metaphor, used commonly in political discourse to represent the European Union as the COMMON EUROPEAN HOUSE (Musolff 2004), is employed in this text to evaluate the irresponsible politics conducted by Brussels, *Europe*, who *'left its doors and windows wide open'* and *'has been sending out invitations to immigrants'*⁷¹, referring to the policy of acceptance, commonly called *'open door'* policy. The two positions are set against each other by invoking opposite sets of judgment, a negative one for Europe, and one of positive esteem through capacity for those who are *'able to see'* the *real* turn of events. In addition, the bare assertion and the objective pronouncements categorically *deny* the validity of the *weak European* policy, and *proclaim* the prime minister's narrative as the only *'clear'* one, emphasized by the verb *see* suggesting sensory evidence, inviting alignment from anybody *'who has eyes to see.'* The sense of *'seeing'* is one further figurative element representing wisdom and maturity in understanding the situation, in accordance with the *'common sense'* the prime minister is attributing to his position and politics. The contrast between *Europe* and his own perspective is suggested by him calling Brussels' policy *'short-sighted'*.

At this point, it is relevant to remember J. C. Juncker's representation of refugees fleeing from war-torn areas, suggested as comparable to the historical experience of Europeans by the syntactic parallelism and the

⁷⁰ Már az év elején látszott, hogy ennek nem lesz jó vége. Akinek volt szeme a látásra, az láthatta, fokozódik a migrációs nyomás.

⁷¹ Európa pedig nemhogy tárva-nyitva hagyta az ajtókat és ablakokat, még meghívókat is küldözgetett a bevándorlóknak. The Hungarian version of *'has been sending'* has a frequentative form.

identical lexis in which the speaker renders the events during which people of a various ethnic and geographical backgrounds were fleeing for their lives throughout Europe. The proximization by representing an identical experience generates the affect of empathy in the case of J. C. Juncker. Evoking a difficult experience as a common trait between Europeans and refugees entails solidarity. In the Hungarian prime minister's discourse, on the other hand, proximization occurs through the elements of the metaphorical SIEGE scenario, as well as the alarming enumeration of numbers associated with the suggestion of impending threat approaching Europe.

Disclaim: Deny Against the 'Open Door' Policy

Beside the categorical assertions and the intense attitudinal effect of the metaphorical representational frame, a further strategy involves the presentation of an alternative position in order to *disclaim* it by *denying* the propositions. Disclaim is considered to be dialogical in that in order to respond to the opposite value position, a presentation of that position is needed (Martin and White 2005: 118). Viktor Orbán uses this strategy to dismantle the 'open door' policy by describing the migrants' perspective:

"From their own viewpoint, it appears to be a perfectly reasonable decision for those who live in difficult circumstances to set out for a rich but weak region of the world in order to take their share of the good life there: in this instance, here. We understand this. We understand that many of them are forced to break away from countries which are committing atrocities against their own people, where the economy has collapsed, and where unemployment has broken historical records. The migrants themselves are the victims of bad political decisions. In fact, the world has turned its back on these people: the world has turned its back on states in which human dignity is not respected, and where it is degraded on a daily basis. We understand and realise all this. But even based on simple mathematical calculations, it is clear to see that Europe is unable to take on all the troubles of the world. We are unable to

support all the economic migrants. A minimal understanding of economics and our experiences to date are enough to tell all of us that we cannot provide jobs for everyone. Furthermore, it is not even certain that they all want to work.” (Annex 9)

Two positions are tackled in the excerpt. One attributed to *‘those who live in difficult circumstances’* and another, Europe’s, which is merely implied through the negative structures. When referring to the migrants, the speaker entertains the position attributed to them by the explicit *‘from their own viewpoint’*, allowing its validity by *‘it appears to be a perfectly reasonable decision’*, dialogically expansive due to the construct *‘it appears’* and the inscribed *‘perfectly reasonable’* (positive esteem of normality). Then follows an assessment of conditions in the migrants’ countries of origin, with *‘atrocities committed’* against them, economies collapsing and unemployment. By the use of the assertive *‘in fact’*, the speaker *proclaims* through *pronouncement* his own value position, stating his own perspective: *‘the world has turned its back’* to these people. Through a repetition of another explicit intervention, *‘we understand’*, the speaker acknowledges the misery refugees are going through and formulates a concession towards the exposed position. However, immediately follows a series of countering statements introduced by a contrastive *‘but’*, a series of attitudinal lexis invoking positive judgement of capacity and a series of negations *disclaiming* the possibility of these people being supported, being provided jobs and Europe *‘taking on all the troubles of the world’*. These negative statements, in fact, counter the position attributed to Europe and *deny* the viability of Brussels’ *‘open door’* policy. The attitudinal lexis, inviting positive judgement through capacity is related to the impersonal pronouncement: *‘it is easy to see’*. Similarly to the examples analysed above, the verb *‘see’*, associated this time with *‘clear’* (*világosan látszik*) is an indication that the value position assessed as felicitous by the speaker is based on arguments guided by common sense. The attitudinal lexis

supports this position: it only takes '*simple mathematical calculations*', '*a minimal understanding of economics*' and experience to realize that the plan to accept everybody cannot be implemented.

Criticism and Warning against the Perspective of The European 'Left'

As stated in the introduction of his speech, one of the prime minister's goals in this text is to explain '*why are we at odds with the European Union*', that is, to offer justification to his government's actions, repeatedly questioned and contested by *Europe*. As pointed out above, *Europe* is present in the prime minister's discourse both as a set of values to be defended and preserved, a role he takes on in the name of his government, and as a political organization, synonymous with *Brussels*, the *European Union*, or sometimes *Europe*, representing the '*short-sighted policy*' he positions himself against. In the next excerpt this policy is identified as the '*European left*' which is attributed the intention to '*slacken the frame of the nation state*' and eliminate nations⁷². The '*left*', or leftist liberal ideology represents in Orbán's discourse the main motivation behind the '*open door*' policy in the migrant crisis, set in sharp opposition with the prime minister's vision of a Christian nation state. In the excerpt, he construes the acceptance policy applied by the European Union as corresponding to the leftist attempt to eliminate nations because, due to the great number of migrants, Schengen external borders were rendered ineffectual. While the two premises, leftist internationalist ideology and the chaos created around Schengen external borders do not necessarily result in the

⁷² This view is in accordance with Orbán's concept of '*illiberal state*' which, to some extent, is opposed to the traditional liberal democracy in that it regards liberal values from the perspective of a centralized nation state, a '*nationalist perspective*', which, he claims, traditional liberalism has not been able to maintain. <https://2015-2019.kormany.hu/en/the-prime-minister/the-prime-minister-s-speeches/prime-minister-viktor-orban-s-speech-at-the-25th-balvanyos-summer-free-university-and-student-camp>

conclusion that there is an intention to dismantle nation states, it should be noted that the collapse of Schengen did become a primary concern for all politicians during the events in September 2015:

“Why are we arguing with Europe? You can see for yourselves: we must fight a battle on two fronts. We must protect the borders of Hungary and Europe, and at the same time we must fight against Europe’s short-sighted policy, which has turned against the will of the European people. I see it as if many were not willing to sense the danger in its entire weight. First of all, they do not identify mass migration as a threat or as a problem, but as an opportunity which we should be happy for. We can understand the European left, for them, it is, indeed, an opportunity to slacken the frame of the nation state and to accomplish their historical goal: the elimination of nations. There is a reason why political forces are taking turns in rebuking us, Hungarians, for standing up for our thousand-year-old statehood, the sovereignty of our country and the independence of our nation. We have got used to this since 2010. But it is not only the left which is taking this stance: we find people from across the entire political spectrum who even encourage migrants with their attitude to take their steps towards Europe, leaving their countries behind and risking their lives. The consequences for them, for us and for Europe as well, are disastrous: as Europe is unable to protect its external borders, more and more internal borders are closing down in the Europe, the most important achievement of which is the free movement of goods and people, which we commonly call ‘Schengen.’” (Annex 9)

The excerpt starts with an expository question acknowledging the audience, given that the speech aims to explain the government’s motivation for undertaken actions. The speaker continues by directly addressing those present: ‘you can see for yourselves’, in a dialogically expansive gesture (*entertain*), motivating again, the clarity of the situation with the verb ‘see’. After this acknowledgement of his audience, he continues exposing his position through a series of instances of

pronouncement by deontic modality, realised in Hungarian through the modal auxiliary verb '*kell*', an equivalent of *must* or *need to*⁷³ ('*must fight*' and '*must protect*'), but the demonstrative nature of his speech continues by referring to his audience by the first-person plural, switching to the singular when he adds a personal reflection (further pronouncement), again, questioning the capacity to understand, of those who are '*not willing to sense*' the danger.

As with previous examples, the speaker assumes the alignment of the audience, concerning a third party, Europe and its '*short-sighted policy*', and formulates criticism against this opposite position. The first instance of this in the excerpt is the statement that through its policy, Europe '*has turned against the will of the European people*', the consequence of which is '*danger*'. The second time, criticism is aimed at '*people from across the entire political spectrum*', who have adopted the views of the European left, and the consequences '*will be disastrous*', indicating negative esteem by capacity by the inscribed attitudinal lexis.

Several perspectives are at play in the excerpt. First, the participants to the basic situation, the speaker who is addressing a completely aligned audience. Next to these two positions, is that of the European people whose will is different from the '*short sighted policy*' of European leaders. Then, on the other side of the spectrum, there is *Europe's* perspective as well, which is criticised through pronouncements, but is also *entertained* for the length of a proposition – also meant to indirectly criticise. By the proposition: '*they do not identify mass migration as a threat or as a problem, but as an opportunity which we should be happy for*' the speaker presents the opposite perspective. They do not think it is a threat that migrants are coming to Europe (like the speaker, the audience and the European people do), they think it is an opportunity and they expect everybody else to

⁷³ Önök is láthatják, kétfrontos küzdelmet kell folytatnunk. Meg kell védenünk Magyarországot és Európa határait, ugyanakkor meg kell küzdenünk a rövidlátó európai politikával is, amely szembe fordult az európai emberek akarásával

approach the matter in the same way. It is not only that they have the wrong perspective, they also want everybody else to align with that. These people are those *'across the entire political spectrum'*, who, together with the 'left' are *'encouraging migrants'* and destroying Schengen. Further, the perspective of the *'European left'* is formulated within a concessive remark, as one *'we can understand'* because this situation is *'an opportunity'* for them. It represents an *'accomplishment of their historical goal'* to eliminate nations. This *'left'* is assumed to be a sort of 'natural' enemy by the speaker, with whom he accepts antagonism, as his government *'has gotten used to it'* since 2010. The concession formulated concerning the *European left* is followed by a *countering* of that concession implying the unexpectedness that other political formations have adopted this position and they are now, *'inviting migrants'*. A further, almost unnoticeable addition here is the perspective of *Hungarians* who are now *'rebuked'*, together with the speaker, representing the government, for *'standing up for our thousand-year-old-statehood'*, a position opposed to the *'European left'*. By the use of the inclusive *'us'*, the speaker demonstrates a complete alignment between *Hungarians* and his government, suggesting the unity of his nation. Furthermore, it is implied that negative actions like being rebuked, or the actions of *'fighting'* and *'protecting'* represent the same position. The prime minister and the *Hungarians* see this situation from the same perspective.

This implication seems to continue in the next excerpt (continuation of previous one), where the use of the inclusive *'we'* creates ambiguity. It is not certain whether the speaker means him and his government or the whole nation:

"Therefore, we are arguing with Brussels. We identify different things as problems, regard different means as effective, we identify consequences in a different way, we think something else on what would happen if we take or do not take certain steps. What is certain, we have to rethink a series of European achievements, contracts and institutions." (Annex 9)

The conclusive *'therefore'*, signals the end of the previous demonstration and the excerpt sums up the polarities exposed throughout: the *European left* and people who have adopted their view are different from *Hungarians*. This final *pronouncement* is instantiated by the repetition of the inscribed lexical item *'different'*, intensified by the parallel syntax.

Further *pronouncements* instantiate the speaker's position concerning actions taken this far and future measures that could be taken if Europe were united. With the background of *entertaining* the possibility of a situation in which Europe gives up its ill-advised politics and adopts the Hungarian government's position, the speaker proposes an action plan, marked by a series of *pronouncement* instances realised by deontic modality (HU: *kell*) and directives⁷⁴:

"What can we expect? Nobody should think⁷⁵ that the problem will disappear overnight. Nobody should cradle the illusion that the government measures we have adopted will in themselves curb the flood of people which is putting pressure on the whole of Europe.

Let's prepare, instead, for the thought that we are ahead of a long struggle. On behalf of the Government, I can assure you that we shall do everything to protect Hungary, the borders of the country and the Hungarian people. We shall persevere, and shall stand firm⁷⁶. (...)

We have proposals on a solution to the problem which could lead our countries to a functioning pan-European action plan. We are talking about simple, logical solutions, dictated by common sense. If, for instance, our Greek friends are unable to protect the borders of Europe and the borders of the Schengen zone, we must take over their

⁷⁴ *The English 'let's'* in the text translates imperative forms in the original, with their force the equivalent to that of a suggestion.

⁷⁵ *Mi várható? Kérem, senki se gondolja, hogy a probléma egyik napról a másikra csak úgy elmúlik majd. Kérem, senki se ringassa magát abba az illúzióba, hogy a meghozott kormányzati intézkedések önmagukban megfékezik azt az emberáradatot, ami egész Európát nyomás alatt tartja.*

⁷⁶ *Kitartunk, és ebből nem engedünk.*

protection from them; all the twenty-eight Member States should take a share in the protection of the southern borders of Europe.

It is also obvious that, instead of bringing the problem towards the heart of Europe, we must take action at the source of the problem; we should not set up refugee camps – or whatever they may be called – within the European Union, but outside it.

Let us help the countries which have so far sheltered millions of war refugees, in order to enable them to provide more decent conditions for the people who do not want to come to Europe, but who want to return to their homes once the war is over.” (Annex 9)

By the use of the negative directive (*nobody should think*), the speaker construes a position (entertain) for those who might think that *‘the problem disappears overnight’* or that the solutions *‘will curb the flood of people’* arriving to Europe, after which he *counters* it with an introductory *‘instead’*, which is followed by a series of *pronouncements*: *let’s prepare’*, *‘we must take over their protection’*, *‘we must take action at the source’*, *‘we should not set up refugee camps within the EU’* and *‘let us help the countries which have sheltered(...) refugees’*.

The values of *pronunciation* are intensified by a further similar instance, a personal evaluative intervention, *‘we shall persevere, and shall stand firm’*, as well as the proposition *‘we are ahead of a long struggle’*, which have additional attitudinal value, realizing positive judgement of capacity, by invoking determinacy. As detailed below, determinacy is typically realised throughout the text as the speaker’s main attitudinal stance marker in holding up his position.

Additional values of pronouncement are realised throughout the text by various means, like adverbial phrases or modal attributive:

“In our understanding, it is the world’s most natural thing for one to defend their family.” (Annex 9)

In the example, the proposition containing an assertion is framed by the adverbial phrase, '*in our understanding*', labelling it as the official perspective of the government.

In a less dialogically expansive way, the adverbial '*in fact*' adds a more categorical aspect to the speaker's position. The use of the adverbial indicates a choice and a refinement of the initial proposition:

"What is now happening is an invasion; in fact, we are being invaded."

(Annex 9)

Finally, the modal attributive '*it is clear*', which has already been mentioned in the context of the reoccurring use of '*clear*' and '*see*', suggesting that the position represented by the speaker is the only valid one. Here, the modal attributive is displayed as an instance of *pronouncement*, demonstrating the speaker's position:

"Thanks to the mass media and the internet, it is now clear to everyone that Europe is rich, but weak." (Annex 9)

What the speaker seeks to demonstrate is the assessment on Europe, '*rich, but weak*', framed by '*it is clear*', and even further framed by the *attribution* '*thanks to the mass media and the internet*'. It is not only the impersonal aspect of the attributive which states the assessment as a generally *acknowledged* statement, but the fact that the whole world can see it, makes it more obvious.

VI.1.5. Attitudinal Stance

Attitude towards Europe: Common Sense and Determinacy in the Face of Danger

Throughout the text, Europe is presented as '*sending out invitations to the migrants*', '*unable to register migrants*' and generally, conducting a '*short-sighted policy*'. The attitudinal values these actions are invoking (negative

judgement of esteem through capacity), are combined with inscribed attitudinal lexis combining the positive value 'rich' and the negative 'weak' in a concession/counter structure:

"Thanks to the mass media and the internet, it is now clear to everyone that Europe is rich, but weak. This is the most dangerous combination possible.

... it appears to be a perfectly reasonable decision for those who live in difficult circumstances to set out for a rich but weak region of the world in order to take their share of the good life there..." (Annex 9)

It is suggested that despite its assets Europe is incapable of bringing the right decisions and preserving those assets due to naiveté and exaggerated openness towards the migrants. The attitudinal aspect of the migrants, as a threatening group, 'setting out' for the riches that Europe cannot protect invokes negative affect (see below).

As the main dialogic investment of the text is represented by the opposition between the speaker's position of defence and that of Europe's 'short-sighted policy' (an attitudinal assessment in itself), attitudinal values will indicate the same opposition between the naïve and irresponsible conduct attributed to the European Union and the speaker's self-presentation as common sensical.

Common Sense Opposed to European Short-Sighted Policy

The Hungarian prime minister formulates his position, including a set of proposals (discussed above) as an attempt to common sense politics, opposed to the 'ill-advised' measures that the European Union is trying to implement. The most contested of these measures was the attempt to redistribute arriving asylum seekers, which Viktor Orbán called 'nothing short of absurd, bordering on the insane' and 'a crazy idea' in an address in

front of the Strasbourg parliament⁷⁷. In the following excerpt, the speaker is explaining the reason for his opinion:

“We have proposals on a solution to the problem which could lead our countries to a functioning pan-European action plan. We are talking about simple, logical solutions, dictated by common sense. (...) (...) Proposals such as the quota system merely address the consequences, rather than the causes. This is not a European action plan. The underlying philosophy of the quota system is not aimed at ensuring that no more economic migrants come to Europe, or protecting Europe and the European way of life. It would instead spread the problem – to my mind, based on the silent recognition that migrants who have already entered Europe illegally are not likely to want to go back home.” (Annex 9)

As in numerous other instances, the speaker dismisses the ‘*European action plan*’ with a value of *deny*, in a context where he enumerates various proposals for a possible common plan (see above). These proposals and possible solutions are framed by a personal aside, ‘*to my mind*’, indicating that the explanation on the quota system represent the speaker’s perspective, and a series of inscribed positive attitudinal assessments (‘*simple, logical solutions, dictated by common sense*’) indicating not only evaluation on the speaker’s perspective, but a further dismissal of the European one.

The last example of attitudinal value evoking common sense contains a saying, construing solidarity with the audience:

“This is what we, Hungarians comment as: they have put the cart before the horse in Brussels⁷⁸.”(Annex 9)

⁷⁷ <https://2015-2019.kormany.hu/en/the-prime-minister/the-prime-minister-s-speeches/prime-minister-viktor-orban-s-speech-in-the-european-parliament>

⁷⁸ *Brüsszelben fordítva ülnek a lovon. (They are riding the horse backwards in Brussels.)*

Explaining the inadequacy of the policy of mandatory quota, the speaker uses the inclusive 'we' in order to align his audience as an ally in ironizing Brussels' policy. It is not only the inclusiveness of his address, referring to the community he represents that creates solidarity but also the strategy of using irony against a third party⁷⁹. By the use of the saying, a sample of folk wisdom ridiculing inadequate and foolish behaviour, the speaker suggests that both himself and Hungarians understand the unreasonable aspect of Brussels politics as both parties share the common sense needed in this situation.

Determinacy to Do One's Duty

In addition to common sense, another attitudinal aspect of positive self-presentation is the idea of determinacy in defending Hungarian and European borders. The incompatibility between the ideology of the 'European left' and the value position adopted by the speaker creates a series of dialogically contractive engagement instances, either *disclaiming* the opposite value position or *pronouncing* his own, often in an intensified manner. Attitudinal content similarly inscribes or invokes value judgements, often through metaphorical language. The following excerpt uses judgement resources which are more general mappings of the WAR metaphor used in this text, implying a particular effort in maintaining an effective border control:

"But in the meantime, we cannot sit idly. Until Europe is ready to act as one, nation states will be forced to defend themselves from this threat of a brutal force, in a difficult fight, bringing heavy sacrifices." (Annex 9)

The lexis suggestive of warfare, 'defend', 'threat', 'brutal force', 'fight', 'sacrifices' is associated with 'nation states' as agents, suggesting the source of the threat as being the ideology of the 'left', seeking to 'eliminate nations',

⁷⁹ Wilson and Sperber (1992)

hence, Europe's external borders. The use of a future conditional implies that the speaker *entertains* the possibility that *Europe*, the European Union realises the danger of not guarding its borders and will be '*ready to act as one*', adopting the speaker's position. The dynamism suggested by the lexis, as well as the negation '*we cannot sit idly*' invites the effect of determinacy, through judgment of tenacity (positive esteem).

Following this instantiation of determinacy, in the next set of propositions the text continues with verb phrases instancing similar judgement of tenacity, adding the idea of persistence over a long period of time by the use of present perfect and '*going to*' future:

"We have been doing everything that is possible within the law. We are going to perform above our strength in the future as well. I believe this is what people expect us to do." (Annex 9)

The verb tenses and aspects are complemented by the addition of the phrases '*everything that is possible*' and '*perform above our strength*', with lexis inscribing judgement of tenacity. The subjective *pronouncement* '*I believe*' places these instances of determinacy within the domain of personal conviction, manifesting an internalized sense of duty towards '*people*' and what is expected by them.

Beside internal conviction fuelled by people's expectations, '*complying with treaty obligations*' is indicated by the speaker as an external source of manifesting duty, in the question of the controversial border fence:

"It is not for fun that we have built and are building hundreds of kilometres of technical border lock⁸⁰. It was not for fun that we earlier convened the Honourable House for an extraordinary session to pass legislative amendments allowing us to curb mass migration and protect Hungarian citizens and their families. And it is not for eccentricity that we apply our own solutions: we are simply trying to comply with our treaty obligations." (Annex 9)

⁸⁰ több száz kilométer hosszú műszaki határzár

The text demonstrates a high degree of attitudinal investment instantiated by the repetition of negation and inscribed lexis '*it was not for fun*' and '*it was not for eccentricity*', in an attempt to justify a questionable action. The negative values of judgement (normality), *fun* and *eccentricity* are set against the explanation of '*simply trying to comply*', invoking positive judgement of propriety. The proposition has a strong mitigating role in the context of the accusations brought to Viktor Orbán and his unpopular actions. It is suggested, that the speaker is aware of the inadequacy of the measure taken, yet, it is a necessity to do so, due to higher, moral considerations.

A further means employed by the prime minister to mitigate his actions is the alternative term he uses for the commonly called '*border fence*' or '*wall*'. The term '*technical border lock*' (*műszaki határzár*) operates in the text as an attempt to divert attention from the political, or simply, human aspect of the gesture of building a fence in order to prohibit entrance on national territory. The use of a term with a technical flavour, invoking expertise (Reyes, 2012) shifts focus toward the practical aspects of this situation and away from its ethical implications. Due to this aspect, it does not only mitigate the action, but also dehumanizes the category of migrants, similarly to linguistic strategies typical of conservative discourse, which standardly represent migrants as '*flood*' or other type of natural phenomena (Chilton 2004; Kövecses 2010; KhrosaviNik 2014; Charteris-Black 2006; Cabrejas Penueles 2020). It is a display of governmental discourse (Hansson 2018) enacting legitimacy, justifying the gesture as a necessary one for the common good.

Stance towards Migrants

The representation of migrants in this text has already been discussed in the context of other appraisal values instantiating stance. As the aspect of

their representation is central to this analysis, this is a summary of the strategies used.

The most plausible means of negative appraisal is delivered by the representational frame the Hungarian prime minister uses when describing the '*root of the problem*' and differentiating between the categories of *refugees* and that of *migrants*:

"The situation is that a Europe that demands of half a billion European citizens to obey the law on a daily basis, is incapable to persuade hundreds of thousands of migrants to simply register. The politics of Brussels and the great powers have only worsened the situation when they were unable to grasp the root of the problem and are also considering as refugees those, who are, in fact, illegal migrants." (Annex 9)

The term '*migrant*' is intensified by the inscribed attitudinal value of '*illegal*' (negative appreciation of valuation) and framed as the opposite of *refugees* by the categorical personal intervention '*in fact*', instancing a *pronouncement* of the speaker's high investment in the proposition.

A further opposition is constructed between the categories of European citizens who are demanded to '*obey the law*' and the migrants who cannot be persuaded to '*simply register*', invoking attitudinal evaluation of the unlawful behaviour (negative esteem: normality) which disrupts order and also points to the weakness and inconsistency of *Europe* as an organization, '*incapable*' to complete a simple operation (negative esteem: capacity).

Negative Evaluation: Illegal Migrants as Scroungers

Not willing to register invites evaluation related to crime and illegal activities which is an area of activity connected in social subjectivity to the image of the immigrant. One of the ramifications of the immigrant imagery as *social other* is a conduct viewed as typical of this category, exploring the

economic aspects of the immigrants' entry into a new society. This scenario depicts the immigrant as an idle individual, seeking asylum in a new country so that he/she can collect welfare benefits without working. Analysing metaphorical language related to the image of the *other*, Musolff (2016) discusses this type of presentation as the *scrounge* scenario and connects it to the array of derogatory metaphors having been used in public discourse related to the image of social outsiders, depicted as parasites within the in-group society. This category is presented as reaping benefits, enjoying privileges they have not earned. The language used in this text is not metaphorical but the description fits into the imagery:

"Furthermore, it is not even certain that they all want to work. (...)"
(Annex 9)

The proposition follows right after the speaker constructs an opposition between the law-abiding citizens and migrants who do not want to register, pointing out an unlawful, socially disruptive conduct (see above). What draws attention with this proposition is the presence of the modal attribute *'it is not even certain'*, in a context of categorical assumptions, which indicates a dialogical expansiveness not typical of the overall text. The speaker entertains the possibility but cannot make a categorical assessment on it, as their intention cannot be guessed. Instead, the speaker resorts to public beliefs and stereotypes in order to invite negative judgement (esteem: normality) and raise suspicion concerning this category. The excerpt below is a further instance of this strategy:

"We must make it clear to everyone that Europe is Europe because here living together has clear rules. In Europe the rule of law does not mean oppression, but the provision of protection and security. We must also point out that everyone here has worked hard to live in peace and security: people and the national communities. Here, welfare is not a given, one must work in Europe for welfare." (Annex 9)

There are three instances of *proclaim: pronounce* through values of deontic modality (HU: kell, EN: must), '*we must make it clear*', '*must point out*' and '*one must work in Europe*', consolidating the position of the speaker, towards those who may not *see clearly* that Europe has '*clear rules*'. It is, again suggested, that those who are coming here may have inadequate attitude toward working hard and earning '*protection and security*', invoking judgement through negative values of esteem (normality).

Negative Attitudinal Evaluation: Migrants as a Threat

Finally, the most evident aspect of this text concerning attitudinal stance is the negative evaluation through metaphorical realisation inviting negative affect:

"Immigrants are not just pounding on our doors, but are downright breaking them down on us." (Annex 9)

Migrants acquire the role of an aggressive invader, '*pounding on our doors*' and '*breaking them down*'. The two actions, not only invoke a fear-provoking image but also intensify each other by the syntax of inversion: '*not just.... but downright...*'.

VI.1.6. Partial Conclusions

The overall characteristic of Viktor Orbán's stance is assertiveness and authority through the formulation of categorical value statements with very little space for dialogical expansion. In terms of engagement, the speaker positions himself in sharp opposition with the alternative position engaged, that of *Europe*, or *Brussels*, or the *European left*, representing the European Union's stance on the migrant crisis, namely, the acceptance policy and their plan to redistribute the migrants who have entered Europe. Beside the attitudinal values used in the migrants' case, the speaker also tackles the perspective of this category, with some concession,

but, just as in the other cases, he dismisses this perspective as incompatible with the interests of Europe.

Given his heightened investment in the position he is representing, the Hungarian prime minister's engagement style is dominated by a series of *pronouncements*, which *proclaim* his own position and justify his actions. A further strategy is *deny or counter*, both values of *disclaim*, through which he dismisses alternative positions admitted in his address. These strategies are used with a mind towards addressing a compliant audience which shares his position. Due to this fact, the speaker often formulates bare assertions with ample attitudinal content.

The irreconcilable opposition realised through engagement values is supported by the attitudinal content as well. Europe is negatively evaluated as '*rich, but weak*', demonstrating naïveté towards the migrants and a '*short sighted*' and '*ill-advised*' politics through its option to accept migrants and to redistribute them. The Hungarian prime minister's critical stance is realised through various negative judgement values of capacity, both inscribed and indirect. In opposition to this, the speaker takes a stance of common sense and determinacy in completing his duty, realised through further values of positive capacity.

The attitudinal values evaluating the category of migrants are based on the representational frame, as Viktor Orbán does not acknowledge their refugee status. Accordingly, standard evaluative strategies are used throughout the text, through indirect realisations of negative judgement of normality and capacity. The speaker presents them as a threatening mass invading Europe, through the metaphorical scenario of WAR, or as scroungers, undeservedly seeking to enjoy the benefits of European life, demonstrating socially disruptive behaviour.

CHAPTER VII

ANTAGONISTIC STANCE (PRO-MIGRATIONIST)

VII.1. Guy Verhofstadt - *leader of the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe (ALDE)*

The leader of the ALDE Group has been one of the leading voices of Europe's more thorough political integration⁸¹, advocating for a federalisation for countries who wish to participate to such a project. In the issue of the migration he has taken a pro-migrationist stand, calling for a coherent approach, observed by all the countries within the European Union⁸². In his interventions, Guy Verhofstadt brings explicit accusations to countries who have not been complying with the commonly settled asylum policies and urges Brussels to be more determined in carrying out a policy of solidarity towards the predominantly Syrian refugees. If Viktor Orbán has been blaming Brussels for conducting a policy of encouragement and acceptance of the wave of migrants, Guy Verhofstadt has been accusing the European leading institutions for not doing it fast enough. These are some of those accusations which prompt President Juncker to ask member states to stop *EU-bashing*⁸³, and pointing fingers at Brussels (see Annex 1). Due to the speaker's unmitigated confrontational style, and sharp oppositional positioning, this stance has also been called Antagonistic, although, with different attitude towards migrants.

⁸¹ <https://edition.cnn.com/2019/05/20/europe/guy-verhofstadt-interview-europe-lmcgee-intl/index.html>, <https://www.politico.eu/article/liberals-focus-on-euro-scepticism-at-congress/>

⁸² <https://www.euractiv.com/section/development-policy/news/verhofstadt-calls-for-extraordinary-summit-on-migration/>; <https://www.france24.com/en/20150502-talking-europe-guy-verhofstadt-migrants-mediterranean-asylum-uk-elections-brexit-greece>

⁸³ <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/mar/01/stop-bashing-the-eu-jean-claude-juncker-tells-european-leaders>

The leader of the ALDE group had interventions during all the three debates that occurred in September relating to the migration issue. During the September 9 session, occasioned by the Commission President's address when J.C. Juncker put forward the proposals, Guy Verhofstadt spoke about the importance of an integrated migration policy. This included measures like amending the obsolete Dublin Regulation and introducing a blue-card system similar to the American green card program through which clear migration criteria are applied, based on the conduct and abilities of the applicant. The speaker emphasized the absolute necessity that each member state complies with common regulations, criticising those which are not willing to apply a policy of *responsibility*. An important component of this integrated policy was formulated as '*acting*' instead of '*merely reacting*', which in the speaker's vision, could only be carried out by unified action.

During the subsequent debates, on September 16, he criticised the Council of Home Affairs Ministers for its failure to adopt the relocation policy, at the same time, proposing a global summit on the issue, repeating the necessity of an integrated migration policy, including the blue-card system and the establishing of a common border agency. During the October 6 debate, Guy Verhofstadt criticised the results of the European Council meeting, called for a more urgent implementation of the Commission proposals and proposed a European intervention in the Syrian situation, as an attempt to bring the crisis to an end. The analysis refers to all the three interventions as they contain the same reasoning and the same dialogical and attitudinal positioning.

VII.1.1. Values and Representational Frame

Guy Verhofstadt manifests his position along the values similar to those of other speakers. The core value premise is represented by the need of unity among the 28 member states to which the values of solidarity and

responsibility are subordinated. As a federalist, urging for a consistent asylum policy, implying a higher level of unity among member states is a basic preoccupation that he gives voice to, including the factor of urgency that other speakers also emphasize (e.g. Frans Timmermans- see Annex 5). The values of responsibility and solidarity are integrated within the idea that Europe needs to offer a coherent response on the refugee crisis, emphasizing the collective nature of the responsibility to cater for the needs of those fleeing the war, vouching for the relocation plan, and, in the process, demonstrating the humanity that represents European principles. The representational frame that foregrounds these values as underlying the speaker's pro-migrationist discourse, concomitantly constructs an opposition towards the alternative of those individual states that do not observe a collective and concerted policy in the migration question.

The idea of an urgent need for unity is represented through a series of lexical items linked by synonymy and antinomy. On one hand, the speaker calls for a '*common European policy*' in a matter which is the '*collective responsibility of the European Union*', on the other, he points out that the problems around the refugee crisis are generated by a '*lack of unity between member states*' and calls it '*the crisis of a lack of Europe*', in which case, *Europe* indexes the idea of a united community. In the matter of the migration system, he points out the necessity of a common legal frame, '*instead of the 28 systems we have today*' (September 9 – Annex 10). During the second debate, on September 16 (Annex 14), the speaker imputes the European institutions the lack of a '*common policy*' in tackling '*the sources of this refugee crisis*' (referring to the idea of intervening in the Syrian war and engaging with more money in Africa). On October 6, during his third intervention, the leader of the ALDE Group imputes the European Council the tardiness of taking '*a comprehensive, global approach to this refugee crisis, as is proposed by the Commission*', implying that the Council is failing to keep up with the other institutions in bringing solutions to this problem (thus demonstrating lack of unity).

As it pertains to the functional aspects of the organization, the value of unity does not necessarily have moral content, as much as it enables the European Union to impose its policy internationally and among the member states, thus, aligning to some extent to the value of credibility, discussed by Federica Mogherini (Annex 7) and Dimitris Avramopoulos (Annex 8). However, as discussed by Guy Verhofstadt, unity is the result of responsible and solidary conduct on the part of member states and leading politicians, which involves countries sharing the burden of refugee relocation, of future asylum requests and treating refugees humanely, therefore, through the contribution of the two implied values, it gains a significant moral aspect.

The idea that all participants in this situation, member states and leading institutions or politicians within the European Union, must accept and share responsibility in containing the crisis is a recurring issue in Guy Verhofstadt's interventions. The responsibility mainly refers to complying with the relocation plan; therefore, beside quotability (due to the use of the term) a great degree of specificity is present as well. Given that the speaker discusses the issue of unity among member states as depending on the degree to which they are willing (or not) to accept (moral) responsibility, it can be stated, that the factor of determinacy is also present.

In his September 9 intervention (Annex 10), the speaker's emphasis on the crisis being *the 'collective responsibility'* of the organization allows him to identify two categories of member states, some that *accept their responsibility*, such as Germany sheltering *'20 000 refugees in five days'*, and others who *'are saying that they will not accept them for five years and other countries are simply saying 'no way, not for us''*. The measuring rod of responsibility is not only applied on individual states but also on the obsolete and unsuitable regulations that stand within the European Union. In this respect, the Dublin agreement is a *'negation of Europe'* (therefore, of unity) because it stipulates the processing of asylum seekers by the country

of entry, thus, allowing other members to withdraw from offering help (and avoid responsibility). Finally, the speaker regards the Commission's proposal for relocation as a *responsible* gesture and urges the Council to do the same, as '*we cannot look away from a crisis in our neighbourhood. We will always pay the price for it.*' In this case, the moral aspect of responsibility towards others is complemented with the idea of deliberate action, pertaining to the efficiency of the organization. A particular example is the one in the third intervention, when the speaker summons President of the Council, Donald Tusk to '*assume responsibility*' and call for a donor conference to raise money for the refugee camps. In this situation, the responsibility assigned to Donald Tusk is that he represents a continent, therefore, has an increased influence in acting towards a solution. Responsibility in this context is commensurable with the power of authority an individual or institution holds. Assuming responsibility, therefore, is the legitimate exercising of power by those entitled to it and by doing so, these individuals and institutions fulfil organizational and moral norms equally.

In the second intervention (Annex 11), the idea of a broader, more '*comprehensive*' approach is related to the necessity of unified action and it designates responsibility to those '*prime ministers and heads of state*' of the Council who can bring an organizational level decision, as the crisis is not '*an interior security issue alone*'. This is another instance when efficiency intertwines with morality and allows some specificity for moral talk. In the speaker's perspective, '*an even broader approach, seeing the crisis as 'part of a global crisis*' can convince the noncompliant countries to accept responsibility in the redistribution plan, which is currently '*stuck in a debate between Visegrad prime ministers, who refuse common responsibility, and mostly Western politicians and prime ministers.*' In the speaker's perspective, not assuming responsibility in the redistribution plan is a failure in complying with norms of humanity towards refugees but also

norms of solidarity among the member states as parts of the same organization.

Efficiency is pursued when addressing the modification of laws and regulations from a more integrated perspective, may bring about its perception higher than a mere logistical issue of taking *'20 000 or 25 000, and that is all'*. The speaker discusses the necessity of a common migration policy that allows a more precise selection of the asylum seekers, a common border agency, which *'should be a mandatory system in which all 28 Member States participate'* (Annex 15). Although the efficiency of the organization is a primary concern in the case of these proposals, placing its operation on premises of closer cooperation may convince countries who oppose the redistribution quota, the speaker suggests. This idea of the European Union functioning based on higher level coordination is the basic concept for the federalist Guy Verhofstadt. While the cooperation among member countries is presented as based on a higher level of solidarity, the possible moral aspect of this perspective is never implied, therefore, the moral value of solidarity among member states remains undetermined in these texts.

As the relocation plan was not discussed in the Council meeting, the prime ministers obviously maintained an organizational outlook and the leader of the ALDE Group expresses his discontent towards the meeting in the third intervention (*'I am getting more and more fed up with the Council'*) for failing to take a *'comprehensive, global approach'* to the crisis (Annex 12). Although the idea of responsible action is not explicitly stated, the speaker's vexation refers to the Council's inability *'to overcome these internal divisions'*, relating the two approaches. Due to the fact that in previous interventions the value of unity is measured (its lack signalled here by the antonym *'division'*) by the degree of responsibility demonstrated, both values are referred to by the moral specificity of the representation.

Throughout the three interventions, solidarity is only named once explicitly, but it is implicit through the speaker's disapproval towards those countries that have not been complying with the migration policy proposed by the Commission. In his September 9 contribution to the debate (Annex 13), he commends those '*ordinary people*' who, in contrast with the national governments' leaders, '*have shown solidarity*'. In this context, the value of solidarity is explicitly defined as humane conduct towards refugees, conveying moral quotability and specificity to the example. A particular context for lack of solidarity towards refugees is provided by the speaker's criticism of the Hungarian government's treatment of them, formulating categorical disapproval ('*it is not the right way to treat refugees*') of the '*refugees being herded to the train station, treated without any respect*'. The image definitely refers to the issue of humane treatment, therefore, it is a determinate focus on the value of solidarity, implying the imperative of moral conduct towards refugees. A further, similar example occurs in the second intervention (Annex 12) where the speaker asks the Commission to take measures against Hungary because of the '*shameful*' situation at the Hungarian border, where thousands of refugees were stranded for a few days, round the time of the debate. In this instance no further details are added⁸⁴.

In the second and third intervention, the speaker focuses on the necessity of a '*comprehensive, global approach*', which can concretely materialize in a series of measures taken towards an integrated European policy regarding the issue of migration. The speaker mentions the necessity of a common economic migration policy to be worked out, similar to the American green-card policy, along with establishing a common border agency which, at the moment of the debate, were being managed by member states individually. These details refer to the management of the crisis and the long-term measures of avoiding them in the future and

⁸⁴ <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34260071>

foreground the speaker's preoccupation with organizational efficiency rather than moral aspects of the issue. Although the imperative of ensuring humane conditions to refugees is implied, the speaker's focus lies on the organizational aspects of the crisis. In these cases, the value of solidarity remains morally indeterminate, with mention of the refugees' living conditions and dire situation remaining subordinated to organizational efficiency. Such is the reference to the necessity of making a distinction between refugees and economic migrants by applying a blue-card policy (Annex 12), donating in order to improve living conditions for refugees in camps from Lebanon and Jordan in order to prevent a *'new flow'* (Annex 12), and questioning the Council activity by rhetorical questions (*'how many people from Syria have to die'*, *how many 'have to flee to Europe'* – Annex 13). Although the representations suggest solidarity with this category, the purpose of the actions is to prevent another crisis.

As described in the details above, the circumstantial premises implicitly manifest the values in both their organizational and moral dimension. The speaker depicts the situation of a divided European Union, where individual countries are wilfully applying rules in the matter of migration, without taking responsibility for a unified European perspective (*'This amounts to Britain doing it one way, Germany doing it another way and Hungary certainly doing it another way'*). On the other hand, he commends Germany for accepting 20000 refugees in five days (Annex 10). In the same intervention, his criticism extends on the Dublin regulation as well, which is not a suitable legal frame to handle this large- scale migratory phenomenon.

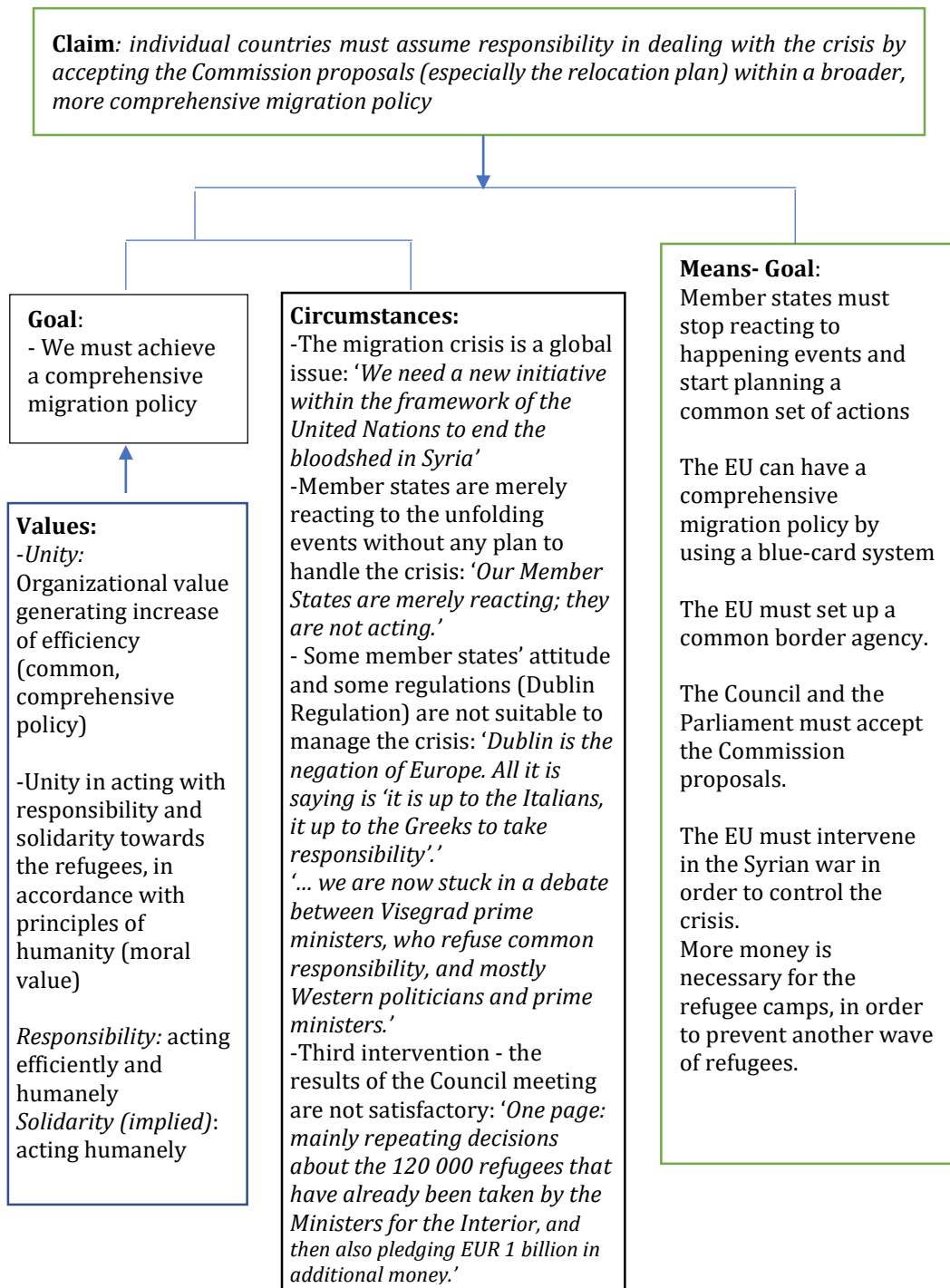


Fig.7. Guy Verhofstadt's interventions as practical argumentation

Further negative comments are aimed at the Council which does not address relevant solutions with sufficient reliability (Annex 12). The speaker's perspective on the crisis determines the solutions he proposes during his interventions, addressing the issue by acting, not merely reacting. Accordingly, this global-scale phenomenon can only be tackled by measures to match its proportions, such as a consistent migration policy based on a blue-card system, the establishment of a border agency and an intervention in the Syrian war in order to control its outcome and prevent more refugees from coming to Europe.

VII. 1.2. Stance in Guy Verhofstadt's Interventions

The solution for managing the migrant crisis in Guy Verhofstadt's perspective is an integrated approach where member states act in a common effort to apply the relocation plan by hosting the refugees already in Europe and observing other, long-term, integrative measures, such as a common standardised migration policy (the blue-card system), a common border control agency and a higher degree involvement in influencing the phenomenon internationally, such as intervening in the Syrian war and financing refugee camps. The idea of unity through concerted action of all the member states represents the central value of the speaker's interventions and, while his attitude is one of rebuke towards the organization (through the negative judgement of the Council), the idea of threat does not occur in the speaker's presentations and Guy Verhofstadt's focus remains around organizational inefficiency. The speaker's dialogic and attitudinal stance is shaped by this outlook, which establishes an oppositional stance towards alternatives that do not comply.

The rather sharp oppositions in the speaker's stance are realised between various categories and ideas. Such is the classification of the member states that *accept responsibility* versus those who do not,

specifically meaning, those who are willing to host refugees and those who are '*picking and choosing strategies*' (September 9 – Annex 10). Another oppositional positioning is realised towards the idea of '*merely reacting*' to the unfolding events as opposed to approaching the issue *comprehensively*, by applying a planned strategy in a unitary manner (Annex 10 and more details on the *comprehensive* approach in the other two interventions). Apart from this, Guy Verhoftadt addresses a series of direct criticism or praises towards the Council and the Commission and summons leaders of the institutions to complete various actions that, from his perspective, facilitate the implementation of a unified strategy. The strategy of directly addressing fellow politicians and then expose his perspective conveys a highly dialogical nature to his interventions, even if they are mostly confrontational. The speaker's categorical stance is realised through intensifying devices, mostly repetition, or explicit, inscribed attitudinal values, which are rarely mitigated.

His attitudinal stance is realised along similar lines, with positive evaluation of those accepting responsibility and trying to apply a standardised policy and mostly explicit, unmitigated criticism towards those who do not. Negative judgement is formulated against Hungary, with a metaphorical representation of refugees flagging negative attitudinal stance, and against the Council which hinders organizational efficiency by its inadequate conduct. The Council's negative presentation allows a rather heterogenous evaluation for the organization, which, on one hand, takes on solidary and responsible action through the proposal of the Commission and demonstrates incompetence through the Council's slow and inefficient activity.

VII.1.3. Who are the Participants Guy Verhofstadt is Addressing?

Guy Verhofstadt's interventions are highly dialogic as he often calls on particular individuals in their capacity of representing institutions or offices, addressing requests, even instructions pertaining to his approach of the crisis. As with all speakers, the interventions are formally addressed to the President of the Parliament, but the third person references designate various tasks to the persons named:

"Maybe next year we can hold a slightly different debate, and perhaps invite the 20 heads of states and government. There is enough room on this side of the House. Mr Juncker does not have 90 minutes to speak in the Council during his State of the Union address. This would also enable Mr Tusk to be here, because we all accept now that there should be a permanent President of the European Council, and he has to be here."
(Annex 10)

By nominating the heads of the Commission and the Council in view of a future common debate, the speaker is pointing out the necessity to have an agreement among the institutions of the European Union. It is suggested that the representatives of national governments should also be informed directly by the representative of the Commission who, at present, *'does not have 90 minutes to speak in the Council during his State of the Union address'*, while the *'20 heads of states and government'* is probably a reference to those countries who at the time of this debate (September 9) were known to agree with the relocation plan, and which are invited *'on this side of the House'*, meaning the liberal wing of the Parliament, who were going to vote in favour of the Commission proposals. Further direct addresses are aimed at Mr Kamall to point out disagreement (*'Here we come to the heart of the problem, namely the lack of political will and – I say to Mr Kamall – the lack of unity between the Member States.'*), to make a plea to *'Mrs Mogherini'* and to the *'Presidency of the Council'* to launch a new initiative *'within the framework of the United Nations to end the bloodshed in Syria'*, or to Mr Tusk,

'Mr Bettel, as the Prime Minister of Luxembourg' and Mr Asselborn (minister of Foreign Affairs of Luxembourg) to organize an extraordinary summit on migration (which happened on September 23). The plea addressed towards Ms Mogherini and the Council is renewed in the third intervention (October 6 – Annex 13), when an explicit request is formulated to 'you, the European Council, you Mr Tusk and Ms Mogherini' to 'take initiative' and instrumentalize a European intervention in Syria, in order to end the conflict. Finally, he summons Donald Tusk to organize a donor conference in order to raise money for the refugee camps, addressing him a direct imperative (Assume your responsibility) and a request (I am counting on you). On a different occasion (Annex 11), the speaker's plea is addressed to the Commission ('My appeal to the Commission is that they fund the United Nations immediately').

A particular aspect of the direct critical remarks the leader of the ALDE Group performs is the addition of personal asides explaining the speaker's intentions, as in the following example:

"And so, my message – not to you Mr Juncker, I apologise – for the Council in particular is: stop saying it is a crisis of Europe, it not a crisis of Europe. It is in fact a crisis of a lack of Europe!" (Annex 10)

The personal aside (*not to you Mr Juncker, I apologize*) is meant to specify that no personal attack is intended by the speaker and that his correction, in this case, is merely one of content. A similar explanation occurs in the following example, during the third intervention (October 6), where the addressee is Mr Tusk:

"Mr President, I would like to say bluntly to Mr Tusk that I am getting more and more fed up with the Council, not with him personally – be assured of that – but with the institution that he represents." (Annex 12)

Although the disapproving remark (*I would like to say it bluntly to Mr Tusk*) is addressed directly to Mr. Tusk, the speaker explicitly insists on it not being meant as a personal attack (*'not with him personally – be assured of*

that -'), and even if a person is named, the disapproval is one related to institutional decisions. Later, the objections the speaker formulates related to the Council's inefficient work is also addressed to the President of the Council directly:

"It is not that you have nothing to work with. A few hours before the European Council, the Commission decided on a global package: including a new European asylum system no longer based on the Dublin Regulation; including a new European migration package in which we create one system, a blue-card system, in Europe – not 28 systems; and including, perhaps most importantly, a European border and coastguard proposal – that, by the way, Mr Tusk, the Ministers of the Interior refused to put in their conclusions on 11 September 2015. They did not talk about it." (Annex 12)

The criticism is directed towards the Ministers of the Interior, who '*refused to put in their conclusions*' on the proposal regarding European border control, explicitly named as the most important decision. In this excerpt, however, Donald Tusk is indirectly designated as accountable for the irresponsible conduct of those he represents (*It is not that you have nothing to work with*). It is implied that the proposals submitted by the Commission in a fast and efficient manner, are unjustifiably hindered from taking effect due to the inadequate approach (perhaps, incompetence or unwillingness) the Council is demonstrating, suggested by '*They did not talk about it*'.

A characteristic that is common with other speakers is that Guy Verhofstadt generally uses the first-person plural '*we*' to refer to the European Union as an organization, acting as a single entity, but also to the wider community, represented in the following excerpt simply, as Europe:

"In conclusion, the most important lesson that the Council can draw is that we cannot look away from a crisis in our neighbourhood. We will always pay the price for it. Do not think that we can have a conflict in the north of Africa or the Middle East and Europe can be unaffected since it is outside Europe. We are paying the price for this." (Annex 10)

Even if the reference is made to the Council (*‘the most important lesson that the Council can draw’*), the use of the first-person plural implies that the lesson regards the whole organization, as disregarding it will cause that *‘we will pay the price for it’*. The idea is continued with the widening of the referential area, as the names of regions imply the large scale of the phenomenon of migration and the wide-ranging effect it has. The geographical reference to *Europe* followed by the repetition of the previous proposition, *‘we are paying the price’*, invites an understanding of *Europe* as the whole community of citizens within European states. A similar reference is made in the following excerpt, this time with a context which narrows down the reference area:

“It is a refugee crisis – the biggest that we have ever faced – and I think it is for the prime ministers and heads of state to take the responsibility to come together and elaborate a comprehensive approach for this problem.” (Annex 11)

The refugee crisis evaluated as *‘the biggest we have ever faced’* allows a wider reference to the community of states on the continent, with its communities of citizens, however, the next proposition mentioning *‘prime ministers and heads of state’* clearly refers to the organization, and even more narrowly, to the European Council formed by leaders of member states. Moreover, the elaboration of a *‘comprehensive approach’* is an explicit contextualization of the problems occurring due to the migration crisis. In the next excerpt, the speaker not only refers to the organization but designates member states as substructures that constitute the European Union, reflecting the speaker’s position on the European Union being a more integrated political entity:

“What we have to do is to stop, act and react. Our Member States are merely reacting, they are not acting. In April we got a strategy for the Mediterranean. What did we do? We increased the Frontex budget a little bit, thinking that would solve the problem.” (Annex 10)

The speaker attributes the same actions to the agent designated by 'we' (*stop, act and react*), representing the organization and the member states (*'merely reacting, they are not acting'*). It is implied both that the organization is acting through its member states, and also that they constitute parts of it, suggested by the possessive 'our'. Given the context of the next propositions (*we got a strategy, we increased the Frontex budget*), the plural first-person reference more explicitly designates the organization. In a similar manner, in the next excerpt it is the context, referring to the standardised policy of blue cards, which clarifies the organizational-level reference:

"Like the Americans have a green card, we have a blue card. But the blue card in Europe is the 29th system, on top of the 28 existing systems. It is only Germany that uses this blue card. We have to change that...."
(Annex 10)

The first-person plural in the proposition '*we have a blue card*' refers to the European Union, reenforced by the reference '*the blue card in Europe*' and the reference to Germany, as one member of the organization. In the next excerpt, the first-person plural designates both the European Union as the organization and the Parliament as a constitutive institution of it:

"In that respect, we are now stuck in a debate between Visegrad prime ministers, who refuse common responsibility, and mostly Western politicians and prime ministers. We have to come out of this debate, and the only way to come out of this debate is not only to talk about this shared responsibility – that is one of the elements, and we are going to vote on this with Parliament – but it is to have a broad approach."
(Annex 11)

The reference to the organization is made through the details on the debate, designating the two opposing sides ('*Visegrad prime ministers*' and '*mostly Western politicians and prime ministers*'), and the common action necessary to surpass it (*we have to come out of this debate*). The further

reference (*'we are going to vote on this with Parliament'*) designates the members of the Parliament voting the proposals but also the organization acting through the action of the Parliament (*with Parliament*).

The first-person singular is a usual indication of the speaker's personal perspective and it alternates with the plural first-person designating organization-level actions. The next excerpt, from the September 16th intervention, illustrates both the plural first-person for the organization and the singular for the speaker's personal opinion (*I am doubtful...*), with its alternative realisation through the possessive adjective 'my', as in *'in my opinion'*:

"Mr President, we have to tell the truth to the public: the meeting of the ministers of the interior was a failure. We did not reach an agreement even though, in my opinion, it is in fact a topic that could be decided with a qualified majority, and I am very doubtful that on 22 September we are going to get a deal." (Annex 11)

In the excerpt, the plural first-person alternates with the singular, indicating the speaker's personal point of view on the failure of the Council meeting, his sceptical perspective on the next meeting and a possible solution to it (*it could be decided with a qualified majority*) and the necessity of making an organization-level declaration to the public to clarify the situation (*we have to tell the truth*). A similar alternation occurs in the next example:

"My proposal is very clear, namely that we – the Council and Parliament – should agree to a fast-track procedure for the Commission proposal: to adopt it as quickly as possible, as these procedures are there." (Annex 12)

The personal perspective is indicated by *'my proposal'*, continuing with the explicit reference of the plural first-person to institutions of the organization (*the Council and Parliament*), naming the common action to take in accepting the Commission proposal.

Apart from these uses of the first-person singular reference, an unusually high degree of personal investment is also noticeable in the speaker's interventions. As quoted above, the speaker expresses his utter vexation with the unsatisfactory activity of the Council, explicitly stating: *'I am more and more fed up with the Council'*. At other times, his intervention is one of a totally personal nature, without any connection to the matter being discussed, simply conveying a personal gesture (*'I would like to extend to Mr Juncker my condolences and those of my Group on the death of his mother.'*)

VII.1.4. Dialogical Stance

Direct Engagement of Fellow Politicians

The three interventions from the leader of the ALDE Group realise the speaker's position in a characteristic way, by directly addressing fellow politicians (who are either present in the hall or not) or referring to them by name, allowing this way a polemical style of discourse through which alignments and oppositions are constructed, usually without mitigation. In this way, requests, directives and even criticism is addressed to various colleagues and leaders of institutions while the speaker's position is configured along them. One such example is the speaker's reference to the President of the Council right in the introduction of his first intervention:

"This would also enable Mr Tusk to be here, because we all accept now that there should be a permanent President of the European Council, and he has to be here.

I know he is in the Middle East in Ramallah in Jerusalem, but he has to be in Europe, going from capital to capital to develop a common European policy on asylum for immigrants. That is his task for the moment." (Annex 10)

An indirect criticism is formulated referring to *Mr. Tusk*, due to his absence from the debate occasioned by the State of the Union Address. The criticism

is somewhat mitigated by the justification for his absence⁸⁵ (*I know he is in the Middle East in Ramallah in Jerusalem*), but contrasted by the *pronouncement* through the deontic modal *'has to'* (*he has to be in Europe, going from capital to capital*), further intensified by the assertion *'that is his task for the moment'*. By this reference the speaker is suggesting that developing *'a common European policy on asylum for immigrants'* should be the most important and urgent matter to attend for all institutional leaders and that the President of the Council's participation to another event is misguided. The next person to address, this time directly (*I say to Mr Kamall*) is a fellow member of Parliament who has been vouching for an alternative to the relocation plan, by individual countries being offered the possibility to choose their way of contribution to the effort of solving the crisis:

"Here we come to the heart of the problem, namely the lack of political will and – I say to Mr Kamall – the lack of unity between the Member States.

What Mr Kamall was defending here a few minutes ago is a system of 'pick and choose your strategies'. This amounts to Britain doing it one way, Germany doing it another way and Hungary certainly doing it another way: with a fence and a wall. That is not the way to deal with such problems! A refugee crisis is the collective responsibility of the European Union, that is what is at stake." (Annex 10)

The engagement resources of *denial* and *pronouncement* are used to realise an opposing position between Syed Kamall's version of *'pick and choose your strategies'* and the speaker's own perspective of a *'collective responsibility of the European Union'*. The British conservative politician's perspective on the relocation plan is represented by the leader of the ALDE Group as *'lack of political will'* and *'lack of unity between the Member States'*, inviting negative judgement of capacity. The speaker continues with describing his own perspective of the *'pick and choose your strategies'* alternative realised by a value of *entertain* (*'Britain doing it one way,*

⁸⁵ <https://www.bicom.org.uk/news/26782/>

Germany doing it another way and Hungary certainly doing it another way) inviting negative judgement of capacity, then *denying* this alternative categorically (*That is not the way to deal with such problems!*) and *pronouncing* his own perspective through a categorical assertion: *'a refugee crisis is the collective responsibility of the European Union'*. The completion of the *pronouncement* by *'that is what is at stake'* is an intensified evaluation of the pronouncement suggesting the urgency by which the speaker's perspective should be observed by all states of the Union and an addition to the exclamation from the previous proposition. Thus, an amplified evaluation is realised on the urgency of the speaker's alternative on one hand, and the inadequacy of the alternative viewpoint on the other. Further negative judgement is realised related to Hungary, which applied a very specific way of dealing with the crisis, strongly rebuked by the speaker (see Attitudinal stance below).

After the Justice and Home Affairs Council did not vote for the relocation plan in unanimity and the extraordinary meeting on the 22nd of September ended without the plan being rediscussed⁸⁶, in the introduction of his third intervention during the October 6 debate, the leader of the ALDE Group expresses an explicit irritation with the activity of the Council composed of heads of state and government of the EU countries, addressed to Donald Tusk, President of the European Council:

"Mr President, I would like to say bluntly to Mr Tusk that I am getting more and more fed up with the Council, not with him personally – be assured of that – but with the institution that he represents.

I am saying this is because, first of all, it has taken a very long time for an informal summit to be organised – because this crisis did not start a few days or a few weeks ago. Then, what was produced from this summit was a one-page statement." (Annex 12)

⁸⁶ [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2015/558792/EPRS_BRI\(2015\)558792_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2015/558792/EPRS_BRI(2015)558792_EN.pdf)

The intervention is formally addressed to the president of the Parliament, as all other interventions, but the actual addressee is Donald Tusk (*'I would like to say it bluntly to Mr Tusk'*), who presided the Council session on the 22nd, which is being discussed in the Parliament debate of October 6. The actual engagement value around which the other dialogic resources are organized is the highly personal proposition: *'I am getting more and more fed up with the Council.'* realising a *pronouncement* of personal perspective, confronting that of the Council's and implicitly inviting negative judgement of capacity towards the Council, as the main reason for the speaker's explicit negative affect is its supposed inability to bring a decision. The categorical pronouncement is mitigated by the frame provided by an explicit disclaimer (*'not with him personally ... but with the institution he represents'*) to avoid personal attack, channelling the speaker's vexation towards what he perceives as a flaw in the organization, for its failure to recognize the urgency of the matter (*'it has taken a very long time to be organized'*) and the lack of productivity (*a one-page statement*).

The speaker's highly dialogical style is not only realised by directly addressing fellow politicians but also by rhetorical questions. The next excerpt is a continuation of the previous example, with some additional address to Donald Tusk (implying that some of the questions are also addressed to him), with an additional set of open questions which realise a high degree of affective investment from the speaker (as indignation inviting both negative judgement of capacity and of propriety) and engage the audience into the evaluation of this – from the speaker's perspective – untenable situation:

"I ask myself how many people from Syria have to die and how many additional people from Syria have to flee to Europe before the European Council takes a comprehensive, global approach to this refugee crisis, as is proposed by the Commission? It is not that you have nothing to work with. A few hours before the European Council, the Commission decided on a global package: including a new European asylum system no

longer based on the Dublin Regulation; including a new European migration package in which we create one system, a blue-card system, in Europe – not 28 systems; and including, perhaps most importantly, a European border and coastguard proposal – that, by the way, Mr Tusk, the Ministers of the Interior refused to put in their conclusions on 11 September 2015. They did not talk about it.

So I am asking: what is needed? Why was it not possible for this European Council in its summit to decide on the package proposed by the Commission? Parliament has already backed this package. So, what is happening? Why can the European Council not overcome these internal divisions? My proposal is very clear, namely that we – the Council and Parliament – should agree to a fast-track procedure for the Commission proposal: to adopt it as quickly as possible, as these procedures are there.” (Annex 12)

The dominant engagement value is realised by the *pronouncement* through the rhetorical question, *‘how many people from Syria have to die and how many additional people from Syria have to flee to Europe before the European Council takes a comprehensive, global approach to this refugee crisis, as is proposed by the Commission?’*. The question comprises of several interpersonally relevant elements. Firstly, the main load of the *pronouncement* is carried by the highly evaluative double question: *‘how many people from Syria’ ...‘have to die’* and *‘have to flee to Europe’*, comprising the standard implicit affirmation of solidarity towards refugees (inviting positive affect of empathy). The further two segments of the question contain an implicit opposition with the Council (and the uncomplying states’ position), whose position is opposite (or, at least, alternative) to a *‘comprehensive, global approach’*, and an alignment through *endorsement* of the Commission’s perspective, contained by the package. On one hand, there is the speaker’s perspective (*‘comprehensive, global approach’*) which is identical with the Commission’s, on the other, there is the Council’s failing to vote for the package and, thus, causing the

death and fleeing to Europe of Syrian people. This complex of perspectives is framed by the speaker's personal position, '*I ask myself*' repeated with the same intent at the beginning of the next paragraph: to position the speaker within the presentation of several alternatives (*I am asking*).

The next proposition, realising a *pronouncement*, '*it is not that you have nothing to work with*', is also relevant, as it is directly addressed to the President of the Council by using the second-person singular (and reconfirmed further by naming '*Mr Tusk*' again). In addition, similarly to the previous question, an implied dismissal of the Council's work is realised (inviting negative judgement of capacity), and an oppositional positioning to the implied position of the Council. The negation of the sentence is, in fact, a *denial* of the Council's efficiency, realising on one hand the speaker's perspective (as in: you have plenty of issues to discuss) and the Council's (implied: but you are not doing your job). The exposition of the speaker's perspective comes again with details on the Commission activity, with the speaker's implicit *endorsement* of them, implying that these are the matters the Council should have discussed (Dublin Regulation, blue card system, border control agency).

The speaker's positive appreciation and *endorsement* is implied through lexis that is used in other situations to describe the speaker's own perspective, such as '*global*' (as in: *comprehensive, global approach*), *one system, not 28 systems* (described elsewhere as: '*we have a blue card. But the blue card in Europe is the 29th system, on top of the 28 existing systems*'. – see Annex 7), and the adverbial '*most importantly*', adding low-degree graduation to the importance of implementing a common border control, which is evaluated as a deficiency of the organization in the speaker's second intervention ('*There is no common border agency*' – Annex 12).

The next proposition addressed directly to the President of the Council, and which, in fact, is a long personal aside, carries further negative evaluative charge, this time addressed to the Council of Justice and Home

Affairs Council of the Ministers of the Interior, held previously to the extraordinary summit of the 22nd. The explicit negative judgement of tenacity (due to their refusal, demonstrating lack of inclination) is realised by explicit lexis (*refused*) but also the next proposition which functions as a completion (*they did not talk about it*). Besides its evaluative value, the personal aside is also a realisation of *entertain* as it presents the ministers' alternative, which opposes the speaker's.

The next paragraph comments on the strategies described in the previous one. The series of rhetorical questions carries evaluative content (negative judgement of capacity), intensified by the enumeration, and realise the speaker's *pronouncement* of his perspective, together with framing propositions, '*I am asking*' and '*my proposal is very clear*' conveying a personal perspective to the impersonal questions. The further *pronouncements* ('*my proposal is very clear*', '*we should agree to a fast-track procedure*') realise the speaker's perspective, with a special focus on the urgency of the matter, intensified by the specific explicit lexis '*fast-track*' and '*as quickly as possible*'.

Direct addressing is not only used by the speaker to criticise those present. In the following excerpt from the first intervention, the President of the Commission is addressed in a clarifying aside (*not to you Mr Juncker, I apologize*), to specify the aim of his *pronouncement*: the addressee of the imperative realising the *pronouncement* is the Council ('*stop saying it is a crisis of Europe*'), not the Commission:

"And so, my message – not to you Mr Juncker, I apologize – for the Council in particular is: stop saying it is a crisis of Europe, it not a crisis of Europe. It is in fact a crisis of a lack of Europe! Let us tell the truth to the people. Dublin is not Europe. Dublin is the negation of Europe. All it is saying is 'it is up to the Italians, it up to the Greeks to take responsibility'.

The Commission took a very important step in May by sharing responsibility. I hope that the Council can accept, in a matter of days rather than months, a number of these proposals ...” (Annex 10)

In this excerpt, J. C. Juncker represents the Commission which is positively evaluated (*judgement of* both in terms of capacity and propriety) for taking an *‘important step’* in *‘sharing responsibility’*. The speaker’s categorical exhortation is directed towards the Council to adjust its conduct to the context and align with the Commission by accepting its proposals.

The opposition between *‘crisis of Europe’* and *‘crisis of lack of Europe’* realises another *pronouncement* of the speaker’s perspective by *denying* the wrong perspective (the one encouraged by the Dublin Regulation) and reinforcing the correct one, the speaker’s, which would entail a collective responsibility for the refugees. The *denial/pronouncement* parallel syntax is repeated, with similar lexis, thus intensifying the *pronouncement*, in the next propositions: *‘Dublin is not Europe. Dublin is the negation of Europe’*, continued by an additional proposition which carries a value of *entertain*, with speaker reproducing the essence of the wrong version of the approach to migration, stipulated by the Dublin Regulation (*‘it is up to the Italians, it is up to the Greeks to take responsibility’*).

The Dublin Regulation which had been standing at the time of the crisis required the asylum seeker to register in the first-entry country and required the respective country to evaluate and process the request as well as cater for the needs of the asylum seeker. The speaker asserts that the modification of the Dublin regulation should be done in the spirit of a common effort.

By establishing the opposed values of *Europe* and *‘lack of Europe’* the speaker creates right and wrong categories (with implicit positive and negative judgement of propriety), to which he renders the Commission as the institution acting correctly for *‘sharing responsibility’* through its proposal of modification, and the Council, composed of the heads of

member states which had been claiming their sovereignty rights to avoid dealing with the excessive number of asylum requests. At the time of the first intervention the vote of the Council (which was not unanimous during the subsequent meeting) had not taken place. This is why, by expressing hope, the speaker implies that the Council would align with the Commission's (and the speaker's) perspective.

The next excerpt is a fragment from the September 16 debate, in which Jean Asselborn, the Luxembourgian Minister for Immigration and Asylum also participated, as the organizer of the special meeting among the ministers of the interior, on behalf of the Luxembourg presidency of the EU Council. The Minister addressed the plenary session on the outcome of the Council meeting of Justice and Home Affairs ministers on the 14th, where consensus on the relocation plan was not reached. During the session, Jean Asselborn expressed hope that the meeting of the European Council formed by the heads of states and governments would have a different outcome and the Visegrad states would agree to the plan⁸⁷. In the excerpt, Guy Verhofstadt expresses his scepticism relating to a different outcome (*'you can organize whatever meetings you want'*) and establishes an opposition between those who accept *'common responsibility'* and those who do not. What Guy Verhofsadt calls a *'broad approach'* or a *'comprehensive approach'* implies stepping beyond the relocation plan and redesign rules and regulation in such a way that a higher-degree cooperation among member states is achieved (see above).

Interpersonally, the excerpt represents another example of the speaker's strategy of addressing a fellow politician while exposing his own perspective on the matter at hand:

⁸⁷ Jean Asselborn presents the outcome of the latest extraordinary Justice and Home Affairs Council on migration before the European Parliament - Presidency of the Council of the European Union / Luxembourg 2015 (eu2015lu.eu)

“In my opinion, it is an issue that has to be tackled at the level of Heads of State or Government and no longer on the level of ministers of the interior alone. It is not an interior security issue alone. It is a refugee crisis – the biggest that we have ever faced – and I think it is for the prime ministers and heads of state to take the responsibility to come together and elaborate a comprehensive approach for this problem.

In that respect, we are now stuck in a debate between Visegrad prime ministers, who refuse common responsibility, and mostly Western politicians and prime ministers. We have to come out of this debate, and the only way to come out of this debate is not only to talk about this shared responsibility – that is one of the elements, and we are going to vote on this with Parliament – but it is to have a broad approach. (...)

I think you can organise whatever meetings you want on 14 and 22 September, and then maybe a week later on 3 October, but I think it is time that the Heads of State or Government under the leadership of Mr Tusk and Mr Bettel, as the Prime Minister of Luxembourg, start with a real summit to tackle the whole issue and to have a comprehensive approach. Only then, Mr Asselborn, will you have a chance to convince the Visegrad countries: when they see it is part of a global approach, and not starting by saying that they have to take 20 000 or 25 000, and that is all. In my opinion, that may not be the right tactical move.”

(Annex 11)

The speaker addresses the Luxembourgian Minister of Foreign Affairs directly, as in an attempt to claim alignment from the politician for his own perspective of the situation. The Minister’s wish to convince the Visegrad countries will only be realised if the speaker’s solution is implemented: taking the matter to a higher-level assembly and discuss it as a regional situation which does not only involve individual countries AS it pertains to the whole of the European Union.

In this context, the engagement type is a dialogistically expansive series of *entertain* values, realised by the implied hypothetical situation

that would happen if the speaker's perspective were implemented. The position is highlighted by expressions of subjectivity such as: *'in my opinion'* and *'I think'*, indicating that the speaker's perspective is but one among other possible ones. However, an opposition is still established between the speaker's position (that of the *'broad approach'*) and the Luxembourgian Minister's who – it is suggested – keeps organizing the Council meetings that have no favourable outcome. The proposition *'you can organize whatever meetings you want'* is a manifestation of the speaker's evaluation of the strategy (inviting negative judgement of capacity) and it is an implicit *deny* value, as it is the opposite of the speaker's perspective – with more chances of success. While the outcome of the *'broad approach'* may be a change in the Visegrad countries' attitude (*'you will have a chance to convince them'*, *'they will see it is part of a global approach'*) Jean Asselborn's strategy results in the debate being *'stuck'* between *'Visegrad prime ministers'* and *'mostly Western politicians and prime ministers'*. In this situation, the speaker establishes the two categories, *Visegrad countries* and *Western countries*, with a negative attitude (judgement of tenacity due to their unwillingness to comply) realised towards the former, describing their refusal of the relocation plan as *refusal of common responsibility'*. The personal aside, *'we are going to vote on this with Parliament'* provides the speaker's solution to the stalemate described, as an additional solution to the *'broad approach'* of the high-level Council meeting.

The most important characteristic of Guy Verhofstadt's interventions is the sharply contrasted categories constructed between the speaker's perspective of *'sharing responsibility'* or *'comprehensive approach'* and alternatives to this from various other participants. When positioning himself against these alternatives, the speaker does not usually mitigate. His approach is direct and explicit. The previous examples illustrated these oppositions in the frame of a direct address towards a fellow politician, as in a genuine dialogue. A similar strategy of direct approach is the use of

rhetorical questions. Similarly to the example above, the next one realises the speaker's engagement of his audience in a characteristic polemical style, with rhetorical questions, exclamations and a disapproving attitude:

“What we have to do is to stop, act and react. Our Member States are merely reacting, they are not acting. In April we got a strategy for the Mediterranean. What did we do? We increased the Frontex budget a little bit, thinking that would solve the problem. The problem was not solved! Fifty days later, there were all these refugees blocking the entry of the tunnel to Britain and what did we do? We gave a little bit more money for tents and for food for these poor refugees in Calais and we thought the problem was over and we could go on holiday. Well, what did I tell you? Then in Budapest there was the incredible sight of refugees being herded to the train station, treated without any respect. And then we say, ‘let them go, let us put some of them on trains so they can go to Austria and to Munich’. And we think the problem is over. This attitude is disgraceful for Europe because it is not the right way to treat refugees.” (Annex 10)

The opposition in this excerpt is established between ‘*accepting responsibility*’ and avoiding it, implied by the negative examples. In this particular instance, acting within a pre-established plan is set against reacting to events as they happen. This enumeration of examples is another indirect criticism towards the Council, composed of member states’ heads of states, responsible for the various measures taken in these situations.

The main engagement value is the *pronouncement* introducing the examples, realised by the deontic ‘*have to*’, intensified by the inversion of the cleft sentence (‘*what we have to do is to stop, act and react*’). This main value is followed by a series of factual propositions illustrating the speaker’s perspective and inviting negative judgement of capacity (for not taking adequate action). The examples are represented in a pattern. The rendering of the situation (‘*we got a strategy for the Mediterranean*’, ‘*all these refugees blocking the entry to the tunnel to Brittain*’, ‘*refugees being*

herded t the train station) is followed by a rhetorical question (*'what did we do'*) or *'then we say'* both with a role in narrative progression. Then follows the misguided solution (*'increased the Frontex budget a little bit', 'gave a little bit more money for tents and for food', 'let them go, let us put some of them on trains'*) and the concluding exclamation (*'the problem was not solved'*) or the engaging rhetorical question (*'what did I tell you'*). The effect of the vocative addresses engaging the audience is combined by the intensifying effect of the repeated, narrative pattern realising a negative affect of disapproval and inviting negative judgement of capacity, leading to the highest intensity of the Hungarian example, where explicit lexis inscribes negative:

"We have to recognise that some countries, Germany for example, are accepting their responsibilities. In Munich they accepted 20 000 refugees in five days. But some countries are saying that they will not accept them for five years and other countries are simply saying 'no way, not for us'. Fortunately, in sharp contrast, thousands of ordinary people have shown solidarity, more solidarity than our national leaders in the Member States of the European Union." (Annex 10)

The conversational style is further manifested by the quoted *'no way, not for us'*, which is a value of *entertain* rendering the position of *'some countries'* which do not accept their responsibilities. The opposition is simply realised by the *pronouncement* of the bare assertion in the first proposition, then the *denial* of this action by *'some countries'*. (*they are saying they will not accept them*). A further opposition is represented by rendering the action of the *'thousands of ordinary people'* who *'have shown solidarity'*, and is set as a positive example, along with Germany, inviting judgement of propriety.

The main idea of the first intervention (in fact, restated in the following two interventions from subsequent debates) is the emphasis on the necessity of assuming *'collective responsibility'* involving member

countries' acceptance of their role, and an awareness on an organizational level that acting in stopping the migration crisis and reducing its negative effects is interconnected with the necessity to act as a global actor. In this respect, Guy Verhofstadt's call for a more concerted action on the part of the European Union, the necessity of a higher awareness that the organization needs to act as one, is similar to the exhortation formulated by the High Representative for Foreign Affairs, Federica Mogherini. The leader of the ALDE Group indicates the Council as the addressee of his message, as the vote for the Commission proposals in the Council was going to take place the following week (after the Parliament's vote that was following that same day). The excerpt realises a categorical opposition in a way similar to the ones above between the speaker's own position and the alternative one invoked through the passage:

"In conclusion, the most important lesson that the Council can draw is that we cannot look away from a crisis in our neighbourhood. We will always pay the price for it. Do not think that we can have a conflict in the north of Africa or the Middle East and Europe can be unaffected since it is outside Europe. We are paying the price for this.

We in this House were convinced that the Syrian war was not our problem. Numerous times we had debates here and people said 'no, let us do nothing; there is no need to help the democratic forces'. Well, we created two things: first of all, the spread of Islamic State and, secondly, a huge refugee crisis.

So, we need to do something. If this debate concludes by merely repeating our point of view it will not be enough. We need a new initiative within the framework of the United Nations to end the bloodshed in Syria, to stop terrorism and to make Syria safe again for the refugees so that later on they can return to their homes." (Annex 10)

In the excerpt, the speaker engages, through a series of *pronouncement* instances, the alternative viewpoint, which is realised by two values, traceable in the imperative '*Do not think that we can have a conflict.... since*

it is outside Europe' in the first paragraph, and more prominent in the quoted speech '*people said 'no, let us do nothing; there is no need to help the democratic forces''*.

The negative imperative in the first paragraph is a dialogically contractive *pronouncement* of the speaker's own position, exposed in the previous propositions realising *pronouncement* values, intensified by the high-degree deontic (cannot) and epistemic (will) modals ('*we cannot look away*', '*we will always pay the price*') and the bare assertion '*we are paying the price for this*'. The negative imperative comes as a further intensified *pronouncement* value, framing the alternative viewpoint represented by '*Europe can be unaffected*' since it (the conflict) is '*outside Europe*'. This is an *entertain* value firmly *denied* by its context of categorical propositions.

In the next paragraph the speaker brings the matter closer to the audience by reproducing, in the dialogical style of the parliamentary debates, the opposition of positions within the '*House*'. In this case the antinomy of *the* two positions is not polarized, but presented as a cause-and-effect correlation, between the actions of the same agent, indicated by the first-person plural '*we*'. The quoted proposition ('*no, let us do nothing; there is no need ...*') is an *entertain* value of the incorrect position, framed by the evaluative *pronouncement* values of the bare assertions '*we were convinced*' and '*we created*', leading to the conclusion, realising the predominant engagement value, the *pronouncement* of '*we need to do something*', repeated further in '*we need a new initiative ...*', by which the speaker proposes the correct action.

VII.1.5. Attitudinal Stance

Explicit Criticism of Hungary and the Council

Throughout the three interventions, some low-degree positive affect is realised towards the refugees and positive judgement of capacity is invited

in the evaluative remark on the Commission taking *'a very important step in May by sharing responsibility'* (Annex 13). While positive attitudinal stance is mainly implicit, embedded into the representational frame of the speaker's own perspective and considered to be self-evident, criticism of participants resulting in a negative attitudinal stance is mainly explicit and unmitigated.

Germany and Hungary are the two member states that are specifically named and singled out as a positive and negative example of compliance with a common legal frame and *'common responsibilities'* or their refusal, respectively. In the case of Germany, positive judgement of capacity is invited during the first intervention (Annex 13) by assertions related to actions undertaken during the crisis, such as accepting *'20 000 refugees in five days'* and the implementation of the common migration policy (*'Like the Americans have a green card, we have a blue card. But the blue card in Europe is the 29th system, on top of the 28 existing systems. It is only Germany that uses this blue card.'*). The assertion that Germany *'accepts responsibility'* by trying to comply with the common regulations the Commission is recommending qualifies it as a country which truly observes the organizational principles of the European Union.

In contrast, Hungary is a few times mentioned as a negative example, with a realisation of negative judgement of propriety, as a member which not only refuses to observe common regulations but displays conduct which goes against the principles of the European Union:

"What Mr Kamall was defending here a few minutes ago is a system of 'pick and choose your strategies'. This amounts to Britain doing it one way, Germany doing it another way and Hungary certainly doing it another way: with a fence and a wall." (Annex 10)

In the first instance, Hungary is mentioned in an enumeration of members, each applying regulations and proposals in accordance to their own individual interest or perception. The context is a broader criticism applied

to the Conservative British MEP's suggestion that member countries should not have to align to the relocation plan and alternative ways to contribute to the effort of dealing with the crisis should exist (see dialogical stance above). The enumeration is performed as a repeated syntactic pattern (*'Britain doing it one way, Germany doing it another way'*), which is interrupted by the negatively intensifying adverb *'certainly'*, signalling Hungary's noncompliance. The addition of *'with a fence and a wall'* flags the negative judgement of propriety as an improper way of dealing with the crisis.

The metaphorical representation of the refugees in the following excerpt flags Hungary's treatment of them as inadequate, further reenforced by explicit lexis:

"Then in Budapest there was the incredible sight of refugees being herded to the train station, treated without any respect. And then we say, 'let them go, let us put some of them on trains so they can go to Austria and to Munich'. And we think the problem is over. This attitude is disgraceful for Europe because it is not the right way to treat refugees." (Annex 10)

The image of refugees *'being herded to the train station'* resorts to the source domain of the animal or natural realm, suggesting the inferior treatment of the category. The source domain is part of the standard range of representing migrants in a dehumanised way (Santa Ana 1999), in this context, realising negative judgement of propriety towards the perpetrators of these actions. The flagged judgement is reenforced by explicit lexis, the speaker describes the sight as *'incredible'*, the treatment as *'without respect'* and evaluates the gesture as *'disgraceful for Europe'* and *'not the right way to treat refugees'*. The negative prefixes (in-, dis-) and the negation of the propositions are values of graduation up-scaling the intensity of the negative judgement and implicitly inviting negative affect through the indignation realised by them.

A further example of the speaker's negative categorically dismissive attitudinal stance towards Hungary is the reference to the situation on the Hungarian border around the time of the September 16 debate. The excerpt realises negative judgement of normality and propriety through the reference to the European Union as a normative entity under which terms Hungary proves to be underperforming:

"Finally, Marielle de Sarnez and Natalie Griesbeck, two of our colleagues, went to the Hungarian border, and I can confirm what Mr Pittella said: that what is happening there is a shame. It is shameful that it is happening in the European Union. The Commission also has a task and a control function on that, and you have to act on Hungary." (Annex 11)

As compared to the previous excerpts, this one includes a direct request of the Commission to sanction Hungary for its shameful treatment of refugees. The negative judgement of normality and propriety is realised by explicit lexis ('shame', 'shameful') and the almost identical repetition of the same syntax ('what is happening there is a shame', 'it is shameful that it is happening ...'). The demand formulated through a value of *pronouncement* realised by the deontic modal 'have to' ('you have to act on Hungary') implicitly amplifies the negative judgement that invites both content of normality, due to its breaching of common standards of humanity self-evidently observed in Europe, and content of propriety, due to the disregard of international human rights standards to which the European Union also aligns.

The Council is the other entity against which the speaker's negative attitude is realised especially in the second and third intervention, when the Council did not reach unanimity in voting the Commission proposals. Considering the speaker's commitment towards a more unified decision-making and legislative frame within the European Union, the Council's cumbersome process of decision-making, consulting the ministers of Foreign Affairs or the leaders of states and governments of 28 member states, is a sign of inefficiency:

“Mr President, we have to tell the truth to the public: the meeting of the ministers of the interior was a failure. We did not reach an agreement even though, in my opinion, it is in fact a topic that could be decided with a qualified majority, and I am very doubtful that on 22 September we are going to get a deal.” (Annex 11)

The excerpt realises an explicit and categorical negative judgement of capacity, by the unmitigated evaluation of the ministers’ meeting as a ‘failure’. The subsequent explanation does not mitigate the evaluation either, it provides a possible solution for the decision-making stasis by values of *pronouncement* (*‘we did not reach an agreement’, ‘I am very doubtful that ...’*) and a value of *entertain* with the possible solution (*‘a topic that could be decided with a qualified majority’*).

The following excerpt has partly been discussed through its engagement values but it is also a sample of negative judgement of capacity, introduced by another attitudinal value, inviting negative affect by the speaker’s expressing his vexation with the Council’s attitude:

Mr President, I would like to say bluntly to Mr Tusk that I am getting more and more fed up with the Council, not with him personally – be assured of that – but with the institution that he represents. (Annex 12)

The categorical *pronouncement* (*‘I am getting more and more fed up with the Council’*) is to a small extent mitigated by the evaluative *‘say bluntly’*, used as to normalize the categorical judgement of the proposition and signal the speaker’s awareness of it. The negative affect expressed invites negative judgement of capacity through the speaker’s subsequent justification:

“I am saying this is because, first of all, it has taken a very long time for an informal summit to be organised – because this crisis did not start a few days or a few weeks ago. Then, what was produced from this summit was a one-page statement. This is all that was produced from an informal summit of the European Council on the most important crisis Europe has faced in the last decade – a refugee crisis such as we have

never seen before. One page: mainly repeating decisions about the 120 000 refugees that have already been taken by the Ministers for the Interior, and then also pledging EUR 1 billion in additional money.”
(Annex 12)

The speaker continues with details that invite the negative judgement of capacity by suggesting that the meeting occurred with unjustified delay (*‘it has taken a very long time to be organized’, ‘this crisis did not start a few days or a few weeks ago’*) and that it did not yield the solution that would have been expected from a leading institution of the European Union. The speaker contrasts the *‘one-page document’* (and repeats it: *‘one page’*) suggesting insignificance, insufficient result, to the large scale of the *‘informal summit of the European Council’* (implying the importance of the institution and the event) and the unusual dimensions of the crisis itself (*‘the most important crisis Europe has faced in the last decade’, ‘a refugee crisis such as we have never seen before’*) in a somewhat exaggerated manner down-scaling and up-scaling the two juxtaposed categories. The comparison invites further negative judgement of capacity, with some added tokens by the actions *‘repeating decisions’* and *‘pledging money’*, both implied as being inessential gestures in this general negative context.

The text continues with a series of rhetorical questions (see discussion above) of which one explicitly states the reason for the speaker’s vexation:

“So I am asking: what is needed? Why was it not possible for this European Council in its summit to decide on the package proposed by the Commission? Parliament has already backed this package. So, what is happening? Why can the European Council not overcome these internal divisions?” (Annex 12)

The questions, in fact, are mitigated accusations aimed at the Council: they did not *‘decide on the package proposed by the Commission’*, even if these proposals had been endorsed by Parliament and they didn’t manage to

reach a consensus (*'could not overcome these internal divisions'*). They explain the speaker's negative affect and invite further judgement of capacity of the Council.

Implicit Positive Attitude towards the Refugees

The speaker's attitude towards the refugees is to a great extent dictated by his general perspective of an integrated leadership in the European Union and any mention of the category of refugees or the issue of migration is subordinated to this idea. Policies related to migration reveal a concern regarding organizational efficiency, such as a centralized migration policy and a common border control agency, as well as vouching for a European intervention in the Syrian war (Annex 11).

These proposed measures are long-term ones, and they are informed by organizational concerns not by the principle of solidarity towards refugees. Related to short-term measures, the category is mentioned when the speaker suggests granting more funds for refugee camps in order to avoid *'a huge flow to Europe again'* (Annex 11) or in connection with the bad treatment applied by Hungary to those who are entering the European Union on its Southern borders.

In the latter case, the speaker's positive attitude towards refugees is not explicitly stated as much as it is invited through pointing out the treatment they are given, which is qualified as *'disgraceful'* or *'a shame'*. The ill-treatment of refugees on the Hungarian border (*'that what is happening there is a shame. It is shameful that it is happening in the European Union'*.) and the train station (*'incredible sight of refugees being herded to the train station, treated without any respect'*) implicitly places them in the category into the victim position and evokes empathy towards them. The attitude described as *'disgraceful for Europe'* or *'it is shameful that it is happening in the European Union'* subordinates the value of solidarity informed by general humanitarian reasons to organizational norms observed in the

European Union. This self-evident rendering, on the other hand, implies some positive judgement of propriety towards the organization where such norms are not considered acceptable.

VII.1.6. Partial Conclusions

Guy Verhofstadt's position on the migration issue is in accordance with a vision aiming a more centralized policy on the part of the European Union, conveying more executive power on a union-level and prescribing member countries to observe a more integrated legislation. Concerning the European Union's migration policy, the speaker is vouching for a blue-card system that would clearly prescribe criteria for granting asylum Europe-wide. At the same time, he proposes a common border control agency that would act on one, common command, as opposed to the present one, which is based on member countries' voluntary participation, or a '*common policy*' for tackling '*the source of the refugee crisis*', namely engaging in the Syrian war and allocating more funds for nations in Africa (Annex 11).

The specific concern of a '*broader*' and '*comprehensive approach*' informs his dialogical stance which he declares in a series of *pronouncements* by directly engaging fellow politicians or formulating his perspective in a series of rhetorical questions, while contrasting it to an *entertained* alternative subsequently denied, usually in a categorical manner. This strategy conveys a particularly expansive dialogic nature to his intervention but it also realises a rather confrontational style as his approach is most of the time unmitigated, realised by repetitions and supported by explicit attitudinal values.

Attitudinal values are realised in the same manner. Negative judgement of *capacity*, *propriety* and some *normality* are present in the texts, very often explicitly, or invited, flagged at times, by a representation evoking negative affect. Such is the representation of Hungary's treatment of refugees, where the negative judgement towards Hungary is associated,

and flagged, by the representation of refugees. This is realised by standard metaphorical rendering of the category as victims, by the source domain of *animals* (*'herded to the train station'*). In addition to the positive affect invited by the metaphor and the negative judgement towards Hungary, the representation implies solidarity and humane treatment of refugees to be a norm of the European Union as organization, which invites positive judgement of propriety.

The low-degree positive judgement of the organization is completed by negative judgement of capacity, in particular reference to the European Council. Negative attitudinal stance is realised often in an unmitigated way, by both inscribed and invoked values, corroborated with negative affect due to the speaker's perspective on the institution as inefficient and slow. This affects the general evaluation of the organization as composed by members and institutions which *'assume responsibility'* and others which do not, resulting in a rather contrastive self-evaluation. Although the idea of threat is not addressed or even mentioned, the organization is presented as in serious need to consider its own efficiency.

FINAL CONCLUSIONS

Due to its rhetorical characteristics, stance combines the possibility of the micro-analysis of discourse, focusing on the localized speech act of an individual, with that of an ideological one, exploring social and ideological patterns of discourse production. It has been stated that stance represents an action which is both personal due to its source, the speaker's subjectivity, and public because it can never be isolated. It is also interactive and modulated in accordance to that interaction, as it is realised in response and anticipation of another's reactions. These characteristics designate stance as the primary discursive tool for individuals to participate in social exchange.

The 2015 migrant crisis represented a complex background due to the political and social impact it generated within the European Union. Firstly, it was a phenomenon of extraordinary proportions which generated public attention and turmoil to match. Secondly, it brought about a political crisis in which the legislative capacity of the European Union was questioned and cultural differences among member countries were renewed. This tension brought about a debate whose purpose was to identify the best solution to contain the phenomenon.

This analysis has relied on Fairclough and Fairclough's (2012 a) pattern for practical argument analysis which establishes value premises as the starting point for the representation of the crisis and the claims that the speaker makes to propose or justify decisions made in order to contain the crisis.

The process of stance-taking has been examined based on a series of texts representing interventions and speeches in the political debate on the possible measures concerning the crisis. The first part of the analyses in each speaker's case traced the representation of the values and that of the circumstances of the migrant crisis. Following this section, the speaker's

addressee has been identified together with the speaker's positioning towards it. The speakers' dialogical stance has been established based on those participants they engaged, their style of engagement and its intensity. Similarly, attitudinal stance has been outlined based on what elements of the situation and what participants have been evaluated, by what resources and what intensity this has been realised.

ANTI- AND PRO-MIGRATIONIST ATTITUDES

The initial criterion for the classification of the speeches has been the speakers' attitude towards migrants, with the general directions of pro-migration, anti-migration and neutral or moderate. These attitudes have been discussed in the public debate on the crisis as the options between the 'open doors' policy, for those in favour of receiving refugees, and those who wished to close down borders altogether. The moderate alternatives for these two extremes included the claim for measures such as selection among the asylum seekers so that those who come from warzones should be given priority, as opposed to people who leave their country for economic reasons (e.g. Western Balkans). Discussions on measures for creating an efficient asylum system in Europe had been undertaken before the crisis.

The results of the analysis indicate that while there is one distinctively oppositional stance concerning the idea of receiving migrants (Antagonistic anti-migrationist), neither of the other speakers favour a categorically 'open door' policy in strict terms of their openness to receiving asylum seekers. It was one of the main findings of the analysis, that the criterion of the anti- or pro-migrationist stance becomes secondary to concerns related to organizational efficiency and legitimacy of action on the part of the leaders of the European institutions. Their focus was directed on the fast and efficient containment of the phenomenon which had upset the regulations and agreements of the European Union, and on

the imperative of representing the European citizens' concerns. In this respect reference to the enthusiastic and humane reception of refugees by locals is often mentioned, but worries are also expressed that the crisis has generated fear on the continent and that it is up to the politicians' responsible actions to alleviate that fear.

The highest degree of pro-migrationist attitude is realised in the Mobilising stance, by attitudinal values. A high degree of positive affect is provoked on one hand, and designating a humane behaviour as a European principle, inviting judgement of propriety, on the other. Considerably high degree of positive attitude is realised in the assertive stance of Principles in action, realising implied personal investment along with an affirmation of capacity as self-presentation. The pro-migrationist Antagonistic stance does not as much contain affirmative attitudes towards the refugees, as it dismisses the other extreme, which is evaluated negatively. Similarly to the stance realising Principles in action, an implicit positive attitude is combined with judgment of capacity towards the organization. In this case, it is a negative judgment directed towards the Council.

SELF-PRESENTATION

Due to the fact that the speakers are representatives of various institutions and public offices, the texts convey a consistent number of values referring to the organization, discussed from the perspective of self-presentation. The evaluations, in these cases are directed towards those members who do not comply with community rules or are phrased in general terms, in the context of discussing values and their scarcity.

In all the speakers' cases, this aspect pertains to the discourse of legitimization and it is closely connected to the representation of values throughout the texts. Both positive and negative self-presentation is realised through the attitudinal values of judgement, of which the most

frequent is capacity (regarding the efficiency of the organization), with some propriety (pertaining to the morality of the actions) and occasional tenacity (pursuing one's goals).

These values are associated with more or less intensified oppositions towards other participants, with the sharpest realisations occurring in the Antagonistic stances. In the case of the anti-migrationist stance the opposed participant is the 'short-sighted' Europe with its 'leftist' policy, while in the case of the pro-migrationist stance, the negative counterparts are Hungary, whose treatment of refugees is a 'shame' for the European Union, and the European Council, which is unable to carry out the solidarity principle-oriented politics of the European Union.

In the case of the moderate stances, it pertains to the speakers' focus on reestablishing unity that self-presentation is realised in a manner that seeks to tone down the extreme manifestations and establish an achievable common policy among the members. In the Mobilizing stance values of *entertain* acknowledge the existence of various perspectives within the organization and, even if negative values exist, these are usually mitigated in some manner. In other cases, a dismissive attitude is formulated generally, aiming the negative conduct, without naming an addressee (e.g. Principles in action, Mobilizing stance).

The self-reflective stance represents a special example, as the thoughts conveyed by the speaker convey, in fact, a characterization of Europe through its leaders and its political actions. The main tenet of this stance is the value of responsibility the importance of which is forcefully proclaimed. In this case, although the general tone is a pensive one, the speaker explicitly names his targets when illustrating irresponsible behaviour. Still, his stance does not become antagonistic, as he establishes responsibility as a general moral value to be followed by all politicians.

GRADUATION

A relevant aspect differentiating the individual stances in terms of moderacy pertains to the values realised by the intensification or mitigation of other interpersonal values. The two antagonistic stances representing the extreme values of the spectrum contain the highest degrees of intensification while mitigation occurs with the stances positioned in the mid-range of the dialogic and attitudinal scale. The role of the mitigating devices is associated with the speakers' focus on identifying workable solutions for containing the crisis and is supported by an awareness that the debate is taking place among the members of the same community.

However, intensifications occur often, even in the case of the moderate speakers. In typical cases, graduation has the role of adding personal investment to the proclaim values which often occur. In the case of the Mobilizing stance, for instance, the speakers seek to emphasize the importance of the proclaimed values for the organization and the community by intensified values of proclaim and affect. In other cases, as in Principles in action, intensification serves as a reinforcement of the speaker's dismissal of the conducts that go against the interests and goals of the organization (negative imperative).

VALUES AND REPRESENTATIONAL FRAME

In terms of the type of value represented through the solidarity and responsibility principles, the conclusion is that, in most cases, speakers combine a moral perspective and a pragmatic one. This aspect is due to issues of legitimisation. For the European Union, as for any government or institution, the elements of legitimacy imply the combination of characteristics that pertain to efficiency, and, implicitly, the ability to

pursue the interests of its citizens and those that apply universal moral values: acting on behalf of its citizens and pursuing values consistent with the moral order.

In the case of the European Union, the combination of these two is especially important, as values of solidarity and responsibility represent principles pursued by the founders of the organization after the second World War, and efficient representation of citizens is a fundamental act of governance in the present. Solidarity and responsibility are both predominantly moral categories in the case of the mobilizing stance, for instance, with the speakers emphasizing the necessity to act within the parameters of humanity and human dignity, as well as the coordinates of a community of values, in addition to the community of states that the European union is formed by.

Generally speaking, the European Union is defined on two levels from the perspective of the discussed values, one pertaining to its dimension as a political and economic community with its capacity to materially handle the crisis (finances, material assets, member countries helping each other), and one in which Europe is defined as a community of values, of solidarity towards those in need, in the present case the refugees.

The Self-reflective stance reiterates these premises, with the difference that the two values are first of all connected to mutual solidarity, among the member countries, in order to be able to keep up a common effort to help others (we need to help ourselves first in order to help others). Here it is mainly a moral category, because by maintaining a high level of mutual solidarity, the European Union can demonstrate its influence, live up to its good name by helping others. However, keeping this union intact is imperative and it requires a responsible conduct of both pro and anti migrationists. with both refraining from extreme gestures. (*'political machos', 'radical, extreme politics'*)

In the case of Principles in action, the morality of the gesture of helping those in need is implied, with some personal reflection on the personal satisfaction this brings. The main content of solidarity and responsibility pertains to efficiency, however, with both speakers focussing on the actions that have been undertaken as a means of applying the European principles in the concrete situation of international politics. This mixed content is discursively materialized as credibility, the ultimate legitimizing principle, implying the capacity of the organization to consistently reproduce a trademark policy which allows it to be acknowledged by international partners.

In the case of the Anti-migrationist Antagonistic stance the values of solidarity and responsibility are given an alternative definition through an alternative representational frame. In the speaker's narrative, it is the European Union that is applying an irresponsible politics by accepting migrants without a plan to cater for them. The moral aspect of the two values stands in member states helping each other and responsibly preserving the achievements of the organization this far, which are not endangered by the acceptance policy. This stance is antagonistic because it sharply positions itself against the official policy of the European Union. In the case of the Anti-migrationist Antagonistic stance the values of solidarity and responsibility are implied by a criticism of the opposite position which is qualified as incorrect. At the same time, the speaker provides a self-presentation which is consistent with a responsible policy towards migrants (strictly controlling their access into the European union). The Pro-migrationist Antagonistic stance states a similar definition in negative terms, this time against those who do not comply with migration-tolerant policy of acceptance.

In the context of the crisis, the organization is presented as lacking those values that represent its principles. Quoting J. C. Juncker's pun, the general concern in these texts is that *'there is a lack of Union in this*

European Union’, a lack of solidarity among the member states. Indeed, this scarcity of values represents another level of crisis for the speakers. Beyond the reference to the extraordinary events of migrants or refugees seeking asylum in Europe and the need to bring efficient solutions, speakers refer to a ‘community of values’ (Mobilising stance) which has come under threat.

Accordingly, the crisis is described concretely as a series of extraordinary events which need to be controlled by increasing efficiency in the organization by way of solidarity between member states by demonstrating moral and humane conduct towards the refugees. Lack or deficiency in demonstrating these attitudes represents a threat to values, and the community they stand for.

The values are often explicitly named: solidarity, responsibility and unity. In the case of the assertive stance representing European principles in action, the additional value of credibility is named. Their representation as scarce is attributed to negative attitudes by other participants within the organization. Speakers issue warnings related to these participants, dismiss these negative attitudes (attitudinal stance) and formulate solutions that may counter the negative effects (see dialogical stance)

The threat and the challenge associated with the state of scarce values is often represented metaphorically as a test (crash test – Principles in action; bank test – Self-reflexive stance; test- Mobilising stance). It is generally seen as a challenge intensified by the circumstances presented as extraordinary ones requiring the maximum endorsement of the immediate audience (members of the Parliament), and the organization through all its institutions (the European Union). At times the necessity of this maximum degree of commitment is combined with the idea of high urgency as well (e.g. ‘winter is coming’ – Mobilising stance). The specification that the response to the threat must happen in accordance with European principles is a further common aspect of all speakers.

The difference in representation which generates the distinction in the dialogical and attitudinal stance as well, is provided by the nature of the threat to the values and the existence of the community. Representatives of the European institutions designate lack of unity (e.g. 'finger-pointing' – Mobilising stance), short-term solutions as opposed to a responsible politics of taking slower steps towards a more comprehensive and enduring solution (Mobilising stance). A subcategory of this representation is that of the warning issued regarding the short-lived positive affect of solidarity which may soon end, emphasizing the need for solutions that have a lasting, sustainable effect (Principles in action).

The threat of 'radical and ruthless leadership' is given as warning by the representatives of the European institutions (Self-reflexive stance) for politicians to increase responsibility in their governance. Raising fear is named as a feature of irresponsibility on the part of those politicians who pursue short term success (Mobilising stance), with leaders of European institutions (Mobilising and self-reflexive stances) implicitly referring to the risky politics of the right (and probably making a reference to the Hungarian prime minister). Fear is mentioned by Donald Tusk (self-reflexive stance) in the context of Europe losing its external borders and its consequence of old borders reappearing. In this sense, his discourse approaches, in a moderate way, that of the representatives of the Visegrad Four, claiming Schengen as a value in itself due to the freedom it provides to former countries of the Communist bloc.

The most striking difference of representation is traceable in the anti-migrationist Antagonistic stance where a parallel narrative is conveyed to that of the leaders of the European institutions. The phenomenon is described as mass migration and the term '*economic migrant*' is to categorize the asylum seekers. No quotable mention of the values of solidarity and responsibility occurs in his speech. However, their lack is implied by the description of '*Brussels' politics*' as '*short-sighted policy*' and

his statement that the Hungarian government needs to perform above its strength 'by 'fighting a battle on two fronts'. The specificity of the value of responsibility is indicated by defining the solutions of the Hungarian government as '*logical*', '*dictated by common sense*'. It pertains to his perception of solidarity as a partnership of reciprocal trust between sovereign countries based on historical ties that he names 'nation states' as forced to defend themselves against the threat of migration as a result of the lack of a suitable European policy. As a representative of the Visegrad Four, the Hungarian Prime Minister names Schengen as an '*achievement*' of the European Union, the implied value of which has to be protected against the threat of migration and Brussels' policy.

SPEAKERS' POSITIONING AND WHO IS ADDRESSED

The speakers' self-reference is predominantly realised by a collective first-person plural indicating reference to a community the speaker considers him/herself to be part of. Speakers most frequently index their immediate audience (members of the European Parliament) through the pronoun 'we', as fellow contributors to the process of governance and as members of the European institutions. In these cases, they are addressed as a group constituting the organization, but at times, as in the case of the self-reflective stance, each individual is invited to undertake the gesture of self-scrutiny, necessary for a responsible political conduct.

A more general reference signals their part of the wider community of Europe, indicated as a 'community of values', or contextually implied as the member countries and their citizens. It must be noted, that these debates are mediatized, and accessible for the public on dedicated sites, therefore, a constant contact with the wider public is, at times, assumed by the speakers.

As leader of the Hungarian government, Viktor Orbán's plural first-person is used both for indexing his membership of the Hungarian government as well as his belonging to the European community. At the same time, however, 'Brussels', or at times, 'Europe' is also designated as an oppositional 'they', signalling his antagonistic position (Antagonistic, anti-migrationist stance).

DIALOGICAL STANCE

The two types of stances, dialogical and attitudinal, realised in these texts complement and support each other. In this section, typical engagement types are discussed, which represent specific aspects for the identified stances.

From the perspective of dialogical stance, the common aspect of all speakers is the predominance of the *proclaim value* in all of the analysed texts. This characteristic results from the argumentative and exhortatory nature of the texts. In these conditions, the difference in the speakers' dialogical stance is not realised in the type of engagement used but, in its graduation, (intensity/mitigation) and the participant it is directed towards.

Bare assertions are another frequently employed type of engagement. One example is the anti-migratonist antagonistic stance. An intensified opposition is present in this text against the European politics represented by 'Brussels' and 'the European left'. In this context, the role of the frequently used categorical assertions is to exclude the validity of the other alternatives. In this one instance, it is associated with disclaim: deny values sharply dismissing the validity of the 'open door' policy. Concomitantly, the proclaim: pronounce values realise a high degree of investment on the part of the speaker and his perspective.

Bare assertions are also present in the stances manifesting Principles in action where policies and plans are presented in a clearly structured, factual way. In fact, Commissioner Avramopoulos' text realises the most monoglossic engagement style of all the speeches. In this example, bare assertions convey the assertiveness and the practical nature of the implementation plan, and no oppositions are tackled.

The speaker's personal style in the Antagonistic pro-migrationist stance is to directly approach his chosen addressees allowing a high degree of vocative character to his dialogical stance, which does not necessarily cause it to become antagonistic. It seems to be the opposite of bare assertions, which do not acknowledge partners for a dialogue. Values of entertain are also used when formulating solutions or discussing alternatives. His stance becomes antagonistic due to realisations of attitude associated with pronouncement values of high personal investment.

Disclaim: deny values tackle opposing perspectives which the speaker categorically dismisses. Such is the stance of the Principles in action, where unsuitable attitudes are criticized. In this case, the *dismiss values* are associated with bare assertions, and *proclaim values*, rendering the speaker's position. Opposition is realised towards irresponsible policies generically called 'short term solutions' and demonstrations of affect instead of rational conduct. As the opposition is not aimed at particular participants, it qualifies as the speaker's alignment with organizational policy.

Values of entertain are present in the Mobilizing stance, where their role is to admit validity to all perspectives manifested within the Union. However, these dialogically expansive values are associated with intensified proclaim values pronouncing a high degree commitment on the speakers' part. Entertain is also used in situations when speakers deny the opposite position, as it occurs in the pro-migrationist antagonistic stance.

ATTITUDINAL STANCE

As all speakers are official representatives of some type of political entity, self-reference realises evaluation of the institution or government represented. In the case of the institutional representatives, self-evaluation (evaluation of the organization) is generally realised through judgement of capacity, positive or negative, depending on the value of the assessment. As the topic of the interventions is mainly the lack of solidarity, responsibility or unity within the organisation, this evaluation is mostly negative. However, it is usually combined with an exhortatory action towards improving the negative state which is presented as temporary. Due to their mobilizing nature, the attitudinal stances of the speakers of the Mobilizing stance realise the most positive judgement of capacity pertaining to the organisation. Further values of judgement include propriety, since the moral aspect of European action and solutions is implied. Self-evaluation of the Hungarian government is realised in Viktor Orbán's speech as positive judgement of capacity.

Negative judgement towards oppositional perspectives is identified in the antagonistic stances of the corpus. Guy Verhofstadt's interventions illustrate a high degree of unmitigated negative judgement of propriety towards Hungary and the European Council and Viktor Orbán's speech contains negative judgement of capacity on the European perspective on the migration policy. Negative judgement of capacity is invited in Frans Timmermans' intervention (Annex 5) towards those who use fear to reach political goals.

Attitudinal stance towards migrants is realised through *values of affect*. A positive attitude is implied in all declarations (excepting for the anti-migrationist stance) related to the migrants, with some invited positive affect realised in their evaluation as victims when discussing policies or representing them as '*fleeing*' for their lives, from conflict and

persecution. In this perspective, the most prominent difference between stances is realised between the polarized values of high intensity empathy (Mobilizing stance) and high intensity fear (anti-migrationist Antagonistic).

The representational strategy of proximization is used in both cases and is realised through metonymy in the first case and metaphor in the second. The parallel representation by metonymy allows a juxtaposition of the Europeans' historical experience with that of the refugees and invites empathy due to the similar experience. In the case of the metaphorical representation, however, the effect of proximization, by representation in a siege scenario of the migrants as a formidable army approaching Europe, provokes fear. As opposed to the two realisations of affect, Donald Tusk's tackling of the phenomenon of fear in European society demonstrates caution and invites self-scrutiny.

AFTERWORD

The limitations of this analysis are first of all linguistic, meaning that the only linguistically accessible texts for me were those in English and Hungarian., which excluded the possibility of analysing other speeches delivered in French or German. Although various translation programmes are available nowadays, the qualitative analysis of interpersonal resources is impossible to undertake without a high proficiency in the language they were worded in. As it has been stated, interpersonal resources are realised prosodically throughout the text and the identification of implicit resources requires inference and deduction, therefore, impossible to realise without linguistic proficiency.

A further limitation originates from this characteristic: the need for inference and deduction requires insight which can be highly subjective, as the researcher relies on their own individual set of 'member's resources'.

Given the nature of the present research, one that stems from a representation of values and interpersonal resources that realise them, interpretation can be subjective, even with the use of reliable research tools. As Martin and White (2005) admit themselves, a delimitation between affect and its 'institutionalised' version of judgement can only happen in a localized way, through a close reading of the text, which throws one back to the issue of subjectivity.

Possible further research pertains both to formal realisations of stance and to CDA informed analysis into the legitimation strategies European governance is using in order to impose its perspective in an international context. All the more so, as further political challenges have constantly eroded the credibility of the European Union since the migrant crisis. As a result, extreme alternative narratives have resulted which continue to challenge people's perception. It seems like Viktor Orban's strategy analysed in this study has gained extraordinary popularity (Antagonistic anti-migrationist stance) and Donald Tusk's warning (Self-reflective stance) against 'political machos' and the urge to practice responsible politics and governance has never been more relevant. While political discourse realised through rather extreme interpersonal or ideational resources has gained ground in the global political arena in the last few years, perhaps, a more important task may be the exploration of what remains a responsible and transparent attitude in the language our (or their) politicians use.

As for Europe and the migrant question, we may still wonder whether politicians have been able to observe the humanitarian aspects of the values of solidarity and responsibility or it merely served as a discursive strategy to maintain legitimacy for the organization. Critics have been accusing European leadership of applying a double standard in its dealings with international partners based on the lofty standards of international human rights it claims to be following. The reality, according to these

critics, seems to be that Europe is merely using these standards to impose itself as a moral arbitrator in international dealings but in reality, is unable itself to apply them in its own back yard⁸⁸. Europe has established stricter asylum policies and a higher degree of border control not only as a reaction to right-wing pressure but also as a response to general, safety-related public concerns. 'Fortress Europe' is making its way back into public consciousness⁸⁹ not only as a result of migration-related issues but also as a consequence of political and economical concerns around the world.

If we review the events that have happened since 2015, and the discourse they have generated, the image of the migrant/refugee seems to be a milder embodiment of our fears and anxieties. The results of elections throughout the world (and Europe), the war in Ukraine and its ramifications of hybrid warfare have unfortunately proven that enemies can be as varied as our imagination allows and fortresses can be built or attacked from within.

⁸⁸ <https://www.theguardian.com/world/commentisfree/2023/feb/15/eu-far-right-migration-fortress-europe>

⁸⁹ <https://www.euractiv.com/section/global-europe/opinion/the-brief-fortress-europe/>

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ANNEX 1 –

J.C. JUNCKER, President of the European Commission – September 9
Verbatim report of proceedings – Contents - Wednesday, 9 September 2015
(europa.eu)

Mr President, Ladies and Gentlemen, whatever work programmes or legislative agendas say, the first priority today is, and must be, addressing the refugee crisis.

Since the beginning of the year, nearly 500 000 people have made their way to Europe. The vast majority of them are fleeing from Syria, the terror of Islamic State in Libya or dictatorship in Eritrea. The most affected Member States are Greece, with over 200 000 refugees, Hungary, with more or less 150 000, and Italy, with 120 000.

The numbers are impressive. For some they are frightening. But now is not the time to take fright. It is time for bold, determined and concerted action by the European Union, by its Member States and by its institutions.
(Applause)

We are all Europeans here –

(A UKIP Member: 'No!')

OK, I note that you think that you are not Europeans, well said, but not well done

This is not a time to take fright. It is a time of humanity and of human dignity. We Europeans – all of us, I thought before the interruption – should remember well that Europe is a continent where nearly everyone has at one time been a refugee. Our common history is marked by millions of Europeans fleeing from religious or political persecution, from war, dictatorship, or oppression: Huguenots fleeing from France in the 17th century; Jews, Sinti, Roma and many others fleeing from Germany during the Nazi horror of the 1930s and 1940s; Spanish republicans fleeing to refugee camps in southern France at the end of the 1930s after their defeat in the Civil War; Hungarian revolutionaries fleeing to Austria and

elsewhere – everywhere in Europe – after their uprising against Communist rule was suppressed by Soviet tanks in 1956; and Czech and Slovak citizens seeking exile in other countries – including mine – after the oppression of the Prague Spring in 1968. Hundreds of thousands were forced to flee from their homes after, and during, the Yugoslav wars. That was by the end of the last century – not centuries ago but by the end of the last century – in the last decade of the 20th century.

Have we forgotten that there is a reason there are more McDonalds living in the United States than the entire population of Scotland? That there is a reason the number of O’Neills and Murphys in the U.S. exceeds by far those living in Ireland?

Have we forgotten that 20 million people of Polish ancestry live outside Poland, as a result of political and economic emigration after the many border shifts, forced expulsions and resettlements during Poland’s so often painful history?

Have we really forgotten that after the devastation of the Second World War, 60 million people were refugees in Europe? That, as a result of this terrible European experience, a global protection regime – the 1951 Geneva Convention on the status of refugees – was established to grant refuge to those who jumped the walls in Europe to escape from war and totalitarian oppression?

We Europeans should know, and should never forget, why giving refuge and complying with the fundamental right to asylum is so important. The fundamental right to asylum is one of the most important international and European values. We should not forget that.

(Applause)

I have said in this House and elsewhere in the past that we are too seldom proud of our European heritage and our European project. Yes, in spite of our fragility, of our weaknesses – our self-perceived weaknesses – today it is Europe that is sought worldwide as a place of refuge and exile. It is Europe today that represents a place of hope, a haven of stability in the

eyes of women and men in the Middle East and in Africa. This is something – I have to say this here – to be proud of and not something to fear.

(Applause)

Europe today, in spite of many differences amongst the Member States, is by far the wealthiest place and the most stable continent in the world. Those who are criticising Europe – European integration, the European construction, the European Union – have to admit that this is the place of peace and that this is the place of stability and we should be proud of this. We have the means to help those fleeing from war, terror and oppression.

I know that many now will want to say that this is all very well, but Europe cannot take everybody. It is true that Europe cannot house all the misery of the world. But let us be honest and put things into perspective. There are certainly a large and unprecedented number of refugees coming to Europe at the moment. However, they still represent just 0.11% of the total European Union population. In Lebanon, by comparison, refugees represent 25% of the population in a country which has only one fifth of the wealth we enjoy in the European Union. Who are we that we never make this kind of comparison? Who are we?

(Applause)

Let us be clear and honest with our citizens, who are often worried: as long as there is war in Syria and terror in Libya, the refugee crisis will not simply go away. We can build walls, we can build fences, but imagine – without being demagogic – imagine for a second if it were you, your child in your arms, the world you knew torn apart around you, there is no price you would not pay, there is no wall you would not climb, no sea you would not sail, no border you would not cross if it is a war of barbarism and the so-called Islamic State that you are fleeing. We are fighting against Islamic State. Why are we not ready to accept those who are fleeing Islamic State? We have to accept these people on European territory.

(Applause)

It is high time to act to manage the refugee crisis because there is no alternative to this. There has been a lot of finger-pointing in the past weeks. Member States have accused each other of not doing enough or doing the wrong thing and, more often than not, fingers have been pointed from national capitals towards Brussels. Brussels is always accused if Member States are failing. If Member States are not doing their job, Brussels, the Commission, the European Parliament, are accused of not doing their job. *(Applause)*

We could all – not all, but the majority of this House, myself and my Commission – be angry about this blame game. But I wonder who that would serve. Being angry does not help anyone. Blaming others does not help the refugees and the migrants, and the attempt to blame others is often just assign that politicians, policy-makers, sometimes lawmakers, are overwhelmed by unexpected events.

Instead, we should rather recall what has been agreed that can help in the current situation. It is time to look at what is on the table and move swiftly forward. We are not starting anew. Since the early years of this century, the Commission – not mine, the Commission of José Manuel Barroso – has persistently tabled legislation after legislation to build a common European asylum system, and Parliament and the Council have enacted this legislation, piece by piece. The last piece of legislation entered into force only in July 2015, two months ago.

Across Europe we now have common standards for the way we receive asylum seekers, in respect of their dignity, for the way we process their asylum applications, and we have common criteria which our independent justice systems use to determine whether someone is entitled to international protection. But these standards need to be implemented entirely and respected everywhere in Europe in practice. This is clearly not the case.

Before the summer – not after the summer, but before the summer – the Commission started the first series of 32 infringement proceedings to

remind Member States of what they had previously agreed to do. That is a matter of credibility. We are legislating and we are not implementing. It is a matter of credibility that Member States implement and respect commonly agreed international and European laws.

(Applause)

A second series of infringement proceedings will follow in the days to come. Common asylum standards are important but they are not enough to cope with the current refugee crisis. The Commission, Parliament and the Council said in the spring that we need a comprehensive European Agenda on Migration. We proposed this as a Commission in May, and it would be unfair to say that nothing has happened since then.

We have tripled our presence at sea. 122 000 lives have been saved since then. Every life lost is one too many, but many more have been rescued that would have been lost otherwise – an increase of 250%. We should be proud of that performance. Twenty-nine Member States and Schengen-associated countries are participating in the joint operations coordinated by Frontex in Italy, Greece and Hungary: 102 guest officers from 20 countries; 31 ships; three helicopters; four fixed-wing aircraft; eight patrol cars, six thermos-vision vehicles and four transport vehicles. This is a first measure of European solidarity in action, even though more will have to be done.

We have redoubled our efforts to tackle smugglers and dismantle human trafficker groups. Cheap ships are now harder to come by, leading to less people putting their lives in peril in unseaworthy boats. As a result, the Central Mediterranean route has stabilised at around 115 000 arriving during the month of August, the same as last year. We now need to achieve a similar stabilisation of the Balkan route, which has clearly been neglected by all policymakers.

The European Union is also the number one donor in the global efforts to alleviate the Syrian refugee crisis. Around EUR 4 billion have been mobilised by the Commission – that means by Parliament too – and

Member States in humanitarian, development, economic and stabilisation assistance to Syrians in their country and to refugees and their host communities in neighbouring Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq, Turkey and Egypt. Indeed, just today we launched two new projects to provide schooling and food security to 240 000 Syrian refugees in Turkey and, by the way, I would like to applaud the efforts of Jordan, of Turkey and of Lebanon.

(Applause)

These countries, far poorer than we are, are making efforts we should applaud and recognise in moral and in financial terms. We have collectively committed to resettling over 22 000 people from outside Europe over the next year, showing solidarity with our neighbours. Of course, this remains very modest – too modest – by comparison to the Herculean efforts undertaken by Turkey, Jordan and Lebanon who are hosting over four million Syrian refugees, but I am encouraged that some Member States are now showing their willingness to significantly step up our European resettlement efforts. This will allow us very soon to come forward with a structured system to pool European resettlement efforts more systematically. It has to be done and it will be done.

Where Europe has clearly under-delivered is on common solidarity with regard to the refugees who have arrived on our territory. To me, it is clear that the Member States where most refugees first arrive – at the moment, these are Italy, Greece and Hungary – cannot be left alone to cope with this enormous challenge.

(Applause)

This is why the Commission already proposed an emergency mechanism in May – not now, back in May – to relocate initially 40 000 people seeking international protection from Italy and Greece. This is why today we are proposing a second emergency mechanism to relocate a further 120 000 people from Italy, Greece and Hungary. This has to be done in a compulsory way.

(Applause)

I call on Member States to adopt the Commission proposals on the emergency relocation of altogether 160 000 refugees at the Council of Interior Ministers on 14 September. We are not talking about 40 000, not 120 000, we are talking about 160 000. That is the number Europeans have to take in charge and have to take in their arms, and I really hope that this time everyone will be on board. No poems, no rhetoric, action is what is needed for the time being.

(Applause)

What is happening to human beings – we are talking human beings; we are not talking about numbers – coming from Syria and Libya today could easily be the case in Ukraine tomorrow. Are we making selections? Are we distinguishing between Christians, Jews, Muslims? This continent has had a bad experience of drawing distinctions on the basis of religious criteria. There is no religion, no belief, no philosophy when it comes to refugees and to those we let in.

(Applause)

Winter is approaching. Do we really want to have families sleeping in railway stations in Budapest and elsewhere, in cold tents during the night, or on shores on Kos? We are in charge of the winter period for those who have to flee their countries for the reasons I have mentioned.

Of course, relocation alone will not solve the issue. It is true that we also need to separate better those who are in clear need of international protection and are therefore very likely to apply for asylum successfully, and those who are leaving their country for other reasons which do not fall under the right of asylum. This is why today the Commission is proposing a common EU list of safe countries of origin. This list will enable Member States to fast-track asylum procedures for nationals of countries that are presumed safe to live in. The presumption of safety must, in our view, certainly apply to all countries which the European Council unanimously decided meet the basic Copenhagen criteria for EU membership – notably as regards democracy, the rule of law, and fundamental rights. It should

also apply to other potential candidate countries in the Western Balkans, in view of their progress made towards candidate status.

I am aware that the list of safe countries is only a procedural simplification. It cannot take away – and I would act strongly against that – the fundamental right of asylum for asylum seekers coming from Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Kosovo, Montenegro, Serbia, and Turkey. But it allows national authorities to focus on those refugees who are much more likely to be granted asylum, notably those from Syria. And this focus is very much needed in the current situation. A list of safe countries does not take away asylum rights from those people coming from the countries listed. That is important. We are not neutralising the Geneva Convention. Asylum is a right.

(Applause)

The countries on the list of safe countries have to know that, if they are taken off this list because fundamental rights are not ensured in these countries, they are losing their chance to join the European Union. These two things go together. Safe list, yes, but it is time we prepared a more fundamental change in the way we deal with asylum applications, and notably the Dublin system that requires that asylum applications be dealt with by the first country of entry.

We need more Europe in our asylum policy. We need more Union in our refugee policy. A true European refugee and asylum policy requires solidarity to be permanently anchored in our policy approach and our rules. This is why, today, the Commission is also proposing a permanent relocation mechanism, which will allow us to deal with crisis situations more swiftly in the future. That means more swiftly than in the past.

A common refugee and asylum policy requires further approximation of asylum policies after refugee status is granted. Member States need to take a second look at their support, integration and inclusion policies. The Commission is ready to look into how EU funds can support these efforts,

and I am strongly in favour of allowing asylum seekers to work and earn their own money whilst their applications are being processed.

(Applause)

Labour, work, being in a job, is a matter of dignity. Those who are working are finding again the dignity they had before they left and so we should do everything to change our national legislation in order to allow refugees and migrants to work from day one of their arrival in Europe.

A united refugee and asylum policy also requires stronger joint efforts to secure our external borders. Fortunately, in the European Union we have given up border controls between the Member States of the Schengen area to guarantee free movement of people, a unique symbol of European integration and this Schengen system will not be abolished under the mandate of this Commission.

(Applause)

But the other side of the coin to free movement is that we must work together more closely to manage our external borders. This is what our citizens expect. The Commission said it back in May, and I said it during the election campaign, together with Martin, together with Guy and with...

(Suggestions from the Floor)

...no, no, I am not pointing at Mrs Keller; I was just thinking of Mr Tsipras. I am not confusing the two!

José Bové est là? Oui, je l'ai vu tout à l'heure. Salut José!

We need to strengthen Frontex significantly and develop it into a fully operational European Border and Coast Guard system. That is certainly feasible, but it will cost money. The Commission believes that this is money well invested. This is why we will propose ambitious steps towards a European Border and Coast Guard before the end of this year.

A truly united, European migration policy also means that we need to look into opening legal channels for migration. But let us be clear: this will not help in addressing the refugee crisis we are currently in. But if there are more, safe, controlled roads opened to Europe, we can manage migration

better and make the illegal work of human traffickers less attractive. Let us not forget that we are an ageing continent in demographic decline. We will be needing talents, talents coming from everywhere in the world. Over time migration must change from a problem to be tackled to a well-managed resource. To this end, the Commission will come forward with a well—designed legal migration package in early 2016. This is highly important. Migration has to be legalised. It is not sufficient to protest against illegal immigration. We have to organise legal ways to Europe.

(Applause)

A lasting solution will only come if we address the root causes, the reasons why we are currently facing this major refugee crisis. Our European foreign policy must be more assertive. We can no longer afford to be ignorant or disunited with regard to war or instability right in our neighbourhood. We have to find a solution. Maybe we are too weak to achieve a solution to the Libyan problem. We have to address the Syrian crisis in a more solution-oriented way. I call for a European diplomatic offensive to address the crises in Syria and Libya. We need a stronger Europe when it comes to foreign policy. I am very glad that Federica Mogherini, our highly determined High Representative – she is High Representative because she is highly determined– has prepared the ground for such an initiative with her diplomatic success in the Iran nuclear talks, and I would like to congratulate Federica on that extraordinary performance.

(Applause)

In order to facilitate the work of our High Representative, Federica, the Commission is today proposing to establish an emergency Trust Fund, starting with EUR 1.8 billion from our common EU financial means to address the crises in the Sahel and Lake Chad regions, the Horn of Africa, and the North of Africa. We want to help create lasting stability, for instance by creating employment opportunities in local communities, and thereby addressing the root causes of destabilisation, forced displacement and illegal

migration. I expect all EU Member States to pitch in and match our ambitions. We need this emergency Trust Fund in order to prevent future crises.

(Applause)

And we need higher development aid budgets. I do not like the expression development aid – cooperation budgets. It is abnormal that Member States of the European Union are reducing their budgetary efforts when it comes to development aid. They have to be increased.

(Applause)

I do not want to create any illusions that the refugee crisis will be over any time soon. It will not and we have to be aware of that. But pushing back boats from piers, setting fire to refugee camps, or turning a blind eye to poor and helpless people: that is not Europe.

(Applause)

Europe is the baker in Kos who gives away his bread to hungry and weary souls. Europe is the students in Munich and in Passau who bring clothes for the new arrivals at the train station. Europe is those standing at the Munich railway station applauding and welcoming refugees.

(Applause)

The Europe I want to live in is illustrated by those who are helping. The Europe I do not want to live in is a Europe refusing those who are in need.

The crisis is stark and the journey, of course, is still long. I am counting on you, in this House – in the House of European democracy – and on all Member States to show European courage going forward, in line with our common values and history.

ANNEX 2

Donald TUSK, President of the European Council, October 6,
(first intervention)

Verbatim report of proceedings - Conclusions of the informal European Council of 23 September 2015 (debate) - Tuesday, 6 October 2015 (europa.eu)

Donald Tusk, *President of the European Council*.

– Mr President, the real test for any community comes at a time of crisis. Just as we check our banks using stress tests, today life itself is using a dramatic migration stress test to check our community. And that is what the last European Council was about. You know its results. Allow me then to share a more general thought with you, especially as, in 10 days' time, the next European Council will be dealing with the same problem.

Historical changes and threats on a large scale demand a sense of dignity and self-belief from every community, particularly now, when the whole world is focusing its attention on Europe and on its reaction to the wave of refugees. Europe is subject to increasingly scathing criticism, and our internal disagreements and mutual recriminations only help our opponents. Almost everyone in Europe has joined the chorus of critics, while very few defend its good name. In the United Nations, one could have the impression that Europe is the worst place in the world for refugees. Believe me, I felt isolated there when I defended Europe's good reputation, trying to convince the audience that the truth about Europe is completely different.

Hundreds of thousands of refugees go to Europe because they know that our community is still the most open and tolerant of all. It is still we who respect international standards and conventions, and it is Europe where people – all people – are safer than anywhere else. Let us not let Europe become a scapegoat as a result of our quarrelling and blaming each

other without restraint. Otherwise, before long, theocracies will start to lecture us on what religious tolerance means; dictators will tell us what democracy means; and those responsible for this massive exodus will tell us how to treat refugees. In fact, they are already doing this. There are countries which admit virtually no refugees but which are most vocal when it comes to urging Europe to show more openness. That is why we have to take care of our good name –together.

We keep talking about solidarity, about quotas and greater assistance for refugees on our soil, and for those who remain in camps in countries outside the EU. Let us remember, however, that solidarity requires mutual understanding and respect. Without solidarity among Member States, we will not be able to help others. It is our common obligation to assist refugees as well as to protect the EU's external borders. Everyone must take up this obligation and at the same time, no one should be left alone with the burden. That is how I understand solidarity.

We have to respect commonly agreed rules. When someone says that they have no intention of observing European law, for example the Dublin Regulation or quotas, they undermine the essence of solidarity and our community. Observing rules will always mean sacrificing part of our interests. I would like to dedicate these words to the Hungarians and the Italians, to the Slovaks and the Greeks.

Let us have no illusions. Today, we have to count mainly on ourselves. The world around us does not intend to help Europe. Many of our neighbours have much bigger problems to tackle, and some look with satisfaction at our troubles. For us, refugees are specific people – individuals who expect our help. There are forces around us, however, for whom the wave of refugees is just dirty business or a political bargaining chip. We are slowly witnessing the birth of a new form of political pressure, and some even call it a kind of new hybrid war in which migratory waves have become a tool, a weapon against neighbours. This requires particular sensitivity and responsibility on our side.

Dear colleagues, you all know the notion of ethics of responsibility from the works of Weber – not Manfred but Max Weber. Today, the ethics of responsibility requires us to refrain from extremes. And by extremes, I mean both, on the one hand, anti-immigration rhetoric and, on the other, inviting everyone who wishes to come, despite being unable to take them under our roof. We need to understand that today millions of potential refugees and migrants – not only from Syria but also from Africa, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq and other places – are dreaming about Europe. For all refugees, easy access to Europe and lack of external borders have become, alongside the *Willkommen-Politik*, a magnet attracting them to us.

During my visits to the region, whoever I spoke to – presidents, or refugees in the camps, in Turkey, Jordan or Egypt – warned me of one thing: that a potential victory by Assad’s regime, which is more likely today because of Iran’s and Russia’s engagement in Syria, will result in the next migratory wave. Yesterday this message was confirmed by President Erdoğan. According to Turkish estimates, another three million potential refugees may come from Aleppo and its neighbourhood.

Declaring solidarity is always greeted with applause, but calling for responsibility and common sense hardly ever. Practising solidarity is a lot harder than preaching it. I am speaking as a decades-long practitioner.

This is why I ask you all to show responsibility and common sense. The first commandment today is the restoration of control on the EU’s external borders as a sine qua non of an effective, humanitarian and safe migratory policy. Tomorrow, in the European Parliament, you will hear Angela Merkel and François Hollande. We all know how much depends on them. In this crisis situation they have both demonstrated beautiful moral gestures which we all highly appreciate. Tomorrow, they must pass an even harder exam, an exam in responsibility for the protection of the European Community, and its external borders. Otherwise, they, and all of us, will become responsible for the re-emergence of walls and barriers on our internal borders, here in Europe.

We have to say it finally, loud and clear: Europe without its external borders equals Europe without Schengen. Europe without its external borders will become a breeding ground for fear in each and every one of us. And this will lead us, sooner rather than later, to a political catastrophe.

What ordinary people expect from politicians is, first and foremost, effectiveness and determination. If the leaders of mainstream politics do not realise this, people will start to look for different kinds of leadership, radical and ruthless, because what people want from their leaders above all is a guarantee of order and security for their own community. Either we will face up to the challenge, or others will take our place. The queue of political machos is quite long, but there is still time to stop them. And that depends entirely on us.

ANNEX 3 –

Donald TUSK, President of the European Council, October 6,
(second intervention)

Verbatim report of proceedings – Conclusions of the informal European Council of 23 September 2015 (debate) - Tuesday, 6 October 2015 (europa.eu)

Donald Tusk, *President of the European Council*.

– Mr President, first of all I would like to thank Jean-Claude Juncker for his support. We are here in Parliament to be criticised and I am not here to be applauded: it is our job. Of course, we have to be tough if we want to be politicians, and I think that in this context everything must be clear.

Thank you, Members, for the discussion. I think after this discussion we are fully aware that this issue is still dividing Europeans – at Member State level and also here in the European Parliament – and I can understand why. At the same time, I feel that today the chance for having a more common approach is much greater than it was a few weeks ago. I have no illusions and I have no doubts: nothing in this matter is easy, firstly because the scale of this issue is bigger than ever before, and that is why it is full of emotion – and not only in this House.

First of all, I would like to underline that the issue today, because of its scale, is absolutely unique. That is why nothing is easy. Today we are talking about almost 70 million displaced people in the world, and almost all of them are around us. In Africa and Eurasia, there are 70 million.

When it comes to Afghans, for example, we have almost three million Afghans on their way to other countries. They are today in Pakistan, in Iran, in Iraq and in Turkey. Some of them, three million, are already in Europe. We have to be aware that, maybe not for all of them, but for sure for the majority of them, Europe is or can be the final destination. We have about eight million internally displaced people in Syria. There are three million

Syrians in Turkey, Jordan and Iraq. There are hundreds of thousands of potential refugees from Yemen.

This is why nothing is easy in this case. This is why some of us in Europe are so nervous. This is why we feel something like fear, and I can understand why, because this is something new. For sure it is not a new problem but this scale, this new exodus, is something new, and some Member States have no experience with this kind of problem. That is why emotions are running so high.

I cannot agree with the thesis that the majority of refugees are social migrants. First of all, it is impossible today to distinguish between refugees and migrants because, in fact, all of them are escaping war, poverty and hunger – at the same time – from Afghanistan, from Syria and from other countries. This is why the situation is really difficult for us, because we have to treat almost all of them as potential asylum seekers.

The second reason why nothing is easy in this case is because this new conflict in Syria – the war in Syria – could very possibly transform into a global conflict as a result of the engagement of some global powers in Syria today. I have no doubt that the current situation is bad enough to provoke a new wave of refugees from Syria. As I mentioned in my first speech here, the current estimate is that about three million new Syrian refugees are on their way today from Aleppo and the neighbourhood of Aleppo.

Thirdly, the situation is also difficult because we have no convenient partners around us. I have no doubt that we have to cooperate with other countries, for example Turkey. I can fully understand why some of us are very critical or sceptical when it comes to Turkey but, on the other hand, if we want to cope with this problem we have to consider Turkey as an absolutely key partner in this project. Do we want to lecture Turkey today or do we want Turkey on board to tackle the refugee problem?

I know this is a dramatic dilemma, but today we have to solve this dilemma and our opinion, the opinion of the European institutions, is that we have to try to cooperate with Turkey because we have no other option.

As you know, we have more difficult partners around us than Turkey. Turkey is not easy, but it is definitely the best possible partner when it comes to our neighbourhood in the south and in the east.

It is obvious to me that we, and of course also the Member States, have to engage. That is why I am absolutely sure that our next European Council will be dedicated to this issue, and I hope that the discussion today here in Parliament will also be a real inspiration for some leaders and for some Member States – and I am sure that you know what I mean.

ANNEX 4 –

Frans TIMERMANS – First Vice-President of the European Commission,
September 9

Verbatim report of proceedings – Contents - Wednesday, 9 September 2015
(europa.eu)

Frans Timmermans, First Vice-President of the Commission.

– Mr President, I do not have to speak for a long time, because President Juncker has given you the full explanation of the plans of proposal of the Commission. I just want to use this opportunity, when three institutions are coming together to talk about this issue, to call upon the European Parliament to strongly support the Commission's proposals today. That would be a clear signal in the preparation for the Council on Monday, where we know that some Member States still have a number of steps to take before they can agree with the Commission's proposal. The stronger Parliament can be today in coming out with its position, the better we are prepared for the Council on Monday.

There are those who sell the illusion that simply by closing all the borders and sending everybody back we could solve this problem. There are also those who maintain that by simply opening all the borders and letting everybody in we could solve the problem. These are illusions. They have the advantage of being clear in terms of proposals, but the disadvantage of being completely impossible in terms of practicality. Closing the borders and sending everyone back would mean that we take leave of our most fundamental values as Europeans. It would also mean acting in clear violation of our legal obligations. Opening the borders and letting everyone in would mean that we would put an end to the European social model as we know it, because it could not support people coming from all over the world in great, endless numbers.

For that reason, we need to make a clear distinction between those who deserve our solidarity because they flee from war and persecution, and those who might have genuine feelings about seeking a better future but should not abuse the asylum system to attain that goal. To do that, we need a combination of solidarity and responsibility: solidarity with those who need refuge, solidarity with the States who are now burdened to excess because they are the States of first arrival, notably Greece, Italy and Hungary. There needs to be European solidarity with these States – solidarity with the refugees and solidarity with the States in Europe who need it today.

That is the basis of our proposals, but also a call on responsibility: the responsibility to better guard our borders; the responsibility to make a swift registration of those who arrive at the borders so we can distinguish between those who have the right to asylum and those who do not; responsibility to create a list of safe third countries so that we can be swifter in returning people who have no right to stay; responsibility to organise the reception of refugees in a way that respects their human dignity. The combination of all these things is what the Commission proposes.

Let me end on this, before handing the floor to Federica: what we do today, and what we will be doing next Monday, is closely linked to the destiny of Europe – not just of the European Union – but to the destiny of Europe as a community of values, where we need to respect what we see is being done by countless European citizens today. We need to respect the basic humanity that makes me so proud of being European.

ANNEX 5 –

Frans TIMMERMANS – First Vice-President of the European Commission,
September 16

Verbatim report of proceedings – Conclusions of the Justice and Home Affairs Council on migration (14 September 2015) (debate) - Wednesday, 16 September 2015 (europa.eu)

Frans Timmermans, *First Vice-President of the Commission*. – Mr President, those of you who know Game of Thrones will know the expression ‘winter is coming’. It is meant quite literally and it is meant metaphorically. This expression can be applied to the situation the European Union is in now vis-à-vis the refugees. Winter is coming, quite literally. But winter might also be coming metaphorically for the European Union if we are incapable of action in the next couple of days and weeks.

(Applause)

This issue, left unresolved, will undoubtedly lead to human suffering for the refugees, to political turmoil in our Member States, to strife between Member States and to tensions which Europe cannot afford to have. So we have a strong, strong responsibility – Parliament, Council and Commission – to make sure that what we did not achieve last Monday in the Council will be achieved without delay. Yes, a lot has been achieved so far. Yes, it is difficult to have far-reaching results within five days of the Commission making proposals, but we have no time to lose.

I want to salute this Parliament and its President for your courageous steps forward, in line with the Commission proposals. I want to express my gratitude to the President of Parliament for having organised a vote, which will send a clear signal to all Member States and all capitals that the Parliament that represents the peoples of Europe wants action – and it wants it now – and so does the Commission.

I want to add one more point, which to me is very important. The Commission is willing to build bridges between the different positions of Member States. We cannot afford the luxury of finger-pointing. We cannot afford the luxury of accusing one another of not wanting to reach a solution. There is no time for that. We have to have the skill, the openness and the willingness to build bridges to help countries come to a common solution which will express solidarity and responsibility.

My plea is also to all of you to please explain to your constituents, and to your people back home, that our proposals are not just about a distribution key to express solidarity with those states who are really suffering today. They are also about the European Union being able to better guard its external borders, the European Union being able to offer more support to those states which bear the brunt of this crisis – states like Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey – which deserve far more support from the European Union. The European Union is also about offering the perspective of a sustainable migration policy and refugee policy.

We can deal with this if we are united, but we will fail if we are – and continue to be – divided.

ANNEX 6 –

Frans TIMMERMANS – First Vice-President of the European Commission,
October 6

Verbatim report of proceedings – Conclusions of the informal European Council of 23 September 2015 (debate) - Tuesday, 6 October 2015 (europa.eu)

Frans Timmermans, *First Vice-President of the Commission*.

– Mr President, today we are all put to the test. We are faced with what is arguably the biggest challenge to Europe in a generation. What is being put to the test is our capacity to handle a huge humanitarian crisis. What is being put to the test is our capacity to understand that there will be solutions only at a European level. What is being put to the test is the very fabric of our European Union. What is being put to the test is actually the fundamental values we share, and much that was said this morning testifies to this.

I have to note that when people try to argue that those arriving in Europe today are, in the majority, people seeking a better future, not refugees – which is completely unfounded, there are no scientific data – and people say this in this House, I draw some hope from this because they do not want to be seen not to be doing something for real refugees.

My hope is that once those in this House who currently reject everything, we do understand that we are actually dealing with a majority of real refugees, they will see the fallacy of their ways and come to the conclusion that there are only European solutions here. There is no need to hide from that fact.

I say this also:

(Interjection from the floor: ‘Go to the camps and talk to them’)

It is being said here – because this is apparently the way people who disagree with you think they can make a point – it is being said behind me here ‘Go and talk to them in the camps’. Well, that is exactly what I did. That is exactly what I did, but apparently you only hear what you want to hear when you talk in the camps.

I know that, in this day and age, fear is an important factor in European society. Many European citizens are afraid, and you know what fear has as a characteristic: when you are afraid you go and look for proof that your fear is justified and you are not open to proof that your fear is unjustified. Responsible politics in this situation is not to cater to fear, not to create stereotypes, not to put people in groups, but to come up with solutions to a problem instead of just increasing people’s fears in the hope that it will provide you with more votes at the next election.

This is also the time when politicians across Europe will be challenged on whether their integrity still prevails or whether they go for the easy solution of catering to fears in the hope of then gaining political position. I hope we will all be responsible in this phase.

The European Council was responsible last week, by paving the way for decisions that can now be implemented. Let me briefly go through them. They decided last week to strengthen external borders and increase the financial and human resources for our agencies, Frontex, the European Asylum Support Office (EASO) and Europol, and to increase funding for the EU home affairs funding programmes, with EUR 100 million for emergency assistance to the most affected EU Member States. This is in addition to the EUR 73 million already exhausted. Much of this funding is going to address the immediate humanitarian needs – to help Member States provide the necessary shelter, health, welfare and other specific basic needs of new arrivals.

We speeded up the preparation of the Western Balkan conference next Thursday. We speeded up the roll-out of support teams in the hotspots in the most affected Member States, to identify, register and fingerprint

migrants. This is essential to make sure we do indeed distinguish between those who have the right to asylum and those who do not.

It was also decided to uphold, apply and implement the existing Dublin rules and the Schengen acquis; to match the mobilised EU budget contributions with Member State contributions, including notably EUR 1 billion for the UNHCR, the World Food Programme and other agencies to respond to the urgent needs of displaced Syrian refugees in the region; to assist Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan in dealing with the refugee crisis through the help of the Trust Fund for Syria; to increase the funding of the Emergency Trust Fund for Africa; and to speed up preparations for the Valetta Summit on 11—12 November. These are important decisions. Let us implement them.

The issue here is not that we do not know what to do; the issue is that, as in other areas, we lack self-confidence. We can handle this – I agree with Chancellor Merkel: ‘Wir schaffen das’ – I have no doubts. We need to address the issue of what I would call also in this area ‘moral hazard’. Member States need to be able to trust that other Member States will do their part.

This is the core issue here, that so-called frontline Member States will do their part in making sure that our external borders are better controlled and that people who arrive are immediately fingerprinted, and that those Member States who are not frontline states will do their part in showing their solidarity with the Member States who bear the brunt of the arrivals. There is an issue here of just doing what we agreed, and then the self-confidence in Europe will increase, and mutual trust will also increase – and that is what we need between Member States.

As I said before, winter is coming. I spoke to the High Commissioner for Refugees, António Guterres, yesterday and he said clearly that we know how to, and we certainly can, winter-proof the refugee camps, the tents, the reception centres, but we cannot winter-proof masses of people on the move – and moving in an unpredictable and fast manner. You cannot winter-proof movements of people.

In Geneva yesterday our interlocutors welcomed the latest EU steps to mobilise the budget for these purposes. To name but a few: EUR 200 million to the UNHCR World Food Programme and other aid agencies to respond to the urgent needs of displaced persons and refugees in the region; EUR 300 million in humanitarian aid next year and, as you know, we asked Member States to match this and the Heads of State or Government agreed to do that.

I am looking forward to taking stock of these promises at the next European Council and I hope people understand that EUR 1 billion of funding is not too much to ask for in humanitarian aid. In this respect, I am again very grateful to this Parliament, yet again leading by example and fast-tracking the adoption of the budgetary proposals we made last week. This Parliament as an institution has assumed its responsibility in an admirable way. The Trust Fund for Syria, aiming to reach EUR 1 billion, was also welcomed by those frontline states that will need to deal with the approaching winter.

Humanitarian aid is our urgency of today. When it comes to humanitarian aid, it is not enough to find necessary funding. You need to put in place necessary help mechanisms, linking manpower and assets. And those challenges are high on the agenda of my colleagues Commissioners Avramopoulos, Stylianides and Hahn, and also Commissioner Andriukaitis, who is working on the health issues.

The civil protection mechanism is ready to be activated. We need to do this quickly. We do not want to waste time. A quantum leap in reception capacities in Greece is probably the most urgent priority that we are tackling on a daily basis. President Juncker has put in place people to coordinate the national and European technical assistance resources being mobilised to help Greece. Without reception capacity nothing will work, and we all agree on that. Greece will have a separate programme with UNHCR on this. This needs to be finalised in the coming weeks. Greece

needs to return to the Dublin system, and I have to say that I salute the Greek Government for committing to returning to the Dublin system.

You will not hear me saying that all is ready for winter but this Commission has identified and proposed all the operational and budgetary measures that are needed internally within the EU and outside our borders. With regard to Turkey, the President has said more than enough: we will continue working on this, and you will also be informed this afternoon about exactly what we will be doing in the next couple of weeks.

I think you will agree with me that, while working on the humanitarian situation and sharing the burden with the most affected countries, we should also not neglect the wider issue in relation to managing the situation and the root causes of the situation. The Valletta Summit will be important – however, I will limit myself to referring to what President Juncker has said about that.

Refugees, on the run from war and persecution, willing to risk everything for even the chance of a decent life, will continue to flee. They simply have no other option. And we have no other option but to provide a safe haven for them, to protect them and to treat them properly, here in the European Union, as well as in other countries where they arrive. So it is time to rebuild our self-confidence and our mutual confidence in our ability to deal with this most pressing humanitarian issue effectively, and together

Wir schaffen das!

ANNEX 7 –

Federica MOGHERINI – High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, September 9

Verbatim report of proceedings – Contents - Wednesday, 9 September 2015
(europa.eu)

Federica Mogherini, Vice-President of the Commission/High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy.

– Mr President, Frans Timmermans said quite rightly that this is a defining moment for our Union. Words are important, I believe, and the refugee crisis we are facing – not only us, but the region and the world – puts our deepest values, and indeed our identity, to the test. It is a moment of truth, to see if we are really Europeans and if we are really a Union. That is what it is about: our responsibility to protect the lives of human beings, and human rights and solidarity among Member States and towards those in need.

But this is also a test for our international credibility. Do not think that we can go around the word promoting human rights if we do not guarantee the highest asylum standards inside the Union. Do not even imagine that we can promote peace and cooperation among parties currently at war if we do not accept the others inside our own communities, and if we do not manage to find unity among ourselves. Our external credibility depends largely on our internal coherence and consistency. We have to be aware of that.

Do not imagine that there is only an external response to the crisis, just as there cannot be only an internal response to the crisis. The two dimensions of our action – and of our identity and our response – reinforce one another or weaken one another. This is the truth, like it or not, and we have to face it. To be credible, preaching well is not enough. We must act well, we must act fast, and we must act unitedly.

Today, we are presenting a communication setting out the way forward for all the external action needed to address this crisis. We all know there is no magic fix to the crisis around us, and most of the external action we can take – and we are taking – will give results in the medium and long term. Still, it is important that we do act now. I know it is difficult for politicians to explain the reason for taking actions that will pay back, in some cases, in years, but if we do not do that responsibly, generations coming after ours will face the same problem again and again. Let me say that our external action finds us united for once. While this is not enough, because we also have to find internal unity on domestic policies, it is crucial for our action.

The first priority is saving lives. Commission President Juncker outlined how much we have stepped up our work in this respect, noting the many lives that it has thus been possible to save. The second task is addressing the root causes, and I will come back to that. The third, and it is just as important, is to fight smugglers and traffickers of human beings, not only at sea but all along the routes, because this is a security issue too. The financial flow around the criminal organisations and networks can finance all kinds of activities potentially relevant in terms of European and international security.

Our strategy has been clear and consistent since the beginning of our mandate. We cannot focus only on the last mile of the tragedy: we must also consider all the steps of the refugees' odyssey. Most of the people we see today coming to Europe are fleeing from conflict and persecution. This is the first issue we need to address. Four million have fled Syria. Between Syria and Iraq, more than 10 million have left their homes and are internally displaced. Let me say one thing: we have rightly focused in recent months on minorities in need of protection in the Middle East – Christians, Kurds or Yazidis – supporting their right to stay on the land, and go back to the communities, where they have been living for centuries. But let me also say clearly that it is not sufficient to protect them only when they are far

away from us. We also have a duty to protect them – and all their fellow countrymen – when they become close to us.

The long-term answer obviously is putting an end to the conflicts and the wars, facing the threat of Daesh, starting processes of national reconciliation. The deal we reached with Iran, although primarily a non-proliferation deal, can open the way to new possibilities, and the work in this direction, with all our international and regional partners and all the international and regional powers, has already started.

Secondly, we are working with the international community – mainly with the UN agencies, with the countries of origin and transit and those who host an impressive number of refugees. We have mobilised almost EUR 4 billion in humanitarian and development aid to assist displaced Syrians within Syria itself and in Jordan, Lebanon, Turkey and Iraq.

There is a very specific case, which is Libya: not a country of origin, but a country of transit, and, more than that, an open corridor. That is why, as you know very well because we have debated it several times in this Chamber, so much daily and nightly effort is being invested, with the UN and Special Representative Bernardino León Gross, in trying to achieve a national unity government in Libya that could allow us to partner the Libyan authorities in the management of this corridor.

Let me say too that it is going to be very important – and we are looking very much in this direction – to work to the south of Libya. If we focus only on the Libyan Sea border, forgetting about the Libyan land border, we will never manage to solve the issue of the corridor. That is why I have started an unprecedented dialogue with the countries of the Sahel, and in particular – although not exclusively – with Niger. Today, as you know, we are putting forward a proposal for a trust fund for Africa to promote economic opportunities, development, security and better management of migration in a context of equal partnership with the African countries and our partners.

The institutions will provide EUR 1.8 million to this fund and I expect the Member States – all of them – to do their fair share. You cannot ask for international cooperation at European level and then not put up the money for it. Remember this when we come to discuss the budget.

(Applause)

We have to show coherence in our decisions. A regional trust fund for Syria has already started in recent months, and the first contract opened through the fund deals with schools and education. Let me stress this, because I believe that – as we see Syria losing an entire generation to war and exile – we have to invest in Syrian children. That is an investment not only for the future of the country and the region but also for our security, because it is the best investment we can make against terrorism and radicalisation.

Thirdly – and I shall finish – we are fighting those who trade in human life: the smugglers' and traffickers' networks. We are doing this in partnership with countries of transit and we are doing this in the Mediterranean. Our naval operation in the Mediterranean Sea has now fulfilled the objectives of the first phase. We gathered intelligence and information on the smugglers' routes, assets and strategies. In this first phase alone, and in the space of just five weeks, we identified 16 cases in which we would have been able to go after the smugglers, bring them to justice and capture the vessels. That is why I proposed last weekend in Luxembourg, where the Defence and Foreign Ministers were meeting, that we move to Phase 2 on the high seas, in full observance of international law, and I asked Member States to contribute to the mission, because this is also an opportunity for us to show that, when we have political will and a sense of urgency and unity, we can use the military and security tools that we already have to hand.

But there is something else of which I am proud: that in these very first weeks of common action in the Mediterranean we have saved the lives

of 1 500 men and women at sea through our operation. This is not the main purpose of the operation but it is an important component of it.

With regard to the way forward, we will have the Valletta Summit on migration in November, bringing together leaders of the European and key African countries – those that are part of the Khartoum and Rabat processes as well as the African Union Commission and the Economic Community of West African States Commission. We will also have the high-level conference on the Western Balkan route, bringing together EU Member States, Western Balkan countries and Turkey. Both have to be addressed with the same degree of attention and urgency.

To conclude, we need to realise as Europeans that this is not just a time for emotion: that is the easy part. Let me be cynical: as politicians we are not asked to express our emotions; we are asked to take decisions that are consistent and coherent with our emotions, and to be strong in so doing. Emotions are not enough. We need to act and this is the time.

I hope that all the EU institutions, the Member States, citizens and public opinion – because this wave of emotion in public opinion can change, and we have to be aware of that – will finally take responsibility for, and live up to, our values, the values of our history, the challenges of the most difficult times our history has recently faced, and the potential of our regional and global role. What is at stake, as Frans Timmermans said very well, is not only the lives of human beings – though a single life is enough – but also the state of our Union.

ANNEX 8 –

Dimitris AVRAMOPOULOS – Commissioner for Migration and Home Affairs, September 9

Verbatim report of proceedings - Contents - Wednesday, 9 September 2015 (europa.eu)

Dimitris Avramopoulos, *Member of the Commission*.

– Mr. President, as you noticed, the State of the Union speech was mostly on migration and shows what our priorities are. The President of the Commission was clear, and I want to be clear, too. The management of migration is a crash test for Europe and for the Union’s credibility.

I want to express my thanks to both First Vice-President Frans Timmermans and Federica Mogherini for their opening remarks and for the excellent cooperation we had throughout the last month in putting together this ambitious and much-needed package. Today’s package is our response to an unprecedented refugee crisis happening right in front of our eyes. As the refugee crisis around Europe becomes bigger, our answers need to become bolder, more comprehensive and more ambitious.

This is the Europe we want. This is the Europe we must have. So today we are putting forward four very concrete measures that in the short- and medium-term can help tackle all the major challenges we are confronted with. The significant increase in arrivals over the summer cannot be managed by the Member States of entry alone.

To address this migration we need a coordinated European approach. That is why we are now proposing to relocate 120 000 people fleeing war, persecution, oppression and chaos from Italy, Greece and Hungary according to a distribution scheme. This new proposal comes in addition to the measures tabled before the summer to relocate 40 000 persons from Italy and Greece.

I expect that a vast majority of the Members of this House will vote in favour of this proposal later today and will also support in the future the new temporary relocation scheme. At the same time we have to learn the lesson that the current crisis is teaching us. Europe is not well-equipped to manage sudden and extraordinary surges of refugee inflows.

We need structural solutions to face such events in the future so that we can systematically support Member States and guarantee protection for those who are really in need. That is why we propose establishing a permanent crisis relocation mechanism by amending the Dublin Regulation.

In parallel with increasing our support to guarantee shelter for those in need of protection, we have to make sure that those who do not have the right to stay in the European Union are promptly returned.

As a first step, Member States shall be in a position to steadily process unfounded or unlawful requests so they can devote their human and financial resources to legitimate requests, filed by those who urgently require international protection. That is why we are putting forward today the introduction of an EU list of safe countries, including the Balkan countries and Turkey.

In 2014, nationals from these countries submitted over 17% of the total of 562 000 applications filed in the European Union. These requests put a heavy burden on the European Union's national asylum systems, while the vast majority of them were clearly unfounded.

By including these countries in the list of safe countries of origin, the examination of the applications for international protection will be fast-tracked. This will increase the efficiency of asylum systems, and will allow Member States to devote greater resources to protect those in need and to return the applicants of unfounded requests faster.

Currently Europe has a very low rate of return: around 40% of third-country nationals. This undermines the credibility of our migration policy. We therefore also present here today a European return programme

aiming at fostering a clean-cut return policy. This communication is the occasion for the Commission to set out a list of actions to support greater operational cooperation among Member States and to stress the need to find leverage in our relations with third countries so that they readmit their nationals.

I really count a lot on your support to implement this package as you have done, and I have to commend once again this House for being very supportive from the very beginning of our efforts to adopt a common European migration policy. I count on you and I thank you very much for the support you have provided thus far.

ANNEX 9 –

Prime minister of Hungary, Address to the Hungarian Parliament,
September 21

<https://2015-2019.kormany.hu/en/the-prime-minister/the-prime-minister-s-speeches/prime-minister-viktor-orban-s-address-to-parliament-before-the-start-of-daily-business>

Prime Minister Viktor Orbán's address to Parliament before the start of daily business, 21 September 2015, Budapest

Honourable Speaker, Honourable Fellow members of Parliament

I sought leave to speak at the beginning of the autumn session in order to give an account of recent events.

The issue of illegal migration has broken into our lives with such force that I am now compelled to present my statement on it to the Honourable House. Before presenting my account, however, I wish to take this opportunity, from this place as well, in the name of the entire country and every Hungarian, to thank members of the police and military forces serving at our borders. They are completing their duty in a disciplined, humane and firm manner; in other words, their performance is exemplary. We thank you for the service you are conducting for the homeland. Haza

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Regarding illegal migration, I am going to talk about the nature of the problem according to the vision of the Hungarian government. Therefore, I must necessarily elaborate on the question of why we are at odds with the European Union. I am going to speak about what we have done this far, meaning what we have done in the interest of curbing migration, in the interest of defending the borders of Hungary and Europe. Finally, I must say a few words about what is in store for us in the upcoming months.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

In simple terms, to call a spade a spade /*to call a child by his name*, the problem is mass migration. Immigrants are not just pounding on our doors, but are downright breaking them down on us. Not just a few hundred or thousand, indeed, tens of thousands, millions of migrants are besieging the borders of Hungary and Europe. We cannot see an end to this. There is plenty to supply: millions are setting out. Without the pretence of an exhaustive account: Iraq is a country of 33 million. Today there are 8 million who are in need of humanitarian assistance; in other words, there are 8 million people who rely solely on humanitarian aid, and according to our projections this number will increase from 8 million to 10 million by the end of this year. And of this 8 million, today we can already consider 4 million as internal refugees. Syria: four years of civil war; 12 million receiving humanitarian aid; 7.6 million internal refugees, 4 million of whom have been forced to leave for neighbouring countries and are currently living in refugee camps. Afghanistan: 950,000 refugees in Iran, 1.5 million refugees in Pakistan. There is a civil war in Libya; continual internal insurrections in Eritrea; Mali is facing an internal war; in Somalia, there is a semi-civil war situation. If we add up the sub-Saharan figures, number of people and situations of war, then we can say that in the sub-Saharan region the number of internal refugees is 12.5 million. This is the short situation report.

The North African line of defense has collapsed: the “Arab Spring” resulted in chaos, as the institutions of representative democracy – regarded by us, or rather by the West, as the only blissful form of state – are inoperative in places where there is no will to operate them. Additionally, above all this, the European Union is weak. It was observable at the beginning of the year already, that this would not end well. Whoever had eyes to see was able to see the migrational pressure was increasing. More and more people have set out, human traffickers, practically with the help of the authorities, have created their routes, and Europe has not only left its doors and windows wide open, but has even sent out invitations to immigrants.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

In our understanding it is the world's most natural thing for one to defend their family. This is just what we are doing now. Hungary has been a valued member of the larger European family for a thousand years. It is its historic and moral duty to protect Europe, as we thereby also protect ourselves. The reverse is also true: when we protect the borders of Hungary, we also protect Europe.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Thanks to the mass media and the internet, it is now clear to everyone that Europe is rich, but weak. This is the most dangerous combination possible. From their own viewpoint, it appears to be a perfectly reasonable decision for those who live in difficult circumstances to set out for a rich but weak region of the world in order to take their share of the good life there: in this instance, here. We understand this. We understand that many of them are forced to break away (tear away -HU) which are brutalizing their own people, where the economy has collapsed, and where unemployment has broken historical records. The migrants themselves are the victims of bad political decisions. In fact, the world has turned its back on these people: the world has turned its back on states in which human dignity is not respected, and where it is degraded on a daily basis. We understand and realise all this. But even based on simple mathematical calculations, it is easy to see that Europe is unable to take on all the troubles of the world. We are unable to support all the economic migrants. A minimal understanding of economics and our experiences to date are enough to tell all of us that we are unable to provide jobs for everyone. Furthermore, it is not even certain that they all want to work. I would, for that matter, reflect on some who are not even satisfied by Austria and kind of seeks refuge over in Germany. And I would also reflect on a scene when the migrants are protesting in Germany because they want to go to Sweden, all of this being worsened by a series of serious crime.

The situation is that a Europe that demands of half a billion European citizens to obey the law on a daily basis, is incapable to persuade hundreds of thousands of migrants to simply register. The politics of Brussels and the great powers have only worsened the situation when they were unable to grasp the root of the problem and are also considering as refugees those, who are, in fact, illegal migrants. This is how we got to the point that our borders have become endangered, our law-abiding form of life is in danger, Hungary is in danger and the whole Europe as well. What is now happening is an invasion; in fact, we are being invaded. Whereas, it is a daily European experience that if one is invaded, they cannot offer shelter.

Honourable House, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Why are we arguing with Europe? You can see for yourselves: we need (kell) to fight a battle on two fronts. We must protect the borders of Hungary and Europe, and at the same time we must fight against Europe's short-sighted policy, which has turned against the will of the European people. I see it as if many were not willing to see the danger in its entire weight. First of all, they do not identify mass migration as a threat or as a problem, but as an opportunity which we should be happy for. We can understand the European left, for them, it is, indeed, an opportunity to slacken the frame of the nation state and to accomplish their historical goal: the elimination of nations. There is a reason why political forces are taking turns in rebuking us, Hungarians, for standing up for our thousand-year-old statehood, the sovereignty of our country and the independence of our nation. We have got used to this since 2010. But it is not only the left which takes this stance: we can find people from across the entire political spectrum who encourage migrants with their attitude to take their steps towards Europe, leaving their countries behind and risking their lives. The consequences for them, for us and for Europe as well, are disastrous: as Europe is unable to protect its external borders, more and more internal borders are closing in the Europe, the most important achievement of

which is the free movement of goods and people, which we commonly call 'Schengen'.

Therefore, we are arguing with Brussels. We identify different things as problems, regard different means as effective, we identify consequences in a different way, we think something else on what would happen if we take or do not take certain steps. What is certain, we have to rethink a series of European achievements, contracts and institutions. But in the meantime, we cannot sit idly. Until Europe is ready to act as one, nation states will be forced to defend themselves from this threat of a brutal force, in a difficult fight, bringing heavy sacrifices.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

We have been doing everything that was possible within the law. We are going to perform above our strength in the future as well. I believe this is what people expect us to do. More than one million citizens have offered their opinion on immigration. The results of the national consultation can now be read by anybody, we have also published them online. More than eighty percent of Hungarians think that Brussels' ill-chosen immigration policy has failed, and the rules must be tightened.

Honourable Fellow Members of Parliament,

The Hungarian people have decided: the country must be protected. Every step the Hungarian government has taken, and every measure it will take derives from this overriding duty. In 2015 there are two political trends in Hungary: one that wants to defend Hungary and the Hungarian people, and wants to preserve our national culture and European identity; and one which for some reason works against it.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is not for fun that we have built and are building hundreds of kilometres of border fence. TECHNICAL BORDER LOCK It was not for fun that we earlier convened the Honourable House for an extraordinary session to pass legislative amendments allowing us to curb mass migration

and protect Hungarian citizens and their families. And it is not for eccentricity that we apply our own solutions: we are simply trying to comply with our treaty obligations.

Honourable Fellow Members of Parliament,

What can we expect? Please/Pray. Do not think that the problem will disappear overnight. Do not cradle the illusion that the government measures we have adopted will in themselves curb the flood of people which is putting pressure on the whole of Europe.

Let's prepare, instead, for the thought that we are ahead of a long struggle. On behalf of the Government, I can assure you that we shall do everything to protect Hungary, the borders of the country and the Hungarian people. We shall persevere, and shall stand pat. But until there is a united European action plan, we cannot end the problem; we can manage it within our own national remit, but we cannot solve it.

We have proposals on a solution to the problem which could lead our countries to a functioning pan-European action plan. We are talking about simple, logical solutions, dictated by common sense. If, for instance, our Greek friends are unable to protect the borders of Europe and the borders of the Schengen zone, we must take over their protection from them; all the twenty-eight Member States should take a share in the protection of the southern borders of Europe.

It is also obvious that, instead of bringing the problem towards the heart of Europe, we must take action at the source of the problem; we should not set up refugee camps – or whatever they may be called – within the European Union, but outside it.

Let us help the countries which have so far sheltered millions of war refugees, in order to enable them to provide more decent conditions for the people who do not want to come to Europe, but who want to return to their homes once the war is over. Proposals such as the quota system merely address the consequences, rather than the causes. This is not a European action plan. The underlying philosophy of the quota system is not aimed at

ensuring that no more economic migrants come to Europe, or protecting Europe and the European way of life. It would instead spread the problem – to my mind, based on the silent recognition that migrants who have already entered Europe illegally are not likely to want to go back home.

This is what we, Hungarians comment as: leaders in Brussels have put the cart before the horse. THE HORSE IS RIDDEN BACKWARDS We suggest to first put an end to the mass migration, and once we have protected our borders, we discuss what to do with those who are already here or who want to come here. In any case, we must persuade them to respect our laws. We must make it clear to everyone that Europe is Europe because here living together has clear rules. In Europe the rule of law does not mean oppression, but the provision of protection and security. We must also point out that everyone here has worked hard to live in peace and security: people and the national communities. Here, welfare is not a given, for welfare one must work in Europe.

Honourable Fellow Members of Parliament,

Finally, I ask you, regardless of your party affiliation, to support the Government in the fight against mass immigration. Because we only have one homeland, and it is the duty of us all to protect it. Thank you for your attention.

ANNEX 10 –

Guy VERHOFSTADT, leader of the ALDE Group – September 9

Verbatim report of proceedings – Contents - Wednesday, 9 September 2015
(europa.eu)

Guy Verhofstadt, *on behalf of the ALDE Group*.

– Mr President, first of all I would like to extend to Mr Juncker my condolences and those of my Group on the death of his mother.

Maybe next year we can hold a slightly different debate, and perhaps invite the 20 heads of states and government. There is enough room on this side of the House. Mr Juncker does not have 90 minutes to speak in the Council during his State of the Union address. This would also enable Mr Tusk to be here, because we all accept now that there should be a permanent President of the European Council, and he has to be here.

I know he is in the Middle East in Ramallah in Jerusalem, but he has to be in Europe, going from capital to capital to develop a common European policy on asylum for immigrants. That is his task for the moment. Here we come to the heart of the problem, namely the lack of political will and – I say to Mr Kamall – the lack of unity between the Member States.

What Mr Kamall was defending here a few minutes ago is a system of ‘pick and choose your strategies’. This amounts to Britain doing it one way, Germany doing it another way and Hungary certainly doing it another way: with a fence and a wall. That is not the way to deal with such problems! A refugee crisis is the collective responsibility of the European Union, that is what is at stake.

What we have to do is to stop, act and react. Our Member States are merely reacting, they are not acting. In April we got a strategy for the Mediterranean. What did we do? We increased the Frontex budget a little bit, thinking that would solve the problem. The problem was not solved!

Fifty days later, there were all these refugees blocking the entry of the tunnel to Britain and what did we do? We gave a little bit more money for tents and for food for these poor refugees in Calais and we thought the problem was over and we could go on holiday. Well, what did I tell you?

Then in Budapest there was the incredible sight of refugees being herded to the train station, treated without any respect. And then we say, 'let them go, let us put some of them on trains so they can go to Austria and to Munich'. And we think the problem is over. This attitude is disgraceful for Europe because it is not the right way to treat refugees.

(Applause)

We have to recognise that some countries, Germany for example, are accepting their responsibilities. In Munich they accepted 20 000 refugees in five days. But some countries are saying that they will not accept them for five years and other countries are simply saying 'no way, not for us'. Fortunately, in sharp contrast, thousands of ordinary people have shown solidarity, more solidarity than our national leaders in the Member States of the European Union.

And so my message – not to you Mr Juncker, I apologise – for the Council in particular is: stop saying it is a crisis of Europe, it not a crisis of Europe. It is in fact a crisis of a lack of Europe! Let us tell the truth to the people. Dublin is not Europe. Dublin is the negation of Europe. All it is saying is 'it is up to the Italians, it up to the Greeks to take responsibility'.

The Commission took a very important step in May by sharing responsibility. I hope that the Council can accept, in a matter of days rather than months, a number of these proposals, including perhaps the idea of a legal migration system, because many people are saying that refugees and economic migrants are not the same. This can only be solved with a legal migration system, a blue card, rather than the 28 systems we have today in Europe.

Like the Americans have a green card, we have a blue card. But the blue card in Europe is the 29th system, on top of the 28 existing systems. It is only Germany that uses this blue card. We have to change that, and I was

pleased to hear Mr Juncker announce that in 2016 there would be a package on legal migration to solve that problem.

In conclusion, the most important lesson that the Council can draw is that we cannot look away from a crisis in our neighbourhood. We will always pay the price for it. Do not think that we can have a conflict in the north of Africa or the Middle East and Europe can be unaffected since it is outside Europe. We are paying the price for this.

We in this House were convinced that the Syrian war was not our problem. Numerous times we had debates here and people said 'no, let us do nothing; there is no need to help the democratic forces'. Well, we created two things: first of all, the spread of Islamic State and, secondly, a huge refugee crisis.

So, we need to do something. If this debate concludes by merely repeating our point of view it will not be enough. We need a new initiative within the framework of the United Nations to end the bloodshed in Syria, to stop terrorism and to make Syria safe again for the refugees so that later on they can return to their homes.

My plea to Mrs Mogherini, my plea to the Presidency of the Council, is that we should call on our representatives on the UN Security Council to launch such a new initiative as soon as possible to end the conflict in Syria because it is the only sustainable solution for this crisis.

ANNEX 11 –

Guy VERHOFSTADT, leader of the ALDE Group – September 16

Verbatim report of proceedings – Conclusions of the Justice and Home Affairs Council on migration (14 September 2015) (debate) - Wednesday, 16 September 2015 (europa.eu)

Guy Verhofstadt, *on behalf of the ALDE Group*.

– Mr President, we have to tell the truth to the public: the meeting of the ministers of the interior was a failure. We did not reach an agreement even though, in my opinion, it is in fact a topic that could be decided with a qualified majority, and I am very doubtful that on 22 September we are going to get a deal.

In my opinion, it is an issue that has to be tackled at the level of Heads of State or Government and no longer on the level of ministers of the interior alone. It is not an interior security issue alone. It is a refugee crisis – the biggest that we have ever faced – and I think it is for the prime ministers and heads of state to take the responsibility to come together and elaborate a comprehensive approach for this problem.

In that respect, we are now stuck in a debate between Visegrad prime ministers, who refuse common responsibility, and mostly Western politicians and prime ministers. We have to come out of this debate, and the only way to come out of this debate is not only to talk about this shared responsibility – that is one of the elements, and we are going to vote on this with Parliament – but it is to have a broad approach. We also have to tackle the other issues, such as that there is no economic migration policy in the European Union, and so economic migrants are abusing it because of the lack of a European Union economic migration policy. There is no common border agency. Frontex is not a common border agency, it is our people that we take from a number of Member States for Member States – Italy, Greece

and so on – and they are doing the job, while it should be a mandatory system in which all 28 Member States participate. There is also, at the same time – let us be honest – no common policy to be engaged to try to tackle the sources of this refugee crisis, to be engaged to stop the Syrian war, to be engaged with more money to tackle the problems in different parts of Africa.

I think you can organise whatever meetings you want on 14 and 22 September, and then maybe a week later on 3 October, but I think it is time that the Heads of State or Government under the leadership of Mr Tusk and Mr Bettel, as the Prime Minister of Luxembourg, start with a real summit to tackle the whole issue and to have a comprehensive approach. Only then, Mr Asselborn, will you have a chance to convince the Visegrad countries: when they see it is part of a global approach, and not starting by saying that they have to take 20 000 or 25 000, and that is all. In my opinion, that may not be the right tactical move.

Finally, there are two urgent problems we have to face. The first is the funding of the different UN camps in Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey. They have no money for the moment: they have to reduce the allowance from USD 30 to USD 13, so there is going to be a huge flow to Europe again. My appeal to the Commission is that they fund the United Nations immediately, on an urgent basis, within the possibilities inside the budget, and that they hand over the money that is necessary in the coming days so that we can find a way to improve the conditions of these refugees in Lebanon and in Jordan, because there cannot be a new flow.

Finally, Marielle de Sarnez and Natalie Griesbeck, two of our colleagues, went to the Hungarian border, and I can confirm what Mr Pittella said: that what is happening there is a shame. It is shameful that it is happening in the European Union. The Commission also has a task and a control function on that, and you have to act on Hungary.

ANNEX 12 –

Guy VERHOFSTADT, leader of the ALDE Group – October 6

Verbatim report of proceedings – Conclusions of the informal European Council of 23 September 2015 (debate) - Tuesday, 6 October 2015 (europa.eu)

Guy Verhofstadt, *on behalf of the ALDE Group*.

– Mr President, I would like to say bluntly to Mr Tusk that I am getting more and more fed up with the Council, not with him personally – be assured of that – but with the institution that he represents.

I am saying this is because, first of all, it has taken a very long time for an informal summit to be organised – because this crisis did not start a few days or a few weeks ago. Then, what was produced from this summit was a one-page statement. This is all that was produced from an informal summit of the European Council on the most important crisis Europe has faced in the last decade – a refugee crisis such as we have never seen before. One page: mainly repeating decisions about the 120 000 refugees that have already been taken by the Ministers for the Interior, and then also pledging EUR 1 billion in additional money.

I ask myself how many people from Syria have to die and how many additional people from Syria have to flee to Europe before the European Council takes a comprehensive, global approach to this refugee crisis, as is proposed by the Commission? It is not that you have nothing to work with. A few hours before the European Council, the Commission decided on a global package: including a new European asylum system no longer based on the Dublin Regulation; including a new European migration package in which we create one system, a blue-card system, in Europe – not 28 systems; and including, perhaps most importantly, a European border and coastguard proposal – that, by the way, Mr Tusk, the Ministers of the Interior refused to put in their conclusions on 11 September 2015. They did not talk about it.

So I am asking: what is needed? Why was it not possible for this European Council in its summit to decide on the package proposed by the Commission? Parliament has already backed this package. So what is happening? Why can the European Council not overcome these internal divisions? My proposal is very clear, namely that we – the Council and Parliament – should agree to a fast-track procedure for the Commission proposal: to adopt it as quickly as possible, as these procedures are there.

Secondly, my proposal concerns the external borders of Europe. Regarding this conflict in Syria, is it not time that the European Union – you the European Council, you Mr Tusk and Ms Mogherini – took an initiative? For the moment we are being pushed out. The Russians are taking action. What they are mainly doing is bombing – bombing civilians and citizens in Syria and the last of the remaining Free Syrian Army fighters. I do not know if there are many of them, but at the moment they are being killed by Russian bombs.

We are the ones who are facing the consequences of this refugee crisis, not the Russians or the Americans. They are talking about Syria, while we, who will face all the consequences of it, are not taking any initiative at European level for the moment. We actually have three different opinions within the Council about this. So, take the initiative: call a summit and have 28 bilateral meetings, giving Ms Mogherini a full mandate and also enforcing no-fly safe zones.

The current situation is crazy. I hear people saying that it is not possible and that you need a mandate from the UN. No – apparently, to bomb Syrian citizens you do not need a mandate from the UN, but to protect Syrian citizens you need a mandate. Such an approach is completely crazy.

Finally, we also need a new donor conference. There is not enough money in these refugee camps. So, Mr Tusk, I am counting on you. The 28 Heads of State are not going to solve these problems. They are not capable of doing so, as they each represent only a nation. You represent a continent. Assume your responsibility.