

**A MULTI-DISCIPLINARY STUDY ON
THE EUROPEAN UNION AND THE
PACIFIC REGION RELATIONS:
DISCURSIVE REPRESENTATIONS OF
IDENTITY AND POWER**

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

- ACP:** Africa, Caribbean and Pacific
- BEI:** la Banque Européenne d'Investissement
- CDA:** Critical Discourse Analysis
- CFSP:** Common Foreign and Security Policy
- CPA:** Cotonou Partnership Agreement
- CROP:** The Council of Regional Organisations of the Pacific
- DG:** Directory General
- EBA:** Everything-But-Arms
- EC:** European Community
- ECSC:** European Coal and Steel Community
- EEC:** European Economic Community
- EDF:** European Development Fund
- EMU:** European Monetary Union
- EP:** European Parliament
- EPA:** Economic Partnership Agreements
- EU:** European Union
- EURATOM:** European Atomic Energy Community
- FEI:** Fonds d'entraide aux îles
- FREPF:** Fonds pour la reconversion économique de la Polynésie Française
- DG DEV:** Directorate General for Development
- GATS:** General Agreement on Trade in Services
- GATT:** General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
- GSP:** Generalised System of Preferences
- IEOM:** Institut d'émission d'Outre-mer
- LDCs:** Least-Developed Countries
- JPA:** Joint Parliamentary Assembly (ACP-EU)
- MFN:** Most-Favoured Nation

MDG: Millennium Development Goal
NAO: National Authorising officer
NGO: Non-Governmental Organisation
NIP: National Indicative Programme
OCT: Overseas Countries and Territories
OCTA: Overseas Countries and Territories Association
ODA: Overseas Development Assistance
ODI: Overseas Development Institute
PACER: Pacific Agreement on Closer Economic Relations
PACREIP: Pacific Regional Economic Integration Programme
PICTA: Pacific Island Countries Trade Agreement
PIF: Pacific Islands Forum
PITIC: Pacific Islands Trade and Investment Commission
PTOM: Pays et territoires d’Outre-mer
RIP: Regional Indicative Programme
RPTF: Regional Preparatory Task Force
RTA: Regional Trade Agreement
SPARTECA: South Pacific Regional Trade and Economic Cooperation Agreement
SPC: Secretariat of Pacific Community
SPEC: South Pacific Bureau for Economic Cooperation
TDCA: Trade, Development and Cooperation Agreement
TEC: Treaty establishing the European Community
TEU: Treaty on European Union
UN: United Nations
WTO: World Trade Organization

Abstract

This doctoral research is a multi-disciplinary study which draws from discourse theory, linguistics and European Union studies. It aims to explore the meaning, and linguistic representations of the European Union (EU) in the context of its relations with the Pacific Region, while taking into account contributing ideological and political factors. This study contributes to several academic fields, and specifically to the practice of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and to the continuum of study on the linguistics-politics interface. CDA research observes the structure and function of signifiers. Discourse analysis provides means to critically observe elements of social and political power, identities and issues through both contextual and linguistic features of discourse. It offers a unique approach to analysing international relations with the application of tools that can decipher meaning and ideologies in discursive structures. This approach stems from the post-structural outlook that linguistic features reflect ideologies and power relations that condition interpretation of political and social issues. Through a critical observation, the role and influence of the EU in the Pacific region is examined and evaluated. A wider grouping of African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries is relevant to the discussion of the EU's development action and French territories are also taken into account as they are located in the Pacific region and have aspirations to become more integrated to the Pacific community. This study reveals how the EU is defined and how the EU influences the developing world. It also reveals how the Pacific countries are responding to the EU's interests and values such as regional integration and trade liberalisation. The discourse formation of EU-Pacific relations articulates and reinforces ideologies of identity and power behind the entirety of EU-Pacific relations. The nature of EU identity and role in relation to an 'Other' is thus explored in this thesis.

Chapter One: Studying the EU through Language

'Political, economic and cultural exchanges take place in different forms of social space and, together with structural influences, contribute to how that space is framed and perceived' (Youngs)¹

1. Introduction

This research offers a multidisciplinary perspective on the identity of the European Union (EU), drawing from, and contributing to the field of European Studies, discourse theory, linguistics and particularly Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which recognises the significance of language in studying political and social issues. With linguistic tools and the Foucauldian vision of language as a fundamental practice of social relations and power, discursive representations are explored for further understanding EU identity and its relations with the developing world. The focus is on the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries and specifically the Pacific region.

Linguistic representations are conditioned by a myriad of external factors including the EU's ontological development, function and subjectivity; changes in EU development policy affecting the ACP region; agency and instruments of the EU development action such as the European Development Fund (EDF); the EU's trade proposal to the ACP region, namely the Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA); and the Pacific regional identity; the understanding of self and the 'Other'. This study also shows that the 'type' of discourse is an external factor that conditions the ideology construction of identity and power relations through language. Representations of identity, power and action associated with EU-Pacific relations are observed in a range of textual materials with different

¹ Gillian Youngs, *International relations in a global age: a conceptual challenge* (Malden: Polity Press, 1999), 97.

institutional, informational, evaluative and persuasive features are selected for the analysis.

1.1. Research Objectives and Questions

The objective of this research is to investigate EU identity in the context of EU-Pacific relations by studying linguistic structure of discourses. The EU takes prides in being a successful collective political unit, a powerful regional trading block and the biggest aid donor in the world. These EU superlative achievements are recognisable relationally, that is by projecting subjectivity of 'self' in comparison to an 'Other'. This thesis exposes the discursive identity of the EU in relation to the Pacific region.

This study aims to examine power relations between political subjects that are linguistically embedded into transitive structures, most notably via representations of agency. According to the Cotonou Agreement, the EU aims to establish equal relations with the ACP region. This 'equal relationship' is questioned by this study which investigates meanings constructed by different types of textual material, namely institutional and press discourse. Different discourse types are expected to differ in the representation of responsibilities, power hierarchy and evaluative indicators. This study supposes that the EU has multiple layers of identity comprising supranational, institutional, intergovernmental, active, passive, abstract, hegemonic characteristics which are articulated in linguistic structures of different discourse types. Political subjects, issues or concepts associated with EU external development role may be represented in a concrete or static way, may imply agency and may have positive or negative connotations.

Linguistic representations studied exemplify different types of discourses which ideologically reconstructs subjects and actions. Discourses studied include first, institutional discourse which is exemplified by textual material from EU official websites, from the European Parliament and

speeches made by the European Commission, and second, press media which include newspapers from an EU country, namely France, and newspapers from the Pacific region, namely French Polynesia and New Caledonia. By making critical linguistic observations and comparing these sets of discourses, this research reveals attitudes, identities and power relations embodied in the discourses, which contribute to understanding EU-Pacific relations in a more holistic way. EU external policies on trade and development shape the EU's relations with the Pacific region and have a major impact on the latter's regional integration, identity and economic, political and social development. The discourse methodology applied to this study reveal an ensemble of possible constituting meanings defining the EU-Pacific relations conceptualised in the framework of philosophical theories.

The main question of this thesis is how the EU-Pacific relationship is ideologically constructed by discourse. In other words, how is the EU and its role in the Pacific region discursively constructed by different discourses about EU external development policy?

Sub-questions are: What are the subjects and issues associated with EU-Pacific relations? Are they positively or negatively represented? Is there a hierarchy established by media discourse between certain actors? In what ways does the identity of the EU feature and to what degree is its subjectivity/agency projected through linguistic structure? Is a new relationship between the EU and the Pacific region emerging in a particular discourse type? How are the actions, identities and power relations syntactically and semantically structured in discourse representations of EU-Pacific relations? What ideologies are formed about political concepts such as 'development', 'democracy' and 'regionalism' in the different discourses? To what extent are people's voices represented in the text? Where do they feature in the transitivity structure?

1.2. Scope of Study

EU identity has been intensely debated by various theorists of European integration, most notably Haas, Moravcsik, Hooghe and Marks, who perceive the EU in different ways, that is, as supranational, intergovernmental, as well as multileveled. This study questions linguistic manifestations of EU identity, in the context of EU external development policy affecting the Pacific region, and to what extent these debated views of EU identity emerge in discursive constructions. Due to the EU's collective treatment of the ACP region, the Pacific struggles to gain recognition and voice. Given this problem, EU-Pacific relations need to be further addressed and improved. Clausal structures representing EU-Pacific relations in EU institutional discourses and in the newspaper media are dependent variables of this research.

Independent variables are factors influencing this 'multifaceted' nature of discourse, namely the different views of EU identity as affirmed by the European integration theories; the EU external development policy for ACP countries affecting the Pacific region; the movement of regionalism in the Pacific which may influence the perception of the Pacific's identity; ideologies on issues associated with EU-Pacific relations. The controlling variable of the study is the type of discourse selected for the analysis. Texts exemplifying both political practice and mass media were considered.

In order to compile a suitable corpus for this study, materials demonstrating different conditions of Foucault's 'discursive formation' were taken into account. The primary objective is to collect data to demonstrate in what ways different types of discourses represent the subjectivity/identity of the EU in the context of its development action concerning the Pacific region. The corpus includes texts from newspapers from an EU Member State, namely France, and also from the Pacific, namely French territories which, this study considers as being a part of the Pacific region. These newspapers were selected because France is one of

the founding members of the EU and has had a major influence on the EU external development policy from the outset. Texts from French territories' newspapers are observed for consistency in language as they are also in French which is the primary, and common language of these latter Pacific island nations. The content and date range of the texts are controlled. They must be about EU-Pacific relations, particularly focusing on the EDF and the EPA, and they must be after 23rd June 2000 when the signing of the Cotonou Agreement marked a turning point in the EU external development policy.

The discourse analysis carried out in this research takes the position of poststructuralists such as Foucault, Derrida, Habermas, Laclau and Mouffe, who demonstrate that meaning and the linguistic form of meaning are contingent and variable. Laclau and Mouffe's notion of the empty/floating signifier, and their view that discourse is contingent and hegemonic contribute to the theoretical framework adopted by this thesis. Poststructuralism also affirms that language, being intrinsic to society, is a practice of social control which is not fixed and which constantly (re)produces transient ideologies.² Since meaning is flexible and malleable, the structure and form of language can appear in versatile ways, which has the ability to represent a single event as a participant, a concept or as a happening. Hence, this thesis aims to examine EU-Pacific relations through the internal transitivity and metaphor structures in selected textual representations.

Whilst the view of language undertaken by this study is situated in the framework of Poststructuralism, the structuralist position on language, founded by Saussure, is also important for understanding the clausal structure of discourse.³ Saussure's doctrine on linguistics justifies the system of signs which recognises and defines the relationship between

² Siegfried Jäger, "Discourse and knowledge: theoretical and methodological aspects of a critical discourse and dispositive analysis," in *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, ed. Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 2001), 41.

³ Chris Barker and Dariusz Galasinski, *Cultural studies and discourse analysis: a dialogue on language and identity* (London: Thousand Oaks, Calif., Sage, 2001), 4.

meaning and signs. It also makes a distinction between *langue*, *langage* and *parole*. Chomsky's formalist approach to language structure also justifies that the relationship between linguistic meanings and signs are formulated according a set structure of language. In addition to these formal aspects of linguistic structure, discourse studies take into account sociolinguistics which highlights linguistic markers of power and its implications in discourse.

The structure of a clause is intrinsically ideological as it organises the representation in a particular way, distributing semantic roles that are active or more passive, and colouring concepts or events in arbitrary ways. For instance, the EPA can be represented as an Actor in a clause, for example, 'the EPA provides an opportunity for development in ACP countries' or 'the EPA threatens local production'. The first example is a positive representation whereas the latter is negative. The EPA can be represented as a conceptual element rather than an actor associated with causality and responsibility. For example, 'after the first round of EPA negotiations, the EU is willing to accept more proposals from ACP countries'. Like so, the form of linguistic representation of a particular issue or event can be flexible and delivers different ideologies.

This study gives importance to the presence and dynamics of ideology in linguistic representations. Given that language is a social tool for constructing and conveying ideology, this study questions to what extent, and in what ways, ideology associated with EU identity and power, in the context of EU relations with the Pacific region, features in discourse. While there are many definitions of the term 'ideology', this thesis adopts the Foucauldian view of ideology as being intrinsic to language and as reflecting 'antagonisms of practices in ways which accord with the interests and projects of power'.⁴ This definition suggests that ideology is established

⁴ Chris Barker and Dariusz Galasinski, *Cultural studies and discourse analysis: a dialogue on language and identity*, 66.

and maintained by more powerful subjects and institutions in society and that such power is hidden in discourses.⁵

This position of ideology is clearly explained by Barker and Galasinski:

Ideologies are structures of signification which constitute social relations in and through power. If meaning is fluid – a question of difference and deferral – then ideology can be understood as the attempt to fix meaning for specific purposes. Ideologies are discourses which give meaning to material objects and social practices, they define and produce the acceptable and intelligible way of understanding the world while excluding other ways of reasoning as unintelligible.⁶

Ideology is therefore intrinsic to language because it is a form of social practice. Furthermore, ideology is conditioned by power and is a ‘means of legitimising existing social relations and differences of power’.⁷ Fairclough stresses that ideology has not been sufficiently contested in the study of linguistics which provides motivation for this study to explore this area.⁸ As well as addressing ideologies embedded in discourses, this research caters for recognising the language-society interface which is ‘so complex and multifaceted that interdisciplinary research is required’.⁹

The methodology of this research is largely inspired by Halliday’s functionalist approach to grammar, which provides appropriate tools to analyse the transitivity structure of representations. Halliday’s approach is particularly well received by the school of CDA which emerged in the 1990s and recognises the correlation between language and social ideology and power. CDA recognises discourse as units of communication and social phenomenon, considering a wide range of discourse types such as

⁵ Norman Fairclough, *Language and Power* (Harlow/New York: Longman, 2002), 44.

⁶ Chris Barker and Dariusz Galasinski, *Cultural studies and discourse analysis: a dialogue on language and identity*, 66.

⁷ Norman Fairclough, *Language and Power*, 2.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Ruth Wodak, “What is CDA about – a summary of its history, important concepts and its developments,” in *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, 8.

advertising media, interviews and newspaper reports.¹⁰ This study gains insights from works by authorities of CDA such as Fairclough, Fowler, Kress, van Dijk and Wodak.

This study also carries out metaphor observations to examine how ideological information is highlighted by metaphorical features, referring to the categories provided by Lakoff and Johnson's *Metaphor We Live By* and to Mulsoff's studies on metaphors of EU politics. Metaphors are vital tools for politicians whose role to communicate their ideas to the public effectively, because metaphors facilitate the public's understanding and convey ideologies by highlighting or concealing certain aspects of ideas.

1.3. Content and Organisation of Study

Chapter Two discusses a number of major EU integration theories which highlight different aspects of EU identity and power. The EU is viewed as having supranational, intergovernmental and neofunctional features which portray the multi-layered nature of EU identity. This chapter examines EU policies and instruments that are relevant to EU-Pacific relations. The EDF and the EPA are the principle mechanisms through which the EU currently influences its relations with the Pacific. Conditionalities set by the EU in the development aid package are also reviewed. Moreover, a sense of ambiguity and complexity is illustrated by the current partnership framework. This framework sets the aims and strategies for a more 'equal' EU-ACP/Pacific relationship, but, at the same time, lays down fundamental EU values and EU agency which makes the partnership more 'euro-centric'. Given the ambiguous and complex dimensions of the EU identity and development role, this chapter attempts to clarify current state of EU relations with the Pacific region and the wider ACP group.

¹⁰ Ruth Wodak, "What is CDA about – a summary of its history, important concepts and its developments," in *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, 6.

Chapter Three explains how the discourse theory utilised by this research is instrumental in defining identities and power associated with EU-Pacific relations. The theoretical framework of poststructuralism chosen for this discourse investigation elucidates the relationship between meaning and language. Thus, it is used to justify how meaning can be extracted from syntactic, semantic and lexical features of propositions. This chapter also introduces various discourse analysis methods drawn from the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) framework and illustrates how the discursive forms of meaning can have negative or positive connotations channelling a society's mode of thinking.

Based on the poststructuralist assumption that language, meaning and ideology are interconnected and based on the tradition of CDA, a specific methodology for this study is delineated in Chapter Four. The selected methodological tools identify and interpret syntactic and lexical features in order to uncover underlying social and political ideologies, power relations and identities embedded in the discourse. The methodology draws largely from Halliday's Theory on Functional Grammar which illustrates that transitivity is the basic building blocks of a real life event. Depending on the structure of transitivity, a representation of an event can be composed in a more concrete or abstract way. Linguistic features such as passive voice and nominalisation are also taken into account for the methodology as these also manipulate the nuance of the meaning constructed.

In Chapter Five and Six, EU institutional texts and speeches presenting the EU's external development policy are analysed. Institutional discourse is a 'vehicle for persuasion, for rhetorical action in which the point is to convince the objects of rhetoric of certain given beliefs, preferences and identities'.¹¹ The textual material analysed in these chapters exposes political identities and ideology from the perspective of the EU. It reflects the EU institutions' approach and frame of mind regarding the decision-making process of maintaining relations with developing countries. These

¹¹ Walters and Haahr, *Governing Europe* (2005), 83.

analyses investigate how EU discourses represent power relations and political concepts through transitivity and metaphor structure, and what ideologies are articulated in these discursive representations.

The discourse analysis conducted in Chapter Five observes EU policy discourses that reflect European legislative commitments to developing countries. Chapter Five is organised in two parts. The first part of this chapter looks at EU discourse intended for public consumption, namely texts taken from the EU's official 'Europa' website. The second part provides samples of EU institutional discourses from the European Parliament and the European Commission.

Chapter Six involves a discourse analysis of a selection of speeches delivered by Stefano Manservigi, Director General for Development in the European Commission since November 2004. His discourse was observed to identify the particular linguistic features representing the signifiers that constitute 'EU-Pacific relations', including the concept of 'development' and the EU's subjectivity and 'partnership' with the external developing world. These speeches delivered by an official representative of a European institution are examples of elite discourse. This type of discourse is expected to betray its EU-centric and supranational character, highlighting positive influences of the EU role and celebrating EU initiatives for developing countries. However, arguably there is a lack of awareness on real impact of EU actions on the world.

In Chapters Seven and Eight, media discourse, specifically, newspaper representations of EU-Pacific relations are studied using the methodology developed for this research. These chapters present discourse observations on representations from French and French territories', respectively. The press discourse reveals real concerns and portrays different ideologies. Press discourse representations contain ideological values and judgments about identities and power relations, which can be exposed with linguistic tools. The analysis on the newspaper discourse is expected to reveal ideologies that reflect 'social norms and values, organisational pressures

and constraints, pressures of interest groups, journalistic routines, and ideological or political orientations of journalists'.¹²

This chapter continues to explore the political dimensions of discourse formation, which exposes theories such as neofunctionalism to be interpreted featuring in linguistic forms. Ideologies are particularly pertinent in metaphorical projections, and have an important function of embodying and regurgitating common sense through discourse. As in previous analyses, the discourse analysis shows how identity and power relations are linguistically constructed and ideologically portray political subjects and issues, which in turn contribute to the signifier 'EU-Pacific relations'. This study is a detailed linguistic analysis which observes representations of EU-Pacific relations in the press discourse of France, a Member State of the EU.

Discursive representations formed by the press are argued to influence the public view on specific issues. The metaphors are considered as a powerful tool that reinforces certain ideologies contained in discourse. Lexical and syntactic features in representations studied in this chapter indicate how the different discourse types represent issues such as the EPA and the EDF which are essential components of EU relations with the Pacific region. The discourse analysis conducted highlights different ideologies conveyed by different discourse types regarding EU-Pacific relations.

Trade and development are leading issues in EU-Pacific relations and the various analyses undertaken in this study highlight the ways in which these issues are constructed discursively, and how they surface in relation to the represented subject identities. This study seeks to find how discursive representations are ideologically motivated, what elements are articulated and what are not articulated. In order to examine these discursively constructed subjects, identities, issues and power relations in EU-Pacific

¹² Dietram Scheufele, "Framing as a Theory of Media Effects", *Journal of Communication*, Vol.49, No.1. (1999), 109.

partnership, it is important to understand the context of these representations. This is the aim of the following chapter, which reviews theories on EU integration is to observe different features of EU identity. Furthermore, Chapter Two reviews the EU's role in external development and relations with developing countries, particularly those affected by the EDF and the EPA. It illustrates that the EU relationship with the Pacific region is fundamentally based on the EU's development aid to ACP countries.

Chapter Two:
The European Union-
Identity and Relations with the Pacific Region

'The proposition is to language what representation is to thought'
(Foucault)¹³

2. Introduction

This chapter provides a contextual framework for understanding European Union (EU) relations with the Pacific region. Topics covered include the EU identity; EU development and trade policies to African Caribbean Pacific (ACP) countries; EU values such as democracy and regional integration; and Pacific identity. The EU and Pacific identities are defined by the way these subject entities are mapped in the transitivity structure and also by the way metaphors are associated with these subjects.

Section 2.1 traces the development of the EU in order to outline its identity. EU identity is a key question of this discourse study and is a vital component of the ontological existence of EU-Pacific relations. European identity is complex and shifting. Through a comprehensive literature review, this chapter outlines different aspects of EU identity in relation to a number of EU integration theories, namely, supranationalism, intergovernmentalism, neofunctionalism and multilevel governance.

Section 2.2 reviews policy and measures that define EU-Pacific relations, particularly the EDF and the EPA. The aims of the EU external development action to ACP countries and the Pacific region's position regarding the latter reveal that 'trade' and 'development' are fundamental concepts that contribute to defining EU-Pacific relations. This section also

¹³ Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1970), 101.

explains how the Pacific region is identified and what issues are prevalent in the region.

2.1. EU Integration, Identity and Power

This section outlines a range of views on how the EU identity is perceived in major EU integration theories. The concept of EU identity is complex given that the nature and impact of power influencing EU legislation is both solid and fluid. Solid, because, institutionally, the EU has a centralised decision-making system, and fluid, because, that system can be swayed by a wide range of actors across national, supranational and subnational levels.

Reviewing the nature of EU identity is fundamental for understanding the EU's relationship with the Pacific region because it provides a background for the EU's subjectivity. This review will look at how the EU has evolved over time, how it currently functions and how power is mobilised in its policy making. Some of the major theories considered in this section are supranational institutionalism, intergovernmentalism, neofunctionalism and multilevel governance.

Integration is an important phenomenon that shapes EU identity. Haas asserts that the EU integration is a neofunctional process which reflects an on-going and gradual harmonisation of policies, identities and interests.¹⁴ The EU's institutional and supranational identity is attained by the neofunctional progress in EU integration: as Rosamond justifies that 'deepening economic integration will create the need for further European Institutionalization'.¹⁵ The theory of neofunctionalism helps to understand the nature of the EU's integration and decision-making processes which is

¹⁴ Mette Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, "Introduction: Neofunctionalism and Its Critics", *Debates on European Integration: A Reader*, ed. Mette Eilstrup-Sangiovanni (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 93.

¹⁵ Ben Rosamond, *Theories of European Integration* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), 52.

characterised by the ‘spill-over’ effect.¹⁶ At the same time, neofunctionalism provides a framework to understand the progress of EU policy-making.

Haas applied the neofunctional theory in a global setting where regionalism is active with governments as core actors.¹⁷ Neofunctionalism explains the relationship between economic and political actors resulting in eventual integration. The process of integration is seen as resulting from the separate self-interest of a diversity of political and economic actors rather than those acting for the collective common good.¹⁸

Europe was able to achieve successful integration by establishing a common project that promotes on-going cooperation and harmonisation. Following the Second World War, the forefathers of the European Community, Jean Monnet and Robert Schumann set out to realise France and Germany’s joint project for the coal industry as a practical and symbolic way of restoring peace and economic prosperity in Europe. This project eventually grew to become more substantial and more formalised requiring continuous negotiations among its institutions and nation states.

In May 1950, French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman announced the plan of the ‘European Coal and Steel Community’ (ECSC) which marks the birth of the EU.¹⁹ The Treaty of Paris establishing the ECSC in April 1951 was signed by six countries: France; Germany; Italy; Belgium; Luxemburg and the Netherlands. The ECSC project envisaged a free trade zone for establishing a common market and set up common, supranational

¹⁶ Nugent illustrates the development of the theory of ‘Neofunctionalism’ which was established by Ernst Haas in the late 1950s. Neil Nugent, *The Government and Politics of the European Union*, 6th edition (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 562.

¹⁷ Mette Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, “Introduction: Neofunctionalism and Its Critics”, *Debates on European Integration: A Reader*, 93.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Neil Nugent, *The Government and Politics of the European Union*, 36.

institutions, namely, the High Authority; the Council of Ministers; the Common Assembly and the Court of Justice.²⁰

In 1957, the ECSC project evolved into the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM). With the participation of new communities, the Common Assembly grew from 78 members to 98, and the common policy area was extended to include social and agricultural policy.²¹ In 1986, the Single European Act was introduced to update and clarify the Community decision-making system. Then in 1992, the Treaty on European Union (Maastricht) was signed and merged the existing communities to form a single 'European Union'. The latest developments of the constitutional status of the EU can be seen in the Lisbon Treaty which entered into force in December 2009. This revision upgrades democratic practice of the EU and lays down more efficient and effective methods of decision-making.²² Today, this EU accommodates 27 member countries with Croatia, Macedonia and Turkey as candidate countries on the accession list for the next enlargement.²³

The EU has supranational objectives because it aims to 'promote the development of shared identities and to reduce the exclusionary commitment to nation-states'.²⁴ The EU exercises its power as a collective unit through institutions and bureaucracy. Europe-wide legislation results from bargaining power between the core institutions, namely the European Commission, the European Council and the European Parliament. EU laws are becoming increasingly important and extensive in the lives of European citizens. Neofunctionalists argue that rising levels of interdependence and

²⁰ Neil Nugent, *The Government and Politics of the European Union*, 37.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 42.

²² http://europa.eu/lisbon_treaty/glance/index_en.htm

<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/JOHtml.do?uri=OJ:C:2007:306:SOM:EN:HTML>

²³ Neil Nugent, *The Government and Politics of the European Union*, 49.

²⁴ Richard Herrmann, Thomas Risse and Marilyn Brewer, *Transnational Identities-Becoming European in the EU* (Oxford: Rowman & Little field Publishers Inc., 2004), 1.

cross-border exchange would generate increasing demands for the creation of supranational institutions to solve common problems.²⁵

European Monetary Union (EMU) is a supranational project and it is an example of the EU's neofunctional progress. EMU contributed to the deepening process of EU integration and created a 'spill-over' effect in causing 'further convergence in other policy areas'²⁶ and 'further political integration, which may include employment policies, tax policies and a Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)'.²⁷ Regional coordination of monetary affairs resulted in policy harmonisation and common identities. Former president of the European Commission, Romano Prodi, stated: 'The euro was not just a bankers' decision or a technical decision. It was a decision which completely changed the nature of the nation states.'²⁸ The use of a common currency reinforced the EU's single economy and a sense of shared identity.

EU supranational institutionalism is based on the power and functions of the European Court of Justice, the European Commission, the European Council and the European Parliament. EU supranational power is also evident from the growing importance of EU legislation which has a prominent impact on national policies. The EU's supranational identity is pertinent in its influential global commitments, and today, it could be argued that EU institutions and Member States cannot be separated. The central institutional system allows Member States to pursue and integrate their interests in EU decision-making. The decision-making process is channelled through expert coordination work of the European Commission and also through the Parliament representing the citizens' voice, as well as safeguarding Member States sovereignty through the Council.

²⁵ Andrew Hurrell, "Explaining the Resurgence of Regionalism in World Politics", *Review of International Studies*, vol. 21, no. 4 (Oct., 1995): 336.

²⁶ Mirjam van Reison, *EU 'Global Player': The North-South Policy of the European Union* (Utrecht: International Books, 1999), 33.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Interview with Romano Prodi, *Financial Times*, April 9, 1999

The EU encourages institutional transparency and citizen participation in the EU decision-making. Lobby groups, petitions and referendum processes define the public sphere in which the public and the EU as an institution engage. The following statement by Wiener reflects the power dynamics of a decision-making process:

It has also become important to explain which actors' interests were most decisive in the process; what motivated changes; what ends participating actors pursued; and what consequences institutional change entailed for power relations. In other words, analysis of the role of actors, processes and organizational structures has been an important theme in the field, particularly with a view to understanding processes of interest aggregation, identity formation and the transfer of action potential.²⁹

European institutions have regulative and normative functions and are politically driven. As a supranational unit, the EU's institutional identity shapes and redefines Member States' governance and interests. EU supranational influence can be defined as a 'pursuit of shared interests being assigned ultimately to a supranational authority which, over time would further extend its policy reach'.³⁰ Identity promotion and creation of common interests is an important tool for institutions to legitimise power. Institutions are active agents of change and supranational identity is sought by creating symbols and promoting public awareness. The EU offers many citizenship benefits and its institutional system has the capacity to harness further policy-making, integration and enlargement.

Supranational institutional bodies, such as the European Commission, play a key role in the neofunctional progress of European integration by implementing legislation affecting the region. Supranational institutionalism expanded areas of collaboration between EU Member States, inciting political integration within the EU. An example of this is the Schengen

²⁹ Antje Wiener, "Constructivism and Sociological Institutionalism.", in *European Union Studies*, ed. Michelle Cini and Angela K. Bourne (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 36.

³⁰ Ben Tonra, "Conceptualizing the European Union's Global Role", in *European Union Studies*, 119.

Agreement which enabled a 'Free Movement of Persons' in Europe by abolishing internal border checks. This agreement (adopted in June 1990) deepened cooperation between all Member States, except for Ireland and the UK.³¹ With increasing and deepening regional cooperation facilitated by EU legislation, supranationalism highlights that Member States increasingly rely on centralised European governance.

In contrast, the intergovernmentalist view of Europe challenges the power of the supranational 'unit' represented by the European institutions. It asserts that European integration and decision-making are actively influenced by Member States rather than centralised institutional power.³² Moravcsik, an authority on intergovernmentalism, argues that international institutions do not reflect equal power distribution and EU enlargement likewise reflected the preferences of the most powerful Member States.³³ This view asserts that the EU is intergovernmental and that states are primarily motivated by military and economic benefits rather than by common ideals and values. Another approach to intergovernmentalism is liberal intergovernmentalism which sees EU decisions as being lead by Member State representation. Moravscik defines this as a three-step process:

The first being *National Preference Formation*, shaping what countries bring to the negotiating table; the second, *Inter-State Bargaining* between Member States; and the third being the encapsulation of important parts of an agreement in *International Institutions*.³⁴

This statement upholds the intergovernmental argument regarding EU decision-making by asserting that it is fundamentally based on national preferences and inter-state bargaining. However, government is central to

³¹ Neil Nugent, *The Government and Politics of the European Union*, 6th edition (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 97.

³² Antje Wiener and Thomas Diez, *European Integration Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

³³ *Ibid.*, 106.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 23.

the decision-making processes. Moravcsik claims that there is no real higher power than that of the state as the international institutional system is dominated by national interests and such power dynamics are perceived as being anarchic with no central source of influence.

The intergovernmental view of EU identity is thus more state-centric as national governments play a key role in decision-making and influence EU legislation to serve national rather collective interests. This theory therefore sees Member State power in the EU as being dynamic.³⁵ The European Council represents intergovernmental input to EU power. This theory sees regional cooperation as being essentially a result of similar national interests and asserts that supranational institutionalism is subservient to national governments.

The Maastricht Treaty sought to transform the notion of national identities during the 1990s to strengthen common European identities. The EU used to emphasize unity and diversity separately, but this objective was modified to unity 'in' diversity, in an attempt to recognise different European identities and the uniqueness of EU Member States.³⁶ The EU therefore emphasises preserving diversity in the region and at the same time promoting unity through existing diversities. The diverse voices and identities are asserted at the decision-making level which is an intergovernmental aspect of the European project. EU citizenship creates a sense of belonging within Europe while embracing individual cultural diversity and heritage across Europe.

Respecting diversity goes hand-in-hand with democracy. The principle of subsidiarity lays down the foundation for an effective democratic practice of the EU by acknowledging importance of small units in influencing EU

³⁵ Ben Rosamond, *Theories of European Integration*, (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), 137.

³⁶ Melissa Pantel, "Unity-in-diversity: Cultural Policy and EU Legitimacy", in *Legitimacy and the European Union: The Contested Policy*, ed. Thomas Banchoff and Mitchell Smith (London: Routledge, 1999), 47.

decision-making.³⁷ Subsidiarity ensures that ‘decisions are taken as closely as possible to the citizen and that constant checks are made as to whether action at Community level is justified in the light of the possibilities available at national, regional or local level.’³⁸ Then, in 1997, the Treaty of Amsterdam provided a more detailed account of how the principle of subsidiarity should be applied. Multilevel power in EU legislation can be observed in the way the principle of subsidiarity recognises the Committee of the Regions and other subnational bodies as being integral to EU decision-making. The democratic component of the EU system was heightened by the co-decision structure outlined in the Lisbon Treaty, for which the respect of the subsidiarity principles is foundational.

Literature shows that EU identity has several dimensions:

At the deepest level is the basic national concept of state-nation, at the second a purely relational conception of where the state/nation is in relation to Europe (internal, external, doubled, etc.), and at the third level are different concepts of Europe.³⁹

According to this passage, national, intergovernmental and supranational qualities represent different layers of the EU. It suggests that political action, identity and institutions are mutually constitutive, as they are formed through practice and communicative action. Furthermore, multilevel governance theory caters for such complex nature of governance and power, as conceptualises the EU as a unique organisation with constantly changing interaction and mobilisation of power between actors. According to this theory, the EU can be understood as a complex set of institutions with national and subnational influences in the decision-making processes.

The theories discussed so far in this section suggest that there are multiple levels of power associated with the functioning of the EU and different

³⁷ Article 5, EC Treaty (Maastricht Treaty).

³⁸ “Subsidiarity Principles”, Assembly of European Regions, <http://www.aer.eu/main-issues/subsidiarity.html>

³⁹ Ole Waever, “Discursive Approaches”, in *European Integration Theories*, ed. Antje Wiener and Thomas Diez. (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 205.

layers of its identity. EU identity thus has a ‘quixotic nature of the present Europoly, particularly its mixture of intergovernmental and supranational elements, its reach into domestic structures and policy making processes and also its limits’.⁴⁰ The theory of multilevel governance addresses decentralisation and the growing representation and influence of regional governments in EU decision-making arena. There are diverse subnational units/representations across Europe which makes power ‘unstable, contested, territorially heterogeneous and non-hierarchical’.⁴¹

The multilevel governance theory interprets power mobilisation in EU decision-making as being fragmented, multi-levelled, decentralised and not hierarchical.⁴² Since the 1980s, supranational and intergovernmental dynamics in decision-making have crystallised into multi-level pressures where ‘states no longer serve as the exclusive nexus between domestic politics and international relations’.⁴³ Scholars claimed separating tendency of regional units from their national governments, suggesting that the political area is ‘interconnected rather than nested’.⁴⁴ They are no longer dependant on national representation at EU level and have found access to influence power in the EU arena in their own right.⁴⁵ The structure of European governance can be viewed as being multi-levelled, vertically as well as horizontally.⁴⁶ Vertically, acknowledging participation at the supranational level as well as national and subnational. Each of these levels can be viewed horizontally, for instance, at the supranational level; there is power coordination between European institutions.

⁴⁰ Alex Warleigh, “Conceptual Combinations: Multilevel Governance and Policy networks”, in *European Union Studies*, 91.

⁴¹ Liesbet Hooghe and Gary marks, “‘Europe with the Regions’: Channels of Regional Representation in the European Union”, *Publius*, vol.26, no.1- Federal Systems in the Global Economy (Winter 1996): 91.

⁴² Stephen Welch and Caroline Kenney-Pipe, “Multi-level Governance and International Relations”, in *Multi-level Governance*, 141.

⁴³ Gary Marks, Liesbeth Hooghe and Kermit Blank, “European Integration from the 1980s: State-centric vs Multi-level Governance, in *Debates on European Integration: A Reader*, 376.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 359.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ Ben Rosamond, *Theories of European Integration*, 110.

The multilevel governance theory has been criticised for the lack of hypothesis and has been viewed as relying on neofunctionalism.⁴⁷ However, it is the compatibility with neofunctionalism which can add to the debate of EU identity in the context of its external development action. The neofunctional aspect of the multilevel governance is useful for addressing the changing paradigm of power dynamics between the European Commission and other actors. Multilevel governance is closely related to neofunctional theory as it follows the principle of political ‘spill-over’.⁴⁸ State power gradually disintegrates, as more subnational and supranational actors emerge and become stronger in the EU arena. The rise of subnational actors creates additional demand for institutionalisation and for coordination, and shared interests on certain issues ‘spill over’ to other areas. This contributes to regional integration, as a result of ‘societal actors calculating their interest relying on supranational institutions for increased influence’.⁴⁹

Hooghe discusses this view in the light of the European Cohesion Policy.⁵⁰ This policy shows elements of state-centrism, neofunctionalism and multilevel governance and demonstrates that there is a complex power structure in the EU arena with an increasing variety and strengths of subnational mobilisation of different actors influencing EU policy. This phenomenon is also policy/issue oriented as interests/power mobilisations differ according to policy area. The multilevel view of EU power decentralises decision-making while acknowledging both intergovernmental and supranational pressures. This view contends that power of the EU cannot be identified in a simple systematic manner and

⁴⁷ Stephen George, “Multi-level Governance and the European Union”, in *Multi-level Governance*, 118.

⁴⁸ Otto Holman, “Asymmetrical Regulation and Multidimensional Governance in the European Union”, *Review of International Political Economy*, vol.11, no.4 (October 2004), 718.

⁴⁹ Ernst Haas, “Does Constructivism subsume Neofunctionalism?”, in *Debates on European Integration: A Reader*, 438.

⁵⁰ Liesbet Hooghe, *Cohesion Policy and European Integration: Building Multi-Level Governance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 19.

that distribution of power influencing EU decision-making differs according to various processes and policies. This is evident in the fact that monetary union and the single market has a supranational dimension. In contrast, intergovernmental features of the EU are observed in social policies. For example, national governments still exercise power over their laws on issues such as abortion or divorce.⁵¹

Multilevel governance illustrates that power is multidimensional and recognises state power, but is not as extreme in its conclusions as intergovernmental theory. The EU is considered to be complex.

[The EU's] hybrid nature is characterised by the existence of overlapping competencies among multiple levels of governance and by the interaction of political actors across those levels.⁵²

Variation in power is influenced by 'cross-institutional and cross-national alliances of actors who share the same objectives on a given issue'.⁵³ This view also takes into account governmental and non-governmental participation in an intertwined system such as the EU:

The specificities of the EU are not primarily the product of a disorganised service of choices and bargains made by Member States over time, and the actions taken either by those states or by the EU institutions to deal with the often unintended or unanticipated consequences of those choices.⁵⁴

The subnational level covers a wide range of regional representation which varies across Europe. Germany and Spain have stronger regions than other Member States such as Ireland or France where regional identity is absorbed by the state power. The influence of regional governments in EU policy can be observed from the European cohesion policy which provided

⁵¹ Alex Warleigh, "Conceptual Combinations: Multilevel Governance and Policy Networks", in *European Union Studies*, 79.

⁵² Otto Holman, "Asymmetrical Regulation and Multidimensional Governance in the European Union", 718.

⁵³ Alex Warleigh, 79.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

structural funds to 40 percent of the EU population.⁵⁵ This policy empowered regional governments to coordinate the programming of structural funds and resulted in internal tension in countries like Ireland and Greece where local and regional offices are considerably subservient to state power. This study shows that power not only lies amongst actors, but also in the policies themselves which influences society and ideologies. Multilevel governance is therefore not only describing power distribution among actors but across issues as ‘virtues of centralization and decentralization differ from policy to policy’.⁵⁶ Constraints and incentives determine how states (and regions) act within the system.⁵⁷ Since constraints and incentives differ from policy to policy, mobilisation of power in the EU arena shifts accordingly.

Moreover, subnational participation can be regarded as enhancing democracy because it provides more channels and bodies of influence for citizens’ participation. Subnational power is evident in organisations like the Committee of the Regions and in other functional subnational groupings which are purpose-oriented. Examples include ‘Recite’ which hosts groups like ‘*quartiers en crise*’ and focuses on the issue of social exclusion across Europe, and ‘*dionysos*’, which serves to pool efforts for developing the wine industry⁵⁸.

The multilevel governance theory is also suited to discussing the EU’s external development policy as Member States have progressively delegated power to supranational institutions to govern this policy area and also as there is substantial involvement of Non-Governmental Organisations

⁵⁵ Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks, “‘Europe with the Regions’: Channels of Regional Representation in the European Union”, 79.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁵⁷ Frank Schimmelfennig and Ulrich Sedelmeier, “The Study of EU Enlargement: Theoretical Approaches and Empirical Findings”, ed. Michelle Cini and Angela K Bourne (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006) 101.

⁵⁸ Liesbet Hooghe, “The European Union and Multi-Level Governance in Practice: Patterns of Subnational Involvement: Expansion, Divergence, Complexity”, in European Union Studies Association (EUSA) Biennial Conference, Charleston, South Carolina (May 1995), 18.

(NGOs) addressing this issue. The EU's external action towards developing countries does not prompt Member States to weigh national interests and gains. The EU's global role in assisting developing countries is built on common values rather than individual economic gains of EU Member States. The EU in this context could be therefore viewed as a supranational actor, albeit, with the involvement of many other sources of influence.

While the EU is a supranational unity in that EU legislation is passed through a centralised institutional system, this supranational power is activated by other forces that are not supranational such as national governments and NGOs. Due to the multilayered nature of EU identity and power, there is an increasing academic interest in expanding knowledge on the diversity and impact of other non-traditional units in the EU arena. Multi-level governance serves to address different aspects of EU identity. Nonetheless, this theory is also considered to leave some vacuum in relation to how it can apply to other contexts of EU policy. This study attempts to fill a part of this vacuum by applying the multilevel governance view on EU identity and power in the context of EU external relations with the Pacific region.

This section discussed various views for understanding the dynamic nature of the EU identity which is a prerequisite for reflecting on EU policies and actions. The EU exports its regional values to the outside world as a means of bringing peace as well as for creating efficiency. The EU encourages the value of integration to its partners which serves to facilitate interaction with the latter. EU values also contribute significantly to the composition of EU identity and make an impact externally. The next section examines whether EU values and initiatives such as democracy, regional integration, and equal partnership are core values that are relevant to, and contribute to, EU-Pacific relations.

2.2. Defining EU-Pacific Relations

This section is a situational analysis assessing current EU relations with the Pacific region, particularly focusing on EU trade and development initiatives which are relevant to the Pacific region. Instead of providing a critical review of academic literature, this section uses facts, EU primary sources and current political debates to examine the initiatives and implications of the EDF and the EPA for the Pacific region.⁵⁹

The relationship between Europe and the Pacific region has undergone many transformations over the centuries. This relationship began when the Pacific region was discovered by the Europeans in the 16th Century when Ferdinand Magellan made the first circumnavigation voyage in 1518 with the intention of finding a Western Passage to the Spice Islands.⁶⁰ In the period of the Enlightenment, the link between Europe and the Pacific was based on European aspirations to further scientific and anthropological knowledge. The nature of the relationship changed with missionary work and trade. This relationship was reshaped through colonisation in the 19th century.

These changes from the past centuries reflect European agency and influences, and even to this day, Europe's relationship with the Pacific continues to reflect a sense of dominance on Europe's behalf. EU-Pacific relations can be viewed as Eurocentric because the partnership results from, and is constantly influenced by, the changing state of EU identity, agency, policy and values. As a result, this thesis posits that it is essential to understand what the EU represents in order to understand its relationship with the Pacific region. The EU evolves through enlargement and political/economic integration which fuels the on-going, neofunctional process of making new EU legislations, and which instigates changes to existing projects such as the EU external development action.

⁵⁹The sources used for this section include speeches of leaders in the Pacific region which were delivered during major Forum events. <http://www.forumsec.org.fj/>.

⁶⁰ Steven Fischer, *A History of the Pacific Islands*, (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 83.

As pointed out in the previous section, the EU's centralised institutional system reflects supranational, intergovernmental and subnational power. The EU's multi-layered system and identity is projected through the EU external development framework. The EU identity has an impact on the identity formation of the 'Other' and also contributes to the defining of the overall nature of the partnership with the 'Other'. The notion of the 'Other' refers to the Pacific region which can be divided in many ways.

For this study, the Pacific region is defined according to the context of the EU's external development policy, taking into account countries belonging to the ACP category. This group includes 15 nations: the Cook Islands; East Timor; Fiji; Kiribati; Marshall Islands; Micronesia; Nauru; Niue; Palau; Papua New Guinea; Samoa; Solomon Islands; Tonga; Tuvalu and Vanuatu. French Overseas Countries and Territories (OCT) located in the Pacific region, namely New Caledonia, French Polynesia and Wallis and Futuna, are also considered as being a part of the Pacific region. The Pacific ACPs and French-Pacific territories are represented by the Pacific Islands Forum which is the most predominant regional unit of the Pacific. The Forum is an institutionally bound regional unit which is consciously and tangibly taking steps to achieve deeper regional cooperation. The dynamics of Pacific regionalism is more intergovernmental than supranational, in comparison to the EU model.

While there is ongoing speculation as to which regional category the French territories in the Pacific belong since they have French, European and Pacific affiliations, this thesis takes the position that today, these French territories are best envisaged as being part of Pacific region. This is because the EU plays a development role in these territories under the same framework as the Pacific ACP countries, as well as encouraging regional integration in the Pacific; because the Pacific Islands Forum recognises a regional initiative to integrate these territories further in the activities of the Pacific community; and because the territories themselves have aspirations to gain more autonomy from France and work towards

more cooperation with the neighbouring Pacific islands. EU development policy was initially established for dependencies of founding member countries, such as these territories, before development aid became extended to other developing ACP countries.

2.2.1. Facets of the EU External Development Policy

The EU's on-going role and commitment to assisting developing countries is translated in Article 3 of the 1992 Treaty on European Union (TEU). The EU's relationship with the developing world was first defined in 1957 by the Treaty of Rome under Articles 182 to 187⁶¹. These articles recognised the dependencies as an 'association' outlining the EU's responsibility for the territories of the founding Member States. These dependencies included France's territories in the Pacific region. The Treaty of Rome included a declaration of protection for associated territories which was largely influenced by France.⁶²

Furthering the independence of some of the associations, the EU's development responsibility, expressed through trade, was re-established in the Yaoundé Agreement addressing 18 countries, mainly French colonies on the African continent. The Yaoundé Agreement included the notion of 'reciprocity' in the trade practice between the EU and the Yaoundé Associates, which was only ideological for the reasons outlined below:

First, it was said that only with mutual obligations could Africa negotiate as an "equal" with Europe; second, that these obligations went "beyond" more contractual relations; and third, that these obligations were essential to ensure that Africa did not fall under the sway of a (non-French) economic power.⁶³

⁶¹ The Treaty of Rome was amended by the Single Act, the Maastricht Treaty, the Treaty of Amsterdam and the Treaty of Nice: <http://europa.eu/scadplus/leg/en/lvb/r12300.htm>

⁶² Lorand Bartels, "The Trade and Development Policy of the European Union", in *Developments in EU External Relations Law*, ed. Marise Cremona (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 132.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 137.

As the EU grew in size, more revisions had to be made to EU external policies. When the British gained membership in 1973, its Commonwealth countries automatically become affiliated with the EU legislation. Hence, the new Lomé convention was signed in 1975 and the ACP Group was established with a total number of 79 signatories to accommodate the common interests expressed by the Commonwealth and Francophone nations.⁶⁴ The EU's development responsibilities were established through the Lomé Conventions, which, at the same time, ensured more export markets and an increase in trade for the EU. The notion of development was identified as addressing economic and social problems.

Another fundamental objective of the development action is to reduce extreme poverty. With over 50 million people in poverty, EU and Member State aid to the developing world accounts for more than half of the global financial assistance given. The fourth Lomé Convention introduced a poverty focus to the EU development policy. This convention presented a turning point in the progress of EU development action in that many changes were proposed, including a stronger economic framework and more ways to improve health and education.⁶⁵

While the ACP region comes in a multitude of sizes with varying needs, the EU development policy sees poverty as a common priority for all

⁶⁴ Lorand Bartels, "The Trade and Development Policy of the European Union", in *Developments in EU External Relations Law*, 147. The first ACP classification was made in the Georgetown Agreement in 1975. The current full List of ACP Member-States are as follows: Sub-Saharan Africa (48); Caribbean (16); Pacific (15): Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Belize, Cape Verde, Comoros, Bahamas, Barbados, Benin, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Kinshasa), Cook Islands, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Djibouti, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Grenada, Republic of Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Equatorial Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Kenya, Kiribati, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Marshall Islands, Mauritania, Mauritius, Micronesia, Mozambique, Namibia, Nauru, Niger, Nigeria, Niue, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Rwanda, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Solomon Islands, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Somalia, South Africa, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Tanzania, Timor Leste, Togo, Tonga, Trinidad and Tobago, Tuvalu, Uganda, Vanuatu, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

⁶⁵ European Commission, "Overview: The Lomé Convention", Europa,

http://ec.europa.eu/development/geographical/cotonou/lomegen/lomeitoiv_en.cfm#lome1V

developing countries. The EU prefers to maintain a multilateral rapport with ACP countries and is often accused of taking a one-size-fits-all approach to its development action. European relations with the developing countries became more harmonised between EU institutions and Member States and centrally coordinated with the principle of complementarity which was acknowledged in the 1992 Maastricht Treaty.⁶⁶ This Treaty set a legal basis for EU Development policy and the principle of complementarity had a significant dominant impact on EU development policy as it introduced political conditionality to EU-ACP action.⁶⁷

The Maastricht Treaty proposed a more strategic approach to EU development action, particularly identifying the need to improve on the coherence of policies, good coordination between the European Commission and the receiving parties, and complementariness of regional programmes. EU development policy created a further 'spill-over' to other policy areas such as trade and environment. Trade liberalisation was particularly identified as a solution to achieving development, and with the Maastricht Treaty, the plan to gradually insert ACP states into the global economy was proposed.⁶⁸

When the fourth Lomé Convention expired in 2000, the Cotonou Partnership Agreement was signed to continue the EU's efforts in assisting the developing world and to introduce more effective measures to improve the latter's economies. The 2000 Cotonou Agreement aims to strengthen EU Development action and policy. The Cotonou Agreement also reflects EU's supranational identity as the Treaty art.130 defines it as a 'collective action' with the European Commission having a central role. EU development action is neofunctional in that it indicates a 'spill-over' from EU integration into area of external development for ACP countries.⁶⁹ The

⁶⁶ Martin Holland, *The European Union and the Third World*, (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 114.

⁶⁷ Articles 177-181, EC Treaty.

⁶⁸ Martin Holland, *The European Union and the Third World*, 47.

⁶⁹ Martin Holland, *The European Union and the Third World*, 126.

value of good governance and regional integration are particularly supported by this principle.

The Cotonou Agreement provides a comprehensive framework for partnership between the EU and ACP countries. It presents definitions and strategies for an effective EU development policy and for an enhanced cooperation between the EU and ACP that reflects asymmetry. It aims to be compatible with World Trade Organisation's (WTO) standards and have a more positive impact on the ACP region compared with the earlier Lomé Conventions which had brought limited economic results to the Pacific. The Cotonou Agreement transformed the nature of the development relationship between the EU and ACP countries because it emphasised equal partnership and free trade, rather than preferential treatment.

The Cotonou Agreement allowed EU development action to be more aligned with global development initiatives, namely the United Nations' Millennium Development Goal (MDG). Eradication of extreme poverty is the MDG objective and is also defended as the ultimate goal of EU development assistance which asserts its commitment to 'reducing and eventually eradicating poverty'.⁷⁰ The EU thus shares a global common vision to halve extreme poverty by 2015.⁷¹ In order to achieve this goal, the EU offers development aid to 79 ACP countries and also to OCT grouping which consists of 20 nations.⁷² Furthermore, the EU aims to alleviate poverty by a 'gradual integration of ACP countries into the world

⁷⁰ Art.1, Cotonou Partnership Agreement, 2000.

⁷¹ "Development", Europa- Gateway to the European Union, http://europa.eu/pol/dev/index_en.htm

⁷² List of OCT States- Caribbean (8); Pacific (4); Indian Ocean (2); North Atlantic (2); South Atlantic (5): Anguilla, Aruba, Bermuda, British Antarctic Territory, British Indian Ocean Territory, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Falkland Islands, French Polynesia, Greenland, Mayotte, Montserrat, Netherland Antilles, New Caledonia, Pitcairn, South Georgian and South Sandwich Islands, St Helena, St Pierre & Miquelon, Terres Antarctiques, Turks & Caicos Islands, Wallis & Futuna. "EU relations with its associated overseas territories", European Commission, http://ec.europa.eu/development/geographical/regionscountries/regionscountriesocts_en.cfm.

economy'⁷³. The more recent approach taken for the development activities is to work on equality and local ownership of the projects. The Cotonou Agreement defines the concept of 'partnership' as shaping power relations and presents the legal basis for establishing an EPA.

The 2002 Monterrey Consensus increased EU development assistance to 0.39% of gross national income.⁷⁴ This figure is earmarked to increase to 0.56% in 2010; however, the recent financial crisis suggests that this target is not realistic. The EU's development commitment goes hand-in-hand with EU values such as human rights, freedom, peace, democracy, good governance, and gender equality. These norms are considered as 'cross-cutting' issues which are set as a conditionality of EU assistance.⁷⁵ The Commission is responsible for publishing a progress report every 2 years.

The EU's influence on the Pacific region can be reflected in its actions with the ACP and OCT countries. The EU provides these countries with ongoing financial aid and technical assistance primarily under the framework of the EDF which allocates a set amount of financial aid every five years. The EDF assists ACP and OCT countries with regional and national development programmes. These programmes are expected to accommodate EU values such as regionalism, democracy and good governance. These EU ideological values have been foundational to the EU making economic and political progress as a regional unit.

Over the past 30 years, the EU has implemented ten tranches of EDF in the Pacific region with the 10th framework being currently active. EDF programmes are consistent with the aims of the Cotonou framework as well as reflecting the Pacific's own regional development plan (the 'Pacific Plan') which is coordinated by the Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat (PIFS).

⁷³ Article 3- 193, paragraph 2, TEU.

⁷⁴ http://ec.europa.eu/development/how/monterrey_en.cfm

⁷⁵ The Council, the European Parliament and the Commission on European Union. Development Policy: The European Consensus (2006/C 46/01). "The European Consensus on Development", Official Journal of the European Union (24 February 2006), Section 3.3.

While French OCTs are recipients of EDF allocations, they do not take part in the Pacific Plan which seeks to promote Pacific regionalism. Financing of the EDF is an EU-wide commitment but with varying Member State contributions to the total funding pool. Historically, France has been the largest donor to the programme, followed by Germany.

EU development action to ACP countries also reflects EU identity and values, as it continues to influence and shape values and mentalities of recipient countries. ACP countries are affected by EU values as these are a conditionality of the development package. The EU development role is described as based in soft and normative power. According to Louis Michel, former European Commissioner for Development and Humanitarian Aid:

The development policy of the EU is based on the principle of sustainable, equitable development, which also involves a social and human aspect. The promotion of human rights, of democracy, of the principles of good governance are central themes.⁷⁶

These EU values encourage developing countries to improve the quality and structure of governance and to establish more political cooperation amongst them to achieve stronger regional integration. Through the soft normative influence, the EU development action aims to bring political improvement to the development countries.

The EU development package comes with the conditionality of ‘good governance’ which is one of the five pillars of the Cotonou Agreement. Good governance is a key motif and an important domain of conditionality driving the EU’s aid role in developing countries. Democracy is an essential component of EU identity and is a fundamental element of good governance and improvement of democratic practice in developing countries is particularly encouraged by the EU.⁷⁷ ACP countries are expected to enhance democratic practice in governance by making tangible changes,

⁷⁶ Speech by Louis Michel, European Commissioner for Development and Humanitarian Aid, Washington, 4th February 2005.

⁷⁷ Sabine C. Zanger, “Good Governance and European Aid”, *European Union Politics*, vol.1, no.3 (2000), 293-317.

and there are incentives reserved for better performing ACP countries in regard to democracy and human rights.

In order to practise good governance, institutionalisation provides a mechanism for facilitating and formalising dialogue, transparency and civil society participation across the region. Democracy can be enhanced by establishing ‘multiple systems of transaction and coordination which link people, communities and societies in highly complex ways’.⁷⁸ Institutionalism in the Pacific, such as the Pacific Islands Forum, facilitates regional cooperation and raises more awareness on good governance. Transparency in policy-making and implementation of new regulations is also an important feature of democracy, in which case, media plays an important role. Encouraging transparency ensures information access to citizens and institutions and it also ensures more honesty in government management of aid funds.

Regionalism is acknowledged in the EU development policy as being instrumental to achieving development; and that sustainable development and economic growth are achievable via regional integration and by establishing better trade relations. Regionalism in the Pacific is significant as the Pacific is under-going progressive changes for stronger integration and cooperation. The Pacific is aiming to also strengthen cooperation between the territories and independent Pacific Island nations.

In the eyes of the EU, regional integration is key to development and facilitates cooperation between the EU and ACP countries. The concept of regionalism is a significant feature in Pacific discourses on development. Discourse reinforces the value of regionalism for the Pacific region and this will be observed in the analyses conducted in this research. Regional integration in the Pacific region is idealised as a collective response for economic progress. The Pacific region is an important partner region to the

⁷⁸ David Held, *Democracy and the global order: from the modern state to cosmopolitan governance* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995), 101.

EU, particularly for fulfilling its role as a global development actor. The EU funded projects currently in place aim to enhance environmental protection, help establish a more sustainable economy and eradicate poverty.

Regional development programmes funded by the EDF are coordinated by the PIFS. National Authorising officers (NAOs) have an essential role in the decision-making process of development projects and they identify focal areas for how the budget is spent. NAOs also have responsibility over signing financing proposals and conducting consultative processes where the EU makes primary suggestions for European Development Fund (EDF) expenditure. The EDF assigns regional allocations for the ACP sub-regions of which the Pacific is one sub-region. The French territories, as OCTs of the EU participate in the programming of the Pacific regional fund but they receive a different treatment with separate funding.

The Pacific region's poor economic performance is to be improved by regional measures such as collectively improving labour mobility and financial sector reform. Pacific Regional Economic Integration Programme (PACREIP) which is the largest project in the 9th EDF received 2 million euro from the EU for expertise building and training. Although tourism is the sector with most potential for development in Pacific Island countries, tourism is not targeted in the EU's development initiatives for the ACP region. The PACREIP programme highlights the importance of democracy. Desired democratic reforms include, 'improving understanding and communications'⁷⁹; 'boosting media capacity'⁸⁰; 'building public trust in government'⁸¹; 'challenging corruption'⁸²; 'creating transparent and competitive economic environments'.⁸³

⁷⁹ Speech by Greg Urwin, Former Secretary General of the Pacific Islands Forum, 21 August 2006.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid.

The Regional Indicative Programme (RIP) for the Pacific ACP in the 9th EDF prioritises economic integration of the Pacific islands into the global trade arena. Under the 9th EDF, the RIP was allocated €39 million, and under the 10th EDF, the funding increased to €76.2 million.⁸⁴ EU policy expresses trade liberalisation as being instrumental in achieving development. However, this view will be reviewed with findings from the discourse analysis presented later in the thesis.

The EU announced that any projects which come under the 10th EDF must contribute to regional economic integration, particularly in regard to the EPA. The ‘Technical Cooperation Facility’ is a regional programme funded by the EDF with a sum of 1.2 million euro. It aims to facilitate better coordination and strengthen trade capacity of the Pacific islands. However, this raised some speculation towards the EU’s initiative for linking trade to aid. The Pacific acknowledged the situation in realising that progress depends on one another:

The issue, as you will be aware, is that programming of the 10th EDF has been linked by the EU to the EPA negotiations with, to a significant extent, progress in one dependent on progress in the other. We hope we can move the process forward after the round of EPA negotiations with the European Union, which as I said earlier is underway in Brussels. I would like to assure you all that programming of the 10th EDF will continue to be a consultative process involving the NAOs, CROP organizations, European Commission, Non-State Actors and other key stakeholders.⁸⁵

Whilst the EDF has been an invaluable tool for development in the Pacific, it has also had its problematic moments. The Pacific pointed out that there has not been sufficient funding which has impinged on its progress in regional activities:

One of the critical issues for the implementation of our internal road map activities or programmes is adequate funding, critical because of

⁸⁴ Pacific Regional Economic Integration Programme (PACREIP), <http://www.pacreip.org/index.php?id=151>

⁸⁵ Speech by Greg Urwin, at Forum Officials Committee Pre-Forum and Budget and Work Programme Session, Nuku’alofa, Tonga, 26 September 2007.

delays experienced in securing the necessary funds from the EU. If this problem persists, it will obviously have serious consequences for the implementation of our internal road map activities as mandated by our leaders.⁸⁶

Nevertheless, the Pacific has received additional funding of 10 million euro under the 9th EDF for showing good performance in governance and development. In this way, the EU value of democracy is transferred to recipient countries of the EDF which demonstrates EU influence and identity. Furthermore, the Cotonou Agreement and the Development Consensus illustrate the latest foundations for EU-Pacific relations. The European Consensus notes the significance of trade and regional integration in reaching the development goal of reducing poverty:

The Community will assist developing countries on trade and regional integration through fostering equitable and environmentally sustainable growth, smooth and gradual integration into the world economy, and linking trade and poverty reduction or equivalent strategies. The priorities in this area are institutional and capacity building to design and effectively implement sound trade and integration policies, as well as support for the private sector to take advantage of new trading opportunities.⁸⁷

The trade arrangements between the EU and ACP countries shape today's EU development role and act as an instrument to reduce poverty. The modifications of EU-ACP relations demonstrate that it is an on-going, neofunctional progress of EU policy making and identity.

2.2.2. EU Trade Agreement with ACP Countries

Trade is a significant aspect of the EU development policy and is considered instrumental to achieving development goals. Trade is 'a development strategy that has already lifted hundreds of millions of people in the developing world out of poverty, and can do the same for hundreds of

⁸⁶ Speech by Greg Urwin, Former Secretary General, Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, at the Pacific ACP Trade Ministers Meeting, Nadi, Fiji, Thursday, 26 May 2005

⁸⁷ Clause 72, 2005 European Consensus on Development.
http://ec.europa.eu/development/icenter/repository/european_consensus_2005_en.pdf

millions more'.⁸⁸ The Cotonou Partnership Agreement identifies trade as one of the three complementary pillars and asserts that the ACP-EU cooperation aims at:

Fostering the smooth and gradual integration of the ACP states in the world economy, with due regard for their political choices and development priorities, thereby promoting their sustainable development and contributing to poverty eradication in the ACP countries.⁸⁹

Economic integration of ACP states in the world economy is shown as a solution to development and eradication of poverty. The EU thereby currently provides numerous mechanisms for increasing the trade capacity of developing countries, such as, the 2001 Everything but Arms initiative; 2007 Aid-for-Trade Strategy; and the EPA being the most fundamental.⁹⁰

Whilst trade is identified by the EU as the core of its development action, the previous preferential trade arrangements established by the Lomé Conventions failed to assist developing countries to secure sustainable development. In order to improve the guidelines for meeting EU development objectives, the Cotonou Agreement modified the trade status to being 'non-preferential'.⁹¹ The Cotonou Agreement emphasizes the importance of establishing an equal partnership between the EU and ACP countries, which is particularly relevant to trade:

Rights and obligations for both sides. Compliance with the obligations by each side is essential for the achievement of the entire undertaking. In particular, while the Union will be prepared to further open up its market to ACP products and tackle all other trade barriers, the ACP States must be prepared to implement appropriate

⁸⁸ "Wider Agenda: Development", European Commission.
http://ec.europa.eu/trade/wider-agenda/development/index_en.htm.

⁸⁹ Article 34, Cotonou Partnership Agreement, Revised on 25 June 2005.

⁹⁰ "Trade and Regional Integration", European Commission.
http://ec.europa.eu/development/policies/9interventionareas/trade_en.cfm.

⁹¹ Lorand Bartels, "The Trade and Development Policy of the European Union", in *Developments in EU External Relations Law*, 147.

policies to strengthen their supply capacity and to reduce transaction costs.⁹²

The Cotonou Agreement emphasizes the importance of good governance, democracy, regionalism and the respect of basic human rights.⁹³ Through this framework of values, the EU is encouraging local participation of ACP countries to strengthen dialogue and construct effective development strategies and to establish more efficient trade relations with them by removing trade barriers.

Post-Cotonou, the EU and ACP countries are facing a major challenge to agree on a WTO compatible trade regulation, namely the EPA. All ACP countries have been asked to adopt the EPA as this trade liberalisation project presents a gateway for developing countries to gain more foreign investment and have market access to the EU. EPA is a measure for achieving development and promotes regional integration amongst ACP countries.

The EPA was expected to enter into force by 1st January 2008 but the negotiations between the Pacific region and the EU were not successful in meeting the deadline (a feature also found among several African EPAs).⁹⁴ The failure to finalise full, collective and comprehensive EPAs across the ACP region resulted in the signing of interim EPAs by numerous individual ACP countries. The Pacific's regional position on the EPA is not satisfied with Europe's current proposals. Only two Pacific ACP countries have signed interim EPAs: Fiji signed the EPA in November 2007 and Papua

⁹² "Development: Economic Partnerships", European Commission, http://ec.europa.eu/trade/wider-agenda/development/economic-partnerships/index_en.htm.

⁹³ Martin Holland and Malakai Kolomatangi highlight that the Cotonou Agreement contains more specific and feasible objectives than the ones in the Lomé Conventions. "Governance, Capacity and Legitimacy: EPAs EBA and the European Union's Pacific Regionalism after Cotonou", in *Redefining the Pacific?: Regionalism Past, Present and Future*, ed. Jenny Bryant-Tokalau and Ian Frazer (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2006), 101-120.

⁹⁴ The deadline for implementing the EPA is outlined in Article 37 of the Cotonou Agreement. Lorand Bartels, "The Trade and Development Policy of the European Union", in *Developments in EU External Relations Law*, 166.

New Guinea signed in July 2009.⁹⁵ The relationship between the EU and the Pacific is currently put under pressure to finalise negotiations for signing the EPA.

Regional integration in the Pacific is encouraged by the EU as a development tool and as means of facilitating multilateral, as expressed in the Cotonou Agreement: Regional integration is a key method of achieving a greater and more sustainable economy due to the idea that working as a block would bring greater efficiency and further harmonisation.⁹⁶ The EPA provides an impetus for the Pacific to work as a single region the Pacific region regards the EPA as serving to ‘complement and support the aspirations of our Leaders as expressed in their Pacific Vision.’⁹⁷ As the EPA proposes to accelerate capacity building and enhance internal regional trade relations, it presents an opportunity to improve regional integration and economic growth:

Through integration PACP States can benefit from a bigger collective economic space. This can be achieved by a variety of cooperative arrangements, with trade a significant pillar. In that context, the EPA, PICTA and PACER-Plus initiatives can be seen as opportunities on offer for the PACP States. The promise of markets and absence of barriers to trade offer incentives for investment, job creation and economic diversification. These are the essential fundamentals for economic growth and prosperity, key objectives of the Forum Leaders Pacific vision⁹⁸.

The Pacific expresses thus an optimistic view regarding the EPA issue and also gives importance to the matter which can be observed in the following statement:

Much time and industry has been devoted to the Economic Partnership Agreement by your Excellencies, by senior officials and by the Forum Secretariat. The negotiations are now at a critical stage,

⁹⁵ ‘EPA Negotiations: Where do we stand?’, updated in 17 November 2009

<http://www.acp-eu-trade.org/index.php?loc=epa/Pacific.php>

⁹⁶ Article 28, Cotonou Agreement.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Speech by Tuilom Neroni Slade, Secretary General of the Pacific Islands Forum, at Pacific ACP Trade Ministers Meeting, Apia, Samoa, 15 June 2009, Apia, Samoa.

and important decisions need to be made. [...] Without question, there is need to protect the integrity of the positions of the PACP States and retain the unity of the Group.⁹⁹

Unlike the previous Lomé Conventions, the EPA is based on a trade liberalisation agenda and seeks to enable ACP countries to compete at the global level and become an equal ‘partner’ of the EU, instead of relying on non-reciprocal economic exchanges.¹⁰⁰

While the EU development policy links aid to achieve the removal of inter-regional trade barriers, Reisen (1999) comments that there is a contradiction implied by EU trade action in its development goals:

People in developing countries are particularly affected by EU trading policies. As studies have repeatedly shown, many EU trade policies are not conducive to the needs of domestic producers in developing countries.¹⁰¹

This is reflected in the case of the EPA in the Pacific islands: European goods offer disadvantageous competition for local producers in an already small market.¹⁰² Small local businesses are likely to suffer from European products entering more easily with lowered trade barriers. It is thus questionable whether the EU development policy specifically aims to eradicate poverty in ACP countries.

The Pacific is demanding better trade preferences¹⁰³ and hopes to safeguard its position by refusing to sign anything. Pacific ACP Leaders have stressed that the EPA must be development orientated and that it must be focused on fundamental regional objectives such as the WTO’s differential treatment.

⁹⁹ Speech by Tuilom Neroni Slade, Secretary General of the Pacific Islands Forum, at Pacific ACP Trade Ministers Meeting, Nadi, 21 October 2008.

¹⁰⁰ Martin Holland and Malakai Koloamantangi, “Governance, Capacity and Legitimacy”, in *Redefining the Pacific? Regionalism Past, Present and Future*, 107.

¹⁰¹ Mirjam van Reisen, “EU ‘Global Player’: The North-South Policy of the European Union”, 32.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Forum bulletin, May 2007. The Pacific laid out minimum requirements for improvement of Rules of Origin in the EPA.

They wish to receive additional and binding resources for funding adjustment and development costs of implementing the EPA. The Pacific is yet to establish appropriate capacities and wants the EU to modify currently proposed goods and services demands and offers. Furthermore, the Pacific has requested a Services Agreement that accommodates the temporary movement of workers.

This new partnership agreement, based on reciprocity, is a controversial commitment for the Pacific region as they have a small market and the risk of the EPA increasing imports from Europe. The Pacific has made various requests for extra funding for adjustment costs and changes concerning the Rules of Origin. Currently, the Pacific feels as though it does not have enough capacity to sign the EPA. Moreover, the EPA may not grant duty free access for all Pacific exports to the EU and the strict EU regulations on imports have already proved to be a strain on the already limited Pacific products. For example, the EU ban on Kava in 2002 had a negative impact on the Fijian economy. The Pacific region needs a stronger voice to ensure that their needs are addressed at the EPA. The Pacific, therefore, needs to ‘enhance trade expertise in the area of trade negotiations and trade policy formulation and management’¹⁰⁴ and ‘deepen trade among ourselves’¹⁰⁵. There is a major focus on regional trade cooperation within the Pacific region.

Pacific leaders argue that the EU has not been cooperative in the EPA negotiations:

The Pacific ACP States have not received satisfactory responses from the EC on the issues of interest to PACPs’ and that the Pacific has had ‘inadequate response from the EC.’¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ Speech by Hon. James Bule, Vanuatu Minister of Trade, Commerce, Industries and Tourism, 27 July 2007. Also in PIF press statement, 16 November 2006. ‘PICS call for political intervention in EPA negotiations, <http://www.forumsec.org.fj/pages.cfm/newsroom/press-statements/press-statements-2006/trade-ministers-on-epa-process.html>

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Speech by Hon. James Bule, Vanuatu Minister of Trade, Commerce, Industries and Tourism, 27 July 2007.

Bule then addressed Louis Michel, EU Commissioner for Development, stating that Pacific leaders do not understand the conditionality imposed on regional programming of the 10th EDF. As a response to the EU's unenthusiastic commitment to the Pacific, the region seems to pay more attention to regional trade initiatives, namely the Pacific Island Countries Trade Agreement (PICTA) and the Pacific Agreement for Closer Economic Relations (PACER).

Like the failure of Lomé, the EPA could lead to a deterioration in the economy of the Pacific islands and put a strain on the EU's relationship with the Pacific region. EPA adjustment costs and facilities constitute financial burdens on small Pacific states and export standards appear too strict. In March 2007, the Pacific ACP delegation was in Brussels to discuss adjustment costs. The Pacific islands lack infrastructure and have policy uncertainties which stop them from being able to work efficiently as one region. The Pacific region often does not possess many resources for effectively exploiting the market access to Europe.

More participation of the Pacific region in the EPA negotiations is necessary. The Pacific region is only a minor part of the ACP group and the particularities of these countries have not been given substantial consideration in the drafting of the EPA proposal. The Pacific is reluctant to sign the EPA as this proposal does not seem to cater for the needs, circumstances and interests of the Pacific Islands.¹⁰⁷ A comprehensive EPA is expected but further negotiations are necessary. Pacific leaders point out that the European Commission's communication made reference to the 10th EDF Regional Indicative Programme (RIP) as being conditional to the outcome of the EPA negotiations.¹⁰⁸ The Commission proposed to cut resources from the RIP depending on the outcome of the EPA

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Press Statement, "PACP Trade Ministers Gravely Concerned And Disappointed About EU's Linking The 10th EDF To The EPA", (89/07), 1 August 2007, <http://www.forumsec.org.fj/pages.cfm/newsroom/press-statements/2007/pacp-trade-ministers-gravely-concerned-disappointed-about-eus-linking-10th-edf-epa.html>

negotiations and this was considered inappropriate by the PACP Trade Ministers. The latter requested the European Commission reconsider this initiative.

There are some inconsistencies in the way the EU and the Pacific view the causal relationship between trade and regional integration. The EU sees regional integration as being instrumental to effective trade, but for the Pacific, it is trade liberalisation which is identified as being instrumental to regional integration.¹⁰⁹ The EU treats the concept of development and poverty as being correlated but these concepts are described as separate issues in the Pacific region: ‘sustainable development and reduction of poverty in the PACPs’.¹¹⁰ The Pacific region’s goals, interests, conditions and identity needs to be better understood and acknowledged by the EU in their development and trade action.¹¹¹

2.2.3. Regional Integration in the Pacific

Regional integration is an important feature of EU identity and its development aims. Regional integration is outlined as being instrumental to establishing trade and the EU encourages developing countries to enhance regional cooperation amongst them.¹¹² Regional integration is highlighted in development discourses and is considered as a form of good governance. As for the Pacific region, regionalism is an ongoing neofunctional project. This section discusses the regional identity of the Pacific region which is based on intergovernmental cooperation as opposed to the supranational model in the case of EU regional integration. Regional cooperation in the Pacific is

¹⁰⁹Speech by Tuilom Neroni Slade, at Meeting of the 10th EDF Technical Evaluation Committee, 19 January 2009, Suva, Fiji.

¹¹⁰ Speech by Peter Forau, Deputy Secretary General of the Pacific Islands Forum, 31 July 2007.

¹¹¹ Speech by Kamisese mara, 16 August 2001.

¹¹² Article 35, Cotonou Partnership Agreement, June 2000.

bringing French territories closer to the Pacific region coordinated by the current regional institution body called the Pacific Islands Forum (PIF).

The Pacific's current major regional institution, the PIF resulted from a meeting in Wellington in August 1971. This meeting was attended by seven countries, namely New Zealand, Australia, Fiji, Samoa, Tonga, Nauru and the Cook Islands. This PIF was originally founded as the 'South Pacific Bureau for Economic Cooperation (SPEC)' and became known as the 'South Pacific Forum Secretariat' in 1988. The name of this organisation changed again in 1999 to the 'Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat' and consists of 16 members. The main members are self governing island nations with control over foreign affairs, trade, defence and judicial matters. The forum also has two associated members, namely, French Polynesia and New Caledonia which are non-self governing territories. There are various official observers to the Forum which includes the European Union who attained this status in 1991. Wallis and Futuna, is also an observer to the Forum.

PIF deals with political, social and educational issues and is divided into four departments, namely, the Development and Economic Policy Division; Political and International Affairs; Trade and Investment Division; and Corporate Services Division. The Council of Regional Organisations of the Pacific (CROP) umbrellas ten regional agencies including the Forum itself, Fiji School of Medicine (FSMed), Pacific Islands Forum Fisheries Agency (FFA), Pacific Islands Development Programme (PIDP), Secretariat of the Pacific Community (SPC), Pacific Islands Applied Geoscience Commission (SOPAC), South Pacific Board for Educational Assessment (SPBEA), Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP), south-pacific.travel and University of the South Pacific (USP).¹¹³ The Forum is primarily financed by subsidies from member countries and with

¹¹³ Dave Peebles, *Pacific Regional Order* (Canberra: ANU E Press and Asia Pacific Press, 2005), 61.

substantial input from New Zealand and Australia, chairs CROP and holds regular meetings at ministerial level

As a centralised, dynamic regional body that coordinates EU development aid funds and projects, the Forum provides a place for establishing regional integration. Like the EU, the Forum has supranational, intergovernmental, institutional and neofunctional facets. Regional dialogue maintains democratic practice, as this creates a collective voice on various important regional and international issues. Regional cooperation is a priority on the Forum's agenda which could be realised by raising more regional awareness, by establishing more areas for cooperation in the region, and by enhancing networking and cooperation with other NGOs.

PIF is looking for ways to further regional cooperation in the Pacific and find common solutions to common challenges and interests. For example, capacity building is a major constraint in the Pacific region. Capacity building requires more industry-based skills training and facilities. Product standards are high for meeting satisfactory levels to enter EU market. Fiji and PNG are constantly being challenged by the higher standards imposed on their goods. Pacific nations share similar characteristics of having a small population, limited resources, lack of institutional capacity and their dependence on larger powers.

The sense of 'region' of the Pacific islands is rooted in its collective colonial history. The South Pacific Commission (now known as 'Secretariat of Pacific Community') represented the Pacific region under the colonial influence of Australia, France, the Netherlands, New Zealand, and the US and the UK.¹¹⁴ SPC provided a common place for the heads of these colonial powers to meet and discuss regional issues. The concept of regionalism evolved in 1944 when the Labour governments of Australia and NZ promoted a new vision of regional community which called for Pacific

¹¹⁴ Greg Fry, "The South Pacific 'Experiment': Reflections on the Origins of Regional Identity", *The Journal of Pacific History*, vol. 32, no. 2 (December 1997): 180.

Islands' participation. This vision gained support at the South Seas Conference in 1947.¹¹⁵ The first Pacific conference took place in 1950 gathering all Pacific islands which marked the beginning of a new model of regionalism as a response to the former colonial version of regionalism. Furthermore, by 1992, SPC was connected to seven major intergovernmental organisations in the region.¹¹⁶

The new meaning given to the signifier 'regionalism' in the post-colonial context of the Pacific region is evident in the following press quote:

From the native point of view the main significance of the conference lay in the fact that Europeans for the first time, were officially recognising that the Pacific races would ultimately be able to look after themselves, economically, socially and in future politically.¹¹⁷

In 2003, the former Australian Prime Minister, John Howard proposed a regional project to establish a 'Pacific Political and Economic Community'. This project envisaged a set up of a more integrated (and secure) regional community which was to be managed by the Australian government. Howard claimed that Australia has a special responsibility over the Pacific region and that this model would ensure more security. The proposed economic harmonisation included establishing a monetary union across the Pacific region using Australian dollars and set up regional free trade for developing a single regional economy. New Zealand did not agree with the proposal which reflects an Australian-centric approach to regionalism, and it was thus abandoned.

Another regional initiative was proposed which was to review the Pacific Islands Forum. This proposal was presented by the Eminent Persons Group

¹¹⁵ Greg Fry, "The South Pacific 'Experiment': Reflections on the Origins of Regional Identity", *The Journal of Pacific History*, 199.

¹¹⁶ Ian Frazer and Bryant-Tokalau, "Introduction: The Uncertain Future of Pacific Regionalism", in *Redefining the Pacific?: Regionalism Past, Present and Future*, 1.

¹¹⁷ Press article, "S. Pacific natives find new outlook", *Melbourne Sun*, 4 May 1950, quoted by Greg Fry, "The South Pacific 'Experiment': Reflections on the Origins of Regional Identity", *The Journal of Pacific History*, 180.

and it was a more balanced approach compared to the previous example of the Australia-led Pacific regional model. The review of the PIF was approved in 2004, and led to drafting a common regional vision in the 'Pacific Plan'. The 'Pacific Plan' is a regional document endorsed in 2005 which provides a framework for achieving development. It is a key policy document containing all regional priorities which provides a reference to all donors. It is called a 'living document' because the Forum intends to review it regularly and up-date it over time.

The aim and function of the Pacific Plan is to strengthen regional cooperation and integration in the Pacific by encouraging regional policies to become integrated into national policy, but, it also ensures that this document does not impose any limitations on national sovereignty. While good governance is one of the pillars of the Pacific Plan, human rights are not mentioned in this document, which is its major flaw. Good governance is prioritised in the Pacific Plan and progress can be demonstrated by the development of regional policy. Senior Pacific policy makers have agreed on a regional policy to enhance the level of democratic practice and the participation of civil society.

The Pacific regional agenda aims to develop knowledge and improve communications. The agenda can be found in the Pacific Plan which outlines the need to establish and strengthen partnerships with Pacific neighbours and harmonize various policies and processes, in order to bring tangible benefits and sustainable economies. Integration is a political commitment which could be pursued with a more comprehensive and broader Pacific Plan and through good governance.¹¹⁸

Fry questions the state of regionalism in the Pacific and states that while regionalism is defined as a practice of 'good governance', it does not

¹¹⁸ Speech by Greg Urwin, 14 January 2005.

provide a solution to improving governance in the Pacific islands.¹¹⁹ ‘Good governance’ refers to a more deeply integrated state of regional governance and in the context of the Pacific region, such integration is more likely to be achieved at a smaller community level, rather than at a regional level. Fry also argues that local governance influences state power more than regional cooperation. This indicates that good governance can be achieved with multi-layered power.

The phenomenon of regionalism is different for the Pacific in comparison to the European regional integration. Pacific regionalism is more intergovernmental than supranational, and based on cooperation rather than on integration of policies and economy. The most prominent form of regional governance in the Pacific is practiced by the PIF. Pacific regionalism is defined as ‘regional cooperation among the independent island states and self-governing territories of what used to be known as the Southwest Pacific’.¹²⁰ The initial regional cooperation resulted from the Pacific’s collective will to become more independent. Today, the Pacific region is showing a common interest in improving development and trade.

Local and community participation is important in deepening integration and cooperation in a regional unit. This is a plausible and effective measure for the Pacific islands which already have elements of a collective identity from many social and cultural similarities. The Pacific region has potential to develop economically and politically as a region by increasing centralised regional institutional influence as provided by the PIF. On the other hand, it would be difficult to achieve a scale of integration equal to that of the EU model due to financial and sovereignty constraints. Harmonising certain policies such as energy security or establishing a common healthcare system would be some of the potential steps to achieving successful and beneficial regionalism. A regional foreign policy could be established to deal with

¹¹⁹ Greg Fry, “Whose Oceania?: Contending Visions of Community in Pacific Region-Building”, working paper, Australian National University, Department of International Relations (Canberra, 2004), 1.

¹²⁰ Ian Frazer and Bryant-Tokalau, “Introduction: The Uncertain Future of Pacific Regionalism”, in *Redefining the Pacific?: Regionalism Past, Present and Future*, 1.

trade, energy and security which would be much more efficient and inexpensive for the region. The Pacific region's integration could be enhanced by pooling resources for production and export but commercial exchange within the Pacific is not common due to limited resources.

The Pacific region is conscious of the current pressures to enhance the quality of regional cooperation in the Pacific region. Regional objectives highlight trade liberalisation and improving governance. There are many regional projects in place and such regional efforts are observed in programmes such as the 'Regional Customs Service', 'South Pacific Regional Economic and Trade Cooperation Agreement', 'Regional Trade Facilitation Programme' and setting up of the 'Regional Resource Centre' providing information and communication services for the region. The EU hopes to see stronger regional groups formed for better cooperation and economic development. The Pacific region is inspired by the EU objective to enhance regional integration and already has the instruments in place, such as the Forum, to achieve this. Regionalism took a new turn when colonial powers ceased to influence regional cooperation. Colonialist regionalism can be exemplified by the original 'South Pacific Commission', where only powerful countries in this region such as France, UK, US, Australia and NZ met to discuss regional issues. A newer regional model is represented by the PIF which focuses on the participation of independent islands. It aims to pool together ideas and resources, and work towards further regional integration.

2.2.3.1. French Territories:

Today, French territories seem to be more focused on relations with the EU than relations with the non-French speaking Pacific island communities. Although regional integration is encouraged, the integration is more focused on the region involving the French OCTs in the Pacific, which shares the identity of the EU. French territories position themselves more in line with EU policy by highlighting the need to 'develop relations

with the EU'¹²¹, 'allow relations to be better anchored in all EU policies'¹²² and 'consolidate partnership between the OCTs and the EU'.¹²³ Moreover, there is a sense of regional divide between the French territories and the mainstream Pacific community as there are 'specific interests of the OCTs for partnership among the OCTs and between the latter and ACP states'.¹²⁴

Nonetheless, interaction between the French territories and the wider Pacific region is growing as the territories wish to 'establish lasting links with neighbouring countries and with the territories of the region to which they belong'.¹²⁵ New Caledonia and French Polynesia are partial members and Wallis and Futuna holds an observer status in the Forum. The constitution agreement of PIF aims to enhance contact between Forum and non-sovereign Pacific territories. Regional initiatives made are delineated in the 2005 Agreement, Pacific Plan and in the RIF Review. The following quote shows the value of regionalism in the Pacific region:

Our leaders, recognising that many of the issues we have involve everyone in our region, have directed us to develop closer relations with Pacific territories and entities which have been outside the Forum family. Leaders will have before them proposals aimed at gorging those relationships, with New Caledonia, French Polynesia and Wallis and Futuna.¹²⁶

As a major donor, trade partner and driving force behind regionalism in the Pacific, the EU has an influential role in the French territories and its continuous presence and actions carried out in this area contribute largely to the shifting of these territories' identity and their future relations with the wider Pacific region. EU discourse extends European identity to the OCTs

¹²¹ Speech by Stefano Manservigi , Representative of the Government of French Polynesia, President of the OCTA, 31 March 2005.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Speech by Stefano Manservigi , Representative of the Government of French Polynesia, President of the OCTA, 31 March 2005.

¹²⁶ Speech by Greg Urwin, at 37th Pacific Islands Forum Leaders' Meeting, Nadi, 24 October 2006.

and this can be observed in the new strategy about partnership with the Pacific Islands:

The four territories in the Pacific of EU Member States (New Caledonia, French Polynesia, Wallis and Futuna and Pitcairn) represent a valuable and important European presence in the region. They also constitute an asset to be taken fully into account in the strategy in order to promote their integration in the region.¹²⁷

This statement refers to Europe's historical colonial ties with these territories to which European identity is attributed. It is also stated that they are in European possession. While the OCTs have internal status in the EU, they do not partake in the European Single Market. The 'Overseas Association Decision' was ratified in November 2001 defining that they must comply with the trade regulations imposed on external developing countries. This legislation expresses the aim to 'to promote the economic and social development of the OCTs and to establish close economic relations between them and the Community as a whole.'¹²⁸ In December 2003, EU-OCT relations was revised in the Joint Position Paper which clarified the role of the European Commission regarding the OCT regions and discussed the drafting and implementation of the Development policy through the Directorate General for Development.

Since 1975 the EU has donated over 194 million Euros for regional projects and over €2 billion for bilateral reasons. The EDF gives substantial financial assistance to ACP countries. The 9th EDF allocated €13.8 billion to the ACP region. The 10th framework began in 2008 and has the budget of €22.682 billion.¹²⁹ During the previous EDF period, New Caledonia received €13.8 million, mostly dedicated to professional education, and for French Polynesia, €13.2 million given went towards water purification and housing

¹²⁷ Communiqué from the European Commission, "EU Relations with the Pacific Islands-A Strategy for a Strengthened Partnership", 29 May 2006, 5.

¹²⁸ Article 1, Chapter 1, COUNCIL DECISION, 27 November 2001, 'On the association of the overseas countries and territories with the European Community' ('Overseas Association Decision'), (2001/822/EC).

¹²⁹ Press Release, Europa, 23 March 2006. (IP/06/368); http://ec.europa.eu/development/how/source-funding/edf_en.cfm

in poor areas.¹³⁰ Wallis and Futuna received €11.5 million for infrastructure development.¹³¹ In addition, the European Commission has allocated €5.2 million to the French OCT areas for a renewable energy project which is to be implemented with a three-year time frame.¹³² Alongside this particular project, there are also plans to improve living conditions and establish more profitable activities in this region. This project will enhance regional cooperation between the French OCTs and the neighbouring Pacific nations. On the other hand, many policy areas such as trade, tourism and security would be difficult to coordinate between French OCTs and independent PIF countries. These French Pacific islands with the exception of Wallis and Futuna have a higher standard of living and better infrastructure than other Pacific island countries.¹³³

The three French Pacific OCTs are in a privileged position compared to PIF countries because they receive financial assistance from both France and the EU (EDF). These territories also receive preferential treatment as recognised by the special Association status which allows them to be treated the same as other EU countries for trade free of customs duty.¹³⁴ Today, these territories are considering to adopt the Euro as their currency. The use of euro will have a major effect on the perception of the territories' identity. The euro is a major symbol of the EU and a living evidence of successful regional integration. The introduction of euro could

¹³⁰ European Commission, Development, "Polynésie Française", Europa,

http://ec.europa.eu/development/Geographical/RegionsCountries/Countries/oct/oct_home_en.cfm?cid=polynesie-francaise

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² For this project, Wind or solar equipment would be installed in several villages in the Northern Province of New Caledonia and in French Polynesia, and pumps would be installed on the island of Futuna, with electric installations on the island of Wallis.

¹³³ Emmanuel Vigneron, "The French Pacific Territories", in *The French-Speaking Pacific: Population, Environment and Development Issues*, ed. Christian Jost (Brisbane: Boombana Publications, 1998). Information provided by this work: In 1990-1992, the GDP per Capita in New Caledonia and French Polynesia was equal to US\$14-16,000 which makes them the richest countries in the Pacific and among the 20 richest countries in the world.

¹³⁴ Gorm R. Olsen, "Europe and the Promotion of Democracy in Post Cold War Africa: How Serious is Europe and For What Reason?", *African Affairs*, vol.97, no.388 (July, 1998), 343-367.

have a psychological impact on the perception of identity of the French-Pacific territories, and in relation to the rest of the Pacific region.

The introduction of the euro currency could reinforce the ‘European’ identity associated with these territories. With the territories’ close, ongoing administrative ties, extensive trade and economic interaction with France and current agreements which affect the islands’ trade, investment, labour mobility and tourism sectors, these territories have already become familiar with the euro. The European currency already has a de-facto presence in the French Pacific territories due to their association status in the EU, inseparable linkages with France and its intensive trade relations with Europe. The territories are already very exposed to the euro as there is a lot of mobility and interaction between France and the islands. The euro has a fixed parity with the local currency of the three territories, which is officially known as the ‘Pacific Franc Exchange (XPF)’ (1,000 F CFP is equal to 8.38 Euros/ 1 F CFP = 0.00838 EUR)¹³⁵. The metropolitan banking system, *Institut d’émission d’Outre-mer* (IEOM), controls monetary affairs including transfers to and from France in the territories, issues Pacific francs and supervises banking agencies in the French Pacific territories.¹³⁶

The implementation of the Euro would have many positive impacts on businesses and help to bring more economic stability. The potential benefits of adopting the euro include facilitated trade, investment and tourism. Moreover, monetary union would allow more efficient economic data management and better regulation of monetary/fiscal statistical information. Furthermore, monetary union is a tool which can be used to prevent inflation and make transactions and fiscal transfers more efficient, as well as eliminating costs of exchange rate volatility.¹³⁷ Changing to the

¹³⁵ “Accueil”, L’Institut d’Emission d’Outre-Mer (IEOM), <http://www.ieom.fr/>.

¹³⁶ Vincent Dropsy, “La Polynésie française et l’euro”, *The Pacific and Europe : The 50th Jubilee of the European Communities*, Vol.7, Victoria University of Wellington Law Review and New Zealand Association for Comparative Law (2007), 106.

¹³⁷ Dave Peebles, *Pacific Regional Order*, 145.

euro currency would also be beneficial as it has an internationally recognised currency.”¹³⁸ The euro currency has been debated to replace the Pacific francs in the recent years. According to Chamber of Commerce in French Polynesia, 70% of businesses are in favour of adopting the euro because it would allow cheaper transactions and greater stability.¹³⁹ Gaston Flosse and Oscar Temaru, former presidents of French Polynesia, have also expressed their desire to bring in the euro to French Polynesia. On the other hand, New Caledonia has mixed feelings about adopting the euro as it implies a loss of control in economic and monetary matters.¹⁴⁰ Increasing control in areas of governance is essential for territories’ progress towards greater autonomy from the metropolitan power.

The territories also wish to increase participation in regional cooperation in the Pacific region, but currently have limited interaction with the wider Pacific community mainly due to linguistic differences and lack of political autonomy. The French-Pacific territories are prevented from becoming full members of the Pacific Islands Forum because they are not fully self-governing nations.¹⁴¹ They do not have the authority to participate independently in the dialogues or engage in any decision-making processes without the consent of the French government. The strong French link to these territories is a hurdle for the latter’s full participation in the mainstream Pacific community. There are limited trade relations with PIF countries and there is a lack of common challenges which would provide opportunities for communication.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ “Accueil”, Chambre de Commerce d’ Industrie, des Services et des Métiers de Polynésie Française, <http://www.ccism.pf/>.

¹⁴⁰ Sovereignty, metropolitan power and Independence are key, yet controversial, questions in these territories, notably for New Caledonia which is due to hold a referendum for independence in the near future.

¹⁴¹ While most Pacific islands became independent with the 1960 United Nations’ declaration of ‘Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples’, French Polynesia, New Caledonia and Wallis & Futuna continued to retain its territorial status of France even with several injections of autonomy and upgrading of status. In 2003, the territories obtained a new status as a ‘Collectivité d’outre-mer’ and in 2004, French Polynesia’s status was again renewed as a ‘Pays d’outre-mer’. French Polynesia and New Caledonia gained the ‘Associate’ status at the Forum meeting which was held in October 2006 in Suva.

French-Pacific territories also aspire to become part of the Pacific Community. They would be of assistance to smaller island nations which would also gain access to the French territories' market, education and jobs. In turn, the territories could learn from the PIF countries to make appropriate political transitions as they hope to become independent from France in the future. This reveals the dual nature of the French-Pacific territories' identity due to the latter's affiliation with the EU as well as the Pacific region. Such ambiguities of EU and Pacific identities will be taken into consideration in analysing constructions of subjectivity in discourses.

Chapter One observed various facets of EU identity through its integration and its external development policy, by relating to qualities of supranationalism, institutionalism, intergovernmentalism, neo-functionalism and multi-level governance. This research favours the multi-level governance theory as it takes into account various characteristics of EU identity and power mentioned above. This chapter also examined EU identity in the context of its external development action and acknowledges the Cotonou Agreement as an important binding framework for partnership between the EU and ACP countries. A sense of ambiguity and complexity is illustrated by the current partnership framework which sets the aims and strategies for a more 'equal' EU-ACP/Pacific relationship, but, which, at the same time, lays down fundamental EU values and EU agency which makes the partnership more 'euro-centric'. Given the ambiguous and complex dimensions of the EU identity and development role, the next chapter attempts to establish a suitable framework which may help to clarify EU identity in the context of its development relations with the Pacific region and the wider ACP group.

In order to re-examine EU identity and relations with the Pacific region through a linguistic investigation, the next chapter explains the relationship between meaning and language and the structures of meaning and language. The theoretical discussion demonstrates how critical analysis of discursive representations can reveal ideologies, power relations and

identities embedded in the dynamics of linguistic representations in discourse. A number of discourse theories and discourse analysis tools are considered, selected and demonstrated in the next chapter.

Chapter Three:
Theoretical Framework-
Language, Meaning, Power and Discourse

*'How does the outside become the inside, and how does the inside reveal itself and shape the outside?'*¹⁴² (Bernstein)

3. Introduction

This chapter establishes a theoretical framework for studying discursive representations of EU-Pacific/ACP relations by discussing several underlying principles of discourse theory. This literature review begins by exploring Post-structuralist ideas, and then, presents reflections from the school of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) on meaning, ideology and discourse, and how language relates to, and reflects society. In exploring the post-structural trail of thoughts, this thesis determines the CDA approach as invaluable to unveiling the linguistic structures of discourse. CDA has produced a collection of studies linking practice and change in society to language, by scholars such as Halliday, Chilton, Fairclough, Van Dijk and Wodak, whose work which can be described as 'fundamentally political in orientation, interdisciplinary in its scholarship, and diverse in its focus'.¹⁴³

3.1. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Critical Discourse Analysis, which emerged in 1980s, is a multidisciplinary approach for studying social questions such as identity,

¹⁴² Basil Bernstein, "Elaborated and restricted codes: an overview 1958-85", in *Sociolinguistics/Soziolinguistik*, ed. U. Ammon, K. Matthier and N. Dittmar (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1987), 563.

¹⁴³ Adrian Blackledge, *Discourse and Power in a Multilingual World* (Discourse and Power in a Multilingual World), (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2005), 3.

power relations and ideology, and using instances of language to address these questions.¹⁴⁴ CDA is not a ‘single theory’ or a ‘single method’, and its ‘plurality of theories and methodologies can be highlighted as a specific strength of CDA’.¹⁴⁵ CDA observes dialectical relationships between discourse and elements of social practices. As such, CDA focuses on ‘radical changes that are taking place in contemporary social life: with how discourse figures between discourse and more broadly semiosis and other social elements within networks of practices’.¹⁴⁶

CDA assumes that language is a vehicle of ideology in that discourse represents particulars as universals, that is, certain aspects of social identities and concepts can be portrayed as more significant. The ideological function of discourse is conditioned by hegemonic tendencies which establish ‘social dominance of particular social groups: achieving hegemony entails achieving a measure of success in projecting certain particulars as universals.’¹⁴⁷ Ideology can be defined as ‘structures of signification that constitute social relations in and through power’.¹⁴⁸ According to Van Dijk, discursive manifestations of ideology can be critically analysed and demonstrate the function of discourse in the ‘production and reproduction of power abuse or domination’.¹⁴⁹

Dynamics of power can be observed in the structures of discursive representations as language can be manipulated to project power in various ways:

¹⁴⁴ Jan Blommaert and Chris Bulcaen, “Critical Discourse Analysis”, *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 29 (2000): 447-466.

¹⁴⁵ Ruth Wodak and Gilbert Weiss, “Analyzing European Union Discourses- Theories and Application”, in *A New Agenda in (Critical) Discourse Analysis*, ed. Ruth Wodak and Paul Chilton (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2005), 124.

¹⁴⁶ Norman Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse: Textual analysis for social research*, (New York: Routledge, 2003), 205.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 41.

¹⁴⁸ Chris Barker and Dariusz Galasinski, *Cultural studies and discourse analysis: a dialogue on language and identity*. (London: Thousand Oaks, Calif., Sage, 2001), 25.

¹⁴⁹ Teun van Dijk, “Multidisciplinary CDA: A plea for diversity.” In *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, ed. Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer (London: Sage, 2001), 96.

Language indexes power, expresses power, is involved where there is contention over and a challenge to power. Power does not derive from language, but language can be used to challenge power, to subvert it, to alter distributions of power in the short and long term. Language provides a finely articulated means for difference in power in social hierarchical structures. Very few linguistic forms have not at some stage been pressed into the service of the expression of power by a process of syntactic or textual metaphor. CDA takes an interest in the ways in which linguistic forms are used in various expressions and manipulations of power.¹⁵⁰

CDA is sometimes criticised for making prior assumptions and for conducting subjective analysis with ideological interpretations. CDA is accused of being ‘prejudiced on the basis of some ideological commitments, and then it selects for analysis such texts as will support the preferred interpretation.’¹⁵¹ All research projects make priori value judgements and use preframed categories of experience/theories to analyse empirical data.¹⁵² Furthermore, CDA has limits in that it is labour-intensive: ‘CDA is essentially a labour-intensive, micro-linguistic enterprise requiring a lot of time and, as such, it is very difficult to apply to large corpora of texts.’¹⁵³

This research applies CDA as its methodology as it is interdisciplinary. Another example of an interdisciplinary CDA approach can be demonstrated by Thompson’s study on discourses of ‘development’.¹⁵⁴ Thompson’s study observes relations of power in the developmental field and shows how ‘development’ is framed and discussed in discourse. The aim is to expose the ‘way in which the underlying power relations leading to such macro-level initiatives as the [World] Bank’s development portal are drawn upon and replicated at the level of everyday discursive

¹⁵⁰ Ruth Wodak, “Multidisciplinarity CDA: A plea for diversity,” in *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, ed. Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer (London: Sage, 2001), 11.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 17.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

¹⁵³ Chris Barker and Dariusz Galasinski, *Cultural Studies and Discourse Analysis*, 26.

¹⁵⁴ MarkThompson, “Discourse, ‘Development’ & the Digital Divide: ICT and the World Bank,” *Review of African Political Economy*, vol.31, no.99 (March 2004): 103-123.

practice'¹⁵⁵ CDA 'seeks to locate social structures within a dialectical relationship with social activities'.¹⁵⁶ In this thesis, European and Pacific discourses of EU-Pacific relations will be closely examined by using CDA tools for studying textual choices of vocabulary, such as metaphors, and choices of grammatical form, such as assignment of agency and nominalisation; discursive production/consumption; ideological/hegemonic effects of discourse.¹⁵⁷

The framework of CDA makes a vital contribution to studying social problems, identities, unequal power relationships arising from social transformations such as 'new capitalism' and 'globalisation'.¹⁵⁸ This research uses CDA tools to map the study of social problems onto a bigger picture, looking at global problems such as poverty and developing countries' struggle for development and better governance. In this case, issues associated with the relations between the EU and the Pacific region.

The CDA analysis conducted in this research investigates the ideology represented 'within' and 'behind' discursive representations of the EU's relations with the developing world, specifically the Pacific region. CDA looks at details of textual features, maintenance of social identity, relations and power, and contextual dynamics governing the discursive practices. This thesis looks at newspaper discourses from an EU Member State and from the Pacific region, and institutional discourses, such as texts and speeches produced by EU institutional bodies. The discourse corpus of this research exposes structural details of language-use which manifest socially-bound ideologies of identities and power relations. Power, control, authority of certain bodies and individuals over others are present in discursive structures. The structure of 'transitivity' and 'agency' is investigated in

¹⁵⁵ MarkThompson, "Discourse, 'Development' & the Digital Divide: ICT and the World Bank," *Review of African Political Economy* , 108.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Jan Blommaert and Chris Bulcaen, "Critical Discourse Analysis", *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol. 29 (2000): 449.

¹⁵⁸ Normal Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research*, 203.

selected discourses to see how particular actors or events form and output ideological meaning. This type of research allows us to reflect on social subjectivity and issues through language.

3.2. Poststructuralism as Theoretical Framework

CDA is built on several foundational theories on meaning and discourse which are discussed in this section in order to clarify the underlying intentions of this study. It draws on these theoretical views in order to gain a better understanding of meaning in discourse and to visualise the form and structure of meaning in discursive structures for analysis and interpretation. For this study, it is important to scope the philosophical debate on the nature of meaning for understanding ‘what’ is represented, ‘how’ it is represented and what impact such representation has on the social situation in question. This formula will be applied to identify the meanings observed in the discursive representations of EU-Pacific relations in this research. The discussion on the theory of ‘meaning’ focuses on the ideas of classical poststructuralist scholars such as Foucault, Derrida, Laclau and Mouffe.

The structuralist view of language and meaning can be observed in Saussure’s teaching of the ‘signifier-signified’ binary relationship¹⁵⁹ which defines meaning as being secured relationally within the system of ‘signs’.¹⁶⁰ A ‘sign’, or a linguistic unit, is a combination of the signifier and the signified. A ‘Signifier’ refers to the discursive material representing meaning/concept which is the ‘signified’. There is no connection between the signified and the signifier, and this system can be understood like the naming system where names of people are not directly derived from their essential selves and are only representative. The school of Saussure considered signifiers to be arbitrarily formed to carry a meaning. This is

¹⁵⁹ Ferdinand de Saussure, *Cours de linguistique générale*, 1913.

¹⁶⁰ Chris Barker and Dariusz Galasinski, *Cultural Studies and Discourse Analysis*, 4.

evident in the way that different languages have different sounding words for a particular universal meaning.¹⁶¹

Contrary to the belief that signifiers are arbitrarily selected to represent a meaning, post-structuralism puts more semantic and contextual emphasis on the correlation between structure and meaning. The theory of post-structuralism is foundational to discourse studies, especially in that a connection is established between language and the world. Meaning constitutes a signifier and is represented in a linguistic structure. A 'signifier' is argued by poststructuralists to have plural semantic constituents which are selected and articulated according to context, mainly influenced by a given social setting such is the process of 'discursive formation'.¹⁶²

...discourses and their systematic ordering are not only the ultimate state, the final result of a long and often sinuous development involving language (*langue*) and thought, empirical experience and categories, the lived and ideal necessities, the contingency of events and the play of formal constraints.¹⁶³

Syntactic features in discursive representations are interpreted as reflecting society and as conveying ideologies. According to post-structuralism, meaning is more flexible, partial and constantly influenced by the external world. In other words, while the school of structuralism asserts that discursively constructed meanings have a defined pre-existing structure, the post-structuralist theory defines the process of discourse production as an on-going process which is conditioned by external factors. The latter view that structures of meaning are temporary and are ideologically conditioned according to context, provides an opportunity to make a social inquiry about power relations.¹⁶⁴ Such logic of discourse or 'meaning' being selected and

¹⁶¹ Hugh Bredin, "Sign and Value in Saussure", *Philosophy*, vol.59, no.227, (January 1984), 67.

¹⁶² Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1972), 55.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 84.

¹⁶⁴ Another useful point of reference for the theory of post-structuralism is Chris Baker and Dariusz Galasinski, *Cultural Studies and Discourse Analysis- A Dialogue on Language and Identity*.

assigned by dominant powers is significant to discourse analysis as it exposes social identities and problems in the making of ideologies, as well as enabling the research to question the nature and structure of ideology itself. Discourse analysis involves:

What has actually been said or written, exploring patterns in and across the statements and identifying the social consequences of different discursive representations of reality.¹⁶⁵

In regard to the post-structuralism tradition, Cultural Studies is another school of thought that has made a significant contribution to the understanding of the post-structural discourse theory.¹⁶⁶ Cultural Studies give importance to the method of deconstruction developed by Derrida, which is based on breaking down the usage of binary forms. Binary forms refer to Saussure's model of the 'signifier' in relation to the 'signified'. According to these binary structures, 'truth' and 'meaning' do not exist outside the representation signalled by the 'signifier'. This logic is further expressed by Derrida's statement that 'from the moment that there is meaning there is nothing but signs. We think only in signs'.¹⁶⁷

Deconstructing discourse is like breaking down the composition of a meal by referring back to its recipe and ingredients. It is a method of taking apart binary forms, locating different meanings associated with the signifier and dismantling the ideological structure implied by the discourse. Meaning is generated by a signifier which consists of multiple meanings; however those meanings are not fixated in the centre of the signifier. This argument is the essential basis of the theoretical framework adopted for this discourse research and will be supported with Laclau and Mouffe's discussion on 'hegemony' and 'floating signifiers'.

¹⁶⁵ Louise J Phillips, *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*, Roskilde Universitet: Sage Publications, 2002), 21.

¹⁶⁶ Chris Baker and Dariusz Galasinski, *Cultural Studies and Discourse Analysis- A Dialogue on Language and Identity*.

¹⁶⁷ Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology* (Baltimore, MD and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), 50.

The theory of deconstruction developed by Derrida has marked an important phase in discourse studies and has been significant in redefining the way we think of the essence and presence of ‘meaning’. Derrida regards discourse as a textual material with no intrinsic semantic essence, which puts emphasis on the readers’ role in assigning meaning to text.¹⁶⁸ Deconstruction is a process which allows one to move beyond the text by dwelling on linguistic configurations restricting meaning which is essentially contingent. Deconstructing structure allows us to identify textually articulated subjects and issues and which expose power relations. The representation of a political or social subject identity is a result of a selection process from a range of possible signs, which articulates a particular aspect of the social identity associated with the signifier. As such, the discursive representation of subject identities is articulated in a relational manner as it is fixed in relation to other entities in the representation.

Foucault’s theory that meaning is formed by external factors at the moment of discourse formation asserts a link between language and society, and this link is further reinforced by Derrida’s reflections on discourse. Derrida states that the moment when one is consuming discourse contributes to the formation of meaning as it provides a point of reference from which differentiation can be made.¹⁶⁹ This shows that meaning is represented by signifiers which consist of multiple semantic possibilities and which become fixed according to the moment of interpretation and according to the social circumstances of the reader.

Derrida maintains the post-structural view that the interpretation of ‘meaning’ depends on the context and discourse analysis therefore should relate discourse structure to the contextual reality. For instance, regarding the signifier ‘development’, a deconstruction process of this signifier in discourse will review both semantic and contextual properties of ‘development’. The meaning of this signifier may vary according to

¹⁶⁸ Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, 10.

¹⁶⁹ Jonathan Culler, “Structuralism and Grammatology”, *Boundary 2*, vol.8, no.1, (Autumn, 1979), 80.

location, social identities, power relations, events and objects of 'development'. There is no single meaning of the signifier 'development' because of the on-going, changing and complex dynamics between text and context, and also due to varying interpretations of the signifier 'development' according to the type of discourse.

The meaning of signifiers representing identities can be deconstructed by taking into account the context in which discourse formation takes place. An individual person accumulates layers of identity over the years and these features of identity are constantly renewed and maintained in relation to contextual factors. In this research, the identity of the EU is examined in the light of its layers of identity and in relation to its 'partnership' with the Pacific region. The meanings of the 'EU identity' in given contexts contribute to the discussions on the nature of the EU governance and EU influence on the emerging regional integration and economic development of the Pacific region.

It is expected that the perception and representation of the EU is observed in the discourse about EU-Pacific relations, will differ across different types of discourses and expose various social and political issues associated with the said signifier. This research aims to discuss EU external development policy in relation to the Pacific region by taking into account a range of related issues. The thesis aims to investigate how EU-Pacific relations are discursively bound and in which ways the semantic dynamics reveal contextual issues such as power relations. Due to the plurality and contingency of meaning in a signifier, a signifier is presumed to be fundamentally 'empty'. The concept of an 'empty signifier' was introduced by Laclau and Mouffe to illustrate the underlying assumption that meaning is ideological, contingent, relational, and never closed. People are internal to signifying practices and objects and so they cannot conceptualise the world from an extra-discursive perspective.¹⁷⁰ Laclau and Mouffe assert that the

¹⁷⁰ David Howarth, Aletta J Norval and Yannia Stavrakakis, *Discourse Theory and Political Analysis: Identities, Hegemonies, and Social Change* (New York: Manchester University Press, 2000), 3.

outside world is mediated by the output of meaning in discourse which is ‘the historical outcome of political processes and struggles’.¹⁷¹

Empty signifiers are constituted by partially fixated meanings which result from a struggle for power, and discourse formation exposes socially constructed identities. Meaning is hegemonically fixed in signifiers:

Partial fixations of political meaning are constantly attempted and make up much of the dynamics of politics, but any such attempt always has a loose end, an opening for a possible re-articulation. When the concept of ‘democracy’ is articulated to give it one particular meaning within a social-democratic discourse, for instance, the concept includes a surplus of meaning that enables a competing articulation of democracy through a neo-liberal discourse.¹⁷²

Discourse is made up of signifiers which are articulated with ideological and temporarily fixed meanings. Therefore, all social concepts are essentially contingent¹⁷³ and that ‘contingency’ becomes visible when society rationalises it through discourse. Discourse exposes society’s dominant actors, to reformulate and articulate ideologies associated with social issues and power relations. As signifiers are never closed or complete, various meanings are possible before a universal meaning becomes fixed. A fixture of meaning in a signifier results from a power struggle in which social identities are justified. This temporal, ideologically formed meaning justifies the existence of a social subject in relation to the ‘Other’.¹⁷⁴

Representations of social subjects or issues are ideologically formed and must be treated as an ‘empty signifier’. Signifiers are ‘empty’ when there is a lack of centre in the semantic structure and therefore making meaning of the signifier contingent. A signifier is assumed to have multiple possible

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 36.

¹⁷² Ibid., 201.

¹⁷³ Louise J Phillips, *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*, 54.

¹⁷⁴ Jacob Torfing, “Discourse Analysis and the Post-structuralism of Laclau and Mouffe”, University of Essex, <http://www.essex.ac.uk/ECPR/publications/eps/onlineissues/autumn2002/research/torfing.htm>.

meanings among which a particular one may be temporarily selected and filled as a universal meaning. The existing structures of meaning are constantly shifting according to context of discourse formation, as various groups in society try to dominate the meaning of certain signifiers. This is the case with concepts such as identity of social or political subjects such as ‘the EU’, or social and political concepts such as ‘development’.

Discourse study allows us:

...to see how the general lines of foreign policy, and thereby European policy, are based on different concepts of Europe and how these in turn are made possible by articulating differently concepts of state and nation. It is assumed that each country has a particular basic problematique of state and nation such as the French state-nation and the German concept of the romantic nation and the power state.¹⁷⁵

This leads to the assumption that ‘EU-Pacific relations’ is an empty signifier in that it is constantly re-filled by signs representing the EU subject, identity and values, and those representing EU development policy elements such as democracy, good governance, trade and regionalism. A range of fixations of meaning in a signifier is observed in this study, which shows that in discourse, different aspects of the European identity can be projected as representative of EU identity.

Wodak’s analysis of the former French Prime Minister Lionel Jospin’s speech observes various linguistic features representing the supranational identity of the EU, which focus on highlighting a sense of shared history, values and cultures.¹⁷⁶ Like Wodak’s observations, this research focuses on linguistic projections of various aspects of the EU, namely as a supranational entity, as an intergovernmental system or as a neofunctional phenomenon. These findings are useful for interpreting how particular identities can be attributed to defining the EU’s subjectivity in the

¹⁷⁵ Ole Wæver, “Discursive approaches”, in *European Integration Theory*, 205.

¹⁷⁶ Wodak, Ruth and Weiss, Gilbert. “Analyzing European Union Discourses: Theories and Application”. In *A New Agenda in (Critical) Discourse Analysis*, 122.

discourses studied in this thesis. On the other hand, other discourses indicate a more pluralistic nature of EU identity. The plural form ‘European identities’ is deliberately chosen to depict the EU as a more intergovernmental system. This also projects the ideology that ‘diversity’ is good.

3.2.1. Ideology and Language

Discourses create knowledge which entails attitude about the world. Discourse has a representational function which recreates within the textual structure, social roles, actions and conditions of such actions. Any form of representation is ideologically conditioned to a certain extent and due to this tendency, discourse can reveal social and power relations of those implicated in the institutional setting. Language provides an opportunity to form ideology and exemplifies the hegemonic nature of discursive representations. Reality is conceptualised through a language system which defines a particular world-view. In other words, every language is ruled by a unique grammatical framework which is argued to organize the world in certain ways.¹⁷⁷

During the process of discourse formation, the grammatical system offers various linguistic choices related to the syntactic, semantic, and lexical aspects of language which allows for variation in the fabrication of meaning. This process is usually spontaneous and carried out at a subconscious level. In choosing to depict an event in one way over another, discursive formation materialises ideology as argued in the following statement:

Ideologies are sets of ideas involved in the ordering of experience, making sense of the world. This order and sense is partial and particular. The systems of ideas which constitute ideologies are

¹⁷⁷ Roger Fowler discusses the Sapir-Wharf hypothesis which explains that languages differ in structures which project experiences, in *Language in the news: discourse and ideology in the press* (London/New York: Routledge, 1991), 29.

expressed through language. Language supplies the models and categories of thought, and in part people's experience of the world is through language.¹⁷⁸

Since discourse produces ideology, government and political discourses are full of ideologies which normalise knowledge, subjectivity and power relations. Discursive formation is a process of social regulation and means to educate the public, form solidarity, common perceptions and to spread points of view. As an ideological institution, the EU identifies with, expresses and communicates certain ideological values to the world. EU's global development role provides a context in which, EU ideology, such as good governance, development and elimination of poverty in the developing world, can be projected.

Through discursively constructed ideology, socio-political power relations are maintained. While the concept of 'power' can be referred to as means of domination and oppression, it can also appear and activate in subtler forms, notably in discursive practice. This discourse research seeks to reflect on the conceptions of reality, being, existence and norms that dominate the life of all beings and happenings.

The observation that powerful subjects retain control by means of ideology is discussed in Van Dijk's discourse study.¹⁷⁹ Van Dijk points out the lack of academic attention given to the correlation between political discourse and political cognition, which refers to the mental representations people share as political actors, and ideologies concerning political issues as shaped by discourses such as policy documents, political speeches, campaigns and media output.¹⁸⁰ The academic interest in this area provides a motivation for this research to contribute to studying the politics-discourse interface. Linguistic methods used in this research for technical syntactic and

¹⁷⁸ Roger Fowler and others, *Language as Ideology* (London: Routledge, 1979), 81.

¹⁷⁹ Teun van Dijk, *Ideology: A Multidisciplinary Approach*, (London: Sage Publications, 1998).

¹⁸⁰ Teun van Dijk, "Political Discourse and Political Cognition", in *Politics as Text and Talk: Analytical Approaches to Political Discourse*, ed. Paul Chilton and Christina Schäffner (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2002), 204-236.

semantic analysis are complemented by political theories and wider philosophical discussions on language. In line with van Dijk's objectives, this research aims to analyse the linguistic structures of political discourse and interpret how political attitudes and ideologies are represented, and what is the role of political values and norms. Defining the political context of discourse is vital as these context models 'regulate the pragmatic dimension of political discourse'.¹⁸¹ According to van Dijk, the structures of 'context models'¹⁸²:

Control what "relevant" information of event models is included in the semantic representation of a text. And they regulate how such meanings are variably formulated in syntactic structures, lexical items and phonological or graphical expressions. [...] Some elements of a context model are shared by all participants, and some are different; some are stable throughout the whole communicative event, whereas others dynamically change as a function of the ongoing interaction and discourse.¹⁸³

A multi-disciplinary approach is necessary to make holistic observations on political actors/groups/institutions, political processes/structures/events, and discourses – representations and ideologies. Van Dijk's work in CDA provides a useful framework for linking discursive structures of representations about political situations and actors, to political cognition, that is, assumptions, perception, ideologies, and judgement.¹⁸⁴ This technique is used for the discourse analysis conducted in this research.

¹⁸¹ David Howarth, *Discourse Theory and Political analysis*, 227.

¹⁸² Teun van Dijk, "Political Discourse and Political Cognition", in *Politics as Text and Talk: Analytical Approaches to Political Discourse*, 216.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁴ Teun van Dijk, *Discourse and Communication: New Approaches to the Analysis of Mass Media Discourse and Communication* (Berlin; New York: W. de Gruyter, 1985); Teun van Dijk, *Elite Discourse and Racism* (London: Sage, 1993); Teun van Dijk, "Discourse Analysis as Ideology Analysis", in *Language and Peace*, ed. Christina Schäffner and Anita Wenden, (Aldershot: Dartmouth Publishing Company, 1995), 17-33.; Teun van Dijk, *Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction* (London: Sage Publications, 1997); Teun van Dijk, *Ideology: A Multidisciplinary Approach* (London: Sage Publications, 1998); (2001) "Multidisciplinarity CDA: A plea for diversity." In *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, edited by Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer (London: Sage, 2001), 95-120.; Teun van Dijk, *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*; Teun van Dijk, "Political discourse and political cognition", in *Politics and Text and Talk: Analytic approaches to political studies*, ed. Paul Chilton and Christina Schäffner, 203-237.

3.2.2. Power, Meaning and Discourse

Foucault's discussion of discourse in relation to power provides the basis for the assumption that power influences discourse structure as well as being reflected in such structure. He refers to the term 'discourse' as an amalgam of the meanings and explores the concept of truth, power and knowledge by analysing discourse formation.¹⁸⁵ Foucault treats discourse as a social product and as a source of ideology. He recognises discourse formation and function as a reflection of power. Through discourse, Foucault questions the conditions of existence and the concept of power.

Furthermore, Foucault describes historical continuities and discontinuities which structure the 'context' of discourse formation.¹⁸⁶ Meaning generated in discourse is constrained by contextual factors conditioning the society. Foucault's notion of 'discourse formation' claims that discourse is a social product which ultimately reflects the conditions of the society in which discourse is formed.¹⁸⁷ In other words, discourse is a socially conditioned product which also serves the function of maintaining ideologies in the social world. This is achieved by the output of ideological meanings in discourse which represent and reveal the dynamics of power relations. Foucault's notion of power shows that discourse, as knowledge, is a practice of power by social institutions. In discourse practice, subjectivity is not only pronounced by the individual speaker or writer, but is defined by the social setting.

Foucault's contribution to discourse studies is noteworthy, particularly regarding his observation on the significance of power and subjectivity in discursive formation.¹⁸⁸ 'Powerful' entities create knowledge and *vice versa*, which influences identities, social relations and boundaries. In discourse formation, people are positioned into roles. The discourse

¹⁸⁵ Sara Mills, *Discourse*, 2nd edition (London: Routledge, 1997), 7.

¹⁸⁶ Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 153.

¹⁸⁸ Sara Mills, *Michel Foucault* (London/New York: Routledge, 2003)

structure accommodates and constitutes social subjects. Power, like meaning, is temporarily fixated by the context, and is relational. Fairclough develops Foucault's theory of discourse as a social product by stating that discourse also constitutes society through its output of ideologies, identities and values, which are constantly renewed through communication.¹⁸⁹ This suggests that the dynamics of power relations found in the discourse reflect and reinforce the power dynamics in society, which confirms the post-structural assumption that language is an ideological tool. Taking this view into account, the next chapter establishes a methodological framework outlining a set of tools which will be used for conducting discourse analysis in this research.

¹⁸⁹ Norman Fairclough, *Language and Power* (Harlow/New York: Longman. 2001), 36.

Chapter Four: Methodology and Planning

4. Introduction

When conducting discourse analysis, it is important to study the context in which the given discourse takes form, as meaning is not solely constructed by grammatical elements or lexical choices, but also by a great number of social and cultural factors. One has to bear in mind the individual or group who is responsible for the delivery of discourse, and their role in society in relation to the discourse created. Discourse is conditioned by the author's qualities such as personality, attitude, family and educational background, as well as by the nature and purpose of the work produced.

Regarding the contextual setting in which discourse is produced, time and place are considered as intrinsic conditions of discourse production. As well as geographical conditions of discourse, which may refer to the immediate institution in which discourse is formulated, one must also take into account broader circumstances such as nationality, social class or relevant events when studying the context of discourse. These factors are what Foucault identifies as '*emplacement* (site)' of discursive formation,¹⁹⁰ which concerns all outside conditions of discourse and its creator. Regarding political discourse, the context is bound by factors such as the topic of legislation concerned, social or political issues, relevant social identities, setting of discourse (time/location). These factors have been taken into account and act as foundational building blocks of each discourse analysis presented in later chapters of this thesis.

¹⁹⁰ Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*.

"Il faut décrire aussi les emplacements institutionnels d'où le médecin tient son discours, et où celui-ci trouve son origine légitime et son point d'application (ses objets spécifiques et ses instruments de vérification)."

Each analysis carried out in this study begins by describing the context of the discourse concerned. The purpose of this exercise is to clarify the situation regarding the signifiers that are particular to the discourse as opposed to other discourses looked at in this thesis. ‘A mutual understanding’¹⁹¹ regarding social subjects and issues concerned should be established. This builds the foundation for interpreting the significance of linguistic features observed from the selected corpus.

A connection between the use of language and exercise of power can be established through discourse analysis.¹⁹² Fairclough’s work is useful because he often combines political and linguistic theories to investigate which ideological assumptions are made in representations of social and political identities and issues, particularly in media discourse.¹⁹³ The press media is a fundamental example of discourse being a social product. The press discourse transmits a particular viewpoint and is an ‘expression and reproduction of the power of the dominant class and bloc’.¹⁹⁴ The audience responds to the ideological stimulation by negotiating their role and relationship to ideal subjects. Power can be disguised in discursive representations of causality. Media language plays on ‘repetition of a particular way(s) of handling causality and agency’.¹⁹⁵

Investigating EU-Pacific relations involves looking into interaction between the two regions, and representations are expected to reveal the power hierarchy in varying degrees. The decision-making power of the EU in its development legislations as well as its role and control in delivering aid and trade initiatives to ACP countries can be presented explicitly or euphemised. Other issues occurring outside the development frame may also alter the perception of the *status quo* of the EU-Pacific relationship, such as the Fiji

¹⁹¹ Ruth Wodak and Gilbert Weiss, “Analyzing European Union Discourses- Theories and Application”, in *A New Agenda in (Critical) Discourse Analysis*, 125.

¹⁹² Norman Fairclough, *Media Discourse*, London: E. Arnold, 1995.

¹⁹³ Norman Fairclough, *Language and Power*, 42.

¹⁹⁴ Chris Barker and Dariusz Galasinski, *Cultural Studies and Discourse Analysis: a dialogue on language and identity*, 43.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 45.

coup. Fairclough's approach to discourse analysis is largely embraced by the methodological framework developed in this thesis. Clausal occurrences representing EU-Pacific relations will be closely examined for their linguistic features, specifically, transitivity structures and metaphors, which provide us with an effective way of evaluating how particular events are reconstructed by language and society.

4.1. Corpus Selection for Analysis

First, here is an explanation of how the corpus was selected for the discourse analysis conducted in this research. The main criterion for corpus selection is relevance and therefore selected discourses that focus on the EU external development action in the ACP region, and particularly, in relation to EU-Pacific relations. This discourse study uses mainly qualitative approaches in that clausal instances are interpreted using analytical and critical measures rather than the statistics of linguistic occurrences. The combination of qualitative and quantitative approach is taken to make 'systematic comparisons in order to account for the variance in some phenomenon'.¹⁹⁶ Care was taken in the analysis to ensure that the instances used for analysis were most relevant to the topic.

There is a comparative dimension as this linguistic investigation is carried out on two different types of discourse, namely, institutional discourse and press discourse. Over 700 instances of clausal representation from the corpus were examined for this discourse analysis and the selection is based on relevance of content in representing EU-Pacific relations. These instances were analysed according to the linguistic features, transitivity and metaphor structure, which are outlined in the methodological template.

¹⁹⁶ David Silverman, *Doing a Qualitative Research: A Practical Handbook* (London: Sage, 2010), 13.

The temporal frame for the discourse corpus is not too restricted due to the limitations of availability of relevant discourses. Nevertheless, this corpus was restricted to criteria of selecting discursive representations which are produced subsequent to the Cotonou Agreement which was signed 23 June 2000. As acknowledged in Chapter One, the Cotonou Agreement had a significant impact on the transformation of EU external development policy which proposes to create a more equal relationship between the EU and developing countries. It also brought a new dimension to the EU development role in ACP countries, promoting and transferring EU political values such as regional integration and good governance. The signing of the Cotonou Agreement is considered to be a significant milestone in EU external development policy. This is because it transformed the nature of EU-Pacific relations by proposing many fundamental changes, for example, establishing an ‘equal’ partnership. Since this reform, EU development action has become more democratic and multi-levelled. It also opened up the debate for the EPA which is a major turn in the EU development relations with ACP countries.

The corpus includes textual representations from various institutional discourses and press discourses. The linguistic features of institutional discourse are expected to be more hegemonic which functions to:

Produce and sustain a coherent political discourse within the current structured set of political discourses, external struggle to constitute a political public and a base of support and trust for that political discourse and the institution and charismatic individuals associated with it.¹⁹⁷

Institutional discourse selected for this study comprises textual occurrences from European Institutions such as the European Parliament, the European Commission, the Council and the EU’s official website. Texts of institutional discourse serve the function of communication amongst EU institutions in the practice of EU external development action towards ACP countries. Major issues relevant to the EU development

¹⁹⁷ Norman Fairclough, *Media Discourse*, 182.

policy are the EDF and the EPA, and the selected texts address these topics. The parliamentary reports and the European Commission's strategy paper are analysed in a single corpus as they share similar stylistics in formality, presentation and function.

Reports from the European Parliament and the European Commission provide an EU perspective. Institutional discourse is considered as 'elite' discourse, reflecting words of rationality and expertise and symbolising democratic practice with the 'desire to increase popular support and understanding for these policies'.¹⁹⁸ This type of discourse evaluates, persuades, and influences the decision-making process regarding policies affecting EU-ACP relations. This discourse recreates and dissipates ideologies about the EU's role in the developing world. It rationalises social issues by establishing ideological calls for more effective and better policies as a 'response to *risks, challenges and opportunities*'.¹⁹⁹

'Efficient policies' are presented as responses in a specific landscape, in a political imaginary defined both by a space of risk, and simultaneously one of opportunity. Risks and opportunities characterize the world in which the Union must deliver better results and more efficient policies. Opportunities and risks go hand in hand.²⁰⁰

The general ideology conveyed through this type of institutional discourse is that the EU subject has political responsibility to find ideal solutions, react to risks, opportunities and challenges, and positions itself against a less superior and weaker 'Other'.²⁰¹ This reflects the nature of discursive formation where power-holders and the institution setting shape meaning and the way meaning is linguistically projected.

¹⁹⁸ William Walters and Jens H. Haahr, *Governing Europe: Discourse, Governmentality and European Integration* (London/New York: Routledge, 2005), 83.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 84.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 85.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*

The reports from the European Parliament require an understanding of how the institution works and fits into the dynamics of the decision-making system of the EU. The European policy-making processes are increasingly becoming dependent on central institutions in Brussels. The subjects and issues concerned are represented differently in press media discourses as opposed to institutional discourses because in the latter, power relations between EU institutions, such as, the European Parliament and the European Commission. The parliamentary reports and the European Commission's strategy paper are analysed in a single corpus as they share similar stylistics in formality, presentation and function. These are analysed separately from the European Commissioners' speeches which are observed in the next chapter which serve to communicate with a wider public in a spoken style.

The institutional discourse corpus also includes texts from official EU websites which serves a communicative function and is intrinsic to EU decision-making processes. These texts are institutional discourses in that they serve 'to produce and sustain a coherent political discourse within the current structured set of political discourses, external struggle to constitute a political public and a base of support and trust for that political discourse and the institution and charismatic individuals associated with it'.²⁰²

The use of the Internet has become an essential institutional discursive practice and a frequently used means of promoting public awareness of EU policy and interests. EU websites provide transparency and access to up-to-date information on EU policy, activities and the functions of EU institutions. The Internet gives Governments a medium through which they can disseminate information and communicate with citizens and consequently, construct discursive ideologies. The Internet can facilitate organisations such as political parties with their campaigns and also allow the media to integrate search functions.²⁰³ Moreover, the Internet, in the political arena, has the communicative power to 'transform political

²⁰² Norman Fairclough, *Media Discourse*, 182.

²⁰³ Steven Clift, *E-Democracy, E-Governance and Public Net-Work*, Jahrbuch 2004, hrsg. von Robert A. Gehring und Bernd Lutterbeck, (Berlin: Lehmanns Media, 2004.)

pressure and public communication strategies'²⁰⁴ The Internet is therefore, significantly contributing to the evolving of the public sphere and to the destabilising of the existing political communication system, 'allowing engaged citizens to play a role in the development of new democratic politics'²⁰⁵.

Speeches are also an important form of institutional discourse. The corpus includes speeches delivered by Stefano Manservigi, head of Directorate General for Development in the European Commission. Manservigi's speech discourse reflects ideologies of the EU identity and its role in relation to the ACP region. The discursive formation of speeches produced by politicians is 'doubly determined' in that this type of discourse is 'internally determined by its position in the increasingly autonomous and rarefied field of politics, on the other hand it is externally determined by its relationship to the world outside politics, and particularly to the lives and struggles of the people whom politicians represent, whose trust and support has to be won and sustained.'²⁰⁶ Likewise, the speech discourse of Manservigi reflects the internal dynamics of the EU institution, the EU citizens and the external world where lives are affected by the EU's development actions.

The subjects concerned in this discourse analysis are the 'EU' and the 'Pacific'. The issues associated with EU-Pacific relations include the lack of development in ACP countries which are suffering the effects of poverty, the EPA's initiative in improving trade arrangements, the EU's funding to developing countries for economic and political assistance. Commissioners' speeches are treated separately from the texts from European Institutions as speech discourse has a different stylistic tone. For example, reports from the European Parliament follow the format of a

²⁰⁴ Peter Dahlgren, "The Internet, Public Spheres, and Political Communication: Dispersion and Deliberation", *Political Communication*, vol. 22, no. 2, (2005) 155.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 160.

²⁰⁶ Norman Fairclough, *Media Discourse*, 182.

legal document which is not always presented in full sentences, whereas it is essential to articulate in full grammatical sentences in speeches.²⁰⁷

The next set of discursive representations constituting the overall corpus is press discourse. Press discourse is ideological and carries judgments about issues that concern the world and peoples' lives.²⁰⁸ The press exemplifies a public sphere and is used as a medium to form public awareness and opinion on various social and political issues. This type of discourse provides a commentary on social and political ideologies on this topic, which are different from those observed in the elite institutional discourse. Furthermore the press discourse is intergovernmental as it reflects national views. The British press discourse represents the EU as an 'Other' by portraying it as a regime of bureaucratic domination and anti-citizenship.²⁰⁹ This is observed in *The Sun*, where Britain is described as 'drifting ever closer towards being swallowed up by a European superstate'.²¹⁰

The observations of press discourse representations of EU-Pacific relations are divided into two parts: Part I covers French metropolitan press discourse and Part II covers French Pacific press discourse. The French metropolitan press can be considered as reflecting an intergovernmental element of the EU, and the French-Pacific territories' press can be considered as providing a perspective of the Pacific region. French newspapers offer a European Union Member State perspective of the EU's role in developing countries. France is a significant Member State of the EU in that it is one of the founding Member States of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) and since then has had an influential

²⁰⁷ This study takes into account Foucault's definition of discourse which states that representations are not necessarily grammatical.

²⁰⁸ Ideologies have been observed in the linguistic structures of the French press discourse that represented the political crisis in French Polynesia arising from the election of the pro-independence leader, Oscar Temaru, in 2004. Yoon Ah Choi, MA Thesis, Discourse analysis: A Linguistic Study of the French Press's representation of the political crisis in Tahiti (2004-2005) in *Le Figaro*, *Le Monde* and *La Libération*, 2006.

²⁰⁹ William Walters and Jens H. Haahr, *Governing Europe: Discourse, Governmentality and European Integration*, 86.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*

contribution to the evolution of the EU development policy and action. Assumptions about different identities, powerful or weak subjects, and socio-political issues are constantly evaluated and articulated. Since the news coverage associated with EU-Pacific relations was minimal, newspaper articles were gathered for their relevance, from the period subsequent to the Cotonou Agreement.

An electronic database system called 'Factiva' was used to obtain all the necessary press items for this study. This database is an online archive storing full text articles of newspapers around the world and proved to be a convenient, effective and systematic device for establishing the corpus for this research. The search was first restricted to news items dating after June 2000; however, this was again restricted to years 2006 to 2008 in order to make the size of the corpus more manageable. The key words 'EU' and 'Pacific' were entered to control the topic of the articles in the search. The search results were then filtered according to relevance and proportion. In *La Libération*, there were 10 articles relevant to the topic and in *Le Figaro*, there were four articles. The key words 'union européenne AND pacifique', were used to search for relevant discourses in the press archives of *La Libération* and *Le Figaro*. The results were then filtered for relevancy by discarding articles containing the word '*pacifique*' ('peaceful') in its adjectival sense, that is, 'reunification pacifique', 'transition pacifique'. Instances of clauses representing the relevant signifiers were selected then instance by instance, linguistic features of transitivity and metaphors were analysed. The motivation for selecting this corpus is to study the perspectives offered by French newspapers. 4 instances were found in *Le Figaro* and 59 instances were observed in *La Libération*.

For the observations on representations from the French metropolitan press, *Le Figaro* and *La Libération* were selected as they are regarded as being amongst the foremost national daily newspapers of France. *Le Figaro* presents news from a politically conservative angle and *La Libération* offers a liberal left-wing perspective. The divergent political views of these newspapers provide a diverse range of opinion from the

French press. Representations from the most centrist newspaper *Le Monde* were initially sought, however this newspaper significantly lower number of articles about the EU's partnership with Pacific ACP countries, in comparison to the other newspapers mentioned and therefore excluded from the corpus. In a previous study carried out on discursive representations of the French Polynesian political crisis in 2003 by the French press media, *Le Monde* was observed to present a more centrist view which differed from the two more partisan newspapers *La Libération* and *Le Figaro*.²¹¹

Founded in 1926, *Le Figaro* began regular production in 1854 as a satirical weekly under the direction of Hippolyte de Villemessant.²¹² Today it is a prestigious national daily with a right-wing political view, and a readership from more or less upper-middle class citizens.²¹³ *Le Figaro* is currently directed by Serge Dassault who is a senator of UMP ('Union pour un Mouvement Populaire'), a right-wing party of France. *La Libération* is a more recent newspaper which resulted from the student revolts of May 1968 informing the young French public of the political events and criticising the government.²¹⁴ The press agency was founded on 18th June 1971 with Maurice Clavel as the publishing director, and production began in 1973 under the direction of figures like Jean-Paul Sartre, Jean-Claude Vernier, Serge July, Philippe Gavi, and Benny Lévy.²¹⁵

As for the discourse analysis of the French Pacific press, articles from the French-Pacific territories were obtained from a major local Tahitian newspaper, *Tahitipresse*, which is available on-line. The *Tahitipresse*

²¹¹ Choi, Yoon Ah. MA Thesis, Discourse analysis: A Linguistic Study of the French Press's representation of the political crisis in Tahiti (2004-2005) in *Le Figaro*, *Le Monde* and *La Libération*, 2006.

²¹² Marie-Ève Thérénty, "De la nouvelle à la main à l'histoire drôle: héritages des sociabilités journalistiques du XIXe siècle", *Tangence*, no.80 (2006), 49.

²¹³ Chester W Obuchowski, "French Newspapers as a Teaching Aid", *The Modern Language Journal*, vol.42, no.6 (October 1958): 292.

²¹⁴ Jean Guisnel, *Libération: la biographie* (Paris: Editions la découverte, 1999), 59.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 15-42.

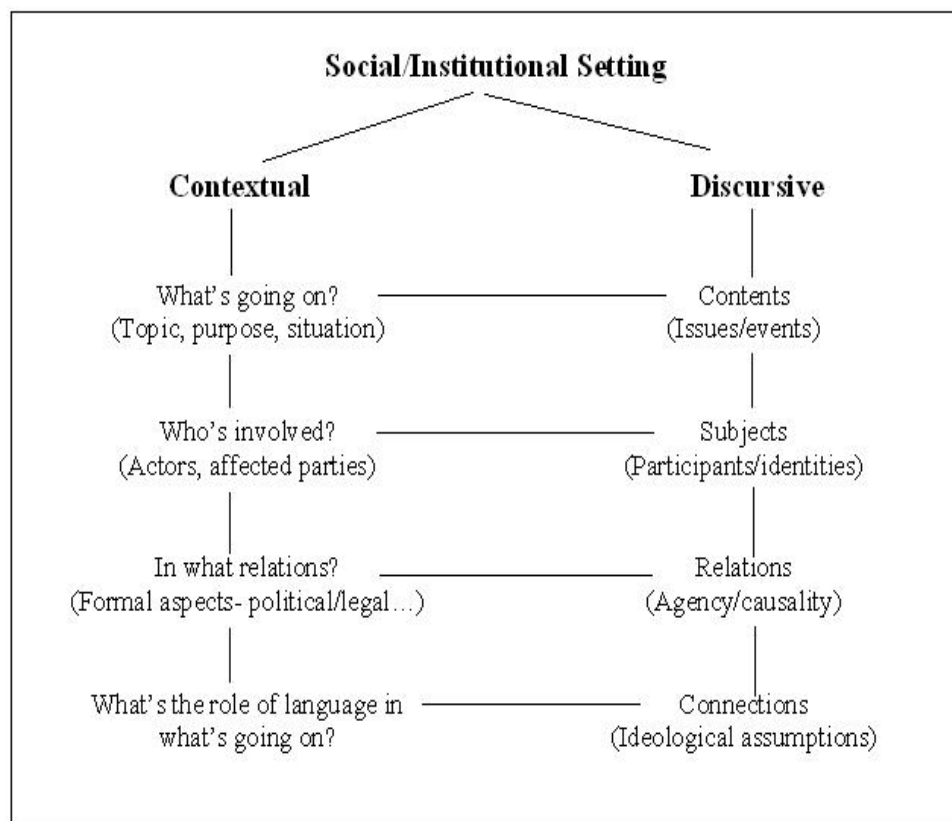
website has an archive search engine and a total of 63 news items were collected by entering the keyword ‘Union Européenne’. The corpus consists of 29 articles from *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes* and 17 articles from *Tahitipresse*. Selecting French metropolitan and French Pacific newspapers ensured a common language for the observation of press representations. There is a wide range of primary languages in the Pacific region, and English is not as widely spoken as French which is the official language in French Pacific territories. The textual material of institutional discourse also included some French texts. This did not present any technical inconsistency as French has the same grammatical logic as English in that the basic structure is in the subject-verb-object order. English translations of the instances are provided in the footnote.

4.2. Hypothesis and Template for Analysis

Halliday analyses textual material in three steps: First, by identifying what is happening in the representation; second, by identifying who is taking part in the representation and what their semantic roles are in relation to each other; and third, by interpreting the purpose of the text, whether it is ‘persuasive’ or ‘expository’.²¹⁶ The discourse analysis conducted in this research will follow these steps which can also be traced in Diagram 1.

Diagram 1 represents the correlation between the contextual and discursive structures of representation. According to the logic of Laclau and Mouffe’s theory on the hegemonic centralisation of meaning in ‘empty’/‘floating’ signifiers, the linguistic representations create and output ideologies. There is an intrinsic link between discourse and its contextual setting where a dominant social/institutional power regulates the meaning. Therefore, discursive details complement the contextual observations, providing a clearer and more holistic understand of the subject concerned.

²¹⁶ Michael A K. Halliday and Ruqiy Hasan, *Language, context and text: Aspects of language in a social-semiotic perspective* (Waim Ponds, Vic.: Deakin University Press, 1985), 12.

Diagram 1: Contextual and Discursive Structure of Representation²¹⁷

This study is based on the assumption that linguistic features reinforce the understanding of socio-political subjects and issues involved and the representation of agency is particularly significant in that responsibility and power is attributed to certain subjects or concepts, which creates a power hierarchy. Linguistic details convey varying attitudes which may be descriptive; static; dynamic; optimistic; positive critical; negative. Linguistic features of discourses are analysed to explore the ideational function of language which recreates our experiences and perceptions of the world and thus is ultimately ideological.

²¹⁷ Diagram created by the author of this thesis to demonstrate the factors taken into consideration in discourse analysis. It is inspired by Fairclough's diagram called 'Situational analysis and discourse type' in Norman Fairclough, *Language and Power*, 122.

The theoretical framework for this study posits that discourse constructs ideologies as a result of discursive formation, and outputs these ideologies to the society which are hegemonic as they condition the society by universalising implied values. Ideologies can be identified by using CDA tools which analyse the transitivity and metaphor structures of representations. The first hypothesis of this study is that linguistic features observed from the corpus are expected to reveal ideologies produced by the socio-political context of discursive formation. These ideologies may include the ideology of the EU as a good and important global actor; EU values: trade liberalisation as a good concept; and poverty being bad.

Discourse analysis identifies socio-political subjects, problems, and ideologies backgrounding the representations. An issue may be that trade liberalisation is causing local businesses in developing countries to anticipate economic failure. Main subjects identities associated with this problem are EU authorities dealing with the EPA, local business operators in developing countries, government representatives involved in the EPA negotiations and local people who are affected by the bad economic conditions of the country they live in. Other factors to consider when interpreting discourse is to ask what is present and what is absent; whether the issue is represented in a concrete or abstract way; what are the evaluative elements in the representation.²¹⁸

The discursive structure of a representation may entail a variety of linguistic forms of power and subjects which may or may not be articulated. Structural details of discourse can also uncover a range of linguistic forms to represent socio-political concepts such as 'development', 'governance' and 'partnership'. Institutional discourse projects EU ideologies from the EU institutional perspective and the analysis can reveal subject identities and values idealised by the institution regarding EU development action. The linguistic representations of institutional discourses from the European Parliament and the European

²¹⁸ Norman Fairclough, *Language and power* (Harlow/New York: Longman. 2001), 139.

Commission would portray socio-political concepts in a more idealistic manner than press discourse, highlighting democratic functioning, values and responsibilities of the EU in its external development action. The press discourse, namely, the French newspapers and (French) Pacific newspapers would express and challenge the ideologies formed by the dominant social power. Thus, this type of discourse is likely to give more exposure to the unequal power associated with EU relations with development countries and more critical representations of agreements on trade and development between the EU and the Pacific region.

The second hypothesis of this study is that linguistic features observed from the corpus are expected to reveal different aspects of 'power'. These representations of power are to differ according to the type of discourse examined, given that discourse is influenced by its institutional setting. Also, given that the notion of power is relational, it can be assumed that discourse contains linguistic features which demonstrate power relations (hierarchy) between different subjects. Institutional discourse and press media discourse should therefore portray EU-Pacific relations in different ways. That is, in representing subjects involved and the dynamics of relations between these construed subjects. This analysis is expected to provide further insights to how the Pacific region is defined in relation to the EU, which will contribute to the on-going debate about how 'Pacific region' is defined today.

Thus, different EU characteristics related to the major integration theories outlined in Chapter Two are expected to surface in discursive representations. These findings will demonstrate the intricate and complex nature of the EU identity, which is viewed as supranational, intergovernmental and multi-levelled; also they will indicate which aspects of those views are more prominent in the context of EU external development action. Institutional discourse is expected to expose supranational qualities of EU identity and power, while press discourse is expected to represent EU identity and power as being more intergovernmental or multi-levelled.

These hypotheses are testable by examining the chosen corpus of discourses with the template in Diagram 2. This template provides a guideline for examining linguistic data in the corpus selected. Clauses which were considered to have most relevance to the signifier EU-ACP relations were selected for analysis. These instances constituting the signifier were analysed according to their transitivity and metaphor structure.

The transitivity structure, which is the first part of the analysis template, explores the syntactic and semantic components of discursive representations and reveals ideologies such as identities and power relations. The analysis of the transitivity structure of representations aims to identify whether subjects and issues are represented as happenings or concepts. The second part of the template indicates an analysis of conceptual metaphors which is also important to defining EU-Pacific/ACP relations. Metaphors were identified in the corpus and then interpreted according to their conceptual categories. By mapping the conceptual fields, intent and effect of such metaphorical applications were explained.

Diagram 2: Methodological Template for Discourse Analysis²¹⁹

Transitivity Analysis	Material Process	Relational Process	Verbal Process	Mental Process
Subjectivity *Identity	Actor Participant <i>(Coding: /.../)</i> Goal/Target <i>(Coding: <u> </u>)</i>	Identified Participant <i>(Coding: /.../)</i> Identifying Element <i>(Coding: <u> </u>)</i>	Sayer Participant <i>(Coding: /.../)</i> Content <i>(Coding: <u> </u>)</i>	Sensor Participant <i>(Coding: /.../)</i> Phenomenon <i>(Coding: <u> </u>)</i>
Event *Syntax-Active/Passive voice Nominalisation	Concrete <i>(Coding:)</i>	Abstract <i>(Coding:)</i>	Concrete <i>(Coding:)</i>	Abstract <i>(Coding:)</i>
Ideology Implication *Positive/negative	Causality Power	Identification Justification Evaluation	Authority Knowledge	Sympathy
Metaphor Analysis	Personification	Journey Metaphor	House Metaphor	War Metaphor
Subjectivity *Identity	Content	Content	Content	Content
Features (Coding: <u> </u>)	Birth Health Body parts Movement Mind Sensation	Destination Direction Path Speed Vehicles Obstacles	Structure Foundation Open-ness (doors) Strength Transparency (windows) Construction	Violence Weapons Attack Protection
Ideology Implication *Positive/negative	Sympathy Supranational Intergovernmental Institutional	Progress Neofunctional Multi-level Governance	Prominence Neofunctional Institutional Supranational Membership Benefits (shelter)	Otherising Border

²¹⁹ This template was created by the author of this thesis to apply to discourse analysis.

In the analysis of transitivity, it is observed which elements are represented as subjects and how this subjectivity is manifested through the degree and configuration of agency. Agency in the transitivity structure of clauses will be studied, including the agency implied in the transitivity of nominalisations. For example, ‘*Regional integration encourages Pacific countries to work more efficiently*’, and the transitivity of adjunct clauses introduced by relative or adverbial pronouns such as ‘which’ or ‘when’, e.g. ‘Pacific countries work more efficiently *when given more financial assistance*’. By analysing the core process and participants of a clausal structure forming the experiential centre, this study will observe how discourses observed in this research construct the signifiers representing EU-Pacific relations.

Subject identities are articulated in relation to other concepts. In Material processes, power relations between subject identities are often evident. Relational processes have an affirmative function, and these processes are normally signified by the verb ‘to be’. Such representations have the function of identifying a participant by attributing certain qualities, and they can be factual or judgmental.

In Halliday’s systemic-functional grammar, the ‘Agent’ is used in ergative models and refers to the external participant causing the process, which can be Manner, Beneficiary, Cause, Range or Extent.²²⁰ In this thesis, the terms ‘agent’ and ‘agency’ refer to a general and political context that designates the EU’s influence on development in ACP countries. The EU’s agency is often mapped discursively, as an ‘Actor participant’ which is the active participant of material process as explained on p.98 of this thesis. As such, the term ‘actor’ is specifically used in order to designate its linguistic, semantic function. However, the term ‘actor’ is also used to describe the EU

²²⁰ Michael A K. Halliday, *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 3rd edition (London: Edward Arnold, 2004), 295.

as a development actor which is a common way of identifying the EU.

In this thesis, the term ‘subject’ denotes a social subject as well as the linguistic feature ‘subject position’. Social subjects are discursive products²²¹ which are ‘specific to discourse types, and ideologically variable’.²²² For example, in a medical discourse, doctor or patient subjects are created through their discursive subject positions in which their identities are ‘enacted’.²²³

Fairclough explains that the term ‘subject’ has ambiguities as it can designate a personality or a grammatical part of a sentence.²²⁴ Subjects can be grammatical subjects, subject positions and also social subjects. Halliday provides different summaries of how the ‘subject’ can be defined. Firstly, the ‘subject’ can be a ‘psychological subject’, also called the ‘theme’, which functions in the clause as the point of departure of the message. This definition is not taken into account in this research. Secondly, the ‘subject’ can be a ‘grammatical subject’, which is predicated. Fowler describes this ‘subject’ as being a syntactic subject position at the beginning of the sentence. The term ‘subject’ is used in this thesis to refer to this grammatical position.²²⁵ Thirdly, the ‘subject’ can be a ‘logical subject’, which is the doer of the action in the structure of the clause. This subject is what Halliday calls the ‘Actor’, the active participant in that process.²²⁶ While the third definition of the ‘subject’ is relevant to this research, it is referred to as the ‘Actor’ participant rather than ‘subject’ in this thesis.

As for the metaphor analysis, EU and Pacific identities are expected to be reflected in metaphors. A range of metaphor categories that were considered

²²¹ Chris Barker and Dariusz Galansinski, *Cultural Studies and Discourse Analysis: a dialogue on language and identity*, 45.

²²² Norman Fairclough, *Language and Power*, 85.

²²³ Michael A K. Halliday, *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 295.

²²⁴ Norman Fairclough, *Language and Power*, 32.

²²⁵ Roger Fowler, *Language in the News: Discourse and Ideology in the Press*, 75.

²²⁶ Michael A K. Halliday, *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 55.

to have the most ideological significance and effect were selected for the analysis. Journey, house, war and personification metaphors were selected after a literature review of metaphor studies of political discourse, EU text and political speeches. The validity of the selection of these metaphorical categories was also decided upon reviewing the corpus in order to see if these, in effect, had significant ideological effects on the representations studied.

In Chilton and Lakoff's *Foreign Policy by Metaphor*, metaphors that come into focus are conceptualizations of the 'State' as a person and as a house. Metaphors in my corpus reinforced certain aspects of how the EU power is perceived. The house metaphor, for example, reflected the EU's institutionalist nature and the journey metaphors emphasised progress and change demonstrated the neo-functional nature of its policy development. Personification of the State made it possible to depict its personality, its relationships with other identities such as another State, its attitude to certain policies or issues. The health and body domain provide means to attach an ideology to the representation that an economically sound country is healthy, strong and fully-grown, and vice versa. This metaphor category was thus significant and, in effect, present in my corpus. According to Chilton and Lakoff, personification provided 'the conceptual basis for much of the argumentation in international relations'²²⁷. The other metaphor Chilton and Lakoff looked at in this chapter was the metaphor of States as containers:

It is with the emergence of a new form of political organization, the modern nation-state, that the container concept became crucial to political discourse with its characteristic notions of sovereignty, centralized control, fixed boundaries and diplomatic recognition.²²⁸

Charteris-Black's metaphor analysis was carried out on Margaret Thatcher and Winston Churchill's speeches. Thatcher's discourse was largely

²²⁷ Paul Chilton and George Lakoff, "Foreign Policy by Metaphor", in *Language and Peace*, ed. Christina Schäffner and Anita Wenden (Dartmouth: Aldershot, 1995), 50.

²²⁸ Ibid.

dominated by elements of War metaphors, which established political opponents as enemies.²²⁹ In Churchill's discourse, Journey metaphors were utilised as a persuasive tool for reasoning and evaluation. Journey metaphors suggested ideal goals as a destination, and highlighted the importance of solidarity and Churchill's leadership with images of accompanying travellers and of himself as the guide who knew how to reach the destination.

Drulák's study of metaphors reflecting the European integration focused on metaphors of motion, container, and equilibrium. According to Drulák, these key metaphors were selected after reviewing theory-derived metaphors and the actual metaphors used by the EU leaders, to check for the relevance and significance of selected metaphors in the discourse corpus. This is how this research selected metaphor categories. Personification is one of the metaphor categories observed in this thesis and Drulák explains that 'most international thinking is embedded in the metaphorical belief that "states are persons"'.²³⁰ Furthermore, Drulák notes that intergovernmental approaches conceptualised the EU as equilibrium of containers whereas the supranational approaches viewed the EU as a container. In addition, the motion metaphor, such as references to journey represented the EU as a neofunctional and institutionalist phenomenon.²³¹ According to Drulák, such study of metaphors in political discourse provides an excellent opportunity to apply discourse analysis to theories of European Integration and international relations. Further details on features of metaphor in discourse are provided in Section 4.4.

²²⁹ Paul Chilton and George Lakoff, "Foreign Policy by Metaphor", in *Language and Peace*, ed. Christina Schäffner and Anita Wenden (Dartmouth: Aldershot, 1995), 94.

²³⁰ Petr Drulák, "Motion, Container and Equilibrium: Metaphors in the Discourse about European Integration", *European Journal of International Relations*, vol.12, no. 4 (2006): 499-531. Sage Publications and ECPR-European Consortium for Political Research, 502.

²³¹ *Ibid.*, 511.

4.3. Transitivity Analysis

The transitivity model developed by Halliday's systemic-functional grammar is used as a major reference for developing the methodology of this discourse study. Halliday's systemic-functional grammar has been applied by many CDA scholars when carrying out methodical interpretation of text:

Interpretations are open, dynamic and subject to change. Nevertheless, linguistic analysis of discourse, anchored within systemic-functional linguistics, can help reduce the arbitrariness of interpretation by anchoring it on the discourse from itself.²³²

Halliday's model of systemic-functional grammar is applied to analyse the structure of transitivity in discourses. This is because socio-political factors are embedded in the transitivity structure of language. For example, the degree of agency/responsibility portrayed in a proposition can be altered by the use of nominalisation or passive voicing. The degree of agency is perceptible from the transitivity configuration of particular subjects and actions. The construction of power relations are expected to differ across discourse types.

Halliday provides a set of linguistic tools to decipher the structure of ideologically loaded representations and interpret extra-linguistic assumptions implied. The theory of 'systemic grammar' was developed in the late 1970s by the language specialist Halliday. This particular approach to the study of grammar is significant in that it bridges the gap between the social and political world and linguistic structure in a precise, methodical manner.

The basic assumption of Halliday's systemic theory is that function plays a fundamental role in discourse formation and a selection of linguistic tools is

²³² Chris Barker and Dariusz Galansinski, *Cultural Studies and Discourse Analysis: a dialogue on language and identity*, 64.

available in various instances in order to satisfy a particular social function. There are three key components which are crucial to understanding the nature and mechanics of language use. The first of these multi-functional components is referred to as 'ideational' and 'experiential', which relates to how language represents the world and how the author's experience of the social world is reflected in content and knowledge. Secondly, discourse is 'relational' and thus manifests social relationships in the context or society. Thirdly, it is 'expressive', as an ideological product which carries the author's evaluation of the reality by representing subjects and social identities.²³³

As will be more closely demonstrated in the next sections, Halliday's method of decoding transitivity structures of textual representations provides a unique and holistic approach to studying meaning which can extract ideologies behind social identities and issues. Dynamics of power in the social world can also be observed from the way propositions are constructed as subjectivity is formed by assigning particular roles to participants, that is, some subjects are charged with responsibilities while others are placed in more passive positions. Analysing the choices made to form a transitivity structure of a representation can reveal how the EU and the Pacific region construct each other's identities in the context of their external relations. This study will seek to understand the implications of such linguistic features in discursive representations and explore the complexity of transitivity structure, which is enriched with ideology.

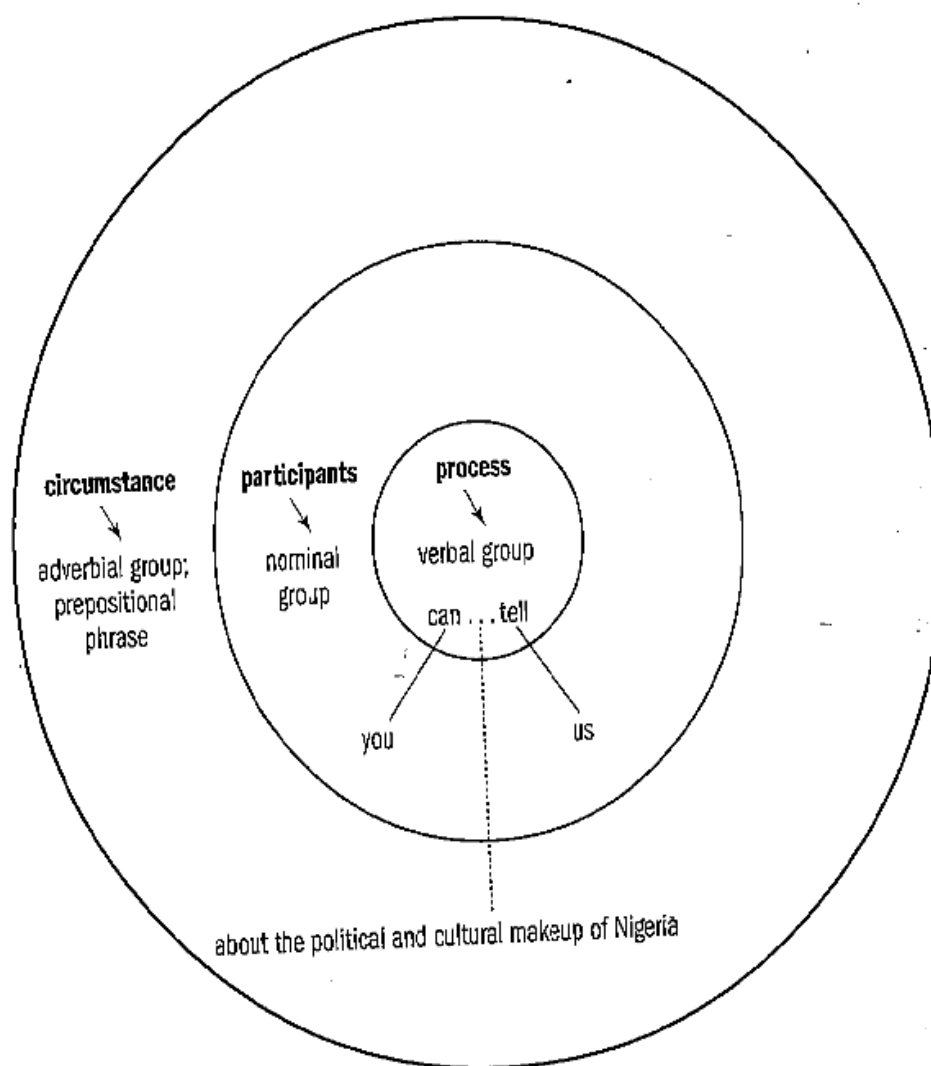
The transitivity structure from Halliday's systemic functional grammar is a primary tool for arriving at the critical linguistic observations made in this discourse study. Systemic-functional grammar is concerned with what linguistic choices have been made in the clausal structures and with the context and function of such utterances. This grammar theory outlines the complex system of linguistic choices available to people when producing

²³³ Michael A K. Halliday, *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 29.

discourse. Transitivity is based on an ‘experiential centre’ which consists of a particular type of process and participants.

The diagram below illustrates that the process is the central element of the transitivity structure with participants being most directly associated with the central process:

Diagram 3: Transitivity Structure²³⁴



Using Halliday’s model for deciphering the transitivity structure of representations, this study will analyse what identities and power relations are present in discursive structures. The transitivity structure is present in

²³⁴ Michael A K. Halliday, *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 176.

each clause, and does not only refer to the main predicate of the whole sentence. Elements that make up the ‘centre’ of the transitivity structure can be mapped onto the linguistic units of a clause.

Circumstantial elements occur outside this centre.²³⁵ Circumstantial elements of the transitivity structure can also modify the global meaning of the representation. Prepositions occur as circumstantial elements which are peripheral features of the transitivity structure as they are situated outside the experiential centre (process+participants). Prepositional clauses are significant in that they add a locative dimension to the overall event represented. Circumstances provide supplement information associated with the action denoted in the experiential centre and justify the action. Prepositions, or ‘locative circumstances’, render the representation as more tangible and factual by specifying the temporal and spatial aspects of the event, *i.e.* entre le franc CFP et l’euro; à l’euro; avant l’euro; dans la perspective du passage à l’euro; face à cette mobilisation; à l’intérieur de la zone ; dans l’inconnue de l’euro, etc.

Choices made regarding the type of processes and distribution of participant reflects the process of discursive formation and reveals ideologies assigned to certain subjects or issues associated with the signifiers. Different types of processes shape the representation of a particular experience or concept:

Part of the ‘flavour’ of a particular text, and also of the register that it belongs to, lies in its mixture of process types’. For example, recipes and other procedural texts are almost entirely ‘material’, whereas ‘verbal’ clauses play an important role in news reports and ‘mental’ clauses are a typical motif in casual conversation.²³⁶

Halliday’s model of transitivity is applied to dismantle the discourse representations in this study. Transitivity governs the way events are depicted in the propositional structure. Halliday’s ideational model of transitivity provides different categories of processes, namely ‘Material’,

²³⁵ Michael A K. Halliday, *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 176.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, 174.

‘Mental’, ‘Verbal’, ‘Relational’, and ‘Existential’, which are selected and applied to construe a single event or experience in different ways to achieve a particular semantic outcome. The choice of process type reflects what kind of action is taking place.

Diagram 4: Types of Processes²³⁷

PROCESS TYPE	category meaning	participants, directly involved	participants, obliquely involved
material: action event	‘doing’ ‘doing’ ‘happening’	Actor, Goal	Recipient, Client; Scope; Initiator; Attribute
behavioural	‘behaving’	Behaver	Behaviour
mental: perception cognition desideration emotion	‘sensing’ ‘seeing’ ‘thinking’ ‘wanting’ ‘feeling’	Senser, Phenomenon	
verbal	‘saying’	Sayer, Target	Receiver; Verbiage
relational: attribution identification	‘being’ ‘attributing’ ‘identifying’	Carrier, Attribute Identified, Identifier; Token, Value	Attributor, Beneficiary Assigner
existential	‘existing’	Existent	

Every clause has an experiential centre, which is constituted by the main verb in the clausal structure and the Actor participant as it is inherent in the action denoted by the verb. Hence, there are three components to take into account when analysing the transitivity structure of linguistic representations: the participants involved in the event; the actual event itself as signified by a particular type of process; and the circumstances surrounding the event.

The agency of a socio-political subject is represented discursively with a semantic role which causes and assigns responsibility for certain actions. The idea that hegemony ‘fixes’ meanings which are normally empty

²³⁷ Michael A K. Halliday, *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 260.

provides a motivation for analysing linguistic structures to extract meaning and ideologies. This research questions linguistic representations of the EU and Pacific identities which are 'empty' and temporarily filled by the hegemonic practice of articulation. Ideological articulations of socio-political identities can be observed in political speeches or press media discourses studied in this thesis.

Subject identities play an important part of representation and 'personalisation' of discursive events²³⁸ refers to the process of bringing to light particular individuals who do something noteworthy, who are involved in an event, or to whom something happens. The personalising aspect of news production also appears under Johann Galtung and Mari Ruge's list of criterial factors that determine newsworthiness.²³⁹ News discourse is an ideological form of social practice because the news item (or 'object' in Foucault's terms) is carefully selected by journalists in order to present to their readers what interests and matters most to the society. Likewise, journalists make decisions when reconstructing events in the news by choosing who to mention and how to depict them. The transitivity structure reflects a choice of participant type, that is, who is made to feature in the representation as being involved in the event. Furthermore, the represented participants can be placed as having a dominant or passive role.

Newspaper articles provide ideologically structured signifiers which assign identity to people and things, and reconstruct events entailing assumptions about the world.²⁴⁰ The transitivity structure creates ideology in that responsibility is assigned to certain actors or happenings. It creates a power hierarchy between various entities, which in this study, is between the EU and the Pacific region.

²³⁸ Roger Fowler, *Language in the News: Discourse and Ideology in the Press* (London/New York: Routledge, 1991)

²³⁹ Roger Fowler introduces Galtung and Ruge's list which provides twelve criterial factors that indicate news value, *Language in the News: Discourse and Ideology in the Press*, 13-16.

²⁴⁰ Michael Stubbs, *Text and Corpus Analysis* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1996), 17.

The transitivity analysis carried out in this research will follow the methodological template below:

Diagram 5: Methodological Template for Analysing Transitivity

Transitivity Analysis	Material Process	Relational Process	Verbal Process	Mental Process
Subjectivity *Identity	Actor Participant (Coding: /.../) Goal/Target (Coding: <u> </u>)	Identified Participant (Coding: /.../) Identifying Element (Coding: <u> </u>)	Sayer Participant (Coding: /.../) Content (Coding: <u> </u>)	Sensor Participant (Coding: /.../) Phenomenon (Coding: <u> </u>)
Event *Syntax-Active/Passive voice Nominalisation	Concrete (Coding:)	Abstract (Coding:)	Concrete (Coding:)	Abstract (Coding:)
Ideology Implication *Positive/negative	Causality Power	Identification Justification Evaluation	Authority Knowledge	Sympathy

Examples are provided in the following sections to illustrate how the how the methodological tools outlined in this chapter was applied and how the template was followed. The examples are 2005 and 2006 news articles from *Fiji Times* and *PACNEWS* which were searched with keywords, ‘EU’ and ‘Pacific’. These examples are used for the purpose of clarifying how the transitivity analysis is applied to this study, and do not contribute to the corpus of the analyses. The following sections demonstrate how different types of processes classify experiences in distinct ways and why this is a significant feature of discursive representations.

4.3.1. Material Process

The ‘material’ type processes are signified by ‘doing’ verbs (See Diagram 4) that represent action in a concrete way with a sense of causality, transformation or creation, such as ‘build’, ‘hit’ or ‘develop’.²⁴¹ Generally, the world’s languages represent processes and things by verbs and nouns respectively.²⁴² Things are objects which are autonomous and spatially compact, whereas verbs are not autonomous and temporally compact.²⁴³ Verbs imply an interaction between subjects and are considered ‘conceptually dependent’ as ‘one cannot conceive of or imagine kicking without imagining a foot’.²⁴⁴

A representation of experience can be activated by the use of verbs signifying a Material process. Material processes imply interaction and a change of state through an input/transfer of energy.²⁴⁵ A Material process represents a physical action which involves an Actor participant as the cause and an affected object in the form of the Goal participant. The Actor participant is responsible for realising the action represented by the process and therefore can be interpreted as a powerful subject.

An example of a clause containing a Material process is ‘/the EU/ is **assisting ACP countries to develop**’.²⁴⁶ The verb ‘to assist’ is a Material process, realised by the Actor participant ‘the EU’ and extended to the affected participant ‘ACP countries’. These participants are represented as socio-political subjects associated with the signifier of the representation,

²⁴¹ Michael A K Halliday, *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 184.

²⁴² Andrew Goatly, *Washing the Brain- Metaphor and Hidden Ideology* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Pub. Co., 2007), 283.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, 283.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 284.

²⁴⁵ Michael A K Halliday, *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 179.

²⁴⁶ This example is created by the author of this thesis to illustrate the nature of material processes.

which ideologically indicate a power relationship of socio-political subjects in the context of discourse formation. Material processes can be intransitive where the action is not transferred to a passive participant, which is evident in the sub-clause ‘/ACP countries/ to **develop**’. In this instance, ‘to develop’ is an intransitive Material process and the Actor participant represented in the clause is ‘ACP countries’.

The logic of ‘cause-and-effect’ is important in the interpretation of discourse. This study observes how causality is represented linguistically through the transitivity structure of Material processes which portray a concrete happening caused by the Actor participant, and action transferred to the passive participant, namely the Goal participant. This structure highlights responsibility and blame. For the analysis of the transitivity structure based on Material processes, the question ‘who is being represented as causing what?’ is asked.

An example of an analysis of Material process in discourse is found in the following instances that represent ‘Fiji’ as the primary socio-political subject which occupies the Actor participant position of the transitivity structure. Material processes of these instances are signified by verbs ‘to lead’ and ‘to play’ which are actions implying a sense of leadership:

- (1) /Fiji/ **leads** the negotiations, both at the official and at the ministerial levels²⁴⁷
- (2) /Fiji/ can **play** an effective role in the Pacific because of its geographical location²⁴⁸
- (3) /Fiji/ can legitimately **play** leadership role in the implementation of PICTA (Pacific Islands Countries Trade

²⁴⁷ Press article, 8 August 2005, *PACNEWS*.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

*Agreement) and PACER (Pacific Agreement on Closer Economic Relations.*²⁴⁹

- (4) /Fiji/ is **playing a leading role in the negotiations for an EPA under the Cotonou Agreement on behalf of the Pacific ACP States with the European Union.**²⁵⁰

In the context of the trade negotiations (*i.e.* EPA, PICTA, PACER), Fiji is shown as a powerful socio-political subject in relation to other states in the Pacific region. The EPA concerns the European Union; however, this subject matter is not represented in the discursive representation which gives the impression that Fiji is central to the whole trade situation in the Pacific region.

Non-animate subjects can be represented as active participants, as evident in the following instance. This representation reveals criticism from press' construction of the free trade agreement:

- (1) /Free Trade theory/ **pretends that the global market place is a level playing field where the islands will get access to new markets for their exports in return for opening their own borders.**²⁵¹

The main verb of this example is a Material process signified by the word '*pretends*'. In this proposition, the Material process is intransitive because the action carried out by the active participant does not extend to a Goal (secondary) participant. This process is realised by the Actor entity, which is 'Free Trade theory' and this emphasises the doubt that free trade could result in the Pacific being able to obtain more access to export its products. While the free trade issue and the action of pretending occupies the

²⁴⁹ Press article, 8 August 2005, *PACNEWS*.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁵¹ Press article, 21 September 2006, *Fiji Times*.

experiential centre of the proposition, the underlined adjunct phrase lies on the outside which represents an idealised situation which follows the logic that if/when Pacific islands open up their borders, they gain access to new markets. However, the meaning of the verb *'pretend'* implies that such attributed situation is not necessarily a true statement, and therefore implies that it is not the case and projects a negative image of the free trade agreement.

4.3.2. Nominalisation and Passive Voice

Nominalisation is a syntactic transformation of transitivity that reduces an event into a noun omitting the logic of causality. This linguistic feature has the function of representing a 'happening' as a 'thing' which reduces the real-time effect of the event, omitting the people involved and distancing the readers from the event represented.

Goatly refers to this linguistic form as 'proper nominalisation' which represents an abstraction from things and time obtaining a sense of permanence unbounded by time.²⁵² Proper nominalisation is when a process is converted into a nominal concept removing associated participants. These participants are implied and the nominalised element retains some semantic quality of a process, giving an effect of 'a self-generated process'²⁵³.

This syntactic transformation allows the nominalised event to be placed into the clause as a 'causer' participant of processes or as the object participant affected. In Fairclough's study, nominalisation is observed as representing inferior social groupings, specifically, 'the poor'.²⁵⁴ This linguistic technique is applied to avoid representing the 'oppressed' social subjects belonging to this grouping as participants of happenings which are

²⁵² Andrew Goatly, *Washing the Brain- Metaphor and Hidden Ideology*, 313.

²⁵³ Ibid.

²⁵⁴ Norman Fairclough, *Media Discourse*, 112.

only implicitly suggested through nominalised events such as ‘crisis’, ‘poverty’, ‘inequality’, ‘hunger’, ‘violence’, etc. Nominalisation can function as a participant of another process to show the event as causing other happenings.

In certain types of discourses, such as scientific discourses, nominalisations feature frequently. These are not necessarily technical, but utilised as they ‘relate to the nature of the subject-matter and the activities associated with it’.²⁵⁵ The use of nominalisation creates a semantic and syntactic potential for fitting in more events and information in the representation.²⁵⁶

As for Material processes, agency can be increased or decreased by syntactic mechanisms such as nominalisation or passive voicing. Halliday refers to Material processes expressed with passive voicing as a ‘receptive transitive material clause’.²⁵⁷ This type of structure allows us to place the goal participant in the subject position, which gives focus to this element. The process of discourse formation entails syntactic choices, such as the use of passive voicing to present the process in a receptive form, and nominalisation which alters the surface structure to exclude certain participants or to minimise the representation to make it seem more abstract and distant. These syntactic transformations can be ideological motivated in that the removal of agency can help remove blame or responsibility.²⁵⁸

Analysing the impact of syntactic transformations such as the use of passive voicing and nominalisations revealed certain ideologies which imply power relations, or which conceal or reduce the agent responsibility in the event depicted. Thus constructing clauses with passive voicing or nominalising

²⁵⁵ Michael A K. Halliday, *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 214.

²⁵⁶ Michael A K. Halliday, *Language as social semiotic: The social interpretation of language and meaning* (London: Edward Arnold, 1978), 202.

²⁵⁷ Michael A K. Halliday, *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 182.

²⁵⁸ Norman Fairclough, *Language and Power*, 103.

clauses can have ideological motivations as it can manipulate the transitivity level which effects the placement of ‘causation’. This is evident from the way the representation of the Actor participant can be delayed and placed outside the experiential centre as a circumstance or even, completely omitted from the construction.

The following occurrences present the Material processes in receptive forms by using passive voice and thereby conceals responsibility of the Actor participant of the verb ‘to force’:

- (1) Papua New Guinea and other Pacific Island countries (PIC) are likely to **be forced** to drop trade barriers earlier than planned to Australia and New Zealand.²⁵⁹

This type of propositional construction also has a victimising affect as it moves the affected participant in the subject position. The main verb of the above instance is ‘*to force*’ and the goal participants of this Material process which refer to the Pacific islands are given more focus are shifted to the beginning of the proposition. The consequent action of the main verb is the unwanted dropping of trade barriers. The Actor participant is not shown in this representation due to the use of passive voicing. The use of passive voice allows the participant that is exercising power upon the goal participant to be absent from the clause. This syntactic form reduces the intensity of transitivity level which gives the event an abstract quality. At the same time, the representation exposes how the islands are made to do something and creates a sense of power hierarchy.

When Material processes are presented in an active form, the responsibility attributed to the Actor participant is projected, as opposed to when events are represented with passive voicing. In the next two occurrences, the free trade issue is the Actor participant of the main verb ‘allow’ and thus it is depicted as an activity which is causing something else to happen. The

²⁵⁹ Press article, 28 July 2005, *BBC Monitoring Asia Pacific*.

corresponding events of the experiential centre portray negative situations:

- (1) /**Signing** up to these rules/ **will allow** richer countries and their co-operations to dominate economic life in the islands. /It **will force** many local producers to close.²⁶⁰

These two occurrences have a high intensity of transitivity due to the presence of multiple actions (among which one is shown as the cause) within the transitivity structure. And thus the level of transitivity is heightened, which makes the representation seem a more eventful and dramatic. In the occurrences above, the discourse portrays how the Pacific islands are disadvantaged from trade liberalisation as it will cause ‘richer countries’ to dominate economic life, and force local producers to close.

4.3.3. Relational Process

In a Relational process, ‘the argument centres around problems of existence and attribution’.²⁶¹ The main function of the application of a Relational process in a representation is to characterize, identify, evaluate, justify or construe a class-membership.²⁶² Two participants are implied by this transitivity configuration and a metaphorical connection (not causal) between these two participants is established. In other words, unlike the Material process which focuses on causality, and the Mental process which focuses on the Sensor participant, the Relational process is about the relational justification of the two concepts. The Relational process serves to attribute a quality to the ‘identified’ participant which usually represents socio-political subjects or issues. Verbs indicating a Relational process can be found in Diagram 6.

²⁶⁰ Press article, 21 September 2006, *Fiji Times*.

²⁶¹ Michael A K. Halliday and Hasan, Ruquiya, *Language, Context and Text: Aspects of Language in a Social-Semiotic Perspective* (Waum Ponds, Vic.: Deakin University Press, 1985), 27.

²⁶² Michael A K. Halliday, *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 214.

Diagram 6: Relational Processes²⁶³

	attributive	identifying
neutral	be, feel	be
phase: time	become, remain	become, remain
	turn (into), grow (into); get, go, fall, run; stay (as); keep	turn into, grow into
phase: appearance	seem, appear, qualify as, turn out, end up (as)	seem (+ superlative)
phase: sense, perception	look, sound, smell, feel, taste (like)	
measure	weigh, cost, measure	
quality	{Process/Attribute:} seem, appear ['be apparent']; matter, count ['be important'], apply ['be relevant'], figure ['be sensible'], suffice ['be enough'], abound ['be plentiful'], differ, vary ['be different'], dominate ['be dominant'], do ['be acceptable, enough']; hurt, ache ['be painful']; stink, smell ['be smelly']; reek, drip, ooze ['be over-ful']; suck, stink ['be awful']	
role		play, act as, function as, serve as
sign		mean, indicate, suggest, imply, show, betoken, mark, reflect,
equation		equal, add up to, make
kind/part		comprise, feature, include
significance		represent, constitute, form
example		exemplify, illustrate
symbol		express, signify, realize, spell, stand for, mean
assignment: neutral	make; [Process/Attribute:} ensure, guarantee ['make it certain that ...'], prove, confirm ['make it a fact that ...']	make
assignment: elaborating		elect, choose (as), dub; name, christen, term; spell, pronounce
assignment: projection	think, consider; wish, want; prove	think, consider; prove; call, declare

Analysing Relational processes reveals specific qualities attributed to subjects or entities which create and reinforce identity and social subjectivity. Halliday's categories of processes in functional grammar present an ontological statement which has the ability to translate both concrete and abstract concepts as action, or *vice versa*. For example, the application of the verb 'to be' makes it possible to manifest a

²⁶³ Michael A K. Halliday, *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 238.

conceptualisation of a ‘being’ as a ‘being-in-world’. This formula is reflected in Halliday’s Relational process, which is a type of transitivity structure. Identity can be affirmed by the application of Relational processes in discursive representations. The experiential centre of a Relational process consists of an Identified (‘Carrier’) participant, the verb ‘to be’, and an Identifying (‘Attribute’) participant. Relational processes display subject identities in an explicit way as attributes are directly assigned to the ‘Carrier’ participant of the transitivity structure. Examples are given in the table below:

Diagram 7: Transitivity Structure in Clauses²⁶⁴

Identified/Attribute	Process	Identifier/Carrier
nominal group	verbal group	nominal group
The deadliest spiders in Australia	are	the funnelwebs
the one in the backrow	must be	you
usually	means	mostly
today’s meeting	represents	the last chance of a compromise
Mr. Garrick	played	Hamlet
c-a-t	spells	‘cat’

An example of a Relational process in the transitivity structure can be observed in the following press representation of the free trade. The experiential centre of this occurrence consists of a Relational process and this type of process is used a discursive tool to reflect a judgment or as means of identifying things:

- (1) In reality /free trade agreements/ **ARE** a new form of colonisation.²⁶⁵

²⁶⁴ Michael A K. Halliday, *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 227.

²⁶⁵ Press article, 21 September 2006, *Fiji Times*.

The main verb of this occurrence, '*are*', evaluates the nature of free trade agreements by assigning a particular identity to the carrier element which is the underlined phrase, '*a new form of colonisation*'. This identity denotes a disliked concept for the Pacific.

4.3.4. Verbal Process

Verbal processes are used to represent a communicating experience. This transitivity structure involves a 'Sayer' participant and an 'Addressee'. The application of 'Verbal process' in representing an event, issue or a concept, makes a connection between the verbal relations and the power relations between the subjects concerned. For example, the verb 'request' is a Verbal process which implies two scenarios- a more powerful subject having the right to request someone to do something; or a less powerful subject asking a more knowledgeable and powerful subject for a specific action. Such verbal events in discourse embed a hidden power hierarchy which correspond to social struggles. Fairclough gives an example of a request made by a business executive to a secretary to type a letter to illustrate a discourse that implies the social relation between these two subjects: 'Could I possibly ask you to type this letter for me by 5 o'clock'.²⁶⁶

This type of process is marked by verbs like 'to say', 'to reply', 'to tell' and 'to ask', for example, '/the EU/ **asked** Pacific island nations to sign the EPA'. In this example, 'the EU' is the Sayer participant, making a communicative gesture to the other subject identity concerned, namely the Pacific island nations, regarding the EPA issue. This type of semantic structure also indicates a sense of hierarchy in power. The EU is in the position to talk and to provoke action through this request.

²⁶⁶ Norman Fairclough, *Language and Power*, 46.

4.3.5. Mental Process

Mental process is a type of process which is ‘concerned with our experience of the world of our own consciousness’²⁶⁷ and which ‘construes a quantum of change in the flow of events taking place in our own consciousness’.²⁶⁸ This type of representation signifies emotion, cognition, projection and perception, and gives focus to the subjectivity of the Sensor participant identifying as a conscious, intelligent, emotional being.²⁶⁹ Mental processes present the representation as a highly thoughtful piece of discourse.²⁷⁰ According to Halliday, the Mental process implies a human ‘sensor’ participant.²⁷¹ This means that in a clause such as ‘/The EU/ **liked the gift**’²⁷², the Sensor participant, ‘the EU’, is human, and therefore is a personified abstract nominal.

Any entity, animate or not, can be treated as conscious; and since Mental process clauses have this property, that only something that is being credited with consciousness can function in them as the one who feels, think, wants or perceives, one only has to put something into that role in order to turn it into a conscious being. [...] But the ambiguous status of the ‘sensing’ participant, who on the one hand is capable of liking, knowing and thinking, and therefore is ‘plus consciousness’, but on the other hand is referred to as *it*, and therefore is ‘minus consciousness’, gives them a flavour that is somewhat humorous or quaint.²⁷³

Different categories within the Mental process type are shown in the table below:

²⁶⁷ Michael A K. Halliday, *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 197.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 199.

²⁷⁰ Michael A K. Halliday and Hasan, Ruquiya, *Language, Context and Text: Aspects of Language in a Social-Semiotic Perspective* (Waim Ponds, Vic.: Deakin University Press, 1985), 27.

²⁷¹ Michael A K. Halliday, *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 201.

²⁷² This example is created by the author of this thesis to illustrate the nature of mental processes.

²⁷³ Michael A K. Halliday, *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 202.

Diagram 8: Mental Processes²⁷⁴

		perceptive	cognitive	desiderative	emotive
phenomenality	phenomenal	✓ [he saw the car]	✓ [he knows the car]	✓ [he wants the car]	✓ [he likes the car/the car pleases him]
	macro-phenomenal	✓ [he saw the car speeding]	–	–	✓ [he likes the car speeding]
	meta-phenomenal	✓ [typically fact: he saw that they had left]	✓ [typically idea: proposition: he thought that they had left]	✓ [typically idea: proposal: he wanted them to leave]	✓ [fact: he regretted (the fact) that they had left]
directionality	'like' type	✓	✓	✓	✓
	'please' type	[restricted: strike, assault]	[restricted: strike, occur to, convince, remind, escape]	[marginal: tempt]	✓
gradability		–	[restricted: imagine – think – know]	[restricted: would like – want – desire]	✓ [pervasive] [like – love – adore]
potentiality		I can see them/I see them	≠	≠	≠
metaphorical modality		– (evidentiality [I hear/see that ...])	modalization: probability [I think that's courier : that'll be the courier]	modulation [I'd like to be there at 8 : you should be there at 8]	– (appraisal [I fear/regret that ...])

Non-human Actor participants, such as facts or events can become a scapegoat when it is represented as an Actor participant which is a thematic role which is charged with responsibility. Similarly, in the example below, the Actor participant of the process 'see' is a non-human entity.

- (2) /The implementation of the agreement/ would **SEE** the establishment of a Free Trade Area (FTA) among all Forum Island Countries.²⁷⁵

The main verb 'see' in this clausal construction signifies a Mental process which gives a human sensory capability to a non-human concept placed in the subject position as the Sensor participant.

²⁷⁴ Michael A K. Halliday, An Introduction to Functional Grammar, 208.

²⁷⁵ Press article, "PICTA to begin ASAP", 30 May 2005, *Fiji Times*.

4.4. Metaphor Analysis

Lakoff and Johnson²⁷⁶ provide the main framework for analysis of metaphors in discourses, and studies carried out by De Vreese, Drulák and Musolff are taken into account to support this study. This section illustrates the way the metaphors are observed in the discourse, that is, the occurrences and structures of metaphors and how they can highlight certain aspects of the concept being represented. Lakoff and Johnson's categories of metaphors and cognitive implications for use of different metaphor types provide a guideline for analysing metaphors. The metaphors in the corpus chosen are to be observed according to the following template:

Diagram 9: Methodological Template for Analysing Metaphor

Metaphor Analysis	Personification Metaphor	Journey Metaphor	House Metaphor	War Metaphor
Subjectivity *Identity	Content	Content	Content	Content
Features <i>(Coding: <u>underlined</u>)</i>	Birth Health Body parts Movement Mind Sensation	Destination Direction Path Speed Vehicles Obstacles	Structure Foundation Open-ness (doors) Strength Transparency (windows) Construction	Violence Weapons Attack Protection
Ideology Implication *Positive/negative	Sympathy Supranational Intergovernmental Institutional	Progress Neofunctional -al Multi-level Governance	Prominence Neofunctional Institutional Supranational Membership Benefits (shelter)	Otherising Border

Metaphors have an ideological function and are effective tool of persuasion as a metaphor can 'activate unconscious emotional associations and it influences the value that we place on ideas and beliefs on a scale of

²⁷⁶ George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

goodness and badness. It does this by transferring positive or negative associations of various source words to a metaphor target'. Thus, metaphors act as a vehicle for conveying ideological attitudes in statements. They are capable of relating various concepts together or creating a contrast between them. For example, we think of an argument as war, *e.g.* to 'win' or 'lose' an argument.

There is an internal structure to every concept and such structures can be mapped onto another. The metaphor can be interpreted by making a correlation between the two conceptual structures. The human conceptual system is, arguably, largely governed by metaphorical thinking.²⁷⁷ While people may not be always aware of the prominence and effectiveness of metaphors, they use metaphorical expressions extensively in everyday language. It is natural for the human mind to interpret the world in a metaphorical manner, by making a connection between separate concepts in order to facilitate the understanding of one concept by means of the other, or even to enhance a certain experience by assuming supplementary qualities available from the relative entity.

The general uses of Metaphor can be distinguished as 'literary' or 'cognitive'. The 'literary use' refers to the type of metaphor-use which is common in poetry, where a comparison is made between two words to incite an aesthetic affect upon the text. The 'cognitive use' of metaphor refers to a person's daily metaphorical thinking. This study focuses on the cognitive aspect of metaphor use which maps two different concepts together. Such metaphors are defined by Lakoff and Johnson as 'conceptual metaphors'.²⁷⁸

Social subjects and identities can be reinforced by the use of metaphor, as metaphorical mapping can highlight elements that are associated with 'us' or 'them', and can also amplify the distinction between 'us' and 'them',

²⁷⁷ George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, 4.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

since metaphors have the ability to attach positive or negative qualities to signifiers. Foreign policy discourses contain metaphors which are culturally conditioned and which ‘embody modes of thought’.²⁷⁹

Metaphors can act as a vehicle for conveying ideological attitudes regarding socio-political subjects or issues. Metaphorical reasoning occurs to solve problems and to form a basis for action, for example, socio-political problems can be discursively represented as a disease to highlight the seriousness of the problem and to make the public understand it as something that has to be cured or eliminated:

The ideological significance of disease metaphors is that they tend to take dominant interests to be the interests of society as a whole, and construe expressions of non-dominant interests (strikes, demonstrations, ‘riots’) as undermining (the health of) society *per se*.²⁸⁰

A number of metaphor studies on the topic of EU identity offer a model for deciphering metaphor features in discourse. The study of metaphors can be placed in EU studies, with a political-semantic perspective. Such research has been carried out on discourses from the European Parliament, which symbolises a public sphere, and in which reflections of European identity are observed.²⁸¹ European parliamentary discourse uses metaphors which project ‘common cultures and common identities’,²⁸² and these metaphors are selected ‘not only with a view to the sense conveyed but also with a view to the listener’.²⁸³ This provides a rationale for selecting European Parliament discourses for observing discursive structures of EU-Pacific relations in this study.

²⁷⁹ Paul Chilton and George Lakoff, “Foreign Policy by Metaphor”, in *Language and Peace*, ed. Christina Schäffner and Anita Wenden (Dartmouth: Aldershot, 1995), 37.

²⁸⁰ Norman Fairclough, *Language and Power*, 100.

²⁸¹ Christ’L de Lantsheer, “The Political Rhetoric of a Unified Europe”, in *Politically Speaking – A Worldwide Examination of Language Used in the Public Sphere*, ed. Ofer Feldman and Christ’L de Lantsheer (Westport/US: Praeger Publishers, 1998), 129-145.

²⁸² Christ’L de Lantsheer, “The Political Rhetoric of a Unified Europe”, in *Politically Speaking – A Worldwide Examination of Language Used in the Public Sphere*, 130.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*, 133.

De Lantsheer sees metaphors as emotive symbols, where a frequent use of metaphors in discourse indicates social anxiety and stress. His observations were based on speeches of the European Parliament from 1981 to 1993, and his study revealed that metaphor frequency pattern differed across political groups. Political identity rather than national identity was observed in metaphor use. Right-wing extremists used more metaphors and this frequent metaphor use was associated with high unemployment rate, economic constraints.

The study on metaphors of European integration is also an important reference for the present study since it demonstrates a comprehensive approach in combining political studies and discourse analysis.²⁸⁴ Conceptual metaphors used by EU leaders reflect political thinking and practices, and specifically EU identity and action. The most frequently occurring metaphors in Drulák's analysis defined EU as 'Motion', as 'Containers' and as 'Equilibrium', which corresponded to various theories of European integration.

4.4.1. Personification

Body metaphors are common features of discourse which facilitate our understanding of other concepts:

We have mentioned lexicalised metaphors like *le pied de la falaise* and *la tête d'une épingle*; but there is nothing strikingly similar between the base of a cliff and human feet, or a human head and the round end of a pin. The human body has been chosen as a vehicle because it is so central to our experience, not because parts of it happen to resemble many things in the world around us. [...] Since we are primarily physical beings interacting constantly with our physical environment and experiencing the world through our

²⁸⁴ Petr Drulák, "Motion, Container and Equilibrium: Metaphors in the Discourse about European Integration", *European Journal of International Relations*, vol.12, no. 4 (2006): 499-531. Sage Publications and ECPR-European Consortium for Political Research.

bodies, it should not surprise us that the flow of metaphor is generally from the physical to the abstract.²⁸⁵

States can be personified with attributions of human qualities and such metaphorical application can facilitate ways to describe political relationships, such as friends, family or enemies. Personifications are:

Extensions of ontological metaphors and that they allow us to make sense of phenomena in the world in human terms- terms that we can understand on the basis of our own motivations, goals, actions and characteristics.²⁸⁶

Musolff's study on metaphors in political discourse, based on a corpus of British and German newspaper articles related to the EU from 1989 to 2001, makes an observation of the EU being represented as a human being. There is a significant correlation between metaphors and political discourse. Musolff's work demonstrates that metaphors are central to political thought and social discourse, and are able to shape political ideas by encouraging a feel for the community by using the 'family' metaphor, and illustrate a sense of 'well-being' in governance through the 'health' source domain. More conservative political discourses have been associated with more extensive use of metaphors compared to liberal discourses. The occurrences of relevant metaphors are categorised into twelve categories of source domains including path-movement-journey; life-body-health; building-housing metaphors.

The EU is a supranational entity which aims to project an image of itself as a single entity to encourage regional integration and perceptions as a single territory with prospects of further political unification and harmonisation. Metaphorical mappings of conceptualising the EU as a human being strengthen the perception of the EU as a single unit. Sub-mappings implied by the 'human' metaphor include: seeing the EU as having a life cycle, which projects growing and development aspects of the EU project; seeing

²⁸⁵ Petr Drulák, "Motion, Container and Equilibrium: Metaphors in the Discourse about European Integration", *European Journal of International Relations*, 140.

²⁸⁶ Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, 34.

the EU as having body parts, which highlights certain aspects of the institution as integral; describing the state of health of the EU, as an evaluation tool to show whether it is in good or bad condition.²⁸⁷

Metaphor is a means of identification. The ‘nation as person’ metaphor individualises that particular country, giving it an identity. According to the findings, a large sample (75%) of ‘birth’ and ‘baby’ metaphors is associated with representations of the Euro currency. The analysis identifies a sense of criticism through depictions of the Euro as having post-natal problems and premature birth. There are also some positive metaphorical representations of the Euro as being a healthy baby. The ‘birth’ metaphor gives the impression that the EU is bringing new results to complement its identity as a reproductive organism. Germany’s former Chancellor, Gerhard Schröder described the new currency situation as being a miscarriage for his euro-sceptic campaign in 1998, which depicted the EU as failing its parental duties.²⁸⁸

Metaphors have various functions in discourse. A metaphor can be a tool of persuasion and for conveying a problem. A speech by former US President Reagan portrays the event of inflation as threatening the ‘economic health’ of the nation, however does not identify a solution.²⁸⁹ Metaphor facilitates understanding as Personification uses human features which are easy to understand and connects these to more complex concepts. Another former US President, George Bush uses Personification in his discourse to accentuate the seriousness of the drug smuggling issue. It is compared to ‘bacteria’ that can ‘hurt the body’ and ‘soul’ of America.²⁹⁰

²⁸⁷ Petr Drulák, “Motion, Container and Equilibrium: Metaphors in the Discourse about European Integration”, *European Journal of International Relations*, P.90.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 92.

²⁸⁹ Ida Vestermark, *Metaphors in politics: a study of the metaphorical Personification of America in political discourse*, extended essay, Luleå tekniska universitet (2007), 7.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 13.

Metaphor also allows evaluation of a concept. The properties of a conceptual field and the target are taken into account and compared to highlight good or bad aspects of the event represented. Health metaphors, as Personification, relate to the human experience of sickness and well-being. The function of health metaphors in discourse can be further illustrated by the following quote:

In health metaphors there is a clear contrast between Conservative policies that are described by using metaphors based on restoring good health and Labour policies that are described by metaphors based on causing illness. This can be conceptually represented as CONSERVATIVE POLICIES ARE A MEDICINE and LABOUR (=SOCIALIST) POLICIES ARE A DISEASE. If Britain is the sick man of Europe, then these metaphors reinforce an underlying problem-solution discourse pattern in which the Conservative Party is the doctor offering its policies as a remedy to the afflictions caused by Labour policies.²⁹¹

Mapping images associated with the ‘health’ conceptual field is an effective tool to highlight problems as diseases and treating them as an issue which needs to be cured and overcome. The treatment extension provides a solution to the identified problem.

4.4.2. Journey Metaphor

As metaphors tend to be ideologically conditioned, readers must have an understanding of what is considered as common-sense to digest the maneuver of the metaphorical suggestion. Journey metaphors which imply a sense of ‘movement’, ‘pathway’ or ‘destination’ are designed to ideologically convince the reader that it is ‘better’ to follow the designated path and to reach the destination as efficiently and quickly as possible. The image of a hurdle is a mode of criticism as it can represent hardship, a barrier or struggle in reaching the desired goal/destination.

²⁹¹ Jonathan Charteris-Black, *Politicians and rhetoric: the persuasive power of metaphor* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 102.

Musolff demonstrates that the notion of speed in the Journey metaphor helps to evaluate the level of commitment by nation-states to the EU progress and integration. He uses the example of the ‘two-speed Europe’, and the ‘missing-the-train/boat scenario’. Journey metaphors identified in Musolff’s study represent states as travellers or vehicles moving along a path. Speed comparisons also feature, which contrast attitudes towards the EU. Journey metaphors have spatial properties as states are placed along a path, changes are movements and progress is a motion forward. Furthermore, a purpose of action is a destination and difficulties are obstacles. The path is linked to progress, and speed differences serve as a means of evaluation. Political process is represented as a journey with vehicle/movement/speed/pathway used as conceptual reference to the progress of policy.

The Journey metaphor makes a significant contribution to creating an image of the European Union project as an on-going journey. Journey metaphors are flexible, as the conceptual field is abundant with many associated elements. The elements covering the conceptual field of Journey metaphors include start and end points, a path, entities moving along the path, modes of travel, guides, companions and barriers which may prevent movement. A positive feature from the journey conceptual mapping is an image of an opening which represents an opportunity. This conceptual metaphor is associated with the metaphor of the state as a location.²⁹² On the other hand, an image of a journey can be applied negatively, such as, ‘no wonder investment in industry has slowed to a crawl’.²⁹³ This type of negative evaluation is a tool of persuasion in Thatcher’s discourse as:

Conservative ideology is represented as the cause of rapid, unobstructed forward movement while the ideology of Labour is conceptualised as a source of obstruction that causes failure to progress along the path or very slow movement.²⁹⁴

²⁹² Andrew Goatly, *Washing the Brain- Metaphor and Hidden Ideology*, 287.

²⁹³ Thatcher, October 1976, P.99, Charteris-Black (2006) *Politicians and rhetoric: the persuasive power of metaphor*

²⁹⁴ Jonathan Charteris-Black, *Politicians and rhetoric: the persuasive power of metaphor*, 99.

The contrast between unimpeded and impeded movement differentiates the identity of the socio-political subjects implied by the representation.

The different elements of the Journey metaphor are used to attribute positive or negative values to the target concept being represented, and serve ‘as a richer basis for inferential reasoning and evaluation’.²⁹⁵ The destination is an effective representation of a purpose. Journeys require an effort and the goal destination implies difficulty. The common knowledge regarding journeys also includes the fact that they are more pleasant accompanied than solitary.²⁹⁶ By mapping common understanding and experiences of journey, arguments are developed with a wide availability of associated elements in the journey domain. In Churchill’s discourse, Journey metaphors are applied in conjunction with other types of metaphors such as War metaphors to heighten the effect of evaluation. The author provides the following example to illustrate this point:

The only guide to a man is his conscience; the only shield to his memory is the rectitude and sincerity of his actions. It is very imprudent to walk through life without this shield, because we are so often mocked by the failure of our hopes and the upsetting of our calculations; but with this shield, however the fates may play, we march always in the ranks of honour.²⁹⁷

Journey metaphors are observed in representations of Britain as the slow (-est) traveller on the EU journey of European integration, while France and Germany are fast travellers. Musolf’s findings also include representations of the EU itself as a travelling entity. Speed and directions are features of Journey metaphors and the British perceive the ‘European train’ as travelling ‘too fast’.²⁹⁸ The EU is also perceived as being on other types of vehicle such as a ship or a car. EU Member States’ participation in the EU

²⁹⁵ Jonathan Charteris-Black, *Politicians and rhetoric: the persuasive power of metaphor*, 46.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 48.

²⁹⁷ Jonathan Charteris-Black, *Politicians and rhetoric: the persuasive power of metaphor*, 54.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

journey is represented with Journey metaphors which evaluate Member States' performance and identity in relation to the European integration process. These metaphors are used:

...to express either SPEED comparisons between individual EU Member States and between a state and the EU as a whole, or comparisons as regards EU Member States' PARTICIPATION in and COMMITMENT to the EU's JOURNEY, or assessments of the SPEED/SUCCESS of the EU's JOURNEY. Again, Britain has the stereotypical role of the EU state that *has missed* or *is missing the euro-train/ship/bus*, or is an *obstacle in its path*, or tries to *slow down the journey*.²⁹⁹

The mapping of everyday experiences associated with the Journey metaphor helps us to understand and evaluate economic and political issues, and identities of subjects associated with those issues. Political processes depicted with metaphors of spatial movement, such as the EU integration, expose identity relations and have a different semantic effect on the question of ontological identity than Personification because Personification takes existence for granted, as opposed to Journey metaphors which show subjects as putting in the effort to maintain the existence and progress of the EU. Journey metaphors also highlight the neofunctional character of EU policy and action.

Furthermore, the image of moving forward is mapped to represent a sense of logical progress in an event which aims to achieve a goal. The speed factor adds to the ideology produced as it amplifies the sense of achievement. For example, 'if you 'succeed or improve' you 'go places', 'go far', 'go/come a long way', 'forge ahead'; if you are 'likely to successfully complete something you are well on your way to it'. Goatly explains that the correlation between speed and progress has an etymological origin, as coming from an Old English word *spede*, which means 'success'³⁰⁰

²⁹⁹ Andreas Musolff, "Ideological functions of metaphor: The Conceptual metaphors of Health and Illness in Public Discourse", in *Cognitive Models in Language and Thought: Ideology, Metaphors and Meanings*, 57.

³⁰⁰ Andrew Goatly, *Washing the Brain- Metaphor and Hidden Ideology*, 52.

4.4.3. House Metaphor

House metaphors also feature commonly in discourses representing political issues and often map institutions to the conceptual domain of construction/building/houses³⁰¹. It is a way of representing something as complex as a political concept with a simpler concept that people can relate to from their daily experience such as a house.³⁰² According to Kövecses, ‘a well-structured and lasting abstract complex system is making a well-structured, strong building’.³⁰³ That is, House metaphors have the ability to represent an abstract concept as having structural qualities. Images associated with the House metaphor include features of a building such as a foundation, and the process of construction.

This way, House metaphors can bring out positive aspects of a socio-political issue. De Lantsheer refers to a speech given by the former President of the European Commission, Jacques Delors, in which a House metaphor is used:

We have laid the economic foundations and started on the ground floor. But the first and second stories still have to be built, and it will take more than one architect to see the project through.³⁰⁴

This speech portrays the EU as a building which is still being extended. It has a plan and envisages numerous architects in directing the construction and maintenance. This image highlights the supranational and neofunctional aspect of EU identity in that the house is a shared facility for its Member

³⁰¹ Ibid., 122.

³⁰² Zoltán Kövecses, *The scope of metaphor* (Barcelona: Antonio, 2000), 83. This author discusses conceptualisations of theories as ‘buildings’, mapping abstract structure to physical structure, which projects an image that ‘complex systems are buildings’.

³⁰³ Zoltán Kövecses, *Metaphor: a Practical Introduction*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), P.131.

³⁰⁴ Jacques Delors’ speech was delivered at the French Bishops Conference in Lourdes on 27 October 1989. This speech is analysed by De Lantsheer, Christ’L, “The Political Rhetoric of a Unified Europe”, in *Politically Speaking – A Worldwide Examination of Language Used in the Public Sphere*, ed. Ofer Feldman and Christ’L de Lantsheer, (Westport/US: Praeger Publishers, 1998), 132.

States and in that it is an on-going process with the possibility to add floors and other architectural designs. Moreover, the conceptualisation of the foundation being ‘economic’ represents an ideology regarding the importance of economic progress in creating a supranational establishment.

4.4.4. War Metaphor

In the *argument-as-war* conceptualisation, the properties associated with war are transferred to enhance the perception of an argument situation. War metaphors can map war’s violent qualities to another unrelated concept (such is the nature of the signifier-signified structure of a sign) which attributes further meaning and ideology to the target concept. By mapping the attributes of the source domain ‘war’, such as a sense of urgency, competition and violence, to the target domain ‘argument’, we ‘defend’ ourselves in an argument situations, argue ‘strategically’ and ‘attack’ the opposition ‘fiercely’ with our points. Political discourse is rich in conceptual metaphors as they shape arguments persuasively. Examples of War metaphors featuring as verbs and nouns in discourse are illustrated in the following extract:

Many verbs for types of fighting can be applied to other activities: fight ‘work hard to achieve’, battle ‘attempt to achieve something in a difficult situation’ wrestle, struggle, grapple ‘try hard to do something difficult’ (I’ve been wrestling/struggling with this mathematical problem for hours), combat ‘attempt to stop something’ (the government needs to take stronger measures to combat crime). As for nouns we have: fray ‘energetic or exciting activity’, blitz/assault ‘great effort to do something’ (schools are having a blitz on raising AIDS awareness), so ‘a detailed description of an action or event’ is a blow by blow account, and half the battle ‘the most difficult part of the task complete’ (once you ask the right survey questions that’s more than half the battle).³⁰⁵

³⁰⁵ Andrew Goatly, *Washing the Brain- Metaphor and Hidden Ideology*, 73.

War metaphor and Personification are prominent features of Churchill's speech discourse, in which nations are perceived as active human participants, and a division is created between Germany which is represented as forces of evil, as opposed to Britain which is represented as forces of good.³⁰⁶ Military verbs such as 'fight', 'defend', and 'surrender' are used to create a heroic identity of Britain and reinforce a sense of an 'Other'.

War metaphors map the concept of fighting to another form of event such as an argument. When an argument is construed as a war, it constructs two sides and a win/loss result which is 'not a very helpful attitude when embarking on negotiations of any kind, ruling out the possibility of compromise and constructive argument in which each side contributes ideas to the benefit of both parties'.³⁰⁷ Thus, metaphors are an important otherising device. With positive and negative evaluations of metaphors, politicians are able to project ideologies and enhance self-identity while creating a contrast to differentiate themselves from opponents. Political arguments can be developed effectively with the mapping of conceptual fields and solutions can be offered to problems delineated by metaphorical comparison. Charteris-Black comments on the representation of Margaret Thatcher's governance in Great Britain:

Britain is a sick and divided nation (as a result of Labour politics) that awaits the unifying force of a strong leader with policies that are linked to the positive ends of all these scales of metaphor. She represents herself as a militant, female, moral life force that will restore regenerative powers to overcome the insidious, immoral, death force of Socialism and will cause an end to negative social phenomena.

War metaphors are dominant in the Thatcher discourse to represent political issues based on conflict and serve as tools of persuasion.³⁰⁸ The

³⁰⁶ Jonathan Charteris-Black, *Politicians and rhetoric: the persuasive power of metaphor*, 36.

³⁰⁷ Andrew Goatly, *Washing the Brain- Metaphor and Hidden Ideology*, 78.

³⁰⁸ Jonathan Charteris-Black, *Politicians and rhetoric: the persuasive power of metaphor*, 89.

war concept implies two opposing sides which facilitates the establishing of an identity, differentiated from another. In Thatcher's discourse, identity of her political party is reinforced with War metaphors and distinguished from the Labour Party.

While socio-political subjects can be highlighted as opposing forces in a war situation, socialpolitical issues can also be represented via the War metaphor. Thatcher's discourse uses the War metaphor to project social and economic problems such as inflation, unemployment and trade unions as enemies. This is observed in the expressions 'the conquest of inflation' and 'we are fighting unemployment by fighting inflation'.³⁰⁹ This research shows that, EU discourse constructs the signifier 'poverty' with the War metaphor. Poverty is an opposition against which the EU has to 'fight' and 'combat'.

Furthermore, Charteris-Black justifies the politician's use of War metaphor as a motivation to 'mix messages of anxiety with promises of hope for the future'.³¹⁰ Thatcher's discourse uses a combination of journey, war and health metaphors to create a sense of urgency that Britain is under attack by the enemy force of the Socialist party and need to be cured with Conservative policies. An example of a combination of war and health metaphors used is illustrated below:

...disease of any kind (whether caused by bacteria/viruses or not) as an attack by invaders 'viruses or bacteria', or foreign bodies from outside. [...] The bacteria invade 'enter the body', and may strike down 'cause illness or death to' the victims, if they succumb, 'become ill'. However, the body many defend itself, fight, combat 'struggle to survive' the disease, through resistance 'immune response'. Medicine can attempt to conquer or vanquish 'eliminate' a disease once and for all (though the military may keep stocks for biological warfare).³¹¹

³⁰⁹ Thatcher's speech from October 1981, as discussed in Jonathan Charteris-Black, *Politicians and rhetoric: the persuasive power of metaphor*, 91.

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 93.

³¹¹ Andrew Goatly, *Washing the Brain- Metaphor and Hidden Ideology*, 49.

The War metaphor has a unifying and effects and motivating participants in the combat. Personification of state as a person projects the state as the participant partaking in the war, which therefore represents a heroic identity. Churchill's use of the War metaphor highlights the identity of Britain as a global hero fighting for global altruistic objectives.³¹²

³¹² Jonathan Charteris-Black, *Politicians and rhetoric: the persuasive power of metaphor*, 55.

Chapter Five:
Institutional Discourse Analysis -
Part I

5. Introduction

Discursive representations of different types of discourses were selected for this study to demonstrate varying representations of power and ideology. This chapter examines representations of EU-Pacific relations in institutional discourses. The discussion on theories of EU integration, outlined in Chapter Two, shows that there are several features of EU identity. The EU can be perceived as being supranational, institutional, intergovernmental, neofunctional and multi-levelled. This study supports multi-level governance theory, which acknowledges the decentralised, situational and varied dynamics of power mobilisation in EU decision-making and which gives more flexibility to how the EU identity is conceptualised. Thus, the 'EU' subject is understood as being composed of many identities.

The methodological tools adopted for the analysis are expected to extract ideologies complementing the representation of EU-Pacific relations. The structure of transitivity construes socio-political subjects and issues in a range of ways, that is, as happenings or concepts, causation and kind of experience through process type. Identities are expected to be projected through particular linguistic features such as the degree of agency, semantic roles (active/passive), the socio-political subject's relation to type of process, and also *via* how the socio-political subject is associated with particular problems or issues represented. A range of forms of metaphors is expected to surface in the discursive representations studied in this thesis. These metaphors, being ideological, are expected to accentuate the importance of EU values.

Various aspects of EU identity are discursively articulated and its 'active' subjectivity is highlighted in relation to the context and content of the representation which may focus on a particular policy. Linguistic representations of 'power' in the transitivity between the EU and the Pacific region are investigated in the discourse analysis carried out in this chapter. At the policy level, trade and development are essential areas of cooperation and the EU is regarded as an important development agent in the Pacific region.

The corpus of the 'Institutional Discourse Analysis- Part I' consists of the following documents:

1. European Parliament Resolution on the 'EPA', 16 March 2009, 3,850 words.³¹³
2. European Parliament Report on the 'EDF', 8 May 2008, 3,040 words.³¹⁴ This report contains the European Parliament's recommendations regarding the European Commission's input to the EDF.
3. European Parliament Report on 'EDF BUDGET', 20 March 2009, 7,908 words.³¹⁵
4. Communication paper by the European Commission to the European Council, European Parliament, European Economic and Social Committee, EU-PACIFIC STRATEGY PAPER, 29 May 2006, 8,523 words.³¹⁶ This legislative text focuses on the EU's

³¹³ Glyn Ford, Committee on International Trade, European Parliament, "'Motion for a Resolution' on the Interim Partnership Agreement between the Pacific States, on the one part, and the European Community on the other part", B6-0143/2009, 16 March 2009.

³¹⁴ Alain Hutchinson, Committee on Development, European Parliament, "'Report' on the work of the ACP-EU Joint Parliamentary Assembly", A6-0175/2008, 8 May 2008.

³¹⁵ Boguslaw Liberadzki, Committee on Budgetary Control, European Parliament, "'Report' on discharge in respect of the implementation of the budget of the Seventh, Eighth and Ninth European Development Funds for the financial year 2007", A6-0159/2009, 20 March 2009.

³¹⁶ European Commission, Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament and the European Economic and Social Committee, "EU Relations

development initiatives in the Pacific ACP which are 14 PIF countries, but also addresses French territories in the Pacific.

5. ‘African, Caribbean and Pacific states (ACP): Introduction’, SCADPlus, (18/09/2007), 709 words.³¹⁷

6. ‘The Cotonou Agreement’, Development/European Commission Official Website, (23/05/2006), 1,715 words.³¹⁸

The corpus consists of texts from EU’s official websites which address the public and texts from EU institutions which serve a communicative function in, and are intrinsic to, EU decision-making processes. Major issues covered in this study concern the EU development policy- notably the EDF and the EPA. These issues are considered fundamental elements constituting the definition of EU-Pacific relations. Identities, power relations and ideologies are also linguistically embedded in conjunction to these issues. The EU development policy of the EDF and the trade project of the EPA constitute major signifiers defining EU-Pacific relations which are ‘development’ and ‘trade’, respectively. Each analysis follows the methodological template set up in the previous chapter.

Institutional discourse projects EU ideologies and tailors the representation of the EU to be perceived as desired. The corpus consists of text taken from the official EU website, three European Parliament Session documents, and one Commission paper. These were selected according to relevance of topic, addressing the most important issues related to the ‘EU-Pacific relations’ signifier. These issues concern development and trade which correspond to the EDF and the EPA, as well as the functioning of the Joint Parliamentary Assembly of ACP and the EU. These documents

with the Pacific Islands- A strategy for a Strengthened Partnership”, COM(2006), 29 May 2006.

³¹⁷ “African, Caribbean and Pacific states (ACP): Introduction”, SCADPlus, 18 August 2007, <http://europa.eu/scadplus/leg/en/lvb/r12100.htm>.

³¹⁸ “The Cotonou Agreement”, DG Development, European Commission, 23 May 2006, http://ec.europa.eu/comm/development/body/cotonou/index_en.htm.

were located on the European Parliament website and the European Commission website.

With recent technological advancements, obtaining information on the internet has become important and accessible, notably for people in developed countries.³¹⁹ Information from websites of institutions is considered as an ‘essential element of modern public administration’.³²⁰ The institutional discourse corpus includes texts from the official EU website: www.europa.eu. Online information aims to promote public awareness of EU policy and interests, and provides transparency in the day in the life of its policy-making, as well as detailed information on its institutions and their activities. There are linked portals such as ‘EurActiv’ which is a business-focused website providing information related to the EU.

Information accessibility is essential to democracy and the internet is creating a wider public sphere for citizen participation in political activities. Posting information online enhances transparency and this information is frequently updated, pitched at various audiences and there are also interactive features. The European Parliament website allows citizens to search and access working documents and reports. This corpus of institutional texts exposes subjects involved in EU development action and the dynamics of relations these construed subjects. This set of discourse provides a supranational institutional perception of the relations and forms of ideologies asserting a democratic functioning and the responsibilities of the EU in its external development action. All discourses date after the 2000 Cotonou Agreement.

³¹⁹“Digital Europe; How to get 50,000 First Time Internet Users Online in One Day”, Telecommunications Weekly, 31 March 2010, 363.

³²⁰ Lourdes Torres, Vincente Pina and Sonia Royo, “E-government and the transformation of public administrations in EU countries-Beyond NPM or just a second wave of reforms?”, *Online Information Review*, vol. 29, no. 5, 531-553. (Zaragoza: Emerald Group Publishing Limited, 2005)

Like its identity, the decision-making power of the EU is debated as being supranational, intergovernmental and multi-levelled. These features can also be extended to describe how individual policy is maintained and systemised, such as EU development policy relevant to the Pacific region. The subjectivity of the European Parliament is reflected in the discourse studied in this chapter. The reports provide examples of an institutional discourse formation which embeds the role and function of the European Parliament in regard to EU external development.

The EU, as a supranational unit with a democratic decision-making system operates through three primary bodies: the European Commission, the Council and the European Parliament. The co-decision power, strengthening the role of the European Parliament is to be reinforced with the new Lisbon Treaty which had been delayed due to lack of Irish support.³²¹ With the newly elected members of parliament in June 2009, the majority of the European Parliament is centre-right.³²²

The main roles of the European Parliament include the passing of European laws, with 'co-decision' power in legislation. The Council needs to consult parliament in order to demonstrate the democratic legitimacy of EU law. It also takes on a democratic supervisory role by monitoring the work of the Council and the Commission. The European Parliament has the power to approve or reject the nomination of Commissioners and to censure the Commission. The European Parliament has a partial influence over EU budget, can influence EU expenditure, can adopt or reject budget.

While the European Parliament contributes to the EU decision-making and stands for the voice of European citizens, symbolising good democratic

³²¹ Clive Church and David Phinnemore, "From the Constitutional Treaty to the Treaty of Lisbon", in *European Union Politics*, 3rd edition, ed. Michelle Cini and Borragán Pérez-Solórzano, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 48-69.

³²² The European People's Party (EPP) won the biggest number of seats in the June 2009 European Parliament Elections. EURACTIV, "2009-2014: A centre-right European Parliament", <http://www.euractiv.com/en/eu-elections/2009-2014-centre-right-european-parliament/article-183383>.

practice, there is a lack of public participation when voting for members of the European Parliament. Each election for the European Parliament has attracted a decreasing number of voters, with the turn out for the recent election of June 2009 being only 43%.³²³ In addition, the power dynamics within the EU institutional system are all questionable as the European Commission has more control over legislations than the EU parliament.

5.1. Transitivity Analysis:

The discursive representations observed expose who is considered to take part or play a leading role in relevant development, trade and governance issues associated with EU-ACP relations. Power relations between subjects and evaluations of certain issues also surface from the analysis. Subject identities are discursively articulated through transitivity and metaphor structures.

For the analysis of transitivity, 34 instances have been selected as most relevant to the signifier 'EU-Pacific/ACP relations'. Clauses not considered for analysis include, 'There is no reciprocal clause for the ACP states, which are merely obliged to apply the most favoured nation clause to the Union and to refrain from discriminating between countries of the Union'. This transitivity structure is an existential statement triggered by the phrase 'there is' which does not belong to the main categories of processes studied in this research. This transitivity structure represents a happening and is mostly used to express a fact. Since the interest of the analysis is in the ideological conveyance of actions and subjects, this process is not considered for analysis. The clause, 'Other specific provisions apply to products of vital importance for the economy of several ACP states, such as bananas, rice and sugar', was not considered due to the lack of relevance to the topic. It gives detail regarding one of the elements defining the signifier EU-ACP

³²³ European Parliament Eurobarometer (Standard EB 71.3), "2009 POST ELECTION SURVEY", Brussels, July 24, 2009.

relations, which does not contribute to the semantic composition of the signifier itself.

5.1.1. Material Processes

- (1) /Cooperation between the countries of sub-Saharan Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific (the ACP states) and the European Community (EC)/ **dates** back to the creation of the EC and **is a particularly important aspect of the European Union's development policy and its policy on external relations in general.**³²⁴

EU-ACP 'cooperation' is the Actor participant of an intransitive Material process 'to date', which represents this concept as a constantly evolving matter with temporal references. It is also an identified element of a Relational process, which is justified as a particularly important aspect of the EU's development and external relations policy.

- (2) /The 1957 Treaty of Rome establishing the European Economic Community (EEC)/ initially **formed the legal basis for cooperation with this group of countries (as well as the OCT)** which at the time were, for the most part, colonies of certain Member States.³²⁵

The Material process in the above transitivity structure is signaled by the verb 'to form'. It represents a process of change, creation, which denotes responsibility of the Actor participant, namely, the Treaty of Rome. The ideology that is established by this representation is that the above EU Treaty is very powerful and is the primary causal factor in creating the relations between the EU and today's ACP nations.

³²⁴ "African, Caribbean and Pacific states (ACP): Introduction", SCADPlus, 18 August 2007, <http://europa.eu/scadplus/leg/en/lvb/r12100.htm>.

³²⁵ Ibid.

- (3) /The Yaoundé I and II Conventions between the AAMS (Association of African and Malagasy States) and the EEC, signed in 1963 and 1969/ respectively, **constituted** the first step in the creation of the partnership.³²⁶

As in the previous instance, a legislative entity plays the role of an Actor participant. The Material process ‘to constitute’ portrays the event of EU-ACP partnership being created by the Yaoundé Conventions.

- (4) Since 1975 relations between the ACP states and the EC have been **governed** by the /Lomé Conventions/ which have **established a close, far-reaching and complex partnership**.³²⁷

Material processes ‘to govern’ and ‘to establish’ are represented in this instance. The action of governing is carried out by the Actor participant ‘Lomé Conventions’, and the affected participant is signaled by the phrase ‘relations between ACP states and the EC’. ‘Lomé Conventions’ also fulfills an active role for the action of establishing a product which is ‘a close, far-reaching and complex partnership’.

- (5) /Cooperation/ **focuses** on two key elements: economic and commercial cooperation, and development cooperation.³²⁸

The nominal ‘cooperation’ is the Actor participant of a Mental process, signified by the verb ‘to focus’. The event represented establishes subjectivity of the concept ‘cooperation’ by attributing it a human, psychological activity. This makes the concept of cooperation between the EU and the ACP region seem rational, and dedicated to economic and development aspects.

³²⁶ “African, Caribbean and Pacific states (ACP): Introduction”, SCADPlus, 18 August 2007, <http://europa.eu/scadplus/leg/en/lvb/r12100.htm>.

³²⁷ Ibid.

³²⁸ Ibid.

- (6) /This system/ **ensures** that manufactured products and agricultural products entering the Union that are not in direct competition with products covered by the common agricultural policy are not subject to customs duties or quantitative restrictions.³²⁹

The preference system for trade is the Actor participant of the Material process 'to ensure'. The action of ensuring implies authority and knowledge, and it is an ideological action in that it entails a good purpose.

- (7) Development cooperation is **ensured** through a sectoral approach. This involves specific operations in various sectors such as health, education, the environment and so on.³³⁰

The Material process above is constructed with passive voicing which omits the representation of an Actor participant. The Goal participant 'development cooperation' refers to one aspect of EU-Pacific relations and the adjunct phrase 'through a sectoral approach' shows how it is affected.

In the next instance, the Material process 'to allocate' occurs with passive voicing, obscuring agency. The affected participant is the EDF, which is manipulated by an unidentified power. This representation portrays the EDF and the European Investment Bank as instruments of the development cooperation.

- (8) The main financial and technical instruments of the partnership are the European Development Fund (EDF) and the resources of the European investment Bank (EIB), which are **allocated** in various forms, including grants and risk capital.³³¹

³²⁹ "African, Caribbean and Pacific states (ACP): Introduction", SCADPlus, 18 August 2007, <http://europa.eu/scadplus/leg/en/lvb/r12100.htm>.

³³⁰ Ibid.

³³¹ Ibid.

Instance (9) contains a Material process which defines the nature of EU-ACP partnership.

- (9) /The partnership/ **establishes** a genuine political dialogue which is responsible for implementing the partnership.³³²

The verb ‘to establish’ implies agency and creation of the goal participant. In this transitivity structure, the EU-ACP partnership is represented as the Actor participant being the cause of the Goal participant, a political dialogue, which is the product. This displays a sense of causal link in that the partnership has influence over political action, in other words, EU-ACP partnership ensures democratic practice.

- (10) In general, /the signing of the Conventions/ **coincided** with the relevant European Development Fund (EDF) and **lasted** a minimum of five years.³³³

The Actor participant of the Material process ‘to coincide’ and ‘to last’ is a nominalised action, namely ‘the signing of the Conventions’, making the action seem more active. However the involvement of EU and ACP subjects are not represented.

Instance (11) consists of two Material processes, signified by the verb ‘to sign’ and ‘to introduce’.

- (11) Lomé IV, the last Lomé Convention, was **signed** in 1989 for duration of 10 years and **introduced** many important new ideas.³³⁴

³³² “African, Caribbean and Pacific states (ACP): Introduction”, SCADPlus, 18 August 2007, <http://europa.eu/scadplus/leg/en/lvb/r12100.htm>.

³³³ Ibid.

³³⁴ Ibid.

Both actions implies agency, however in the representation of the action of signing, the cause is mystified by use of passive voicing. The latter Material process describes a productive action resulting in new ideas. The ideology conveyed in this representation is a sense of power hierarchy that these legislative entities are influential but there is an even more influential subject, which has power of these latter conventions, namely the EU which is implied.

- (12) /The Lomé IV Convention/ **expired** on 29 February 2000 and a new partnership agreement was **signed** in Cotonou, Benin, on 23 June 2000. It entered into force on 1 April 2003.³³⁵

Lomé Convention is the active participant of the intransitive material action ‘to expire’ and agency is unknown for the Material process ‘to sign’, the socio-political subject entity responsible for carrying out the out of signing is not indicated.

- (13) /This agreement/ **establishes** a new approach and **represents** a new state in the partnership whilst retaining the main instruments of the partnership (institutions, financial instruments, etc.).³³⁶

Cotonou Agreement is the Actor participant of the Material process ‘to establish’ and ‘to represent’ which implies action of a powerful subject. The Goal participants of these processes represent a change in EU-ACP relations. This is also reflected below:

- (14) /It/ **aims to strengthen** the political dimension of the partnership, to **provide** new flexibility and to **entrust** the ACP states with additional responsibilities.³³⁷

³³⁵ “African, Caribbean and Pacific states (ACP): Introduction”, SCADPlus, 18 August 2007, <http://europa.eu/scadplus/leg/en/lvb/r12100.htm>.

³³⁶ Ibid.

³³⁷ Ibid.

The transitivity structure of this instance represents the Cotonou Agreement as the Active of the Material process ‘to aim’ which is associated with more material actions, namely, ‘to strengthen’, ‘to provide’ and ‘to entrust’. The verb ‘strengthen’ is ideological as it indicates an action for improvement, ‘provide’ and ‘entrust’ are verbs which signal action of a powerful subject extended to a less powerful subject, creating a power hierarchy. In this representation, the Cotonou Agreement is the powerful political subject, while the affected participants are ACP states and ‘new flexibility’ meaning a sense of change in the EU-ACP relations. The EU identity/subjectivity is not articulated in its own right.

- (15) Under the Cotonou Agreement, new trade agreements compatible with the WTO rules will be **negotiated** (negotiations for the new regional economic partnership agreement began in October 2003 with the Economic and Monetary Committee of Central Africa and the Economic Community of West African States).³³⁸

The passive voicing of the Material process ‘to negotiate’ removes a representation of agency, which makes the representation seem static. The affected product of the negotiating activity is the ‘new trade agreements’.

- (16) Trade between the two parties will thus be **liberalized**, **putting** an end to the system of non-reciprocal trade preferences and **enabling** the ACP states to participate fully in international trade. Nonetheless, /the current system/ **remains** in force during the transitional period, until 2008 at the latest.³³⁹

The Material processes contained in this instance are ‘to liberalise’, ‘to put’ and ‘to enable’ which are all actions implying the logic of causality and influence of a powerful subject. The Actor participant of the liberalising action is not indicated in the passive construction and the causality of the

³³⁸ “African, Caribbean and Pacific states (ACP): Introduction”, SCADPlus, 18 August 2007, <http://europa.eu/scadplus/leg/en/lvb/r12100.htm>.

³³⁹ Ibid.

latter actions is attributed to the concept of ‘trade’ between the EU and ACP states. While trade is the influential subject of ‘putting’ and ‘enabling’, the affected subjects are the non-reciprocal trade and ACP states.

- (17) Over the years, /many new ACP states/ have **joined** the Partnership, which totals 78 today. /The Cotonou Agreement/ **identifies** the least-developed ACP states which, in certain cases, benefit from special treatment.³⁴⁰

In the first transitivity structure of Instance (17), the verb ‘to join’ signifies an intransitive Material process which is carried out by the Actor participant, ACP states. The Material process contained in the second transitivity structure of the instance above is the verb ‘to identify’. The Actor participant of this action is the Cotonou Agreement, which is attributed with the power to manipulate ACP states.

- (18) From 1975 until 2000 these relations were **governed** by /the regularly adapted and updated Lomé Convention/.³⁴¹

In Instance (18), the Material process ‘to govern’ is expressed with passive voicing, allowing the Goal participant to feature in the subject position where Actor participants are normally placed. This highlights the object which signifies the EU-ACP relations, and the active participant affecting this entity is the Lomé Convention. This legislation, represented as Agent, has responsibility, power and influence over the object, relations.

- (19) However, /major upheavals on the international stage, socio-economic and political changes in the ACP countries, the spreading

³⁴⁰ “African, Caribbean and Pacific states (ACP): Introduction”, SCADPlus, 18 August 2007, <http://europa.eu/scadplus/leg/en/lvb/r12100.htm>.

³⁴¹ “The Cotonou Agreement”, DG Development, European Commission, 23 May 2006, http://ec.europa.eu/comm/development/body/cotonou/index_en.htm

of poverty, resulting in instability and potential conflict/, all **highlighted** the need for a re-thinking of cooperation.³⁴²

The Material process ‘highlight’ is instigated by the external causes- major upheavals on the international stage; socio-economic and political changes in the ACP countries; poverty; instability and conflict- causes change in the relations between EU and the ACP region. This transitivity structure highlights the logic of cause-and-effect to show that the EU-ACP relationship is influenced and motivated by the stated negative issues. The change necessary of the ‘cooperation’ is EU-initiated; although this is not represented and suggests that the change in the relationship is a solution to the problems.

(20) /The February 2000 expiration of the Lomé Convention/ **provided** an ideal opportunity for a thorough review of the future of ACP-EU relations.³⁴³

The legislation again features as having agency. It is the Actor participant of the Material process ‘provide’ which is an ideologically loaded verb as it implies action of a powerful, sufficient, generous figure. In this case, Lomé provided an opportunity, which is a positive concept, is associated with the ‘future of ACP-EU relations’.

(21) Against a background of an intensive public debate, based on a Commission Green paper (1996) and a discussion paper, /negotiations/ **started** in September 1998 and were successfully **concluded** in early February 2000.³⁴⁴

In this instance, ‘negotiations’ is both the Actor participant and the Goal participant of Material processes ‘start’ and ‘conclude’, respectively. This

³⁴² “The Cotonou Agreement”, DG Development, European Commission, 23 May 2006, http://ec.europa.eu/comm/development/body/cotonou/index_en.htm.

³⁴³ Ibid.

³⁴⁴ Ibid.

allows the representation of the political process of a negotiation to be placed in the subject position while having both active and passive roles. The passive construction of ‘conclude’ implies an external causer of this action, which is unidentified, which is also evident in the following instance:

- (22) The new ACP-EU agreement was **signed** on 23rd of June 2000 in Cotonou, Benin and was **concluded** for a twenty-year period from March 2000 to February 2020.³⁴⁵

Material actions ‘to sign’ and ‘to conclude’ are affecting the Goal participant ‘new ACP-EU agreement’ representing the material and legislative form of EU-ACP relations; however [EU] agency is mystified.

- (23) /The Cotonou Agreement is a global and exemplary Agreement/, **introducing** radical changes and ambitious objectives while **preserving** the ‘acquis’ of 25 years of ACP-EU cooperation.³⁴⁶

This instance discursively represents changes and objectives of the EU-ACP-EU relations as the Goal participant of the Material process ‘to introduce’. Likewise, as an affected participant of the Material process ‘to preserve’, EU-ACP relations are something that can be manipulated and the active participant causing the action, and having control over it, is the Cotonou Agreement. EU-ACP relations do not change the state of its policy, but it is the other way around.

- (24) /The Cotonou Agreement/ **provides** for a revision clause which foresees that the Agreement is adapted every five years.³⁴⁷

³⁴⁵ “The Cotonou Agreement”, DG Development, European Commission, 23 May 2006, http://ec.europa.eu/comm/development/body/cotonou/index_en.htm.

³⁴⁶ Ibid.

³⁴⁷ Ibid.

The Cotonou Agreement is represented as an Actor participant of the Material process ‘provide’. This assigns responsibility and function to the legislative entity.

- (25) In accordance with this clause, negotiations to revise the Agreement were **launched** in May 2004 and **concluded** on 23rd February 2005.³⁴⁸

The material actions ‘to launch’ and ‘to conclude’ are represented with passive voicing without explicit representation of the cause/agency of these actions. The object affected is the negotiations for the Agreement which is a nominalised material action, again, obscuring subjects involved in the event.

In the parliamentary policy discourses observed in this chapter, the European Parliament features as the main representative of the EU, occupying predominant subjectivity. EU Agency is a component of EU identity as well as an action/happening. EU agency is evident where the ‘EU’ subject is placed as the Actor participant of the transitivity structure based on a Material process which represents an action implying causation and manipulation. In the discourse studied, there are many instances where the European Parliament is the Actor participant of Material processes signified by verbs such as the ones highlighted in the following instances:

- (26) [EP] **Encourages** further lowering of tariffs between developing countries and regional groups, which today account for 15 to 25% of the trade value, to further promote south-south trade, economic growth and regional integration.³⁴⁹

³⁴⁸ “The Cotonou Agreement”, DG Development, European Commission, 23 May 2006, http://ec.europa.eu/comm/development/body/cotonou/index_en.htm.

³⁴⁹ Glyn Ford, Committee on International Trade, European Parliament, “‘Motion for a Resolution’ on the Interim Partnership Agreement between the Pacific States, on the one part, and the European Community on the other part”, B6-0143/2009, 16 March 2009.

- (27) [EP] **Welcomes** the commitment of all available funding for the Ninth EDF in 2007.³⁵⁰
- (28) [EP] **Supports** the agreed tariff line exclusions focused on agricultural goods and some processed agricultural goods, given that they are based chiefly on the need to protect infant industries or sensitive products in these countries.³⁵¹

The wording of European Parliament papers is not always presented in full sentences, and listing is a common format which is a stylistic feature of policy/legal documents. Going by Foucault's view on the discourse as a unit, representations do not have to be a complete sentence or a paragraph in order to be counted as a discursive statement in this study. Propositions such as 'whereas' occurs at the beginning of the clauses in order to signal relevance of the clausal representation to the overall topic of the document. These clauses begin with a verb, omitting the active participant, however, the EU's subjectivity, namely that of the European Parliament, is implied as the actor participant of the verb represented. There is also a variation of head verbs used at the beginning of instances such as 'to stress' which is a Material process asserting the European Parliament's position regarding a particular issue. This transitivity structure emphasises the action of articulating EU voice and opinion.

There are two images of the EU constructed through these Material processes: EU as having a nurturing role and that of a leadership role. The verbs 'to welcome', 'to support' and 'to encourage' depict a supportive and nurturing image of the European Parliament regarding the lowering of its tariffs with the Pacific ACP countries as part of the EPA. The Material

³⁵⁰ Boguslaw Liberadzki, Committee on Budgetary Control, European Parliament, "'Report' on discharge in respect of the implementation of the budget of the Seventh, Eighth and Ninth European Development Funds for the financial year 2007", A6-0159/2009, 20 March 2009.

³⁵¹ Glyn Ford, Committee on International Trade, European Parliament, "'Motion for a Resolution' on the Interim Partnership Agreement between the Pacific States, on the one part, and the European Community on the other part", B6-0143/2009, 16 March 2009.

processes which highlight the EU's leadership role are signified by verbs 'to emphasise', 'to highlight', 'and to point out'. These verbs represent the manner of the European Parliament's say in the matter, which shows the importance of their suggestions. All these processes have positive connotations which convey ideologies.

For instance, the European Parliament is represented as recommending a flexible, asymmetric and pragmatic approach for the EPA negotiations. The verb 'to recommend' is intrinsically hegemonic and implies a power hierarchy between the Actor participant and the Goal participant. This is a knowledge based action, which Foucault would argue is a sign of power.

EU has agency in maintaining democracy in ACP countries. The EU plays a major role in maintaining relations with the ACP countries- primarily by providing development aid and trade incentives and facilitations. Further instances of the EU being represented as having an active role in material actions are as follows:

- (29) /The EU/ can **play** a constructive role in the form of support for both prevention and stabilisation in post-conflict situations.³⁵²
- (30) /The EU/ will continue to **offer**, in cooperation with other donors, support to the democracies in the Pacific.³⁵³
- (31) .../the EU/ will continue to **promote** transparency and effective exchanges of information between authorities in order to fight corruption and cooperate and financial malpractice.³⁵⁴

³⁵² European Commission, Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament and the European Economic and Social Committee, "EU Relations with the Pacific Islands- A strategy for a Strengthened Partnership", COM(2006), 29 May 2006.

³⁵³ Ibid.

³⁵⁴ Ibid.

- (32) The EU will also **support** key efforts made by Pacific countries to implement their commitments towards the OECD in the tax area and to eliminate any harmful tax practices.³⁵⁵

The EU is the cause of actions represented and is therefore the actor responsible for establishing relations with the external world. For example, the verb ‘to encourage’ is based on a relationship when where party has more power than the other. Similarly, the EU is an actor that ‘offers’ the ACP countries ‘support’ for development and accentuates that ‘support from the European Union’ must be ‘provided’. The material verb ‘to provide’ is an ideologically loaded verb implying the power advantage of the EU over the recipient participant of this process. In the following extract, material actions associated with EU subjectivity in the context of the EPA negotiation, are marked in bold.

- (33) [EP] **Stresses** that such agreements cannot be regarded as satisfactory unless /they/ **achieve** three objectives: **offering the ACP countries support** for sustainable development, **promoting their participation in world trade and strengthening the regionalisation process**.³⁵⁶

- (34) [EP] **Stresses** that the principal aim of this agreement is to **contribute**, through development goals, poverty reduction and the respect of fundamental human rights to the achievement of the MDGs.³⁵⁷

- (35) [EP] **Stresses** that, to **achieve** protection from negative consequences in opening the Pacific States economies, **support**

³⁵⁵ European Commission, Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament and the European Economic and Social Committee, “EU Relations with the Pacific Islands- A strategy for a Strengthened Partnership”, COM(2006), 29 May 2006.

³⁵⁶ Glyn Ford, Committee on International Trade, European Parliament, “‘Motion for a Resolution’ on the Interim Partnership Agreement between the Pacific States, on the one part, and the European Community on the other part”, B6-0143/2009, 16 March 2009.

³⁵⁷ Ibid.

from the European Union must be **provided** in order to **bring** real benefits through trade preferences, and **build** economic and social development.³⁵⁸

The material verb ‘to stress’ denotes an opinion of the European Parliament and evaluates the issue represented as the Goal participant. This representation shows the EU’s aim that the EPA agreement would realise the objectives of sustainable development, trade and regionalism. The representation of these EU goals reinforces the construction of the EU’s somewhat heroic identity.

In the text below, Material processes associated with the European Parliament’s agency are ‘to encourage’, ‘to recognise and ‘to welcome’. These actions of encouragement and recognition show the European Parliament’s role and position as a supporter of finalising the EPA. The European Parliament is also showing positive response by ‘welcoming’ the EU’s role in offering ACP countries certain trade regulations as outlined by the EPA.

(36) [EP] **Encourages** the negotiating parties to finish the negotiations as planned during 2009; **encourages** the parties to **take** every measure to be able to **finalise** a comprehensive EPA between the ACP countries and the European Union before the end of 2009 as planned.³⁵⁹

(37) [EP] **Recognises** the importance and benefits of reaching agreements between the European Union and its ACP Partners that are WTO

³⁵⁸ Glyn Ford, Committee on International Trade, European Parliament, “‘Motion for a Resolution’ on the Interim Partnership Agreement between the Pacific States, on the one part, and the European Community on the other part”, B6-0143/2009, 16 March 2009.

³⁵⁹ Ibid.

compliant, for without such agreements our trade relations and their development would be massively disrupted.³⁶⁰

- (38) [EP] **Welcomes** the fact that /the European Union/ is **offering** ACP countries full duty free and quota free market access into the European Union for the majority of products, to **support** the liberalisation of trade between the ACP countries and the European Union.³⁶¹

The transitivity structure of instances in the next examples represents the European Parliament as having influence on the European Commission. The European Parliament is the Actor participant which inflicts an action to be carried out by the European Commission. The latter action is signified by the Material process in the sub-clause. A sense of authority is suggested by representing the European Parliament as causing the European Commission's actions. Such representations can be observed below:

- (39) [EP] **Invites** the Commission to **provide** the evidence on which it has based its conclusions and to present it in such a way that it is clear how much progress has been made (from where to where) and why this amount of progress was considered 'sufficient'.³⁶²
- (40) [EP] Further **invites** the Commission to **identify**, with the utmost rigour, countries or issues in budgetary support implementation where particular parliamentary attention could prove useful in improving donor accountability.³⁶³

³⁶⁰ Glyn Ford, Committee on International Trade, European Parliament, "Motion for a Resolution' on the Interim Partnership Agreement between the Pacific States, on the one part, and the European Community on the other part", B6-0143/2009, 16 March 2009.

³⁶¹ Ibid.

³⁶² Boguslaw Liberadzki, Committee on Budgetary Control, European Parliament, "Report' on discharge in respect of the implementation of the budget of the Seventh, Eighth and Ninth European Development Funds for the financial year 2007", A6-0159/2009, 20 March 2009.

³⁶³ Ibid.

- (41) [EP] Also **invites** the Commission to **introduce** annual monitoring of this risk.³⁶⁴

The European Parliament is the Actor participant of Material processes ‘to note’, ‘to invite’ and ‘to stress’ which introduce the EIB as the goal participant affected by the denoted action. The goal participant represented features as a sub-clause containing another material event. These representations expose the institutional dynamics of the EU identity. The European Parliament’s relationship with the European Investment Bank (EIB) can be observed in the representation of subjectivity in the transitivity structures.

- (42) [EP] **Notes** that the EIB's annual report on the Investment Facility contains mainly financial information and very little - if any - information on the results of the different financed programmes.³⁶⁵

- (43) [EP] **Invites** the EIB to focus its reporting on results and to present complete, relevant and objective information as regards outcomes, objectives set, objectives achieved and reasons for possible deviation, as well as evaluations carried out and a summary of evaluation results.³⁶⁶

- (44) [EP] **Stresses** that the EIB is operating in ACP countries under the Cotonou Agreement, whose primary aim is to eradicate poverty and promote sustainable development and that it must therefore respect these goals with regard to its lending policy to these countries.³⁶⁷

³⁶⁴ Boguslaw Liberadzki, Committee on Budgetary Control, European Parliament, “‘Report’ on discharge in respect of the implementation of the budget of the Seventh, Eighth and Ninth European Development Funds for the financial year 2007”, A6-0159/2009, 20 March 2009.

³⁶⁵ Ibid.

³⁶⁶ Ibid.

³⁶⁷ Ibid.

The Pacific identity is represented as being associated with negative concepts. The next instance contains a Material process for which Pacific ACP countries are the active participant:

(45) On the Pacific side, /the Pacific ACP countries/ are today **experiencing** a number of important challenges in terms of vulnerability, poverty and weak governance.³⁶⁸

(46) /a number of Pacific ACP countries/ have **experienced** conflicts in the recent past.³⁶⁹

The action of experiencing is associated with ‘conflicts’ which is the Goal participant. The concept of a conflict denotes a negative situation which is not ideal to development goals.

In the following instance, agency attributes responsibility to the Pacific Islands which is represented to cause problems:

(47) /Fragile states in the Pacific/ **pose** major challenges for the international community.³⁷⁰

The Actor participant representing the Pacific ACP countries is directly responsible for and related to negative events.

The next instance uses passive voice:

(48) /this region/ is **threatened** by civil strife, crime and political instability.³⁷¹

³⁶⁸ European Commission, Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament and the European Economic and Social Committee, “EU Relations with the Pacific Islands- A strategy for a Strengthened Partnership”, COM(2006), 29 May 2006.

³⁶⁹ Ibid.

³⁷⁰ Ibid.

The combination of a Material process and the War metaphor victimises the Pacific region. The Pacific region is a victim of the agent/cause which is signified by the nominal phrase ‘civil strife, crime and political instability’. This incites a sense of sympathy and a need for the EU to help the region.

This discourse acknowledges the presence of other contributors to the development process in the Pacific region. The Material process ‘increase’ represents the influence of other actors:

(49) /Many powerful international actors like China, Japan and the USA/ are **increasing** their presence in the region.³⁷²

Concerning other actors in the Pacific region, the representations in EU elite discourse signal that the EU’s relations with Australia and New Zealand are ‘solid’ and ‘broad’. This reinforces a sense of space and borders between the parties mentioned. The EU recognises USA and Japan as ‘very important actors’ in the Pacific region. This shows that the EU is not alone in the area. China is shown as having a ‘growing’ engagement with the Pacific. This metaphor indicates that China is also playing a parenting role in the Pacific region among other ‘important actors’ which share the responsibility.

Another negative image applied to represent the Pacific can be observed in the following occurrence, where the Pacific region is represented as having an active role of the Material process ‘to trigger’ which causes an explosion in socio-political dynamics while poverty remains unsolved:

(50) If this trend is not reversed, it could **trigger** an **explosive** social and/or political situation, as /poverty/ will **worsen**.³⁷³

³⁷¹ European Commission, Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament and the European Economic and Social Committee, “EU Relations with the Pacific Islands- A strategy for a Strengthened Partnership”, COM(2006), 29 May 2006.

³⁷² Ibid.

The metaphors used here are violent, war metaphors. This portrays the situation as being dangerous and needing rescue. The ‘trend’ refers to the economic stagnation in the Pacific region, and this event is represented as causing more problems for the region.

The political concept ‘trade’ features as an important element of the overall signifier studied, notably in regard to the EPA issue. The EPA is an agent which is represented as causing ‘economic cooperation and integration’:

- (51) /The EPA process/ **is having a catalytic effect** of economic cooperation and integration in the Pacific region as: /it/ **stimulates** the Pacific ACP countries to negotiate as a group; /it/ **provides** an incentive for openings among the Pacific ACP countries themselves; /it/ **stimulates** and hopefully institutionalises stronger regional governance in the form of peer reviews.³⁷⁴

The EPA is presented as being powerful. The discourse states that the EPA is having a ‘catalytic effect’ which implies agency and causal responsibility, and as an actor that ‘stimulates’ negotiations. The EPA in institutional discourse, is represented as a stimulus and an actor that ‘institutionalises’ governance. The EPA is a powerful subject as it is the Actor participant of the Material process ‘to provide’. The image of an opening triggered by the action of providing in this case indicates access to new spaces or merging of different spaces, and has a positive connotation having been described as an incentive.

The European Parliament discourse consists of ideological representations on the topic of trade. The use of passive voicing for representing the

³⁷³ European Commission, Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament and the European Economic and Social Committee, “EU Relations with the Pacific Islands- A strategy for a Strengthened Partnership”, COM(2006), 29 May 2006.

³⁷⁴ Ibid.

Material process ‘to accompany’ in the following occurrence shows the European Parliament’s suggestion regarding the amendment of trade policy:

- (52) New trade rules must **be accompanied** /by an increase in support for trade-related assistance/.³⁷⁵

This representation shows a logic behind trade rules which assumes that the more trade rules, the more assistance one gets, namely the developing countries. It is better for the latter to abide by EU’s trade liberalising initiatives, particularly that implied by the EPA.

5.1.2. Relational Processes

The Relational process in the following instance represents the EDF.

- (53) /EDF resources/ **are** public money contributed by European taxpayers and not by the financial markets.³⁷⁶

The concept placed in the subject position is ‘EDF resources’ and it is the identified participant of the relational process. The identifying element refers to the European citizens. This representation justifies one aspect of the EDF, which is the fact that it is financed by the taxpayers and not by the financial markets. This reinforces the EU civil identity and contribution to EU external development action.

In the next instance, the Relational process justifies the definition of the Cotonou Agreement:

³⁷⁵ Glyn Ford, Committee on International Trade, European Parliament, “‘Motion for a Resolution’ on the Interim Partnership Agreement between the Pacific States, on the one part, and the European Community on the other part”, B6-0143/2009, 16 March 2009.

³⁷⁶ Boguslaw Liberadzki, Committee on Budgetary Control, European Parliament, “‘Report’ on discharge in respect of the implementation of the budget of the Seventh, Eighth and Ninth European Development Funds for the financial year 2007”, A6-0159/2009, 20 March 2009.

- (54) /The Cotonou Agreement/ is a global and exemplary Agreement, introducing radical changes and ambitious objectives while preserving the ‘acquis’ of 25 years of ACP-EU cooperation.³⁷⁷

The Cotonou Agreement is given the qualities ‘global and exemplary’ which are ideological descriptions in that they assign a positive reputation and a sense of importance to the Cotonou Agreement.

The Relational process below serves to highlight the feature of the trade relations between the EU and ACP countries:

- (55) /One fundamental aspect of economic and commercial cooperation established by the first Lomé Convention/ is the system of trade preferences.³⁷⁸

This representation articulates the identity of the Lomé Convention, more precisely its economic dimension. The identifying element is ‘the system of trade preferences’. This representation conveys an ideology that trade preferences is important and foundational to the partnership.

- (56) /This dialogue [political dialogue between the EU and ACP]/ is based on three main institutions: the Council of Ministers, the Committee of Ambassadors and the Joint Assembly.³⁷⁹

In this instance, the Relational process identifies the structural feature of the EU-ACP partnership. The identified participant is the political dialogue, which is described as being an institutional product of three bodies – the

³⁷⁷ “The Cotonou Agreement”, DG Development, European Commission, 23 May 2006, http://ec.europa.eu/comm/development/body/cotonou/index_en.htm.

³⁷⁸ “African, Caribbean and Pacific states (ACP): Introduction”, SCADPlus, 18 August 2007, <http://europa.eu/scadplus/leg/en/lvb/r12100.htm>.

³⁷⁹ Ibid.

Council of Ministers, the Committee of Ambassadors and the Joint Assembly. These bodies represent both the EU and the ACP.

The Relational process in instance (57) assigns identity to EU values, namely the concept of human rights and democracy.

(57) /The promotion of human rights and respect for democracy/ **became** key elements of the partnership whilst new objectives such as enhancing the position of women and protecting the environment were incorporated in the framework of cooperation.³⁸⁰

The identified element ‘the promotion of human rights and respect for democracy’ is attributed with the feature of being key elements of the partnership. This conveys a message that human rights and democracy issues are important for EU-ACP relations. Another Relational processes features in the instance below, articulating the importance and relevance of democracy to EU-ACP relations:

(58) /Another important feature/ **is** decentralized cooperation, namely involvement in the development process of other actors such as civil society.³⁸¹

This representation of partnership reflects the theory of multi-level governance.

Instance (59) applies the Relational process to identify a smaller unit of the ACP region, namely Cuba:

(59) It should be noted that in December 2000, /Cuba/ **became** the 79th member of the group of ACP states. However, Cuba still does not participate in the new partnership agreement.³⁸²

³⁸⁰ “African, Caribbean and Pacific states (ACP): Introduction”, SCADPlus, 18 August 2007, <http://europa.eu/scadplus/leg/en/lvb/r12100.htm>.

³⁸¹ Ibid.

The transitivity structure of instance (60) is based on a Relational process which justifies the nature of the EU-ACP partnership:

- (60) /Relations between the European Union and the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) states/ **are** a particularly important aspect of the EU development cooperation policy and, more widely, of its external action.³⁸³

The political concept ‘EU-Pacific relations’, is identified through this process, justifying it as an important aspect of the EU development and external action policy. The partnership is therefore a part of the EU system.

A Relational process features in this instance which serves to define the Cotonou Agreement. The identity attributed to the Cotonou Agreement is ‘global and exemplary Agreement’, which is also placed as having agency over the action of introducing changes and objectives, and preserving the relationship between the EU and the ACP region. This discursive construction conveys ideological importance of the Cotonou Agreement as being a ‘global’ power causing changes and controlling EU-ACP relations. The identity representation of the Cotonou Agreement continues in the instance below:

- (61) /It/ **is** based on five interdependent pillars with the underlying objective of the fight against poverty: an enhanced political dimension, increased participation, a more strategic approach to cooperation focusing on poverty reduction, new economic and trade partnerships and improved financial cooperation.³⁸⁴

³⁸² “African, Caribbean and Pacific states (ACP): Introduction”, SCADPlus, 18 August 2007, <http://europa.eu/scadplus/leg/en/lvb/r12100.htm>.

³⁸³ Ibid.

³⁸⁴ “The Cotonou Agreement”, DG Development, European Commission, 23 May 2006, http://ec.europa.eu/comm/development/body/cotonou/index_en.htm.

In this relational construction, features of the legislation, rather than the overall nature, are articulated. The internal structure of the Cotonou is represented with a House metaphor signaled by the lexical item ‘pillars’. This conceptual mapping entails foundation and shelter. The building blocks of this House metaphor are described as having the objective of fighting against poverty; an enhanced political dimension (good governance); increased participation (democracy); a more strategic approach; economic and trade partnerships; financial cooperation.

(62) /The overriding objective of revision process/ **was to enhance the effectiveness and quality of the ACP-EU partnership.**³⁸⁵

This instance comprises of a Relational process where EU-ACP relations features as a quality rather than action. It is assigned as the identifying element of the identified participant ‘the overriding objective of revision process’. This makes the relationship seem more factual than as an on-going activity.

The EU is also represented as a possessing participant of the Relational process ‘to have’, which, in this case shows the EU’s interest in achieving good goals such as stability and security in the Pacific region:

(63) /The EU/ **has** an interest in the stability and security in the Pacific region.³⁸⁶

EU identity is given positive attributes through the use of the Relational process. The EU is identified as taking a gradual approach to trade liberalisation, opening developed partners markets and increasing development assistance. On the other hand, the Pacific region is identified with negative attributes via the Relational process: The Pacific ACP

³⁸⁵ Ibid.

³⁸⁶ European Commission, Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament and the European Economic and Social Committee, “EU Relations with the Pacific Islands- A strategy for a Strengthened Partnership”, COM(2006), 29 May 2006.

countries ‘are experiencing a number of important challenges in terms of vulnerability, poverty and weak governance’.³⁸⁷ The noun ‘challenges’ and the adjective ‘weak’ have negative connotations.

The Pacific is identified as vulnerable and inadequate. The following example shows the House metaphor being expressed through a Relational process:

(64) /A long-term formula for effective and politically well-anchored regional integration in the Pacific/ **is** still under construction.³⁸⁸

This shows a sense of evaluation on behalf of the EU, suggesting it needs more work and material to become a valid and functioning territory.

The EU’s control over the EPA is exposed through Relational process which serves the function of identifying and evaluating. Discourse reveals a hegemonic stance from the use of the Relational process which is a tool of systemisation by identifying and defining. The discourse gives importance to trade, as it lies in the interest of the EU. This document identifies that the EU’s previous trade relationship with Pacific States no longer complies with WTO rules. The EPA is represented as a solution to this problem. The following occurrences containing Relational processes serve the function of identification and justification, in this case regarding the nature of the EPA:

(65) whereas /EPAs/ **are** WTO-compatible agreements aimed at supporting regional integration and promoting the gradual integration of the ACP economies into the world economy, thereby fostering their sustainable social and economic development and

³⁸⁷ European Commission, Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament and the European Economic and Social Committee, “EU Relations with the Pacific Islands- A strategy for a Strengthened Partnership”, COM(2006), 29 May 2006.

³⁸⁸ Ibid.

contributing to the overall effort to eradicate poverty in the ACP countries.³⁸⁹

- (66) whereas /EPAs/ **should be** used to build a long term relationship where trade supports development.³⁹⁰
- (67) whereas /Interim Economic Partnership Agreements (IEPA)/ **are** agreements on trade in goods aimed at preventing a disruption of ACP trade with the European Union.³⁹¹
- (68) whereas the current financial and economic crisis means that /trade policy/ **will be** more important than ever to the developing world.³⁹²
- (69) whereas the /IEPA/ **is** focused on trade in goods and WTO compatibility.³⁹³
- (70) whereas the /country and regional impact of the commitments included in the agreements/ **could be** very substantial.³⁹⁴

These representations attribute qualities to the ‘EPA’ which emphasise the importance of the EPA, particularly the WTO compatibility aspect of trade in the agreement. Other identities attributed to the ‘EPA’ represent the relevance to trade policy and the influence it has over developing countries.

The European Parliament justifies the EU’s approach to trade-related aid by defining through a relationship process:

³⁸⁹ Glyn Ford, Committee on International Trade, European Parliament, “‘Motion for a Resolution’ on the Interim Partnership Agreement between the Pacific States, on the one part, and the European Community on the other part”, B6-0143/2009, 16 March 2009.

³⁹⁰ Ibid.

³⁹¹ Ibid.

³⁹² Ibid.

³⁹³ Ibid.

³⁹⁴ Ibid.

(71) /The objective/ of Aid for Trade' is to support.³⁹⁵

The above representation is a Relational process defining the objective of the 'Aid for Trade' initiative which associated with the Material process 'to support'. This discursive observation entails a power output on behalf of the EU displaying supremacy over the implied Goal participant of the said action.

The concept 'good governance' is attributed with ideology through a Relational process.

(72) /Good governance/ is a crucial prerequisite for sustainable development.³⁹⁶

The Relational process defines good governance as a prerequisite, a condition (rather than a cause) for development. Good governance is further represented as a tool to 'strengthen credible institutions' which reflects a supranational institutional viewpoint. Good governance is also represented as a fighter – it encourages 'the fight against corruption, money laundering and terrorist financing'. These are war metaphors.

'Regionalism' is identified by the EU as a method of good governance. In the policy discourse, the Pacific's strategy to establishing regionalism, namely the 'Pacific Plan' is represented with Relational process to attribute an identity:

³⁹⁵ Glyn Ford, Committee on International Trade, European Parliament, "'Motion for a Resolution' on the Interim Partnership Agreement between the Pacific States, on the one part, and the European Community on the other part", B6-0143/2009, 16 March 2009.

³⁹⁶ European Commission, Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament and the European Economic and Social Committee, "EU Relations with the Pacific Islands- A strategy for a Strengthened Partnership", COM(2006), 29 May 2006.

- (73) /The Pacific Plan/ **is** based on the concept of regionalism; **is** an ‘important step’; **is** a ‘living document’; **is** ‘the start of a process rather than the end.’³⁹⁷

With the use of Relational process, the Pacific region is represented as neofunctionally establishing a regional identity.

5.1.3. Verbal Process

Verbal processes are common representations of the European Parliament’s involvement in EPA matters. This identifies the EU institutional system as verbally dynamic. The notion of a ‘say’ is considered in decision-making which is an essential feature of today’s understanding of a valid democratic practice. Only the EU subject occupies the Sayer role of Verbal processes. The Verbal process signified by the verb ‘to call on’ as featured below establishes a power hierarchy and reveal influence of the European Parliament on the EU institutions and other institutional bodies that are represented as Recipient participants in the transitivity structures. These latter Recipients are also often represented as being the cause of material actions, which suggests that the European Parliament’s say has a causal correlation to their actions.

- (74) [EP] **Calls** on the parliament of the ACP countries to **demand** that their governments and the Commission involve them in the process relating to the preparation and implementation of the Country Strategy Papers concerning cooperation between the European Union and their country.³⁹⁸

³⁹⁷ European Commission, Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament and the European Economic and Social Committee, “EU Relations with the Pacific Islands- A strategy for a Strengthened Partnership”, COM(2006), 29 May 2006.

³⁹⁸ Alain Hutchinson, Committee on Development, European Parliament, “‘Report’ on the work of the ACP-EU Joint Parliamentary Assembly”, A6-0175/2008, 8 May 2008.

- (75) [EP] **Calls** on the Commission to **supply** all available information to the parliaments of the ACP countries and to provide them with assistance in this work of democratic control, in particular by supporting their capacities.³⁹⁹
- (76) [EP] **Calls** on the parliaments to **exercise** close parliamentary scrutiny in respect of the European Development Fund (EDF).⁴⁰⁰
- (77) [EP] **Calls** on the JPA to **pursue and deepen** dialogue with the Pan-African Parliament and parliaments of regional organizations, owing to the importance of regional integration to the peace and development in ACP countries.⁴⁰¹
- (78) [EP] **Calls** for a strong regulatory framework to be put in place in the event of negotiations on services to ensure that there is universal service provision and that essential public services are kept outside the negotiating framework.⁴⁰²
- (79) [EP] **Calls** for the European Union to provide increased and adequate assistance to the authorities in the ACP countries and to the private sector in order to facilitate the transition of the economies following the signing of the IEPA.⁴⁰³
- (80) [EP] **Emphasises** that the signing of the IEPA is a necessary step towards sustainable growth in this region as a whole, and underlines the importance of the continual negotiations towards a

³⁹⁹ Alain Hutchinson, Committee on Development, European Parliament, “‘Report’ on the work of the ACP-EU Joint Parliamentary Assembly”, A6-0175/2008, 8 May 2008.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid.

⁴⁰² Glyn Ford, Committee on International Trade, European Parliament, “‘Motion for a Resolution’ on the Interim Partnership Agreement between the Pacific States, on the one part, and the European Community on the other part”, B6-0143/2009, 16 March 2009.

⁴⁰³ Ibid.

comprehensive agreement encouraging increased trade, investment and regional integration.⁴⁰⁴

- (81) [EP] **Acknowledges** the establishment of transition periods within the IEPA for small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) in order for them to be able adapt to the changes put in place by the agreement, and urges the authorities of the States to continue to support the interests of SMEs in their negotiations towards a comprehensive EPA.⁴⁰⁵
- (82) [EP] **Urges** the ACP countries to further the process of liberalisation, to extend such reforms beyond trade and goods and to increase the liberalisation of trade and services.⁴⁰⁶
- (83) [EP] **Urges** the relevant countries to provide clear and transparent information about the economic and political situation and development in these countries in order to improve cooperation with the Commission.⁴⁰⁷
- (84) [EP] **Urges** the negotiators of any comprehensive EPA to account fully for the transparent management of natural resources and to outline the best practices necessary in order that the relevant countries may make the maximum gains from such resources.⁴⁰⁸

As we have discussed in developing a methodology for this discourse study, the Verbal process creates a sense of hierarchy between the subjects

⁴⁰⁴ Glyn Ford, Committee on International Trade, European Parliament, “‘Motion for a Resolution’ on the Interim Partnership Agreement between the Pacific States, on the one part, and the European Community on the other part”, B6-0143/2009, 16 March 2009.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid.

implicated in the verbal action. The instance below comprises of Verbal processes ‘to inform’ and ‘to request’.

- (85) [EP] Further believes that /the Commission/ **should inform** recipient countries’ administrations of its accountability obligations and **request** those who manage funds downstream to be subject to similar obligations.⁴⁰⁹

The Verbal processes expose a power relationship between represented subjects namely ‘the Commission’ and ‘recipient countries’ administrations’ and ‘those who manage funds’. The action of informing and requesting implies agency of a more powerful subject, which is in this case, the European Commission. The Commission is represented as a powerful subject as having a say in matters relating to the EU’s external development policy and this contributes to defining EU identity as authoritative.

5.1.4. Mental Process

The instance below contains a Mental process which is also a Personification:

- (86) /The arrival of the new millennium/ **witnessed** a significant change in ACP-EC relations.⁴¹⁰

To ‘witness’ is a human, visual experience. It reflects human subjectivity. The Sensor participant of this process is ‘the arrival of the new millennium’ which is a non-animate, temporal state. This creates a sense of God’s eye

⁴⁰⁹ Boguslaw Liberadzki, Committee on Budgetary Control, European Parliament, “‘Report’ on discharge in respect of the implementation of the budget of the Seventh, Eighth and Ninth European Development Funds for the financial year 2007”, A6-0159/2009, 20 March 2009.

⁴¹⁰ “African, Caribbean and Pacific states (ACP): Introduction”, SCADPlus, 18 August 2007, <http://europa.eu/scadplus/leg/en/lvb/r12100.htm>

view, representing the stimulus of the witnessing act, which is a change in ACP-EU relations.

The European Parliament is represented as being the Actor participant of the Mental process, 'to believe', in relation to the EPA issue; it 'recognises' the importance of reaching agreement. This type of process indicates a human, rational activity and therefore personifies the EU to emphasise its qualities as a supranational and institutional unit. The discourse also represents the European Parliament's thinking experience with the application of Mental processes marked by the verbs 'to acknowledge' and 'to respect' regarding the content of the EPA, namely the need for a chapter on trade defence. The European Parliament 'considers' it important that an appropriate monitoring system should be established. The mental activities carried out by the European Parliament shows the importance of the EU's role in trade relations with the Pacific ACP countries.

The following clause consists of a Relational process identifying a mental state of the European Parliament:

(87) [EP] **is convinced** that EPAS should be complementary.⁴¹¹

These representations show the judgment, evaluation, a say on behalf of the European Parliament regarding the EPA with the ACP countries.

(88) **Takes** the view that the implementation strategy for the Tenth EDF (EUR 21 966 million for the period from 2008 to 2013) should focus on areas of crucial importance for ensuring sustainable development; encourages the Commission to prioritise and avoid proliferation.⁴¹²

⁴¹¹ Glyn Ford, Committee on International Trade, European Parliament, "'Motion for a Resolution' on the Interim Partnership Agreement between the Pacific States, on the one part, and the European Community on the other part", B6-0143/2009, 16 March 2009.

⁴¹² Boguslaw Liberadzki, Committee on Budgetary Control, European Parliament, "'Report' on discharge in respect of the implementation of the budget of the Seventh, Eighth and Ninth European Development Funds for the financial year 2007", A6-0159/2009, 20 March 2009.

- (89) **Believes** that the Commission, in an effort to prioritise and concentrate its development activities, could look for opportunities to increase assistance to low-income countries.⁴¹³
- (90) **Points out** that due attention must be paid to the sustainability of the Commission's interventions, including the formulation of a clear exit strategy and monitoring of implementation; **considers** that the enhanced evaluation of results represents a major factor for ensuring the democratic legitimacy of EU development cooperation.⁴¹⁴

The European Parliament's power is acknowledged thus and the following two instances also demonstrate this:

- (91) [EP] **encourages** the Commission to prioritise and avoid proliferation.⁴¹⁵
- (92) [EP] **Believes** that the Commission [...] could look for opportunities to increase assistance to low-income countries.⁴¹⁶
- (93) [EP] **Regrets** that the Commission is still not able to give full accounting information due to technical difficulties.⁴¹⁷
- (94) [EP] **Regards** the Commission's answers as unsatisfactory in that it seems reluctant to review the arrangements it has put in place.⁴¹⁸

⁴¹³ Boguslaw Liberadzki, Committee on Budgetary Control, European Parliament, "Report on discharge in respect of the implementation of the budget of the Seventh, Eighth and Ninth European Development Funds for the financial year 2007", A6-0159/2009, 20 March 2009.

⁴¹⁴ Ibid.

⁴¹⁵ Ibid.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid.

⁴¹⁸ Ibid.

- (95) [EP] **Regrets** that it does not have sufficient useful, comprehensive and reliable information in order to carry out an effective oversight of budget support results.⁴¹⁹

The transitivity in the instances above focuses on a mental state through the Mental process ‘regret’ attributed to the European Parliament. This linguistic application serves to connect and receive readers’ sympathy. Main points of complaint are regarding information availability and processing, and expenditure management and accountability.

- (96) **Regrets** the Commission's reply insofar as it does not reflect the seriousness of the Court's findings ("important matters of concern", "very high fiduciary risk"); considers the use of open-ended and non result-based expressions like "sufficient", "progress" and "on track" in this serious context to be inadequate, if not superficial.⁴²⁰

- (97) Is **worried** by the Court's findings, but even more by the Commission's replies, which show that the Commission is very reluctant to share the information on which its decisions on budget support are based.⁴²¹

This discursive representation is very critical of the European Commission’s performance in aid programming and delivery. It is described as ‘inadequate’ a number of times. In the following instances, the European Parliament argues that such assessments of progress are unreasonably optimistic or based on outdated or inappropriate information. The European Parliament is also critical about accessibility of information.

⁴¹⁹ Boguslaw Liberadzki, Committee on Budgetary Control, European Parliament, “‘Report’ on discharge in respect of the implementation of the budget of the Seventh, Eighth and Ninth European Development Funds for the financial year 2007”, A6-0159/2009, 20 March 2009.

⁴²⁰ Ibid.

⁴²¹ Ibid.

5.2. Metaphor Analysis:

This analysis takes into account that metaphors serve many ideological functions in discourse, in that metaphors are a tool of persuasion, convey a problem, suggest a solution, identify certain socio-political subjects, and evaluate socio-political issues. The types of metaphors outlined in the methodological framework and their significance are investigated in this discourse corpus.

5.2.1. Personification:

Personification serves the function of facilitating understanding by associating images most close to us; that is our body. Personification is thus commonly applied in political discourses as means of relating more personally to the public and making them feel inclusive to the political issues represented.

The health/disease metaphor is a type of Personification as it is relevant to human health, and the ideology of having optimal health. The following statement, ‘the spreading of poverty, resulting in instability and potential conflict’⁴²², depicts poverty as a disease which is causing symptoms such as instability and conflict in ACP countries. A new approach to EU-ACP cooperation/relations are offered as a ‘cure’, solution to the problem identified.

Personification features in this discourse to represent EU identity as an individual and prominent actor. A life metaphor is assigned to identify the European Parliament’s ‘personal’ role in regulating relations with ACP countries:

⁴²² “The Cotonou Agreement”, DG Development, European Commission, 23 May 2006, http://ec.europa.eu/comm/development/body/cotonou/index_en.htm.

- (98) [EP] stresses their vital role in establishing, following up and monitoring development policies.⁴²³

In this corpus, Personification occurs in the representing the European Investment Bank (EIB). EIB is shown as a living entity as it:

- (99) Lives up to the spirit of Regulations⁴²⁴
- (100) Lives up to the global development commitments of the EU and the standards set by other multilateral development banks.⁴²⁵

Personification occurrences can relate to the conceptual field of strength:

- (101) European policies will help to strengthen regional cohesion⁴²⁶
- (102) [EU] Encourages the JPA to strengthen the role of its Committee on Political Affairs in order to make it a true forum for conflict prevention and settlement in the context of the ACP-EU partnership, and to that end to make the debates on urgent situations in given countries more general.⁴²⁷
- (103) The Cotonou Agreement strengthens the political dimension of EU-ACP cooperation, allowing an improved political dialogue with partners, while the European Consensus identifies poverty eradication in the context of sustainable development as the core, primary objective, taking into account the importance of ensuring

⁴²³ Alain Hutchinson, Committee on Development, European Parliament, “‘Report’ on the work of the ACP-EU Joint Parliamentary Assembly”, A6-0175/2008, 8 May 2008.

⁴²⁴ Boguslaw Liberadzki, Committee on Budgetary Control, European Parliament, “‘Report’ on discharge in respect of the implementation of the budget of the Seventh, Eighth and Ninth European Development Funds for the financial year 2007”, A6-0159/2009, 20 March 2009.

⁴²⁵ Ibid.

⁴²⁶ Alain Hutchinson, Committee on Development, European Parliament, “‘Report’ on the work of the ACP-EU Joint Parliamentary Assembly”, A6-0175/2008, 8 May 2008.

⁴²⁷ Ibid.

policy coherence for development and generating synergies between different policies, both internal and external, and the objectives of the EU external action.⁴²⁸

Personification is used to project the parliamentary dimension of EU-Pacific relations which needs to be further strengthened. The occurrence to ‘strengthen the parliamentary dimension’⁴²⁹ portrays the parliament’s involvement as an area in need of attention, for vitalisation and a good healthy state of the European Parliament.

The European Parliament is represented as a person, being optimistic about activities related to EU-ACP partnership:

(104) Welcomes the Commission’s acceptance of the Court’s observations, as well as the Commission’s intentions, and looks forward to being informed of the detailed design and implementation of this ‘enhanced approach’.⁴³⁰

EU institutions are living concepts and EIB is shown as having a fighting role, expected to ‘combat corruption and money laundering’⁴³¹.

(105) Invites the EIB, in the interests of the European Union and its values and with a view to improving public perception of the EIB as an institution.⁴³²

⁴²⁸ European Commission, Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament and the European Economic and Social Committee, “EU Relations with the Pacific Islands- A strategy for a Strengthened Partnership”, COM(2006), 29 May 2006.

⁴²⁹ Boguslaw Liberadzki, Committee on Budgetary Control, European Parliament, “‘Report’ on discharge in respect of the implementation of the budget of the Seventh, Eighth and Ninth European Development Funds for the financial year 2007”, A6-0159/2009, 20 March 2009.

⁴³⁰ Ibid.

⁴³¹ Ibid.

⁴³² Ibid.

Another Personification is evident in the representation where the European Parliament requests that the Committee on Budgetary Control to ‘strengthen’ its activities:

- (106) Invites its Committee on Budgetary Control to strengthen its activities as regards control of the financial activities of the EIB, which fully falls under the responsibilities of that committee under the Rules of Procedure, Annex VI, Chapter V, point 3.

The institutional discourse personifies the EU as ‘looking back’⁴³³ to the establishment of EU-Pacific relations and this image characterises the partnership as a mature, long-term relationship with tangible memories and experiences to reflect on.

Personification is used to identify the Pacific region and this conceptualisation induces sympathy for the challenges the Pacific is dealing with, as well as accentuating their struggle:

- (107) The region will face worsening problems in future⁴³⁴

The institutional discourse corpus idealises good governance and indicates that administrations and governing in ACP countries are ‘weak’:

- (108) [EP] Agrees with the Commission that “weak administrations” and “weak governance” in many beneficiary countries are significant risks affecting the sound management of the EDFs.⁴³⁵

⁴³³ European Commission, Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament and the European Economic and Social Committee, “EU Relations with the Pacific Islands- A strategy for a Strengthened Partnership”, COM(2006), 29 May 2006.

⁴³⁴ Ibid.

⁴³⁵ Boguslaw Liberadzki, Committee on Budgetary Control, European Parliament, “‘Report’ on discharge in respect of the implementation of the budget of the Seventh, Eighth and Ninth European Development Funds for the financial year 2007”, A6-0159/2009, 20 March 2009.

In institutional discourse, the metaphor of ‘strength’ is applied to represent ‘partnership’. Strength resides in a single body and indications of different strengths contradict the idea of equal partnership made up of equal partners. On the other hand, the concept of partnership itself is often represented with the concept strength (‘strengthened relationship’) which is not relevant to the feature of the partnership being ‘equal’, it is more associated with the nature of the partnership being powerful or influential.

Strength is a commonly occurring description for representing partnership and the regional integration process:

(109) Stronger regional cooperation would improve the region’s capacity for dealing with the development challenges it faces.⁴³⁶

As such, a ‘stronger’ regional cooperation is noted and recommended in the institutional discourse observed. Strength alludes to individual efforts and a desirable healthy state.

In this corpus, the idea of partnership is linked to the conceptual action ‘to strengthen’. The partnership between the EU and the Pacific is represented as requiring strengthening. Furthermore, EU-Pacific relations are represented as ‘a long-standing and close partnership rooted in history’. The time duration and spatial metaphor is used to indicate the nature of the relations. There is also a metaphorical representation which conceptualises the relationship as a plant. The conceptualisation implies that the partnership is still growing, maturing, developing. We could further this semantic interpretation by taking into account that plants require sunlight and water as essential conditions of growth, which must also be present in the case of the partnership.

⁴³⁶ European Commission, Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament and the European Economic and Social Committee, “EU Relations with the Pacific Islands- A strategy for a Strengthened Partnership”, COM(2006), 29 May 2006.

The instance below shows the political dimension of the EU-ACP cooperation as having the capacity of being stronger:

- (110) The Cotonou Agreement strengthens the political dimension of EU-ACP cooperation, allowing an improved political dialogue with partners, while the European Consensus identifies poverty eradication in the context of sustainable development as the core, primary objective, taking into account the importance of ensuring policy coherence for development and generating synergies between different policies, both internal and external, and the objectives of the EU external action⁴³⁷.

The Cotonou Agreement is the actor participant of the Material process of ‘strengthen’ which makes it seem influential and vital to the ‘health’ of the partnership. The adjunct clause headed by the verb ‘to allow’ shows that the Cotonou’s role in EU-ACP partnership also causes the political dialogue to improve. The concept of strength can be both a Personification implying power and human strength, and also a House metaphor which implies stability of the building which ensures safety and shelter for those inside.

The discursive representation of EU-Pacific relations also has a visual element. The discourse represents the EU’s goal to enhance the ‘visibility’ and political profile of the EU-Pacific partnership and a more ‘focused’ development action. The focus implies a manner of seeing. This suggests that visions are blurred and the nature of partnership is not visible enough, while transparency is the core of the good governance principle.

Personification is used to represent the state of governance in developing countries in dealing with the EDF programme. This metaphorical application occurs in the European Parliament report on EDF budget and

⁴³⁷ European Commission, Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament and the European Economic and Social Committee, “EU Relations with the Pacific Islands- A strategy for a Strengthened Partnership”, COM(2006), 29 May 2006.

management of EDF funding. The distribution and coordination services are criticised as being ‘weak’. Observe instances below:

- (111) Notes that channeling funds through systems in developing countries which are weak creates a risk of inefficiency and wastage, and that a /comprehensive fiduciary risk assessment/ **is** therefore absolutely necessary prior to starting budget support programmes.⁴³⁸
- (112) Expects in particular to receive explicit information on the Commission's risk assessments and analyses of government systems in developing countries, its judgment of the significance of system weaknesses as regards potential inefficiencies and wastage of aid and estimates, quantified to the extent possible, of these factors, as well as information on measures taken, or to be taken in future, in order to mitigate the identified risks.⁴³⁹

This discourse contains a Relational process which defines the process of ‘channelling funds through systems in developing countries’ as ‘weak’. This metaphor has an evaluating function to criticise administrative incompetence of ACP countries. The EU aid funds are channelled through ‘weak’ systems in developing countries and therefore create a risk of inefficiency of EU activity and wastage. The Personification signalled by the word ‘weaknesses’ occurs as a nominalisation which represents the poor state of the systems as a concrete entity.

5.2.2. Journey Metaphor:

Journey metaphor has a prominent occurrence in this discourse and serves to evaluate various aspects of the EU-ACP partnership and to identify of this

⁴³⁸ Boguslaw Liberadzki, Committee on Budgetary Control, European Parliament, “‘Report’ on discharge in respect of the implementation of the budget of the Seventh, Eighth and Ninth European Development Funds for the financial year 2007”, A6-0159/2009, 20 March 2009.

⁴³⁹ Ibid.

partnership as a neofunctional process. A sense of progress is indicated and measured by movements going forward, such as taking steps. The image of a 'step' indicates a movement and the preposition 'towards' implies a path/destination. This can be observed in the following instance:

- (113) Signing the EPA is a necessary step towards sustainable growth in this region as a whole, and underlines the importance of the continual negotiations towards a comprehensive agreement encouraging increased trade, investment and regional integration.⁴⁴⁰

In political discourses, Journey metaphors are often employed to highlight the neofunctional view of international cooperation. JPA's action is described as a 'quest for a global, inclusive agreement for peace and development for the people of Darfur'.⁴⁴¹ Regional integration is suggested as a means of achieving peace and development in ACP countries in the institutional discourse. However, the 'peace' mentioned occurs solely when addressing issues related to African countries in the ACP group, and does not feature in representations associated with the Pacific region.

The EU is to 'pursue' a broad political dialogue with the Pacific region. It is almost as if the EU is chasing after the Pacific region for dialogue. As the actor participant of the material verb 'to pursue', the EU is the entity putting in the effort and initiatives. The EPA is represented as a journey: it is conceptualised as taking an 'initiative forward'.⁴⁴² Another instance which represents the EPA as travelling is as follows:

⁴⁴⁰ Glyn Ford, Committee on International Trade, European Parliament, "'Motion for a Resolution' on the Interim Partnership Agreement between the Pacific States, on the one part, and the European Community on the other part", B6-0143/2009, 16 March 2009.

⁴⁴¹ Alain Hutchinson, Committee on Development, European Parliament, "'Report' on the work of the ACP-EU Joint Parliamentary Assembly", A6-0175/2008, 8 May 2008.

⁴⁴² European Commission, Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament and the European Economic and Social Committee, "EU Relations with the Pacific Islands- A strategy for a Strengthened Partnership", COM(2006), 29 May 2006.

(114) [EP] Points out that the debate is continuing since the adoption of EPAs with the Caribbean and interim agreements with certain countries and regions.⁴⁴³

The Journey metaphor adds an ‘active’ dimension to the representation of EU-Pacific cooperation which is often represented with a sense of path and destination, such as in, ‘step forward in cooperation’⁴⁴⁴; ‘towards cooperation’⁴⁴⁵; and ‘to step up EU-Pacific relations’⁴⁴⁶. A sense of direction and mobility is applied to designate an ideal state of cooperation as the destination point. The Journey metaphor shows progress to be made and that EU-Pacific relations are a neofunctional project.

The journey is taken by products. In the phrase, ‘manufactured products and agricultural products entering the Union’⁴⁴⁷, there is a conceptual border signified with the use of the image of ‘entering’. When one enters somewhere, the access implies a foreign space. The EU border is therefore reinforced by the use of this conceptual metaphor, which otherises imported products.

In the following instance, ACP countries are conceptualised as being on a journey.

⁴⁴³ Glyn Ford, Committee on International Trade, European Parliament, “‘Motion for a Resolution’ on the Interim Partnership Agreement between the Pacific States, on the one part, and the European Community on the other part”, B6-0143/2009, 16 March 2009.

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁵ European Commission, Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament and the European Economic and Social Committee, “EU Relations with the Pacific Islands- A strategy for a Strengthened Partnership”, COM(2006), 29 May 2006.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁷ “The Cotonou Agreement”, DG Development, European Commission, 23 May 2006, http://ec.europa.eu/comm/development/body/cotonou/index_en.htm.

- (115) Urges the ACP countries to further the process of liberalisation, to extend such reforms beyond trade and goods and to increase the liberalisation of trade and services.⁴⁴⁸

The verb ‘to further’ suggests action and a path. The lexical items ‘extend’ and ‘beyond’ are spatial indications of this path and a destination. This journey is about trade liberalisation, which requires more progress.

A path and direction of a journey are also indicated by verbs such as to ‘follow’ in this discourse:

- (116) Follow guidelines developed for investment in energy, forestry, transport, water and waste management sectors.⁴⁴⁹

EU-ACP partnership is represented as being close, yet far-reaching in the phrase - ‘a close, far-reaching and complex partnership’.⁴⁵⁰ This creates a path with a destination which symbolises a goal. Having a goal signals a sense of purpose and room for change and improvement. While reaching the destination is idealised, images of factors impeding the journey are used to portray what is not favourable. For example, ‘an end to the system of non-reciprocal trade preferences’⁴⁵¹ contains the word ‘end’ which has semantic associations with the conceptual field of journey, not that of a destination point, but can be interpreted as corresponding to a dead end. It is coherent with the ideology that the new system proposed by the EPA is ideal for better EU-ACP relations, and therefore the old system is not the right path.

⁴⁴⁸ Glyn Ford, Committee on International Trade, European Parliament, “‘Motion for a Resolution’ on the Interim Partnership Agreement between the Pacific States, on the one part, and the European Community on the other part”, B6-0143/2009, 16 March 2009.

⁴⁴⁹ Boguslaw Liberadzki, Committee on Budgetary Control, European Parliament, “‘Report’ on discharge in respect of the implementation of the budget of the Seventh, Eighth and Ninth European Development Funds for the financial year 2007”, A6-0159/2009, 20 March 2009.

⁴⁵⁰ “The Cotonou Agreement”, DG Development, European Commission, 23 May 2006, http://ec.europa.eu/comm/development/body/cotonou/index_en.htm.

⁴⁵¹ Ibid.

The speed of travel is also a contributing feature of the Journey metaphor:

- (117) Welcomes the commitment of all available funding for the ninth EDF in 2007; calls on the Commission to formulate recommendations applicable for the non-committed parts of the eighth EDF; stresses however that speedy commitment of funds should not be carried out to the detriment of the quality of projects.⁴⁵²

The Commission is represented as having a significant role in the journey:

- (118) Recalls the Commission's commitment to endeavour to ensure that a benchmark of 20 % of its allocated assistance under the Development Cooperation Instrument (DCI) is dedicated to basic and secondary education and basic health; calls for reporting against the same benchmark to be provided for the EDFs.⁴⁵³

The European Parliament invites the European Commission to ‘follow-up’, ‘closely’, the implementation of the Investment Facility.⁴⁵⁴ Also, the Commission is represented as ‘taking the lead’⁴⁵⁵ in EU development action. This expression suggests a sense of control and the action of guiding and initiating progress. These metaphorical comparisons attribute a sense of direction, control and progress to the European Commission’s identity.

⁴⁵² Boguslaw Liberadzki, Committee on Budgetary Control, European Parliament, “‘Report’ on discharge in respect of the implementation of the budget of the Seventh, Eighth and Ninth European Development Funds for the financial year 2007”, A6-0159/2009, 20 March 2009.

⁴⁵³ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid.

5.2.3. House Metaphor:

A house is a tangible and structured concept which implies a sense of shelter, comfort and security. The House metaphor engenders a conceptual mapping of these positive qualities which makes this type of metaphor useful for promoting political ideas in political discourse. For instance, the concept of governance is often conceptualised with the House metaphor to gain credibility and to highlight the benefits of the government.

In the phrase, ‘it [Cotonou Agreement] is based on five interdependent pillars’⁴⁵⁶, and the metaphor presented shows the Cotonou Agreement as having a foundation with pillars that support the structure. The mapping of the building image to this agreement makes the latter seem established and strong. Moreover, the Cotonou Agreement is represented as a foundation to EU-ACP partnership which conceptualises the partnership as a house:

(119) Whereas the revised Cotonou Agreement has just laid the foundations for enhance, more efficient cooperation between the Union and ACP countries, though the ratification procedure for that agreement has not been finalised.⁴⁵⁷

This stresses the importance of the Cotonou Agreement in the context of EU-ACP relations. The next instance portrays the EPA as a building material for construction of the EU-ACP partnership:

(120) Whereas EPAs should be used to build a long term relationship where trade supports development.⁴⁵⁸

⁴⁵⁶ Boguslaw Liberadzki, Committee on Budgetary Control, European Parliament, “‘Report’ on discharge in respect of the implementation of the budget of the Seventh, Eighth and Ninth European Development Funds for the financial year 2007”, A6-0159/2009, 20 March 2009.

⁴⁵⁷ Alain Hutchinson, Committee on Development, European Parliament, “‘Report’ on the work of the ACP-EU Joint Parliamentary Assembly”, A6-0175/2008, 8 May 2008.

⁴⁵⁸ Glyn Ford, Committee on International Trade, European Parliament, “‘Motion for a Resolution’ on the Interim Partnership Agreement between the Pacific States, on the one part, and the European Community on the other part”, B6-0143/2009, 16 March 2009.

This representation also conceptualises the EU-ACP partnership as a house. However, this house is conceptualised as needing to be stronger to support the structure, specifically, it needs to ‘strengthen the political dimension of the partnership’⁴⁵⁹. This makes an ideological statement that the nature of EU-ACP partnership needs to be more political than economic.

An identity is attributed to the Pacific region which is primarily based on supranational institutionalism. This is observed in the following instance:

- (121) The proposal is to enhance the political dialogue with the Pacific by increasing contact primarily with and through the Pacific Islands Forum.⁴⁶⁰

Lexical items associated with the construction conceptual field include: ‘restructuring’, ‘flexibility’, ‘expand’, ‘constructiveness’, ‘strengthened’ cooperation. The CROP agency is described as ‘well-placed’⁴⁶¹. The representation of Pacific islands ‘entering into’ the EPA agreement expresses a spatial movement towards a structure, such as a building. Other House metaphors occurring in this discourse which conceptualise the EPA as a house are as follows:

- (122) Calls for a strong regulatory framework to be put in place in the event of negotiations on services to ensure that there is universal

⁴⁵⁹ “The Cotonou Agreement”, DG Development, European Commission, 23 May 2006, http://ec.europa.eu/comm/development/body/cotonou/index_en.htm.

⁴⁶⁰ European Commission, Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament and the European Economic and Social Committee, “EU Relations with the Pacific Islands- A strategy for a Strengthened Partnership”, COM(2006), 29 May 2006.

⁴⁶¹ Ibid.

service provision and that essential public services are kept outside the negotiating framework.⁴⁶²

- (123) Recalls that a genuine regional market is an essential basis for successfully implementing the EPA and that regional integration and cooperation are essential for the social and economic development of the Pacific States.⁴⁶³

This discourse uses the House metaphor to show the important contribution made by the EPA towards maintaining good EU-Pacific relations. A House metaphor is used where the relationship is portrayed as being ‘built’ and the EPA is a material used for the construction process.

- (124) EPAs should be used to build a long term relationship where trade supports development.⁴⁶⁴

This representation creates an assumption that the EPA is the source of a good partnership between the EU and the Pacific region. This metaphorical conceptualisation of the EU’s relationship with the Pacific region through the EPA as a constructed entity also upholds the institutionalist argument of EU identity.

The European Parliament recommends that development aid be ‘tied to an ex-ante disclosure statement’ which concerns selected issues that affect the governance and accountability structure.

- (125) Takes the view, therefore, that development aid in general and budget support in particular should be tied to an ex-ante disclosure statement, issued by the recipient country's government and signed

⁴⁶² Glyn Ford, Committee on International Trade, European Parliament, “‘Motion for a Resolution’ on the Interim Partnership Agreement between the Pacific States, on the one part, and the European Community on the other part”, B6-0143/2009, 16 March 2009.

⁴⁶³ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid.

by the finance minister, concerning selected issues that affect the governance and accountability structure of a beneficiary country.⁴⁶⁵

The Country Disclosure Statement (CDS) is represented as the Actor participant of a Material process ‘enhance’. It will ‘enhance transparency and accountability and give international donors valuable information with a view to making an informed judgement of the overall transparency and reliability of the beneficiary country’s governance and accountability structure’⁴⁶⁶. Information, accountability and transparency are heavily emphasised and represented in the European Parliament discourse. The concept of transparency as a metaphor will be further discussed in Section 2.5.5.

5.2.4. War Metaphor

War metaphors are used in this discourse to highlight subjectivity by demonising the concept represented as the enemy and they also project ideology by exaggerating the importance of action through violent words. For example, the problem of poverty is described as an enemy in the instance below:

(126) Fight against poverty⁴⁶⁷

This shows that poverty is a negative issue and that strong action should be taken to overcome this problem. The metaphor occurring in the next instance signifies an unpleasant situation, where the word ‘upheavals’ implies abrupt and violent action:

⁴⁶⁵ Boguslaw Liberadzki, Committee on Budgetary Control, European Parliament, “‘Report’ on discharge in respect of the implementation of the budget of the Seventh, Eighth and Ninth European Development Funds for the financial year 2007”, A6-0159/2009, 20 March 2009.

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁷ “The Cotonou Agreement”, DG Development, European Commission, 23 May 2006, http://ec.europa.eu/comm/development/body/cotonou/index_en.htm.

(127) Major upheavals on the international stage⁴⁶⁸

Inefficient and bad practices of administration counteractive to achieving good governance are also represented as the enemy in this discourse: there is a need to ‘combat corruption and money laundering’⁴⁶⁹ and ‘fight corruption and corporate and financial malpractices’⁴⁷⁰.

5.2.5. Other Metaphor

This discourse contains other types of metaphors which are significant to the representation of EU-Pacific relations. These are lexical items conceptualising space and transparency. In the following instance, the JPA is represented as having spatial dimensions:

(128) [EP] welcomes JPA framework for open, democratic and in-depth dialogue on the negotiation of the EPAs.⁴⁷¹

The adjectives ‘open’ and ‘in-depth’ are both spatial metaphors which are associated with the concept ‘dialogue’, reinforcing the idea of democracy. Other similar metaphorical features occur in the corpus: the European Parliament ‘calls on the parliaments to exercise close parliamentary scrutiny in respect of the European Development Fund’⁴⁷² and ‘encourages ‘close

⁴⁶⁸ “The Cotonou Agreement”, DG Development, European Commission, 23 May 2006, http://ec.europa.eu/comm/development/body/cotonou/index_en.htm.

⁴⁶⁹ Boguslaw Liberadzki, Committee on Budgetary Control, European Parliament, “‘Report’ on discharge in respect of the implementation of the budget of the Seventh, Eighth and Ninth European Development Funds for the financial year 2007”, A6-0159/2009, 20 March 2009.

⁴⁷⁰ 29 May 2006, Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament and the European Economic and Social Committee, ‘EU Relations with the Pacific Islands- A strategy for a Strengthened Partnership’.

⁴⁷¹ Alain Hutchinson, Committee on Development, European Parliament, “‘Report’ on the work of the ACP-EU Joint Parliamentary Assembly”, A6-0175/2008, 8 May 2008.

⁴⁷² Ibid.

collaboration between the activities of ACP and EU parliamentarians'.⁴⁷³ The concept of 'open-ness' illustrates democracy, 'depth' is associated with a sense of extension of territory, and 'close-ness' stresses the ideology of relations.

The phrase 'broad political dialogue' correlates politics with space/borders. The Pacific region is represented as a 'field' in this discourse and there are several possibilities for interpretation of this metaphorical image. It could mean that the region provides a common agricultural land for the EU or for the region itself to farm on or to invest in. It could also suggest a bounded open space, a territory.

(129) Strongly believes that a recipient country's own assessment and understanding of control weaknesses will provide greater motivation for improvement than audits and controls imposed on it by an outside authority.⁴⁷⁴

The metaphor of transparency is used to promote the idea of democracy and good governance. This metaphor has an evaluative function which idealises 'clear and transparent information'⁴⁷⁵ and which highlights 'transparency' as an essential feature of the EPA process. It is an ideological idea associated with democracy and as a mode of democratic practice.

The EU considers transparency as an important factor in good governance and as a basic democratic practice. The management standard of trade and aid services and implementation in the Pacific region is still regarded by the EU as being insufficient. More transparency is encouraged in the

⁴⁷³ Alain Hutchinson, Committee on Development, European Parliament, "'Report' on the work of the ACP-EU Joint Parliamentary Assembly", A6-0175/2008, 8 May 2008.

⁴⁷⁴ Boguslaw Liberadzki, Committee on Budgetary Control, European Parliament, "'Report' on discharge in respect of the implementation of the budget of the Seventh, Eighth and Ninth European Development Funds for the financial year 2007", A6-0159/2009, 20 March 2009.

⁴⁷⁵ Glyn Ford, Committee on International Trade, European Parliament, "'Motion for a Resolution' on the Interim Partnership Agreement between the Pacific States, on the one part, and the European Community on the other part", B6-0143/2009, 16 March 2009.

management of funds and trade activities. ‘Transparent’ management is expressed as an objective in this discourse and adjectives associated with this idea of transparency are underlined in the following instances:

- (130) Europe Aid should ensure, before the start of a budget support programme, that there is a clear and complete assessment of the public finance management and that the recipient country has a credible and relevant reform programme to address all significant weaknesses over a foreseeable timetable.⁴⁷⁶
- (131) ...calls on the Commission to grant budget support only where public expenditure management is sufficiently transparent, accountable and effective, or is at least likely to be so with the implementation within a short time frame of a reform programme.⁴⁷⁷
- (132) Takes the view that a Country Disclosure Statement will enhance transparency and accountability and give international donors valuable information with a view to making an informed judgment of the overall transparency and reliability of the beneficiary country's governance and accountability structure.⁴⁷⁸

These conceptualisation of administrative practices associated with EU-ACP relations implies that those practices are not yet ‘transparent’ or ‘clear’ enough, or in other ways, not achieving satisfactory standards of democracy and good governance.

⁴⁷⁶ Boguslaw Liberadzki, Committee on Budgetary Control, European Parliament, “‘Report’ on discharge in respect of the implementation of the budget of the Seventh, Eighth and Ninth European Development Funds for the financial year 2007”, A6-0159/2009, 20 March 2009.

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid.

5.3. Summary:

This analysis indicates that institutional representations of the EU in the context of its external development action relevant to the Pacific region are static in that agency is largely attributed to non-animate concepts such as EU legislative frameworks and EU institutions. Legislation/institution-focused agency highlights the multi-levels of EU identity rather than its supranational or intergovernmental features.

The transitivity structure observed in this institutional discourse reflects a clear hierarchy between subjects. Material processes portray a sense of cause-and-effect in an event and able to represent a socio-political subject as the Actor participant responsible for the causality of the action and its effect on the goal participant. The occurrences of Material processes often attributed the Actor participant role to political concept 'the Cotonou Agreement', to highlight its influence and power over EU relations with developing countries which include the Pacific region. Projecting the superiority of the Cotonou implies that EU power is absolute in governing over matters of EU-Pacific relations.

The observations also relate to the multi-level governance in that a collective sense of the EU subject is not always present and is often articulated by individual EU institutions or legislative frameworks. The European Parliament and the European Commission occur as Agents, suggesting EU institutions have causal roles in EU external development policy, and represent EU subjectivity. Representations from this analysis also reveal that there is a power relationship between these EU subjects. The European Parliament, in the parliamentary reports, is represented as causing the European Commission to do something. This discursively portrays the influence of the European Parliament in EU decision-making and its interaction with other institutional bodies.

The Cotonou Agreement, as an agent, is associated with material actions such as 'providing', 'introducing' and 'preserving'. The partnership itself

also has an active role carrying out actions like ‘to date back’, ‘focus on’, ‘to establish’ political dialogues which are more static actions than the ones associated with the Cotonou Agreement. Other non-animate agents represented in the institutional discourse include, the Treaty of Rome, Yaundé and Lomé Conventions. The Lomé Convention is also represented as carrying out similar actions as the Cotonou Agreement in that it is responsible for Material processes of ‘introducing’, ‘establishing’, ‘providing’.

On the other hand, the Lomé Convention also occurs as the goal participant which is ‘signed’ by unknown actors. The concept of EU-ACP partnership and the concept of development mostly occur as goal participants of Material processes. Trade is also mostly represented as having a passive role in the transitivity structure of represented events. Trade, development and the partnership itself are objects affected by a more powerful subject (EU institutions and legislations) carrying out material actions such as ‘to negotiate’ and ‘to liberalise’. These conceptualisations construct and manifest the ideology that trade and development which are essential to EU-Pacific relations, are governed by the multi-levelled legislative system of the EU.

Relations processes are significant discursive features which construct identities, justify facts and make judgments. In this analysis, Relational processes assert the EU value of democracy: that dialogue is based on institutions; that democracy is a key element of the partnership; and that the Cotonou Agreement is central to achieving democracy. Through the Relational process, the EDF is identified as the principle instrument of ACP-EU cooperation.

In the institutional discourse, there are Mental processes which depict the European Parliament as having a ‘rational’ dimension. The represented rational processes expose a sense of criticism towards the European Commission. This demonstrates the internal dynamics of power in the EU decision-making arena and reflects the multi-level feature of EU identity at

the institutional level. Multi-level governance is not only relevant to the variance of actors influencing EU decisions, but can also be exemplified by agency can be attributed to a variety of subjects, including abstract concepts such as legislations or events such as negotiations. Verbal processes occurring in this discourse are not significant in that they are more like 'speech-acts' in this type of discourse. The speech-act theory is not considered for analysis in this thesis.

There are metaphors observed in this discourse which serve to construct the 'Other'. These occurrences glorify self-identity and ideologically manifest Otherness in a negative way. This way, EU identity is highlighted in the context of EU relations with developing countries. The representation of the 'Other' is achieved by the use of spatial metaphors which separates EU and Pacific identities in relation to the trade issue. Otherisation is also achieved by the use of Personification. The concept of health is mapped to the concept of conditions of partnership. The health metaphor portrays poverty as a disease causing symptoms such as instability and conflict in ACP countries. A change in EU-ACP relations is offered as a 'cure', a solution to this problem of 'poverty'. Poverty is also conceptualised as an 'enemy' within 'war' metaphor.

Metaphors used in this discourse promote the concept of 'change' in the partnership as proposed by the Cotonou Agreement. This discourse contains House metaphors to represent the necessity of 'change' in EU-ACP relations. This partnership is represented as a building which needs to be renovated, and particularly strengthened in the area of its political dimension. The Cotonou Agreement is represented as a strong building with foundation and pillars.

Furthermore, the mapping of the Journey metaphor to the concept of EU-ACP (-Pacific) relations suggests that there is a path directing towards a destination which symbolises a goal, a sense of purpose and room for change and improvement in EU-ACP (-Pacific) relations. Non-reciprocal trade is represented as not being the right path which indicates a change in

the nature of the Partnership which is to become more 'equal'. The Journey metaphor highlights the neo-functional character of EU integration and policies, which ultimately reinforces its supranational institutionalist identity and the need for 'change'.

Chapter Six:
Institutional Discourse Analysis

Part II

6. Introduction

This chapter will conduct a second critical observation on institutional discourse. The representations studied in this chapter have been separately treated from the earlier institutional discourse texts because the texts analysed here are speeches, which are stylistically different. The speeches studied are delivered by Stefano Manservigi, Director-General of Development in the European Commission. This discourse reflects the EU's ideologies in relation to EU identity and the EU's role in relation to the ACP region. As in the previous analysis, the content of the discourse focuses on EU-Pacific relations, which is largely about development and trade.

According to the logic of Laclau and Mouffe's theory on the hegemonic centralisation of meaning in empty/floating signifiers, the linguistic representations contained in Manservigi's speech are considered to be produced by a 'dominant bloc', which serves to create and output ideologies. The findings from this discourse analysis complement the linguistic observations made from other types of discourse which contribute to the holistic semantic constitution of the overall meaning of EU-Pacific relations. This discourse represents a supranational discourse and it is a 'dominant' discourse establishing and projecting EU initiatives in maintaining its global role in assisting the developing world. Development is the focus of the representations in the selected corpus.

The EU is a multi-decision-making complex with power channelled through its three main institutions – the European Commission, the

European Parliament and the European Council. At the level of the European Commission, EU-ACP relations are dealt with by the Directorate General for Development (DG DEV) which aims to achieve a holistic policy by interrelating trade with development, regional integration and poverty reduction. DG Dev ‘initiates and drafts development policy as set out in the EU Treaty’ for both the ACP group and the OCTs.⁴⁷⁹ Programmes are developed under the European Commission’s budget for this policy area and aim to ‘help to reduce and ultimately eradicate poverty in the developing countries through the promotion of sustainable development, democracy, peace and security.’⁴⁸⁰ The main funding instruments are the European Development Fund (EDF) and the Development Cooperation Instrument.

This corpus consists of seven speeches (listed below) delivered by Stefano Manservigi on EU international events:

1. Fifth High-Level Group meeting on Education for all Beijing: resource Mobilisation and Aid Effectiveness: Translating EFA Commitments into Reality, Beijing 28-30 November 2005, 1,498 words.
2. Opening Session of the EFA FTI Partnership meeting, Beijing, 30 November 2005, 1,701 words.
3. The ‘States-General’ on Development co-operation, Rome, 11 March 2006, 942 words.
4. Ministerial Conference of Donors, Port au Prince, 25 July 2006, 1,241 words.
5. OCT-EU Forum in Nuuk, Greenland, 07 September 2006, 1,753 words.
6. Europe as a Global Actor: Priorities and Perspectives of the EU’s Development Policy, Helsinki, 4 December 2006, 5,615 words.

⁴⁷⁹ “Mission and Role”, Development Relations with African, Caribbean and Pacific States, European Commission, http://ec.europa.eu/development/about/mission_en.cfm.

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid.

7. Civil Society in EU Development Policy: The Date, the Challenges and the Future, 20 July 2007, 1,984 words.

There were 11 speeches listed in Manservisi's on-line EC profile in the DG DEV website.⁴⁸¹ These speeches were mainly delivered in English but some of them were in French and Italian without the English translation available. The speeches in French without English translation are considered for this study, but the speeches in Italian without English translation are not considered due to linguistic limits for effective analysis and interpretation. Furthermore, there are speeches which only focused on Africa ([1bn a year "for Africa infrastructure' Europe to give € 6bn to build infrastructure](#) ; [An EU strategic vision of Southern Africa. South Africa as a catalyst for African renaissance](#) ; [Africa: A European vision](#)). These are considered not directly relevant to the Pacific region and therefore are not included in the corpus.

6.1. Transitivity Analysis

6.1.1. Material Process

The EU plays an active role in transitivity as The EU features frequently as having agency in many transitive structures. Indeed, the EU is an actor with responsibilities and causes events signified by processes. The instance 'We [EU] are determined to respond to these needs' comprises a material action 'to respond' for which the pronoun 'we' is responsible. The EU is responsible for attending to the needs of the developing countries. Such commitment is also described as 'strong support'. Development policy work sources from 'European experience'.⁴⁸²

⁴⁸¹ http://ec.europa.eu/development/about/mission/director2_en.cfm

⁴⁸² Speech by Manservisi, at the [Fifth High-Level Group Meeting on Education for All Beijing](#): resource Mobilisation and Aid Effectiveness: Translating EFA Commitments into Reality, Beijing 28-30 November 2005.

Manservisi also states that ‘it is our duty to respond to these demands’⁴⁸³, implying the EU’s control over the development issue.

The EU’s role is represented with high agency in the transitive structure. This can be observed in instances below:

- (1) /the EU/ **supports** the broad participation of all stakeholders in a country’s development and **encourages** all parts of society to play an active part.⁴⁸⁴
- (2) /The EU/ will **maintain** its support to developing internal capacities of various non-state actors in order to enable their wider participation in the development process as well as their promotion of a political, social and economic dialogue.⁴⁸⁵

Other instances of EU agency include:

- (3) /Europe/ will have a major contribution to **make** on both accounts: financing and harmonisation.⁴⁸⁶
- (4) /European Union/ collectively currently **provides** 55% of the world’s official development assistance.⁴⁸⁷
- (5) L’Union Européene a un patrimoine d’expériences dans ces secteurs et /elle/ **continuera** de le **partager**.⁴⁸⁸

⁴⁸³ Speech by Manservisi, at the [opening session of the EFA FTI Partnership meeting Beijing](#), 30 November 2005.

⁴⁸⁴ Speech by Manservisi, ‘[Civil Society in EU Development policy: the debate, the challenges and the future](#)’, 20 July 2007.

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁶ Speech by Manservisi, at the [opening session of the EFA FTI Partnership meeting Beijing](#), 30 November 2005.

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁸ Speech by Manservisi, at the [Ministerial Conference of Donors](#), Port au Prince, 25 July 2006.

(6) /The European Union/ firmly **subscribes** to the Paris Declaration⁴⁸⁹

These instances establish a power hierarchy, placing Europe as the most powerful figure, and also, show the European Commission as having power over the EU Member States. Instances (3) to (5) represent the EU as a supranational subject which is active and influential in its external development action. Instance (6) also represents the EU, but in this representation the action establishes a relationship between the EU and its legislative link to the Paris Declaration.

Despite the supranational power of the EU reflected in this discourse, Manservisi also emphasises the EU ideology of an equal partnership by stating that aid is ‘based on ownership by our partner countries’.⁴⁹⁰ Observe the following instance:

(7) /They [partner countries]/ **decide** on the priority areas for their cooperation with the Commission.⁴⁹¹

This transitivity structure assigns agency to ACP countries which gives them an identity as a subject of responsibility and power.

The material actions associated with the EU, ‘listen’ and ‘interpret’, represents the EU as being diplomatic agents.⁴⁹² Other Material processes for which the EU is the Actor participant, are indicated with the template coding in the following extract:

⁴⁸⁹ Speech by Manservisi, at the [opening session of the EFA FTI Partnership meeting Beijing](#), 30 November 2005.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁹¹ Ibid.

⁴⁹² Ibid.

More aid: towards 0.7% by 2015 as a collective target. The /EU/ has **committed** to increase aid budgets and to achieve 0,7% of gross national income by 2015, with an intermediate collective target of 0,56 % by 2010; half of this aid increase will **go to** Africa. Better aid: The /EU/ will **advance** coordination, harmonisation and alignment. /It/ will **promote** better donor complementarity by working towards joint multi-annual programming based on partner countries strategies and processes, common implementation mechanisms, joint donor wide missions, and the use of co-financing arrangements. The /EU/ **took** a lead role in achieving the Paris Declaration commitments on improving aid delivery. National ownership, alignment to recipient country systems and results orientation, are core principles in this respect. Now the /EU/ has to **take** a lead role in implementing those commitments. The /EU/ **amounts** to 56% of world ODA. Both in statistical and political terms, we make a difference! The /EU/ **is also committed to increasing coherence between development policy and non-aid policies that affect developing countries**. The aim is to maximise the positive contribution of non-aid policies to development and to minimise their negative effects. The /EU/ has **taken** commitments in 12 policy areas: trade; environment; climate change; security; agriculture; fisheries; the social dimension of globalisation; migration; research and innovation; information society; transport; and energy.⁴⁹³

EU agency is not consistently represented in this corpus in that the supranational EU identity is not the only subject representing the EU. There are linguistic representations which highlight the institutional character of EU identity. For example, in the transitivity structure of the following instance, agency is shared by two separate subjects both of which are associated with EU identity and reflecting power:

- (8) /The European Union and the Commission/ have **played** their part in **launching** the debate and **shaping** it.⁴⁹⁴

The European Commission is a frequently recognised political subject entity representing EU identity and power. The European Commission reflects the

⁴⁹³ Speech by Manservisi, '[Europe as a Global Actor: Priorities and Perspectives of the EU's Development Policy](#)', Helsinki, 4 December 2006.

⁴⁹⁴ Speech by Manservisi, at [the 'states-general' on development co-operation](#), Rome, 11 March 2006.

EU's supranational-institutional identity and it occurs discursively to represent EU's agency. In this corpus, the European Commission is represented as the agent responsible for conducting the EDF programming. Instances of the European Commission being represented as the Actor participant of Material processes are shown here:

- (9) /The European Commission/ will of course **assume** its particular coordination towards European Union Member States.⁴⁹⁵
- (10) /The Commission/has **encouraged** this evolution.⁴⁹⁶
- (11) /La Commission/ **cherche** à promouvoir ces règles de bonne conduite à l'échelle géographique la plus large possible, notamment dans le domaine des services financiers, que ce soit dans le cadre des politiques internes de l'Union ou de son action extérieure.⁴⁹⁷
- (12) /la Commission/ pourrait **dégager** d'autres ressources additionnelles.⁴⁹⁸
- (13) /la Commission Européenne/ a **réservé** un montant initial de...⁴⁹⁹
- (14) /la Commission Européenne/ **invite** les autres bailleurs⁵⁰⁰

The extract below is from a speech delivered on the occasion of addressing EU relations with its OCT countries. The European Commission is likewise

⁴⁹⁵ Speech by Manservici, '[Civil Society in EU Development policy: the debate, the challenges and the future](#)', 20 July 2007.

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁷ Speech by Manservici, [at the OCT-EU Forum in Nuuk](#), Greenland, 07 September 2006.

⁴⁹⁸ Speech by Manservici, [at the Ministerial Conference of Donors](#), Port au Prince, 25 July 2006.

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid.

portrayed as being an influential political entity as agent of Material processes:

/La Commission/ **veillera** à ce que la prochaine génération des documents de programmation réponde à cet objectif et renforcera, dans un stade précoce, le dialogue avec les autorités des PTOM à cet effet. En deuxième lieu, l'appui budgétaire doit se généraliser à tous les PTOM. /La Commission/ **adaptera** le cadre normatif applicable pour que l'appui budgétaire soit retenu pour tous les PTOM au niveau territorial. Cela impliquera que le dialogue de programmation sera avant tout un dialogue sur les politiques et stratégies des PTOM, sur des objectifs et des indicateurs de suivi. [...] L'attention **portée** par /la Commission/ à la **mise en oeuvre** des standards internationaux en matière de transparence et d'échange d'information n'est pas sélective. /La Commission/ **cherche** à **promouvoir** ces règles de bonne conduite à l'échelle géographique la plus large possible, notamment dans le domaine des services financiers, que ce soit dans le cadre des politiques internes de l'Union ou de son action extérieure.⁵⁰¹

This speech explicitly represents the closeness of the relations between these two regions. 'PTOM' is the French acronym that stands for Overseas Countries and Territories, is identified as sharing European values. The occasion of the speech is represented as a political event, 'un événement politique'⁵⁰², and that it is 'dans cet optique que la Commission Européenne y participe'⁵⁰³. The reason for the EU commission's participation has a political nature.

These speeches also expose a sense of multi-level power present in EU matters. Other actors surface as subjects and agents in the discourse. Manservisi acknowledges the power of the 'European civil society' which contributes to the view of the EU as a multi-levelled entity and highlights EU value in democracy. This European civil society is an actor of the Material process 'to mobilise' which is also a metaphor implying that it is

⁵⁰¹ Speech by Manservisi, at the [Ministerial Conference of Donors](#), Port au Prince, 25 July 2006.

⁵⁰² Ibid.

⁵⁰³ Ibid.

on a journey, not at a fixed point and has a destination. The Civil society is humanised and is ‘facing’ globalisation.⁵⁰⁴

In this discourse, there are also constructions of EU subjectivity as being intergovernmental. This contributes to a view of the EU as having multi-level power and identity. The instance below signifies the Member States as the active participant:

(15) /European Union Member States/ will have a particular duty in advancing the harmonisation agenda in FTI countries, and beyond.⁵⁰⁵

The next instance shows intergovernmental agency as the government of Italy is placed as the Actor participant signified by the pronoun ‘nous’.

(16) /Nous/ **constatons** le leadership assumé et bien réel du nouveau gouvernement dans la coordination de l’aide externe. [...] /La Commission Européenne/ **veillera** à le respecter.⁵⁰⁶

This construction The personal pronoun ‘nous’ is the actor participant of the verb ‘constater’ which affirms the leadership of Italy’s new government in the context of EU’s role in external aid. The European Commission’s agency is highlighted in conjunction with the agency of the Council.

Another instance exposing the intergovernmental character of EU identity is evident below where the EU council, which is an EU institution with an intergovernmental character, is represented as responsible for the Material process ‘to adopt’:

⁵⁰⁴ Speech by Manservici, ‘[Civil Society in EU Development policy: the debate, the challenges and the future](#)’, 20 July 2007.

⁵⁰⁵ Speech by Manservisi, at the [opening session of the EFA FTI Partnership meeting Beijing](#), 30 November 2005.

⁵⁰⁶ Speech by Manservisi, at the [Ministerial Conference of Donors](#), Port au Prince, 25 July 2006.

- (17) The first ever comprehensive EU strategy for the Pacific was **adopted** by /the EU Council of Ministers under Finnish Presidency on 17th July 2006/.⁵⁰⁷

In this representation, EU agency is constructed with passive voicing which places the 'EU strategy for the Pacific' as the active participant of the representation. This backgrounds EU subjectivity and gives more focus to the strategy itself.

- (18) /This strategy/ **reaffirms** the EU's commitment to support the eradication of poverty and the achievement of the MDGs in the Pacific, by addressing the key issues of development, stability, regional and economic integration, environmental vulnerability and governance.⁵⁰⁸

In this instance, agency is assigned to the political concept, strategy, which represents it as an action. On the other hand, the active events involving eradication poverty and achieving MDGs are represented in a static way as nominalisations in this instance.

The EU's external development action is:

- (19) Filling a gap that traditional bilateral diplomacy cannot bridge⁵⁰⁹

The concept of 'development' is fundamental to the definition of the EU's relations with the Pacific region. The EU development policy is a complex policy composed of various other interrelated policies, as clarified by the 2005 Development Consensus. At the transitivity level, this Consensus is represented as an Actor participant:

⁵⁰⁷ Speech by Manservisi, at the [Ministerial Conference of Donors](#), Port au Prince, 25 July 2006.

⁵⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁹ Speech by Manservisi, '[Europe as a Global Actor: Priorities and Perspectives of the EU's Development Policy](#)', Helsinki, 4 December 2006.

- (20) It [Consensus] **puts** development at the heart of EU's external action and **faces** the challenges of the "borderlines".⁵¹⁰

The concept of development is conceptualised as an object which is spatially 'put' somewhere. In this case, development is conceptualised as being 'at the heart' of EU's external action with ACP countries. Similarly, there are instances in this corpus where political initiatives and framework are represented as containers- 'within one single political framework', 'the strategy contains'.⁵¹¹

Development is a policy which is a material action. It is changing as indicated by the verb 'change':

- (21) /Development cooperation policy/ has **changed**.⁵¹²

While 'development cooperation policy' is the actor participant, the action is not extended to a passive participant.

6.1.2. Relational Process

Relational processes in transitivity structures of representations contained in this speech form and display the EU identities in the following ways:

- (22) /The EU/ **is** not just another donor⁵¹³

⁵¹⁰ Speech by Menservigi, '[Europe as a Global Actor: Priorities and Perspectives of the EU's Development Policy](#)', Helsinki, 4 December 2006.

⁵¹¹ Ibid.

⁵¹² Speech by Manservigi, at [the 'states-general' on development co-operation](#), Rome, 11 March 2006.

⁵¹³ Speech by Menservigi, '[Europe as a Global Actor: Priorities and Perspectives of the EU's Development Policy](#)', Helsinki, 4 December 2006.

(23) /Europe itself/ **is** the most successful example of ‘a successful globalisation at regional level’⁵¹⁴

Instance (24) is a representation based on Relational process which gives the EU an identity, and more notably justifies its identity:

(24) /L’approche européenne/ **n’est** pas d’imposer des nouvelles conditions à des partenaires fragile, mais plutôt d’en soutenir les efforts.⁵¹⁵

This is an interesting representation as it attributes a softer look to the role of the EU and describes the other as being weak. The EU is represented as supporting efforts of the others and as not imposing influence over them. The subtle suggestion of EU support is also indicated in the following instance:

(25) /L’Union Européenne/ **est** prête à apporter son soutien et à partager son expérience, son savoir-faire et à ajouter, éventuellement, des ressources supplémentaires, si les gouvernements en question le souhaitent.⁵¹⁶

Relational process is applied to attribute meaning to the concept of ‘development’. Manservisi states in this speech that ‘the language of democracy is prevalent in development circles’. This discursive representation makes a correlation between democracy and development. He claims that democracy denotes ‘good governance’ and is a ‘commitment to the principle of “participation”’. Development is identified through the use of Relational process:

⁵¹⁴ Ibid.

⁵¹⁵ Speech by Manservisi, at the [Ministerial Conference of Donors](#), Port au Prince, 25 July 2006.

⁵¹⁶ Ibid.

/Development policy/ is in everyone's interest; /Development policy/ is an investment in our future; /Development/ is not institutional charity; /Development/ is at the heart of the external action of the EU; /Development policy/ is about projecting political stability, economic prosperity and solidarity; [Development] is thus a policy of values, but is also a policy of influence and interest.

These attributed identities occurring in the quoted speech below reveal an 'active' identity of the EU's involvement in development.

Let me be blunt: I see it, /development/ is not (at least not only) about spending money, delivering aid or implementing projects and programmes. Neither is it about trying to eradicate poverty in isolation, from trade, security, diplomatic or other concerns. In a global world, development policy must face a new environment: more opportunities, more risks, but also more responsibilities. In other words, the /EU/ is not just another donor. /Development/ is not institutional charity. /Development/ is at the heart of the external action of the EU. /It/ is based of the very values on which the EU has built itself: peace, solidarity, the rule of law and human rights, mutual respect. /Development/ **aims** at projecting these values, and **sharing** them. In other words, we want development to be geared towards harnessing globalisation, to maximise its benefit for the poor and the weak, and to minimise its risks and dark sides. In a way, /Europe itself/ **is**, because of its history, its values, its own model, the most successful example of "a successful globalisation at regional level". Together with other component of EU's external action (trade, CFSP, ESDP, humanitarian relief, diplomatic relations). /Development policy/ is about projecting political stability, economic prosperity and solidarity. /It/ is thus a policy of values, but is also a policy of influence and interest.⁵¹⁷

In instance (26) an identity is assigned to the Pacific through the Relational process:

(26) /the Pacific/ is becoming increasingly important for the rest of the world.⁵¹⁸

⁵¹⁷ Speech by Manservisi, at [the 'states-general' on development co-operation](#), Rome, 11 March 2006.

⁵¹⁸ Speech by Menservisi, '[Europe as a Global Actor: Priorities and Perspectives of the EU's Development Policy](#)', Helsinki, 4 December 2006.

The state of becoming implies that it has not yet realised the attributed identity, which is in this case, ‘important’. The adverb ‘increasingly’ reinforces the unattained characteristic.

The instance below is significant. It contains a Relational process to make a judgment.

(27) Creating a credible judicial system accessible to all is just as important as bringing water to an isolated village.

According to this instance, democracy and good governance are political concepts, which are considered to be just as important and urgent as having enough water in communities stricken with poverty.

6.1.3. Mental Process

In Manservisi’s speech discourse, Mental processes rarely feature. Below instances contains the process ‘penser’ and identifies the European Commission as a thinking (as well as saying and acting) entity, being rational about relations with the OCTs:

(28) /La Commission/ **pense** maintenir ou même augmenter le montant global des allocations territoriales.⁵¹⁹

(29) /La Commission/ **pense** également proposer une approche différent pour l’enveloppe régionale.⁵²⁰

⁵¹⁹ Speech by Manservisi, at the [OCT-EU Forum in Nuuk](#), Greenland, 07 September 2006.

⁵²⁰ Ibid.

6.2. Metaphor Analysis

6.2.1. Personification

Through application of conceptual metaphors, Manservisi's discourse represents Europe as being human. This speech contains a Relational process that assigns identity to the EU. 'The European Union as a whole is a vital force in the FTI'. Europe is portrayed as 'looking at itself, its history, its different identities, its strengths and its weaknesses'. It 'must not sell its soul' and 'grew through integration and solidarity'.⁵²¹ A sense of supranationalism is projected through the image of Europe as a single unit, encouraging the Member States to 'act together as the EU' and to have a 'common vision'. The common vision not only accounts for the Member States but also between the institutions and instruments of the EU. The Commission is a 'political body' with important responsibilities.

Institutions are often humanised in political discourses.⁵²² Phrases such as 'collective interest' and 'common vision' signal integrated regional governance. The EU's development action to external countries is a 'collective performance' and the effectiveness of its development action 'calls for more integration'.⁵²³

In the following extract of Manservisi's speech discourse, the development signifier is represented as associated with both political and economic interests.⁵²⁴

⁵²¹ Speech by Manservisi, at [the 'states-general' on development co-operation](#), Rome, 11 March 2006.

⁵²² Ibid.

⁵²³ Speech by Manservisi, '[Europe as a Global Actor: Priorities and Perspectives of the EU's Development Policy](#)', Helsinki, 4 December 2006.

⁵²⁴ Speech by Manservisi, at [the 'states-general' on development co-operation](#), Rome, 11 March 2006.

The European Union and the Commission have played their part in launching the debate and shaping it. Listening to, and interpreting, the signals coming from the societies of rich and poor countries, from the suburbs of great cities and the remote countryside, from mosques and churches. Above all, from young people, who make up the majority of people in the world. And from the rumblings of war. In formulating an answer, Europe has looked at itself, its history, its different identities, its strengths and its weaknesses. The first conclusion is that development policy today no longer concerns just North-South relations, it is a global policy. Indeed, it is the only policy that can match up to globalisation in terms of analysis, vision and substantive choices. Working for development today means working for a rules-based globalisation, a non-excluding globalisation, a globalisation with a human face. The second conclusion is that development policy must assume responsibility in areas such as peace-keeping, security, the rule of law, migration and combating terror. Creating a credible judicial system accessible to all is just as important as bringing water to an isolated village. But the development policy must not sell its soul in the interests of short-term foreign-policy concerns or power strategies that often exist only in the mind of those who devised them. The third, obvious conclusion is that, if all this is true, development policy is in everyone's interest, ours as well. It is an investment in our future. This awareness comes from our history and from the history and experience of European integration. We did not grow through isolation but through integration and solidarity. Is the European Union not arguably the most successful example of regional globalisation?

EU action is a body and development is a heart. The instance 'development policy must face a new environment' portrays the development policy as human which is indicated by the verb 'to face'.

In a global world, development policy must face a new environment: more opportunities, more risks, but also more responsibilities. In other words, the EU is not just another donor. Development is not institutional charity. Development is at the heart of the external action of the EU. It is based on the very values on which the EU has built itself: peace, solidarity, the rule of law and human rights, mutual respect. Development aims at projecting these values, and sharing them. In other words, we want development to be geared towards harnessing globalisation, to maximise its benefit for the poor and the weak, and to minimise its risks and dark sides. In a way, Europe itself

is, because of its history, its values, its own model, the most successful example of “a successful globalisation at regional level”.⁵²⁵

Development policy is intricately linked to investments, political/regional integration and EU identity/power. Development is an EU value and a component of its ontological makeup. Development is represented with Personification.

6.2.2. Journey Metaphor

The use of Journey metaphor can cater for outlining subjects associated with issues represented. In the representations of EU-ACP partnership and development actions, journey images are used to depict multi-level identities by conceptualising separate movements and entities pursuing the ‘journey’. The continual movement and unattained destination associated with the sense of being on a journey also represents the overall event as having a neo-functional character.

In Manservisi’s speech discourse, Journey metaphors are prominent features. This conceptual metaphor is an effective political tool for communication and it tends to be highly ideological. In the case of analysing EU-Pacific relations, the Journey metaphor is applied to highlight the ideology of ‘progress’ and ‘development’. A pattern is established here revealing high frequency and consistency of the conceptual structures using other related semantic features such as speed, pathway and vehicle.⁵²⁶

Like previous analyses, Journey metaphors are abundant in the discourse. In Manservisi’s speech, the Journey metaphor portrays the EU’s development action as being a journey, idealising speedy progression with a more distant

⁵²⁵ Speech by Manservisi, ‘[Europe as a Global Actor: Priorities and Perspectives of the EU's Development Policy](#)’, Helsinki, 4 December 2006.

⁵²⁶ Speech by Manservisi, at the [Fifth High-Level Group Meeting on Education for All Beijing](#): resource Mobilisation and Aid Effectiveness: Translating EFA Commitments into Reality, Beijing 28-30 November 2005.

destination shown as desired. Particular values and objectives fuel and drive the EU and the EU in turn drives international efforts devoted to development, often pushing other actions.

This speech talks about ‘recent steps the EU has taken to reinforce its development cooperation’. Journey metaphor is present in this clause which depicts EU as taking a journey or going forward to make a difference, in this case, for development. Manservisi states that ‘quick progress is possible’ implying a faster speed of progress is ideal, especially in response to this period when ‘globalisation is accelerating’. Education is highlighted and development should ‘go beyond’ primary education.⁵²⁷

At policy level, the European Union just last week adopted a new Development Policy Statement that sets the basis for a coherent and complementary approach amongst the 25 Member States of the European Union as well as the European Commission. This is a landmark document that defines common values, principles and objectives. It is the most ambitious undertaking ever made by members of the European Union and the Commission to jointly push forward the global development agenda. Education is clearly set as a key sector for EU action. In addition, the European Commission has proposed a specific European Union Strategy for Africa. The aim is to form a strategic partnership for security and development between the European Union and Africa. In terms of aid volumes, the European Union collectively provides 55% of the world’s official development assistance. This represented 35 billion euros in 2004. The European Union has committed itself to increase its annual ODA by 20 billion euro by 2010 and by 46 billion euro by 2015, of which at least 50 % will go to Africa. Regarding aid effectiveness, the European Union has been one of the driving forces of the Paris agenda and has made specific commitments that go beyond the international ones. These are of particular significance considering that the expected scaling-up of international aid (as agreed in New-York) will essentially come from the EU (80%). Thus, Europe assumes its particular role in pushing forward the international harmonisation and aid effectiveness agenda.⁵²⁸

⁵²⁷ Ibid.

⁵²⁸ Speech by Manservisi, at the [Fifth High-Level Group Meeting on Education for All Beijing](#): resource Mobilisation and Aid Effectiveness: Translating EFA Commitments into Reality, Beijing 28-30 November 2005.

Objectives ‘drive’ the EU and ‘important milestones have been achieved’. The Coherence Agreement is represented as a ‘landmark’ document which defines common values, principles and objectives. According to Manservisi, the EU was ‘one of the driving forces of the Paris agenda and showed commitments that ‘go beyond’ the international ones, meaning the EU is ahead of the voyage. Moreover, ‘Europe assumes its particular role in pushing forward the international harmonisation and aid effectiveness agenda’. Manservisi describes the need for developing countries to be in the ‘driving seat’.⁵²⁹

Aid Effectiveness was also an important element of the package of measures delivered by the EU as its contribution to the UN High Level Summit in 2005, whereby the COM was recognized as a progressive and pro-active actor on this issue. The EU wants to move fast and to further support this international process that is vocally requested by our developing partner countries, but it is often being watered down by some other donors not willing to advance as quickly as others. However, in the area of development Europe has yet to realise economies of scale. This is not about competences - but about avoiding duplications, reducing administrative costs, lowering the burden on our partner countries, and having the political and operational impact that match our financial contribution.

Journey metaphors applied is evident through the use of material verb ‘mobiliser’ for which the EU is the Actor participant, and also through the expression regarding the funds, ‘cette “prime” pourra aller jusqu’à...’. A lot of spatial conceptualisations are in this speech. The preposition, ‘le cadre de’ constructs a political border around the EU development policy.⁵³⁰

En ce qui concerne le 9ème FED, un important effort de « rattrapage » a été réalisé par /la Commission/. Il n’est cependant pas complété. Aujourd’hui, il reste essentiel de veiller de façon continue à ce que le programme de coopération avec les PTOM soit mené à bien dans les délais impartis, en particulier dans le contexte de la revue à mi-parcours – qui constitue également la revue à fin de parcours pour

⁵²⁹ Ibid.

⁵³⁰ Speech by Manservisi, at the [Ministerial Conference of Donors](#), Port au Prince, 25 July 2006.

les PTOM – afin d'éviter que des fonds soient inutilisées et donc perdus pour les PTOM au 31 décembre 2007.⁵³¹

Like his other speeches, there is a prominent application of a Journey metaphor to convey development action as taking on a journey and having a destination. The OCT has a route ('parcours') to follow ('suivre'). It is ideal to maintain efficiency in the funds so that it won't be 'perdus' ('lost'). Manservisi claims that there is a 'lieu de poursuivre la réflexion sur le futur du partenariat entre les PTOM et l'UE'. The use of the Journey metaphor here highlights the OCT's relations with the EU as a rational progress. The concept 'réflexion' recurs in another transitivity structure as a passive participant of the Material process 'contribuer' which is effectuated by the Actor participant 'la Commission'. The EU has control over the OCT-EU relations.⁵³²

Mesdames, Messieurs, Comme vous le savez, 286 millions d'euros sont réservés pour les PTOM au titre du 10^{ème} FED. Ces fonds seront alloués, pour la période 2008-2013, en adaptant la Décision d'Association Outre-mer. Le point de départ sera qu'aucun PTOM ne recevra une allocation inférieure à celle du 9^{ème} FED. Ainsi, /la Commission/ pense maintenir ou même augmenter le montant global des allocations territoriales. Les allocations aux PTOM bénéficiaires seront accordées sur base de critères standards, transparents et objectifs. Les critères utilisés pour le 9ème FED restent pertinents, y compris dans le contexte de la vulnérabilité des PTOM, mais doivent être affinés, en particulier à la lumière du traitement spécifique qui doit être accordée aux PTOM les plus isolés et à la lumière des délais encourus lors de la mise en oeuvre du 9ème FED. Par ailleurs, comme je viens de le dire, une attention particulière sera accordée au renforcement institutionnel, à la gouvernance. En comparaison avec le 9ème FED, /la Commission/ pense également proposer une approche différente pour l'enveloppe régionale. Cette enveloppe devra être programmée, notamment dans les sous-régions concernées, en relation avec la programmation des enveloppes territoriales. La pleine insertion régionale des PTOM dans l'économie des régions où ils se trouvent est une priorité, non seulement pour mieux répondre aux défis communs des PTOM en tant que petites économies insulaires, mais également pour

⁵³¹ Ibid.

⁵³² Speech by Menservisi, at the [OCT-EU Forum in Nuuk](#), Greenland, 07 September 2006.

développer la compétitivité des PTOM. A cette fin, des programmes thématiques avec les Régions ultrapériphériques et les ACP peuvent être mis en place. Finalement, il y a lieu de mettre à jour la liste des programmes communautaires et lignes budgétaires thématiques auxquels les PTOM ont accès, en les traitant sur un ped d'égalité avec les Etats membres. L'ouverture générale des programmes communautaires aux PTOM devrait être la règle. Les modalités précises devraient être approfondies ensemble et un workshop pourrait être organisé pour ce faire.⁵³³

Civil society involvement in EU development action is described as a 'shift towards increased interaction and collaboration of governments with civil society organisations worldwide extending beyond development NGOs to include partners such as community groups, trade unions, faith-based organisations, foundations, and universities.'⁵³⁴ This creates subjectivity of smaller actors in the representation of EU development action which exposes the multi-level view of EU power.

The political concept 'development' is conceptualised as a journey which is to be 'geared towards harnessing globalisation'. This represents the concept of development as being on a journey with globalisation in view of its destination.

New steps have been taken and progress is being made towards increased effectiveness in aid delivery. This requires greater coordination, harmonisation and complementarity of aid, along the lines of the Paris Declaration and the additional EU commitments. We are currently working on the following issues. Joint programming: to this end, a Common Framework has been prepared for the Commission and Member States that foresees common diagnostics and analyses, and progressively moving towards joint response strategies. To do this, we will build on existing coordination frameworks where they exist, such as Joint Assistance Strategies with other donors (JAS in Tanzania and Zambia). The key objective of moving towards joint programming is of course to

⁵³³ Speech by Menservigi, at the [OCT-EU Forum in Nuuk](#), Greenland, 07 September 2006.

⁵³⁴ Speech by Manservigi, '[Civil Society in EU Development policy: the debate, the challenges and the future](#)', 20 July 2007.

strengthen coherence, to increase impact, to reduce transaction costs and to promote ownership.⁵³⁵

‘Partnership’ is also on a journey ‘to pursue a broad political dialogue’. Journey metaphors illustrate progress and goals. Discursive features which signal this conceptual field are phrases such as ‘new steps’, ‘steps’, ‘progress is being made towards’, ‘moving towards’, moving towards’, ‘move from’, ‘advance’. The Journey metaphor is also applied to the EU itself- ‘The EU wants to move fast, but it is often being watered down by other donors not willing to advance as quickly as others’. EU aid support is compromised by other donors that are too slow. Other actor’s aid to the developing world is represented as a ‘challenge’ for the EU. Sharing the donor role is represented negatively as EU’s control over development is decreased with other donors’ different values, actions and interests. This contradicts the representation of development action as being ‘European’ in the speech extract below:

We are all aware of the need to stimulate the debate on development in Europe and enhance analytical capacity at European level. This is why the Commission together with some interested Member States have recently launched an initiative aiming at mobilising research for development policies and improving the linkages with policy-makers with a European perspective.⁵³⁶

Manservisi focuses on the topic of development is also represented as being ‘driven by enthusiasm’. EU development policy is an on-going process.⁵³⁷

The Fast-Track Initiative (FTI) for development is a journey that ‘goes well beyond financing’; and has a destination which is ‘towards donor harmonisation and alignment; and is a developed a demand-driven and country-led process. The phrase ‘in line with the Paris Declaration’ creates a

⁵³⁵ Speech by Manservisi, ‘[Europe as a Global Actor: Priorities and Perspectives of the EU's Development Policy](#)’, Helsinki, 4 December 2006.

⁵³⁶ Ibid.

⁵³⁷ Speech by Manservisi, at [the 'states-general' on development co-operation](#), Rome, 11 March 2006.

sense of political path. Challenges are spatially conceptualised as being part of a journey, the FTI having a ‘slow start’ and needing to ‘gear up’. The FTI initiative needs to have more countries ‘on board’. Money is also a traveller which is indicated by phrases such as ‘money will go to...’ and ‘funds going to...’.⁵³⁸

More of these features can be observed below:

The FTI clearly puts the responsibility to achieve the education MDGs with developing countries, and they are willing to take up the challenge. FTI financing is based on two legs: bilateral contributions through existing financing channels at country level, and contributions to the Catalytic Fund. This approach gives donors flexibility in choosing the most appropriate support mechanism. As far as partner countries are concerned, this gives them a guarantee that the Catalytic Fund will bridge any gap that may occur in the financing at country level. The FTI goes well beyond financing. Equally important in the initiative is the push it makes towards donor harmonisation and alignment with the partner country’s own sector plan. It is thus totally in line with the Paris Declaration. Finally, the FTI promotes the use of financing modalities that promote country ownership and allow each country to take charge of its own priorities, in particular sector approaches and budget support. [...] In addition, we play a central role in contributing to coordinate the position of European Union Member States ahead of FTI meetings. This is a valuable contribution to the initiative’s smooth and efficient operation, as well as its overall coherence. Which brings me to another fundamental point: the European Union as a whole is a vital force in the FTI. Take the FTI Catalytic Fund for instance. It is, at the moment, very much a European fund supported by a number of European Union Member States, the European Commission and Norway. The Catalytic Fund’s potential to act as a mechanism to strengthen coordination and complementarity among the EU should be explored. Let me now move on to the challenges ahead for the FTI. In spite of its achievements and my very positive evaluation of the initiative, I believe there are some serious challenges ahead for the FTI. Before it reached its current status, the FTI has had a slow start. Now the time has come to gear up! I would like to review with you the challenges the FTI will have to

⁵³⁸ Speech by Manservisi, at the [opening session of the EFA FTI Partnership meeting Beijing](#), 30 November 2005.

leave up to, and present you the Commission's views on this: The major challenge is expansion. The FTI is three years old and only benefits countries. If this initiative is to make a crucial contribution to the MDGs, it will have to take more countries on board. My understanding is that there are up to 40 additional countries lining up to become eligible for FTI support. The countries that will actually become eligible for FTI support are those who have done their home work.⁵³⁹

Developing countries are depicted as people 'lining up' for development support. The EU is to offer support to 'those who have done their homework' which seems to be a patronising expression.

Manservisi also highlights the correlation between development and partnership by stating that development can be discussed only in a context of partnership. This shows that good external relations are a prerequisite to EU support.

Another significant observation is evident below:

(30) 'la frontière, perçue comme un obstacle, pourrait se transformer en outil pour définir ensemble le future. Les possibilités d'un vrai partenariat sont nombreuses: des transports à l'énergie, de l'environnement au commerce...'.⁵⁴⁰

A border is depicted as an 'obstacle' which can be converted into a 'tool' for a better future. This image supports the comment that there are many possibilities to establish a genuine partnership. This instance represents partnership as a project-based, neofunctional concept. Later in this speech, 'partnership' is also represented as being controlled by one party, that can be seen in the phrase 'l'Union Européenne/ réaffirme ainsi son engagement

⁵³⁹ Speech by Manservisi, at the [opening session of the EFA FTI Partnership meeting Beijing](#), 30 November 2005.

⁵⁴⁰ Speech by Manservisi, at the [Ministerial Conference of Donors](#), Port au Prince, 25 July 2006.

‘durable’ in which the EU has an active role in the representation of its development relations with the ACP region.⁵⁴¹

6.2.3. House Metaphor

House metaphors occur frequently in this corpus which has the semantic effect of representing the EU identity and action as collective, stable and tangible.

Manservisi states that the ‘pan-African cooperation and mobility’ will ‘build on Europe’s long-standing and successful experience of such cooperation inside Europe with the Erasmus programme’. Contrary to the House metaphors in Pacific leaders’ speech, which denote a site yet to be built referring to development and integration in the Pacific region, this representation uses association to the housing conceptual field to assert the EU’s already established experience and construction. Other means of cooperation are compared to ‘windows’ of already existing EU programmes.⁵⁴²

The House metaphor in Manservisi’s discourse reflects stability of the EU as an already established building. Manservisi’s discourse describes EU values as materials ‘on which the EU has built itself’. This metaphor depicts EU as a building constructed from values which include ‘peace, solidarity, the rule of law and human rights, mutual respect’. EPA is a building – ‘The Economic Partnership Agreements [...] should build on positive developments’.⁵⁴³

⁵⁴¹ Speech by Manservisi, at the [Ministerial Conference of Donors](#), Port au Prince, 25 July 2006.

⁵⁴² Speech by Manservisi, at the [Fifth High-Level Group Meeting on Education for All Beijing](#): resource Mobilisation and Aid Effectiveness: Translating EFA Commitments into Reality, Beijing 28-30 November 2005.

⁵⁴³ Speech by Manservisi, ‘[Europe as a Global Actor: Priorities and Perspectives of the EU's Development Policy](#)’, Helsinki, 4 December 2006.

Similarly, many EU agendas, agreements or initiatives are spatially projected as structures or containers. On the other hand, the signifier of partnership is a concept yet to be 'built'. It is an on-going, unfinished project which reflects the current state of EU-Pacific relations which is to take shape and further security.⁵⁴⁴

In the text below, EU development policy is represented as the product of construction- 'we have the springboard to construct a strong development policy'. There is also a representation of a border. Placement in the EU is not geographical. It is determined by the level of political commitment and influence in EU policy making. This instance occurs in the context of Italy's decrease in its contribution to development funds.

- (31) Because the EU is a global political and economic player and its policies influence world policies, we have the springboard to construct a strong development policy. We are not talking simply about how to distribute aid better.⁵⁴⁵

The discourse analysis on Manservisi's speech discourse reveals the EU-Pacific relations are a product of EU's institutional and collective action. In this discourse, the concept of 'partnership' is represented with a House metaphor as being 'built' which can be seen in the instance 'building of effective partnerships'. Development action, namely the FIA (Fast-Track Initiative) is both human and a construction- it 'has two legs', 'is three years old', can 'bridge any gap' and needs to expand.⁵⁴⁶

Partnership is 'built around specific topics and concrete actions'. This is a neofunctional view and also supports the multi-level governance view in that political action such as 'partnership' are dependable on specific topics.

⁵⁴⁴ Speech by Manservisi, '[Civil Society in EU Development policy: the debate, the challenges and the future](#)', 20 July 2007.

⁵⁴⁵ Speech by Manservisi, at [the 'States-general' on development co-operation](#), Rome, 11 March 2006.

⁵⁴⁶ Speech by Manservisi, at the [opening session of the EFA FTI Partnership meeting Beijing](#), 30 November 2005.

The notion of multilayer governance is not only relevant to the layers of actors but also to the layers of political concepts and policies.

Governance is represented as an obstacle to democracy, human rights and development. The European civil society features as a participant in this discourse and is represented as a partner for ‘creating the space for civil society in developing countries’. EU’s value in democratic practice is extended to its partners in practice of external relations. Dialogue is emphasised as being instrumental to democracy.⁵⁴⁷ This is recognition of EU identity as being multi-levelled.

The House metaphors in this discourse conceptualises a state as being a built product. Manservici represents partnership as only ‘not only developed in the corridors of government buildings’, meaning it is more democratic and not just a product of governmental decision-making process. The building image used in this instance implies that EU-ACP partnership is a much bigger and extended complex housing multiple actors. Civil society of Europe’s partner countries should also be recognised in the debate. Manservici emphasises the need to empower citizens of the partner countries in the development actions as civil society has an important role and an important place in responding to humanitarian crises. Citizens have responsibility in development and their participation is important in EU development policy.⁵⁴⁸

This discourse constructs the identity of French-Pacific territories as a part of Europe rather than as being a part of the Pacific or developing countries. The OCT’s identity and shared experiences with the EU makes the basis of their relations- ‘l’identité des PTOM et l’expérience qu’on a accumulée ensemble sont la base de notre partenariat’. This is a House metaphor

⁵⁴⁷ Speech by Manservici, ‘[Civil Society in EU Development policy: the debate, the challenges and the future](#)’, 20 July 2007.

⁵⁴⁸ Speech by Manservici, ‘[Civil Society in EU Development policy: the debate, the challenges and the future](#)’, 20 July 2007.

alluding that the OCTs identity and experiences form a foundation of the latter's relations with the EU.

Furthermore, the special status of the OCTs within the EU is acknowledged by referring to the region as being 'des régions associées "sui generis"', and 'régions ultra-ultrapériphériques'. This recognition brings the OCT countries closer to the EU and isolates them from the Pacific ACP community. This differentiation is also evident in the phrase 'à cette fin, des programmes thématiques avec les Régions ultrapériphériques et les ACP peuvent être mis en place', which separates subjectivity of the territories and the ACP region. This separate treatment is also evident in the phrase stating that an economic plan should 'assurer que le cumul d'origine entre les PTOM et les pays ACP reste possible'. Furthermore, the OCTs are to be treated 'sur un pied d'égalité avec les Etats membres'.⁵⁴⁹

6.2.4. Other Metaphor

This discourse study has shown that policy has space and boundaries. Borders are politically constructed and not geographical. Discourse structures various political agreements and initiatives with container metaphors. The Paris declaration is a 'cadre' for the EDF project which 'sees' ('vise') to achieve efficiency in external aid. Haiti, as an ACP country, is represented as yet being outside the 'cadre'- 'Haïti peut et doit s'insérer dans ce cadre'. Haiti is represented as opening a window of opportunity regarding the development cooperation with the EU. This metaphor is spatial and building-related which is an analogy to an institutional setting. Cooperation is institutionally controlled, in this case from the side of the EU, reflecting the supranational institutional nature of EU-ACP relations.⁵⁵⁰

⁵⁴⁹ Speech by Menservigi, at the [OCT-EU Forum in Nuuk](#), Greenland, 07 September 2006.

⁵⁵⁰ Speech by Menservigi, at the [OCT-EU Forum in Nuuk](#), Greenland, 07 September 2006.

This extract predominantly contains War metaphors. The verb ‘to aim’ is a metaphor of an action using a weapon. Development is perceived as a fighter and poverty is represented as the enemy.

After all: it is in our collective interest to have stable, peaceful, partners' worldwide, reliable political allies and prosperous clients.....Investing in development is also investing in our own future. Examples: Development of course aims at eradicating poverty (our "constitutional" objective = art. 175 treaty); but also at building alliances on major international issues (Kyoto, UN reform,); preventing major crises (today in Somalia), managing migration flows (West Africa), opening new markets (EPA's), prevent spread of major diseases (Global Fund, Avian Flu), fight trafficking of all kinds, prevent financial instability worldwide (see Asian financial crisis 1997 which spilled over Russia and Argentina), etc.

The EU aims to be present in all countries and according to Manservisi, this is achieved by using ‘a wide range of instruments in a broad range of areas’. Widened policy interests ensure its global presence. EU aid has a ‘mapping’ and a ‘donor atlas’ is a development tool. The adjective ‘concrete’ in nouns- ‘concrete targets’, ‘concrete deeds’, ‘concrete operational principles’, gives credibility to abstract concepts.⁵⁵¹

The “Effectiveness” debate is, however, not so much about the Commission's own performance but rather about the EU donors’ collective performance as a group (harmonisation) - for which the Treaty gives a coordinating role to the COM. More effectiveness calls for more integration. Therefore, the debate touches on the repartition of competences. It explains the extreme sensitivity of the MS in particular the small ones. As evidenced by the set of follow-up actions described below, the EU reasserted its determination to implement and monitor its commitments on aid effectiveness in all developing countries, including setting concrete targets for 2010. In order to translate these commitments into concrete deeds, an Action Plan (“EU aid: delivering more, faster and better”) was approved in April 2006, with a comprehensive list of nine time-bound concrete deliverables to be implemented by 2010. The Action Plan’s deliverables include (i) the regular mapping of EU aid (Donor Atlas) at global, regional and local levels, as well as (ii) a proposal for an

⁵⁵¹ Speech by Manservisi, ‘[Europe as a Global Actor: Priorities and Perspectives of the EU's Development Policy](#)’, Helsinki, 4 December 2006.

EU Joint Programming Framework (JPF). Today, the Donor Atlas has become a useful tool for monitoring EU aid and enhancing EU aid coordination and division of labour, while the JPF is being introduced in a selected number of countries in the ongoing programming of the 10th EDF.⁵⁵²

Policy areas in developing countries which are affected by EU action are described as a 'mosaic' which has a positive connotation of an artwork, and gives the impression they all fit together nicely. Note metaphors in the following metaphors.

(32) In each and every country, this mosaic is translated into a genuine "policy mix", which in turn is put into practice by using the EU's toolbox.⁵⁵³

The mosaic of policies are maintained by the 'EU's toolbox'. The EU is equipped with 'instruments and tools'. The image that EU has a tool box implies it can fix other's problems. The EU defines 12 policy areas which are identified as being associated with development. These are trade, environment, climate change, security, agriculture, fisheries, globalisation, migration, research and innovation, information society, transport and energy.

6.3. Summary

The responsibility of EU institution is highlighted in the transitivity structures of this discourse. The supranational identity of the EU is strongly articulated through its linguistic depiction as an Actor participant, thus giving the impression that the EU is influential and powerful. On the other hand, semantic agency assigned to the identity of its counterpart, the Pacific/ACP, is comparatively low, suggesting that the Pacific/ACP is not

⁵⁵² Speech by Menservigi, '[Europe as a Global Actor: Priorities and Perspectives of the EU's Development Policy](#)', Helsinki, 4 December 2006.

⁵⁵³ Ibid.

(as) influential and powerful. Actions signified by Material processes are ideologically conditioned with positive/heroic implications and this adds to the construction of self (the EU) than the ‘Other’ (Pacific/ACP).

Material verbs attributed to the EU actor include, ‘to respond’ which is an action extended to address the needs and demands of developing countries. The object elements, ‘needs’ and ‘demands’ occurring in this instance, have negative connotations and imply a sense of deficiency in the character of developing countries. This exposes a power hierarchy that implies the EU has responsibility over the developing countries needs: ‘We are determined to respond to these needs’; ‘It is our duty to respond to respond to these demands’. Another instance of a Material process highlighting the EU’s agency is ‘European Union collectively currently provides 55% of the world’s official development assistance’. The EU’s development role is also represented in nominalisations such as ‘a major contribution’, and ‘a particular duty’. Furthermore, dialogue, as a mechanism of democracy’ is important and emphasised through concrete Material processes- ‘launching the debate and shaping it’. While dialogue is a democratic idea, the EU has agency of these actions.

The European Commission is frequently represented as the Actor participant of material actions such as ‘la Commission pourrait dégager d’autres ressources additionnelles’, ‘la Commission Européenne a réservé un montant’, ‘la Commission cherche à promouvoir ces règles de bonne conduite’ and ‘the Commission has encouraged this evolution’.

Relational processes feature to justify EU identity – EU is successful/ defends ‘EU’ as not imposing of ‘fragile partners’. Most of the identification featured through Relational processes in this discourse is associated with the ‘development policy’. The EU development policy is shown as being in everyone’s interest; a policy of values, of influence and interest, as an investment in the future; not institutional charity; as the heart of EU external action, projecting political stability, economic prosperity and

solidarity. This way an ideology is created in the importance of EU development policy for developing countries.

The Commission or the Council's subjectivity is emphasised and supranational when the EU is represented as a collective 'whole' entity. The ideology of the EU as a supranational actor is observed through the personal pronoun 'we' in the actor position of Material processes representing EU action. The EU is collectively pronounced and this is evident in expressions such as 'the European experience'. While, the EU's supranational character is also metaphorically represented as a person, a single body with a 'common vision' and 'collective interests'. Personification is also used to represent the concept of EU development policy which has a 'human face'.

Personification is prominent in the institutional discourse observed in Chapters Five and Six. This conceptual metaphor effectively conveys EU identity as a supranational entity with a single mind and body. The European Parliament has a 'vital' role in reducing 'poverty' which is represented as a disease and an enemy. The European Parliament is also attributed with mental processes, such as 'seeing'. The observations on mental processes in this discourse indicate that the EU subject sees positive things while the Pacific subject sees challenges/negative things. The EU is depicted as an old mature person, whereas the Pacific is a child growing up. This indicates a power hierarchy between the EU and the Pacific and suggests that their relationship is paternalistic.

Institutional discourse also uses images of the EU as a house which reflects its supranational power. With this metaphor, a sense of stability, security, maintenance and design are suggested as being features of the concept represented as a house. The concept of 'partnership' is compared to the process of construction and the partnership between the EU and developing countries is in construction, which can be observed in representations. The use of the house metaphor to represent the concept of partnership implies that concrete and progressive work is required to

achieve partnership between the EU and the Pacific, as designed and built by the EU.

The EU is portrayed as having the tools for constructing strong policy and EU policy is represented as ‘strengthening’ regional integration and ‘strengthening’ the JPA committee (institutional system) which highlights the supremacy of EU control over these object elements. The Cotonou Agreement is represented as ‘strengthening’ the political dimension of partnership. The notion of ‘strength’ is an ideological expression. Developing countries are represented as being ‘weak’ while EU policy and the EPA are represented as being ‘strong’. The image of the Cotonou Agreement being supported by pillars creates a sense of stability, security and strength, and suggest that this concept is already established and well founded.

Likewise, the EU subject is widely represented in this discourse as an already ‘built’ entity. The House metaphor is applied to indicate that room is created for the civil society. This metaphor caters for the neofunctional/multi-level governance view of the EU as being multi-layered with a complex system of actors. Furthermore, the metaphor of transparency highlights the democratic nature of the EU system. This metaphor appears frequently in institutional discourse to ideologically highlight the EU value of democracy.

EU’s development action is most significantly portrayed as a journey where speed is favoured. EU-ACP partnership is perceived as being ‘close’, yet ‘far-reaching’ and has an end-point. There are numerous images which construct EU development action as a journey and the EU as being an integral component of this journey as the ‘driving’ force. The EU ‘pushes forward’ progress for developing countries and this establishes an ideological image of the EU as a ‘good’ force. The EU is leading and moving along with the policy mechanisms, and the developing countries are ‘pushed’. The EU wishes to put developing countries in the ‘driving seat’. A sense of a path is created by the image of products ‘entering’ the

EU market. This gives the impression that EU market is the finish line of the journey, which establishes the ideology that trade liberalisation/EPA favours development, and are 'good'. However, this discourse represents the EU and its policy actions as sole travellers of this journey.

Chapter Seven:
Press Discourse Analysis

Part I

7. Introduction

The next two chapters conduct a discourse analysis of press media representations of EU-Pacific relations. In this chapter, representations from two French newspapers: *Le Figaro* and *La Libération*; are observed. This type of discourse is expected to reveal a point of difference from the institutional discourses examined in Chapter Five and Six which exemplified ideologies created by powerful government institutions maintaining and dominating the meaning of signifiers. The press discourse challenges the ideologies created by institutions and has a persuasive function in that it is used as a medium to form public awareness and influence public opinion on various socio-political issues. It constructs different socio-political identities, whether these are powerful or weak, and constantly articulates and evaluates various socio-political problems.

French newspapers offer a European Union Member State perspective of the EU's role in developing countries. France is a significant Member State of the EU because it is one of the founding Member States of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). Since then, France has had an influential contribution to the evolution of the EU development policy and its actions. And because, economically and in terms of its population, it is one of largest European countries. The discursive representations studied in this chapter therefore justifiably reflect an EU perspective.

Regional values aim to narrow existing barriers between these two Pacific areas, especially in the context of the EU development policy. The EU's promoting of regional integration in the Pacific hopes to bring the French-Pacific territories closer to the main stream Pacific community represented

by the PIF and this would modify their identity and relations with France and Europe. The EU's desire to see further regional integration in the Pacific region is partly due to its preference to deal with developing countries in a collective, multilateral manner which facilitates communication and action. Such regional sense of 'partnership' is emphasised in the development initiatives, especially in the Cotonou Agreement. However, this study shows that the EU's 'partnership' approach to development and trade programs in the Pacific is contradicted by the extensive discursive representations of a power hierarchy between the two parties and also by highlighting of individual identities (*i.e.* intergovernmental, institutional). Furthermore, given the importance of trade liberalisation as a solution to development, it is assumed that this initiative will be represented in a positive way.

The EU Member State with the greatest diversity of territories is France. Comparing the European and national constitutional status of overseas 'departments' (French West Indies, French Guiana, and Reunion), which are highly integrated from a constitutional and social point of view, and that of 'overseas territories' which may enjoy a very important degree of autonomy (as in the case of New Caledonia and French Polynesia) raises an unresolved question. On one side the neutrality of EU/EU law towards the internal constitutional organisation of Member States leaves untouched the essential attribute of sovereignty which permits giving independence to a territory or incorporating a new one. This issue is not governed by EU/EC law. However there is a severe constitutional constraint on Member States as regards the possibility of subtracting part of their territory from the application of EU/EC law. Contrary to classical international law, where this is usually dealt with by unilateral reservations, 'the special regime of OCTs is a system of association, mainly based on non-reciprocal conditions of access to the market'⁵⁵⁴.

⁵⁵⁴ Jacques Ziller, "The European Union and the Territorial Scope of European Territories", *Le Pacifique et l'Europe: Quelques réflexions à l'occasion du cinquantième anniversaire de l'Union Européenne*, edited by Tony Angelo, vol. 7 (Special Issue, 2007) Wellington: New Zealand Association for Comparative Law and Association de Législation Comparée des Pays du Pacifique.

At present, a high percentage of imports to these territories are from France and the EU, while less is being traded with New Zealand and Australia or other Pacific countries.⁵⁵⁵ Such statistics indicate room for improvement in regional trade relations. Increasing exchange in goods with neighbouring countries such as New Zealand, rather than Europe, is not only cost efficient, but is also an environmentally-friendly option due to the lower mileage covered.

Since the news topic associated with EU-Pacific relations were minimal, newspaper articles were gathered for its availability for the period subsequent to the Cotonou Agreement. As addressed in Chapter One, the Cotonou Agreement had a significant impact on the transformation of EU's external development policy, which proposes to create a more equal relationship between the EU and developing countries. The Cotonou Agreement also brought a new dimension to EU's development role in ACP countries, promoting and transferring EU political values such as regional integration and good governance. The analysis here focuses on identifying and interpreting the linguistic features of discursive representations constituting the meaning of EU-Pacific relations. Media discourse provides a commentary on socio-political ideologies about the EU's actions towards developing countries, and these commentaries are different to those observed in the elite institutional discourse.

The motivation for taking into account discourses in the French language is to enlarge corpus selection and create coherence between the press texts representing the EU and the Pacific, and also, for personal interest in French discourse analysis. This research is multidisciplinary in that it incorporates elements of linguistics, discourse theory, EU Studies, international relations and French language studies. For the section

⁵⁵⁵ IMF 2003 data indicates that 60% of imports to New Caledonia was from the EU while 41% of New Caledonia's exports went to the EU; 68% of imports to French Polynesia was from the EU while 69% of exports was made to the EU; and 97% of products imported to Wallis and Futuna came solely from France (2% from Australia and 1% from New Zealand) while no export going to France. Australia and particularly, NZ, plays a minor role in trade exchange with these territories.

analysing French newspapers, it is important to understand France's position in the EU. The French language has the same grammatical logic as English in that the basic structure is in the subject-verb-object order. English translations of the instances are provided in footnotes.

7.1. Transitivity

7.1.1. Material Process

In Instance (1), the EPA is the main topic of this representation but it is syntactically placed outside the core of the transitivity structure. The process represented in the first clause is a Material process signified by the verb 'confier' and the agency indicates the power relations implied in this matter. The Actor participant is Sarkozy and the action of 'confier' is transferred to the passive participant Taubira. The two subjects represented in this instance are therefore Sarkozy and Taubira, both French political figures. The EPA issue is depicted as a French political issue, handled by the French government.

- (1) /Nicolas Sarkozy/ **a confié** à Christiane Taubira, députée (app-PS) de Guyane, une mission pour réfléchir aux moyens de faire des Accords de partenariats économiques (APE) "un atout du partenariat" entre l'Union européenne et les pays d'Afrique, des Caraïbes et du Pacifique (ACP).⁵⁵⁶

The following news headline regarding the EPA uses metaphorical imagery with Material processes 'bouger' and 'soutenir':

⁵⁵⁶ Author's translation: Nicolas Sarkozy entrusted Christiane Taubira, MP (app-PS) from Guiana, with a mission to think about ways of doing the Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) 'an asset of partnership' between the European Union and African, Caribbean and Pacific Countries (ACP). ('Sarkozy charge Taubira d'une mission', *Le Figaro*, AFP, 22/04/2008)

(2) /L’Afrique/ **bouge**, /l’Europe/ doit la soutenir⁵⁵⁷

The two Material processes contained in this headline are juxtaposed in a logical progression. Africa, as the intransitive actor participant of the verb ‘to move’ becomes the goal participant of Europe’s support in the second process. This portrays Europe reaction to Africa’s action. Furthermore, this representation gives the impression that Europe has responsibility over Africa, creating a power hierarchy. Moreover, the use of House metaphor indicates that the EU is playing a major supporting role for the ACP region and is thus in a more powerful and influential position than the counterpart. The EU’s role is perceived as a foundation to the building which represents the relations and as maintaining the stability of the ACP region.

There are many Material processes featuring in the third instance below. These processes depict actions which portray the state of the EU’s relations with developing countries. The verbs signalling these actions imply EU agency and are directed at developing countries, which implies an imbalance in power between these the EU and developing countries.

(3) /Car **soutenir** des États capacitaires, les **appuyer** dans **l’amélioration** de la gouvernance/ est la meilleure façon de les **aider** à **s’aider** eux-mêmes et à remplir les fonctions régaliennes qu’ils doivent à leurs citoyens : accès à l’enseignement, aux soins de santé, à la justice, à l’administration, à la culture.⁵⁵⁸

The Material processes appear in infinitive and nominalised forms. These syntactic structures reduce representation of participants associated with the action denoted. Thus, if an action is depicted by an infinitive verb,

⁵⁵⁷ Author’s translation: Africa is moving, Europe must support it. (‘L’Afrique bouge, l’Europe doit la soutenir’, José Manuel Barroso, *Le Figaro*, 06/12/08)

⁵⁵⁸ Author’s translation: Because supporting capable states, pushing them towards improving governance is the best way to help them to help themselves and to fulfill the sovereign functions owed to their citizens : access to education, healthcare, justice, administration, culture. (‘L’Afrique bouge, l’Europe doit la soutenir’, José Manuel Barroso, *Le Figaro*, 06/12/08)

agency associated with the action and normally signified by the Actor participant is absent, however, a Goal participant is represented as a necessary element to make the clause grammatical. The lack of direct agency reduces a sense of certainty and makes the represented action seem like abstract concepts instead of concrete, fully realised actions. These Material processes are a part of the Relational process structure. The actions of supporting, pushing, improving are identified as being the best way to helping the development countries to help themselves.

The verb 'soutenir' implies agency and responsibility the EU whose action is transferred to the 'Etats capacitaires'. The verb 'appuyer' also represents EU power over the developing countries, as they are able to 'push' them towards a certain direction. The nominalised entity 'amélioration' associated with the governance of ACP states suggests that the EU views ACP governance as lacking and in need of improvement. Moreover, the material verb 'aider' is a concrete relational action implying a more apt and powerful subject transferring action to a weaker subject, which in this case, defines the relationship between the EU and the ACP countries, and also naturally maps the relations between EU and the Pacific region. The process 'help' highlights the unequal nature of EU-ACP relations and the metaphor 'to fill' suggests a state of deficiency in the ACP region. The ideology of EU superiority and its development actor role is articulated by this message.

The Material process in instance (4) is expressed with passive voicing which brings the Object participant to the focus of the representation. This representation expresses an opinion of how funding should be spent- in areas of 'education, universities, state reforms, good governance, development and decentralisation'.

- (4) Une partie de l'enveloppe générale devrait être **consacrée** aux pays d'Afrique, des Caraïbes et du Pacifique (ACP) dans les secteurs de

l'éducation, de l'université, de la réforme de l'État et de la bonne gouvernance, du développement de la décentralisation.⁵⁵⁹

This syntactic transformation allows the goal participant of the Material process 'consacrer' to be placed in the subject position and highlights the aid being given to the ACP region. Passive voicing removes explicit representation of agency and the implied Actor participant is the EU. This syntactic transformation highlights the affected participant of the represented process which is 'une partie de l'enveloppe générale'. This has a semantic effect of making the representation more generalised and static. The following instance (5) also has a transitivity structure containing a Material processes which is represented with passive voicing:

- (5) Et une mission de plus **mise en orbite** par /l'Elysée/, **pilotée** par une figure de gauche ! /Nicolas Sarkozy/ **confie** à Christine Taubira une étude sur les très controversés APE, les accords de partenariats économique.⁵⁶⁰

The first sentence sets the scene for the representation and it contains metaphorical imagery- The French government 'Elysée' is putting the mission into orbit which is conducted by a left-wing figure. The mission is compared to a spatial project which emphasises the importance of the mission. Subjects represented are French politicians. President Nicholas Sarkozy is the actor participant of the verb 'confier' and Christine Taubira is the goal participant. Taubira is a left wing politician from Guyana, who has been nominated in April 2008 to handle the EPA issues with ACP region. The use of Journey metaphor projected by the concept 'mission' is identified through a Relational process that it is out of space, out of reach,

⁵⁵⁹ Author's translation: A part of the general envelope will be devoted to African, Caribbean and Pacific countries (ACP) in the sectors of education, university, reform of state and good governance, development of decentralisation. (Michel Scarbonchi, *Le Figaro*, 14/10/2007)

⁵⁶⁰ Author's translation: And another mission was put into orbit by the Elysee, piloted by a left-wing figure! Nicolas Sarkozy entrusted Christine Taubira with a study on the controversial EPA, the economic partnership agreement. (« Taubira missionnée par Sarkozy », Eco-Terre, *La Libération*, 23/04/08)

out of proportion. The adjective ‘controversé’ modifying the nominal ‘APE’ assigns negative evaluation of this concept, and by giving responsibility to the French president in the EPA issue in this discursive representation, the EPA is represented as a French issue.

In Instance (6), the responsibility of individuals with influence in policy making is replaced by the agency of the EPA which is a non-animate concept placed as the Actor participant. The EPA is the Actor participant of the Material process 'remplacer':

- (6) Prévus pour être finalisés fin 2008, /ces accords commerciaux/ doivent **remplacer le régime préférentiel entre l'Europe et les pays ACP** (Afrique, Caraïbes, Pacifique).⁵⁶¹

The EPA is shown as being responsible for the action of ‘replacing’ the current preferential trade scheme which is placed as the Goal participant. The preferential trade scheme gives the Pacific islands access to the European market without trade barriers and is to be replaced by the EPA, which, it is argued, constitutes a fairer trade scheme between the EU and developing nations. This representation, where the EPA is placed as the Actor participant of the Material process for which the existing trade relations between the EU and the ACP region is affected, portrays the EPA as being a directly responsible factor defining EU’s external actions.

Again, the instance below presents the EPA as an agent responsible for the action signified by the verb ‘prévoir’:

- (7) Discutés depuis 2002, /ces accords/ **prévoient** d’instaurer en janvier 2008 des zones de libre-échange entre l’UE et 75 pays d’Afrique, des Caraïbes et du Pacifique.⁵⁶²

⁵⁶¹ Author’s translation: Due to be finalised late 2008, these trade agreements should replace the preferential regime between Europe and the ACP countries. (« Taubira missionnée par Sarkozy », Eco-Terre, *La Libération*, 23/04/08)

The EPA is the Actor participant which has a semantic attribute of responsibility and causality. However, the EPA is a non-animate concept and this makes the event of trade liberalisation between the EU and ACP countries seem less EU-centric, avoiding representation of power differences between the EU and ACP block. It gives focus to the actual negotiating process of the EPA and provides a more impersonal perspective. The affected subjects of the trade event are the EU and the zone covering 75 countries which highlights the identity of the ACP region.

EU agency is represented with many Material processes in the following instance:

- (8) **Face à ce constat d'échec, /nous/ soutenons** qu'il est indispensable de **donner** un nouvel élan à notre partenariat avec les pays ACP : leur donner les moyens de diversifier réellement leur économie, leur laisser le temps de renforcer leurs marchés et leur compétitivité dans le cadre de rapprochements régionaux, leur apporter l'appui nécessaire pour développer leurs politiques sociales et environnementales.⁵⁶³

A power hierarchy is clearly indicated in instance (8) where a series of Material processes occur with the EU as the agent and the ACP as Goal participants. The EU subject is represented with a personal pronoun, 'nous', which is the Actor participant of 'soutenir'. EU agency in development actions is implied by the Material processes 'donner', 'laisser', 'apporter'

⁵⁶² Author's translation: Discussed since 2002, these agreements foresee to establish in January 2008 free trade zones between the EU and 75 African, Caribbean and Pacific countries. (« Les accords APE mis à mal », Fanny Pigeaud – Cameroun, 08/12/07)

⁵⁶³ Author's translation: Facing this admission of failure, we maintain that it is indispensable to give a new start to our partnership with ACP countries: give them ways to truly diversify their economy, give them time to strengthen their market and their competitiveness in the framework of regional integration, bring them the necessary support to develop their social and environmental policies. (« L'Europe doit favoriser le développement en Afrique », Kader Arif, Thijs Berman, Harlem Désir, Alain Hutchinson, *La Libération*, 01/11/07)

which are presented in infinitive forms. ACP countries are Goal participants represented with the object pronoun 'leur'. These verbs suggest assisting actions, in terms of the action of giving or bringing something to the other, are ideologically loaded and suggests an act of kindness on the EU's behalf. This instance also constructs the image that EU needs to give ACP countries 'time' implies that the EU is in the position to assign time to the ACP region. This representation reinforces the EU an identity as a generous development actor, as well as defining a power relationship between the EU and the ACP region.

The subjectivity of the EU as a powerful figure is also observable in the following instance. The EU's institutional identity is highlighted:

- (9) L'approche de la Commission européenne est tout autre. En effet, les APE qu'elle/ est en train de **négozier** ont pour principale caractéristique d'instaurer le principe de réciprocité des préférences commerciales. En d'autres termes, pour que /les pays ACP/ continuent de **profiter** d'un accès privilégié au marché européen, /ils/ devront eux aussi **s'ouvrir** aux exportations européennes.⁵⁶⁴

The European Commission is represented as being the sole actor of the negotiation process and the EPA features as the object of the European Commission's activity. This makes the European Commission seem powerful. The ACP region does not feature in this representation which reduces their importance and participation in the EPA negotiation. The next sentence constructs an image of the ACP as profiting from having privileged access to the European market, and suggests with the logical presentation of the sentence that the latter should open their markets to European exports as well. There is a clear ideology that the EU is 'better'

⁵⁶⁴ Author's translation: The approach of the European Commission is totally different. Indeed, the EPAs it is currently negotiating have as a main feature to install the principle of reciprocal trade preferences. In other terms, so that ACP countries could profit from having privileged access to the European market, they must themselves open up to European exports. (« L'Europe doit favoriser le développement en Afrique », Kader Arif, Thijs Berman, Harlem Désir, Alain Hutchinson, *La Libération*, 01/11/07)

and that it is offering the ACP an economic opportunity with the EPA. The spatial imagery of 'opening up' represents a removal of barrier between the two regional blocks which symbolises better and closer relations. Contrary to the positive representation of the event of trade liberalisation, in reality, ACP countries are concerned about the negative impact European imports will have on the competitiveness of local products.

In instance (10), Material processes feature in infinitive verb forms:

- (10) **Imposer** la libéralisation des services, *c'est prendre* le risque de **fragiliser** le développement de secteurs naissants et prometteurs dans les pays ACP et de *voir* ces Etats dépossédés de leur capacité à gérer des services publics essentiels, notamment en matière de santé, d'éducation, d'accès à l'eau potable, d'énergie, etc. **Imposer** la libéralisation des règles sur les investissements ou les marchés publics, *c'est priver* les pays ACP de leur droit souverain à réguler les conditions **d'arrivée** des entreprises étrangères **sur** leurs marchés.⁵⁶⁵

The material verb 'imposer' represents the trade agreement as being forced, without an explicit indication of an agent. This action is relationally identified as running a risk of worsening the economic situation of developing countries and well as depriving them from being able to regulate conditions for businesses entering their countries. The material action of EU investors and businesses 'arriving' in ACP markets constructs an EU identity as being 'active'.

⁵⁶⁵ Author's translation: Imposing liberalisation of services, is taking the risk of weakening the development of new sectors and promising the ACPs and seeing these states lose their capacity to manage essential public services, notably in matters of health, education, access to potable water, energy, etc. Imposing the liberalisation of regulations on investments or procurement practices, is depriving the ACP countries of their sovereign right to regulate the conditions of foreign businesses arriving in their market. (« L'Europe doit favoriser le développement en Afrique », Kader Arif, Thijs Berman, Harlem Désir, Alain Hutchinson, *La Libération*, 01/11/07)

Instance (11) represents a Material process ‘affamer’ which depicts a situation where people in poor countries are suffering from starvation. The signing of the EPA is a cause of this situation. The EU is not mentioned in the representation.

(11) /La signature des accords de partenariat économique/, prévue pour la fin de l’année, pourrait avoir des conséquences désastreuses et **affamer** encore davantage les populations les plus démunies.⁵⁶⁶

The above representation shows a causal link between the EPA and happenings which go against the EU’s development objectives. This discourse makes a negative evaluation of the EPA but hides the blame by not discursively representing the EU’s involvement in this event.

In the following instance, the EPA is again de-personalised:

(12) /Le 31 décembre/ **marquera** la **clôture** de négociations commerciales entamées il y a cinq ans entre l’Europe et les pays d’Afrique, des Caraïbes et du Pacifique (pays ACP).⁵⁶⁷

The date, ‘le 31 décembre’, which is an inanimate concept, is placed as the Active participant of the Material process ‘marquer’. The Goal participant affected by this action is the EPA process which is nominalised. The transitivity structure represents the date as causing the closure of the EPA process and the nominalisation presents the EPA issue as a static concept. In this instance, the EU subject does not appear and the emphasis is on the finished state of the EPA negotiation.

⁵⁶⁶ Author’s translation: The signature of the Economic Partnership Agreements expected for the end of the year could bring disasterous consequences and even more starve the poorest populations. (« L’Europe favorise la faim en Afrique », Jean Ziegler², *La Libération*, 16/10/07)

⁵⁶⁷ Author’s translation: 31 December will mark the closure of trade negotiations which started five years ago between Europe and African, Caribbean and Pacific countries. (« L’Europe favorise la faim en Afrique », Jean Ziegler, *La Libération*, 16/10/07)

The EPA negotiation process is nominalised and placed an Actor participant of the Material process ‘mettre’ in instance (13).

- (13) /Les négociations relatives à ces accords/ **mettent face à face** certaines des économies industrialisées les plus avancées du globe et des pays parmi les plus pauvres du monde: /ces derniers/ **pèsent** donc bien peu face au géant européen dans le cadre de ces négociations, et se voient finalement **imposer** la signature des accords de partenariat économique sous la pression de l’Union européenne.⁵⁶⁸

This shifts responsibility and influence of the EU to the negotiation process itself. The EPA negotiations are portrayed as having the role of ‘putting’ the EU and ACP countries ‘face to face’. EU and ACP identities are articulated in this representation. The EU is identified as being one of the most advanced industrial economies in the world and as being giant. The ACP region attributed with the identity of being the most poorest in the world and small in comparison to the giant Europe. These identities reinforce the ideology of the EU being more powerful and wealthy. The power hierarchy is heightened by the representation of the signing of the EPA as being ‘imposed’ and ‘under pressure’. Instance (13) highlights the incompatibility of the EU and the ACP region and the EPA is the reason for such ‘unequal’ cooperation, which is contrary to the idea of so-called ‘equal partnership’ as defined by the EU.

Again, EU agency is not represented in the following instance:

⁵⁶⁸ Author’s translation: The negotiations related to these agreements puts some most advanced industrial economies face to face with the poorest ones in the world: the latter weighs much less facing the giant European in the context of these negotiations, and are experiencing the imposed signing of the economic partnership agreements under the pressure of the European Union. (« L’Europe favorise la faim en Afrique », Jean Ziegler, *La Libération*, 16/10/07)

- (14) /Ces négociations/ doivent **aboutir** à /des accords de libre-échange entre les deux régions, appelés accords de partenariat économique (APE)/ et devant **entrer en vigueur** au 1^{er} janvier 2008.⁵⁶⁹

The negotiation act is represented as the Actor participant of the Material processes ‘aboutir’ and the EPA agreement is a product of this material happening as well as the implied actor of the Material process ‘entrer en vigueur’. While social subjectivity is not present, the administrative aspect of the EPA is highlighted which makes it seem beyond personal control.

The EPA, as an Actor participant of the Material process ‘constituer’, is portrayed as causing a risk:

- (15) Or /les accords de partenariat économique/, en visant l’instauration d’une zone de libre-échange entre l’Europe et les pays ACP, vont **constituer un risque majeur** pour les économies de ces pays. /Ils/ seront **soumis** à la concurrence directe des produits importés d’Europe.⁵⁷⁰

EU agency does not feature in this instance. ACP countries are represented as being affected by the EPA and European imports. This instance shows a sense of causality arising from the EPA and exposes the vulnerability of ACP countries.

In Instance (16), the EU agricultural sector is represented as an Actor participant of the verb ‘jouir’ which depicts a sense of enjoyment, privilege:

⁵⁶⁹ Author’s translation: These negotiations must come to an agreement of free trade between the two regions, namely the economic partnership agreements (EPA) and should come into force on 1st January 2008. (« L’Europe favorise la faim en Afrique », Jean Ziegler, *La Libération*, 16/10/07)

⁵⁷⁰ Author’s translation: Now the economic partnership agreements, envisaging an establishment of a free trade zone between Europe and ACP countries, is going to constitute a major risk for these countries’ economies. They will be put under the direct competition of imported products from Europe. (« L’Europe favorise la faim en Afrique », Jean Ziegler, *La Libération*, 16/10/07)

- (16) /Le secteur agricole européen/ **jouit** en effet d'une productivité bien plus élevée et bénéficie de soutiens publics importants, si bien que la surproduction européenne peut être exportée à moindre coût vers d'autres régions. Résultat : les produits européens concernés, comme les céréales, le lait, les légumes ou certaines viandes, sont finalement vendus moins cher sur les marchés des pays ACP que les productions locales !⁵⁷¹

The European agricultural productivity is depicted as being 'high'. According to Lakoff's methodology, this metaphor is an evaluating tool for representing something that is good or superior, in this case, more productive. European products are then represented as the Goal participant of the Material process 'vendre' which depicts them sold to ACP markets at a cheaper prices than local products, which will have a negative financial impact on the local industry. Like in the previous instance, EU agency is not evident while ACP vulnerability is exposed.

The EPA issue is constructed negatively in Instance (17) as it is shown as responsible for violent and destructive situations:

- (17) /Les accords de partenariat économique/, tels qu'ils sont proposés actuellement par l'Union européenne, vont **creuser** l'écart existant et **appauvrir** encore davantage les populations des pays en développement concernés : les produits d'importation à «prix cassés» vont priver de leur activité et de leurs revenus la majeure partie des habitants. Leur droit à l'alimentation et à un niveau de vie suffisant est directement **menacé**, alors que la production agricole

⁵⁷¹ Author's translation: The European Agricultural sector indeed has a much higher productivity and benefits from large public support, so well performing that the European overproduction could be exported at small costs to other regions. Result: the concerned European products, like grain, milk, vegetable or certain meats, end up being sold cheaper in the ACP markets than local products. (« L'Europe favorise la faim en Afrique », Jean Ziegler, *La Libération*, 16/10/07)

mondiale dépasse largement les besoins alimentaires de la planète !⁵⁷²

The EPA is the Active participant of the material actions ‘creuser’ and ‘appauvrir’. Thus, the EPA is responsible for the stated negative consequences for the ACP region. The verb ‘creuser’ denotes the problem of the current, and substantial, socio-economic gap in the ACP countries, which is an arguably serious socio-political problem. The verb ‘appauvrir’ denotes the problem of poverty in the same region. The EPA is shown as worsening both these issues which contradicts the EU’s development goals. The EPA is seen as widening the gap and impoverishing people.

The EPA issue is represented with a non-animate agency in instance (18).

(18) /D’autres enjeux/ **pèsent** sur ces négociations : /la **perte** de recettes douanières/ va **entraîner** la **diminution** des recettes publiques des pays ACP ; /la **libéralisation** des services ou de l’investissement/ **menace** déjà les emplois et risque d’hypothéquer le développement de ces pays...⁵⁷³

Instance (18) is loaded with happenings represented by Material processes, which is facilitated by the syntactic transformation of nominalisation. The nominalised events realising other events reinforce a sense of causality and responsibility. The instance also makes a logical assumption that the EPA negotiation is triggering a number of negative happenings, namely the loss of customs duty diminishing public funds, and liberalisation of services

⁵⁷² Author’s translation: The economic partnership agreements, as currently proposed by the European Union are going to deepen the existing gap and impoverish even more the population of developing countries concerned: the importing of products at ‘bargain prices’ is going to deprive most of the inhabitants of their activity and revenues. Their right to food and a sufficient standard of life is directly threatened whereas the global agricultural production exceeds the food needs of the planet. (« L’Europe favorise la faim en Afrique », Jean Ziegler, *La Libération*, 16/10/07)

⁵⁷³ Author’s translation: Other issues strain these negotiations: the loss of customs revenue will cause a reduction of public or investment funds of ACP countries: the liberalisation of services or of investments are already threatening jobs and are risking to jeopardize the development of these countries. (« L’Europe favorise la faim en Afrique », Jean Ziegler, *La Libération*, 16/10/07)

and investment threatening economic development. This discursive representation makes a negative evaluation of the EPA issue without representing EU involvement.

In the following instance, the World Trade Organisation (WTO) features as being the Active participant of the Material process ‘poser’ and ‘voir’:

(19) /L’Organisation mondiale du commerce (OMC)/ avait **posé le 31 décembre 2007 comme limite**. Depuis cette date, les pays d’Afrique, Caraïbes et Pacifique (ACP), ne sont plus **protégés** par /le régime de «préférences non-réciproques»/ dans leurs échanges commerciaux avec l’Union européenne. /L’OMC/ **voyait** d’un mauvais œil ce système, qui permettait aux pays ACP d’accéder au marché européen tout en conservant chez eux des barrières douanières élevées.⁵⁷⁴

The transitivity of the Material process ‘poser’ represents the date 31st December 2007 as a product of WTO’s action. ACP countries are affected participants of the Material process ‘protéger’ which is expressed with passive voicing. The meaning of ‘protéger’ is ideological as it implies interaction between powerful and fragile subjects. While EU agency is not evident, the WTO is represented as a powerful subject with influence over the EPA issue.

The use of passive voice shows action being inflicted upon ACP countries:

(20) Les pays ACP ont été **priés de signer** un accord de partenariat économique (APE) avant fin décembre, sous peine de basculer dans le système commun, dit de «préférences généralisées» (SPG), sans

⁵⁷⁴ Author’s translation: The World Trade Organisation (WTO) has set 31 December 2007 as a deadline. Since this date, African, Caribbean and Pacific countries are no longer protected by the non-reciprocal preferential regime in their trade with the European Union. WTO saw a dim view of this system which allowed ACP countries to reach the European market whilst keeping their own custom barriers high. (« Avec les accords APE, le Mali a beaucoup à perdre », Eco-Terre, Célian Mace – Barmako, *La Libération*, 07/01/08)

possibilité de protéger leur marché national. Or ces APE n'ont pas été **signés** et sont loin de l'être.⁵⁷⁵

The transitivity structure in the above instance shows the ACP as the Goal participant of the Material process 'prier' which is associated with the action of signing the EPA. The passive voicing hides the EU's influence in the signing process of the EPA. In the consecutive proposition, the Material process 'signer' is represented with passive voice and denotes a situation where the EPA is not signed. Passive voice omits representation of the actor participant and makes the event less personal and more factual. The word 'basculer' means to fall, which has an ideological message portraying an imbalance and failure of the current trade system. The word 'protéger' suggests that local markets in ACP countries are fragile, weak subjects which need to be protected from more powerful subjects such as the EU. The adjective 'loin' indicates a sense of distance and is a Journey metaphor to describe EU development goals as a destination, which is not yet attained from this representation.

The EPA issue is agent-less:

(21) L'exemple du Mali illustre bien le problème. En **baissant** ses barrières douanières, /ce pays/ **verrait** *s'envoler* une partie importante de ses revenus.⁵⁷⁶

The scenario constructed depicts the lowering of customs barriers as resulting in loss of an important part of the revenues. There is no power

⁵⁷⁵ Author's translation: ACP countries were requested to sign an economic partnership agreement (APE) before the end of December, under penalty of being put into a common system called 'generalised preferences' (SPC), without having the possibility of protecting their national market. Yet these EPAs have not been signed and far from it. (« Avec les accords APE, le Mali a beaucoup à perdre », Eco-Terre, Célian Mace – Barmako, *La Libération*, 07/01/08)

⁵⁷⁶ Author's translation: The example of Mali illustrates the problem well. By lowering the custom barriers, this country will see a large part of the revenue fly away. The customs duties and TVA on imports represents 55% of tax revenues. Now the shortfall after the signing of the EPA is estimated at 18 billion francs CFA (27 million euros). (« En baisse, le marché du sucre est amer », Eco-Terre, *La Libération*, Christian Losson, 19/11/07)

relation built into the representation and the only socio-political subject depicted is signified by ‘ce pays’, referring to Mali, an ACP country. The message conveyed is the consequence of trade liberalisation and the ideology implied is that the loss of revenue is bad.

EU agency is embedded in the transitivity structure of the following instance:

- (22) Et encore faudrait-il, par exemple, que /l’Union européenne/, qui **entend dénoncer** le protocole sucre qui accorde des tarifs spéciaux aux 78 pays ACP (Afrique, Caraïbes, Pacifique), ne fasse pas la «sourde oreille», comme le **fustigent** /ces derniers/... «/Bruxelles/ n’offre aucune compensation pour que les pays diversifient leur production», dit Thierry Kesteloot, de l’ONG Oxfam Belgique.⁵⁷⁷

The EU is in the responsible actor role of denouncing the sugar protocol which is fundamental for ACP/Pacific states like Fiji which depends largely on exporting sugar products. Brussels symbolises the EU in this instance and it is placed as the Actor participant of the Material process ‘offrir’ which represented it as a figure of influence and authority. This representation displays an NGO’s point of view which criticises the EU for not providing means for developing countries to diversify their production which is necessary to achieve sustainable economic development.

Instance (23) uses Material processes ‘scandaliser’ to display a negative nature of the EPA:

- (23) Cet entrepreneur camerounais, patron d’une importante société agroalimentaire installée à Douala, est **scandalisé** par /les accords de

⁵⁷⁷ Author’s translation: And should they, for example, the European Union, who intends to denounce the sugar protocol which gives special tariffs to 78 ACP countries (African, Caribbean, Pacific), turn a blind eye to, as accused by the latter... Brussels is not offering any compensation for the countries diversifying their production, says Thierry Kesteloot, from the NGO Oxfam in Belgium. (« En baisse, le marché du sucre est amer », Eco-Terre, Christian Losson, 19/11/07)

partenariat économique/ (APE) **préparés** par /l'Union européenne/. Il n'est pas le seul, et la semaine dernière /les négociateurs de l'Afrique centrale/, réunis à Bruxelles, ont **refusé** de les **signer** en l'état, comme l'escomptait pourtant l'UE.⁵⁷⁸

An individual from the ACP region, namely a Cameroon entrepreneur, is represented as being affected by the action of the EPA. The verb 'scandaliser' has negative connotations as it is commonly used to imply shock from outrageous or immoral behaviour. The cause of this action is the EPA which is associated with the material verb 'préparer' for which the EU is the Actor participant. The passive voice allows this Goal participant to feature as the topic of the sentence in the position normally occupied by the Actor participant. The EPA is event is also associated with the Material process 'preparer' for which the agent is the EU. The logical progression embedded in the transitivity structure exposes a relationship between subjects. The EU is responsible for the EPA which is affecting citizens from ACP countries. This reveals power of the EU decision-making which extends to the external world. Next, negotiators from ACP countries are articulated in the representation. They are the Actor participant of the Material process 'refuser' and 'signer'. The EPA issue in this clause is a 'problem' as it reflects the unwillingness of the ACP region to cooperate. This exposes the dysfunctional state of the partnership.

The EPA is an Actor participant of the Material process 'remplacer' which has causal responsibility:

(24) En discussion depuis 2002, /les APE/ doivent **remplacer** l'accord de Cotonou, qui donnait à certains produits de 75 pays d'Afrique, des

⁵⁷⁸ Author's translation: The Cameroonian entrepreneur, owner of an important food company set up in Douala, is scandalised by the economic partnership agreements prepared by the European Union. He is not alone, and last week, the negotiators from Central Africa, met in Brussels, refused to sign as states, as the EU has anticipated. (« L'Afrique veut échapper aux griffes commerciales de l'Europe », Fanny Pigeaud, Eco-Terre, *La Libération*, 05/11/07)

Caraïbes et du Pacifique des préférences tarifaires pour entrer sur le marché européen.⁵⁷⁹

The EPA is represented as responsible for replacing the Cotonou Agreement which highlights its importance. The EPA is often criticised for European products entering the ACP market, but this aspect of the liberalised trade is hidden and ACP products entering the European market are mentioned to background this issue. EU agency is not represented here.

Instance (25) depicts trade regime as having agency and influence:

(25) /Notre régime commercial actuel/ **favorise** certains pays en développement, à savoir les ACP, et en **désavantage** d'autres, ce qui n'est pas compatible avec les règles du commerce international.⁵⁸⁰

The current trade regime is the Actor participant of Material processes 'favoriser' and 'désavantager'. ACP countries are identified as being affected by these actions. There is a sense of imbalance and injustice in that there are ACP countries which are not compatible with international standards and therefore are disadvantaged by the trade regime with the EU. The representation of the trade system as having agency brings out the institutional character of EU activities which is shown as being influential and having control over ACP countries.

Below, a global agreement is represented as the Actor participant of the Material process 'permettre':

⁵⁷⁹ Author's translation: In discussion since 2002, the EPAs must replace the Cotonou Agreement which gave certain products of 75 African, Caribbean and Pacific countries tariff preferences for entering the European market. (« L'Afrique veut échapper aux griffes commerciales de l'Europe », Fanny Pigeaud, Eco-Terre, *La Libération*, 05/11/07)

⁵⁸⁰ Author's translation: Our current trade regime favours certain developing countries, namely the ACP, and disadvantages others, which is not compatible with international trade regulations. (« L'Europe favorise l'Afrique », Peter Mandelson & Louis Michel, *La Libération*, 26/10/07)

- (26) Seul /un accord global/ **permettra d'exploiter** pleinement les avantages **qu'offrent** les APE sur le plan du développement, mais le fait de **parvenir** dès à présent à un accord sur le commerce des marchandises **empêchera** au moins que le commerce des ACP avec l'Europe soit **perturbé**.⁵⁸¹

This instance signals a lot of movement through Material processes 'exploiter', 'offrir', 'parvenir', 'empêcher', and 'pertuber'. The cause and effects of these actions helps to construct the ideology that positive impacts of the EPA on development of ACP countries are expected.

The EPA is the Actor participant of Material process 'to open' in instance (27):

- (27) /Les détracteurs des accords de partenariat économique/ **font valoir que /ces accords/ ouvriront les marchés ACP au commerce communautaire**, au détriment des entreprises locales et de la croissance locale.⁵⁸²

The critics of EPA are represented as voicing their concerns about the EPA issue. The verb 'ouvrir' signals a metaphorical mapping of a spatial concept and shows that the EPA is creating more common space between the ACP and the EU market. The creation of common space symbolises cooperation and better relations. Signing the EPA is represented as being key to improving EU-Pacific relations politically, however it may be economically damaging for the ACP countries. This is a commentary on the nature of the EPA.

⁵⁸¹ Author's translation: Only a global agreement will allow to fully exploit the advantages offered by the EPAs on the development plan but the fact of coming to an agreement on the trade in goods will hinder unless the trade between ACP and Europe becomes disrupted. (« L'Europe favorise l'Afrique », Peter Mandelson & Louis Michel, *La Libération*, 26/10/07)

⁵⁸² Author's translation: The critics of the economic partnership agreements argue that these agreements will open the ACP markets to the Community trade at the expense of local businesses and local growth. (« L'Europe favorise l'Afrique », Peter Mandelson & Louis Michel, *La Libération*, 26/10/07)

In Instance (28), the ACP countries are placed as an Actor participant of the verb ‘continuer’ associated with the action of receiving development aid funds:

- (28) /Les pays d’Afrique, des Caraïbes et du Pacifique/ **continueront** à recevoir chaque année des centaines de millions d’euros au titre de l’aide au développement, soit au total 23 milliards d’euros jusqu’en 2013.⁵⁸³

Although ‘recevoir’ is a Material process for which the ACP countries are playing the active role, it semantically represents the latter as being passive, as being given something by a more powerful entity, which implies a power hierarchy, which is slightly disguised by the transitivity structure.

The EPA issue is depicted as a contextual factor:

- (29) Et /ils/ **seront** aussi d’importants bénéficiaires de /la **décision**/ de faire passer à 2 milliards d’euros par an les dépenses *consacrées* par /l’Europe/ à l’aide au commerce, la priorité allant /aux mesures/ qui **contribuent** à la mise en œuvre d’accords de partenariat économique.⁵⁸⁴

Agency is obscured by the use of nominalisation in the following instance. There is no relational comparison between the EU and the ACP region. Nominalisation and passive voicing are discursive devices to present EPA-related actions as factual and as justification to ACP countries benefiting

⁵⁸³ Author’s translation: African, Caribbean and Pacific countries will continue to receive each year hundreds and millions of euros under development aid, a total of 23 billion euros until 2013. (« L’Europe favorise l’Afrique », Peter Mandelson & Louis Michel, *La Libération*, 26/10/07)

⁵⁸⁴ Author’s translation: And they will be also important to beneficiaries of the decision to come to 2 billion euros per year of spending devoted by Europe to trade aid, the priority being measures which contribute to the implementation of the economic partnership agreements. (« L’Europe favorise l’Afrique », Peter Mandelson & Louis Michel, *La Libération*, 26/10/07)

from relations with the EU. EU agency over the actions of making a decision; spending budget, finalising and implement the EPA- is mystified by representing these actions through nominalisation – ‘la décision’, ‘les dépenses’, ‘la mise en oeuvre’. This makes the EPA issue seem more static and stabilised.

In the instance below, the signing of the EPA is represented in an adjunctive clause which backgrounds the main transitivity core based on Material processes ‘se reproduire’ and ‘s’aggraver’.

(30) /Le scénario/ pourrait bien **se reproduire** et même **s’aggraver** en cas de signature des accords de partenariat économique.⁵⁸⁵

An undesired situation is associated with the EPA. This projects an ideology that the EPA is bad.

7.1.2. Relational Process

The EU is compared to an ATM machine in Instance (31). Such metaphorical projection representing the EU aid reinforces the idea that aid is given too easily, that is, automatically and with figures upon request. The properties and features of an ATM machine is related to the functioning of EU aid. A negation is utilised to protect the European Commission to highlight that the EU development aid does not solely concern the quantity of cash given to the ACP region.

(31) Il n’y a pas que la quantité qui compte. C’est pour cela que /la Commission européenne/ **n’agit pas** comme un distributeur automatique d’argent ni ne fait du «saupoudrage de projets». ⁵⁸⁶

⁵⁸⁵ Author’s translation: The scenario could unfold and even worsen in case of the signing of the economic partnership agreements. (« L’Europe favorise la faim en Afrique.», Jean Ziegler, *La Libération*, 16/10/07)

This instance projects an EU identity by describing the role of the European Commission which does not operate like an ATM machine. The implication is that the EU's development role is more than money-oriented, more complex, and personal.

The power hierarchy is clearly marked in the following representation of the EU's relations with the ACP region:

(32) /Nous/ **avons** une vision claire de notre rôle et de nos responsabilités, que nous traduisons en priorités politiques. Par exemple, nous avons réservé une enveloppe de trois milliards d'euros dans le dixième Fonds européen de développement pour des projets liés à **l'amélioration de la gouvernance** dans les pays d'Afrique, Caraïbes et Pacifique entre 2008 et 2013.⁵⁸⁷

The transitivity core is a Relational, Possessive Process. The personal pronoun 'nous' represents the EU, which has 'a clear vision of its role and responsibilities'. In this case, the concept of 'role' and 'responsibilities' is indicated lexically as well as syntactically which portrays a power hierarchy present in EU-ACP relations. The concept of the 'vision' is a Personification representing the EU as having eyes. Its ability to see highlights the importance of its role and political commitments. Moreover, in the second sentence, the nominalised process: 'l'amélioration de la gouvernance' is ideologically loaded by the word improvement which implies a lack in the ACP region. This is a perception which is both ideological and Eurocentric. In instance (6), subjectivity of the EU is clear

⁵⁸⁶ Author's translation: It is not only the quantity that counts. That's why the European Commission does not act like an ATM or a 'sprinkler of projects'. ('L'Afrique bouge, l'Europe doit la soutenir', José Manuel Barroso, *Le Figaro*, 06/12/08)

⁵⁸⁷ Author's translation: We have a clear vision of our role and of our responsibilities that we translate as political priorities. For example, we have reserved an envelope of three billion euros in the tenth European Development Fund for the projects linked to improving governance in African, Caribbean and Pacific countries between 2008 and 2013. ('L'Afrique bouge, l'Europe doit la soutenir', José Manuel Barroso, *Le Figaro*, 06/12/08)

and the emphasis is on the role and responsibility of the EU, which contributes to defining the EU's relationship with the ACP region as being unequal.

Another Relational process is observed in the press identifying the EDF budget:

(33) /La budgétisation du Fonds européen de développement (FED), dont la France est le premier contributeur avec 24,9 %/ **serait la première étape d'un partenariat gagnant-gagnant.**⁵⁸⁸

The process of budgeting for the EDF is the Identified participant of the Relational process and has an adjunctive clause that highlights the fact that France is the biggest contributor to the EDF. The journalist continues the sarcastic tone criticising the EU, using linguistic features that portray an imbalance in EU's action and ideas. The EDF is identified as the first step towards a 'win-win' situation to match the 'equal' partnership objective. This instance represents the EDF as a journey. 'The first step' in the conceptualisation of a journey is a minor progress measuring up to the destination point of an average journey situation. This implies that there is still considerable progress to make in establishing an equal partnership with the ACP region.

Instance (34) portrays the EPA as an object, a tool:

(34) «Ces APE sont un outil de sape», confie Jean-Denis Crola, d'Oxfam-France.⁵⁸⁹

⁵⁸⁸ Author's translation: The budgeting of the European Development Fund, in which France is the first contributor with 24,9%, will be the first step to a win-win partnership. (Michel Scarbonchi, *Le Figaro*, 14/10/2007)

⁵⁸⁹ Author's translation: These EPAs are a sapping tool, confided Jean-Denis Crola, Oxfam-France. (« Taubira missionnée par Sarkozy », Eco-Terre, *La Libération*, 23/04/08)

The objective of EU external policy is not appreciated by discourses formulated by the press media. Instance (35) contains Relational processes which identify the nature of this policy and its objective:

(35) /La politique de l'UE/ envers les pays d'Afrique, des Caraïbes et du Pacifique (ACP), telle que prévue par l'accord de Cotonou et avant cela par les accords de Lomé, **a toujours eu pour objectif principal le développement**. Entre autres dispositions de ces accords, le volet commercial devait favoriser l'insertion des pays ACP dans l'économie mondiale. Aujourd'hui, force est de constater que cet objectif n'a pas été atteint.⁵⁹⁰

In (35), a discursive border between regions is created by the use of the preposition 'envers'. EU policy associated with the ACP region outlines spatial divisions that create borders separating the parties. The House metaphors are particularly effective in creating such spatial divisions. The 'volet' imagery is a feature of a house which may allow a glimpse to the other side, however access to the house which represents the world economy is restricted. ACP countries are separated from the world economic zone as they are yet to be 'inserted' 'into' it.

The Relational process 'être' identifies the EPA as inadmissible:

(36) Dans l'état actuel, /ces accords/ **sont inadmissibles**.⁵⁹¹

The following instance identifies the EPA as not being a free trade agreement the EU and the ACP:

⁵⁹⁰ Author's translation: The EU policy towards African, Caribbean and Pacific countries (ACP), such as the one envisaged by the Cotonou Agreement, and before that by the Lomé Agreements, has always had development for its main objective. Between other arrangements of these agreements, the trade window should favour the insertion of ACP countries in the global economy. (« L'Europe doit favoriser le développement en Afrique », Kader Arif, Thijs Berman, Harlem Désir, Alain Hutchinson, *La Libération*, 01/11/07)

⁵⁹¹ Author's translation: In this current state, these agreements are inadmissible. (« L'Europe favorise la faim en Afrique », Jean Ziegler, *La Libération*, 16/10/07)

- (37) /Les APE/ ne seront pas synonymes de «libre-échange» entre l'UE et les pays d'Afrique et des Caraïbes à partir du 1^{er} janvier prochain, ni même à brève échéance. Ce que /l'UE/ offre, c'est une suppression totale des droits de douane et des contingents, avec de courtes périodes de transition pour le sucre et le riz.⁵⁹²

This Relational statement identifies that there is no connection between EPA and free trade. At the same time, the EU is placed as the Actor participant of the Material process 'offrir' which is an act implying authority and power. The EU is represented as offering the removal of custom barriers and this verb 'offer' has is ideologically loaded in that it suggests an act of kindness.

The Relational process in the instance below identifies the problem as Europeans not having enough interest in the ACP market:

- (38) /Le problème/ n'est pas que les entreprises et les investisseurs de l'UE s'intéressent trop à ces marchés mais, au contraire, qu'ils s'y intéressent trop peu.⁵⁹³

The following Relational process outlines the financial consequence of the EPA, which functions as a negative evaluation.

- (39) Or le manque à gagner après signature des APE/ est estimé à 18 milliards de francs CFA (27 millions d'euros). (« En baisse, le

⁵⁹² Author's translation: EPAs won't be synonymous to 'free trade' between the EU and African and Caribbean countries from 1st January next year, or short-dated. What the EU is offering is a total deletion of custom and contingent rights with short transition periods for sugar and rice. (« L'Europe favorise l'Afrique », Peter Mandelson & Louis Michel, *La Libération*, 26/10/07)

⁵⁹³ Author's translation: The problem is not that businesses and investors from the EU are too interested in these markets, it's the contrary, they are too little interested. (« L'Europe favorise l'Afrique », Peter Mandelson & Louis Michel, *La Libération*, 26/10/07)

marché du sucre est amer », Eco-Terre, *La Libération*, Christian Losson, 19/11/07)⁵⁹⁴

7.1.3. Verbal Process

Verbal processes indicate a communicative action and often portray a relationship between subjects involved in the Verbal process. In this corpus, these processes were commonly found, indicating ‘what actors’ are saying ‘what’ to ‘whom’. The transitivity structure of the verbal verb ‘proposer’ in instance below is expressed with a passive voice which implies EU agency.

- (40) Le contenu de ces accords commerciaux, tels que **proposés** par /l’Union européenne/, laisse présager des conséquences dramatiques pour les pays ACP, la mise en concurrence d’économies aussi inégales se faisant bien souvent au détriment des plus pauvres.⁵⁹⁵

The Verbal process ‘proposer’ is realised by the Sayer, the EU. The ‘proposed’ EPA is described as causing the potential negative consequences on ACP countries especially the poorer states, due to competition between unbalanced economies. Lexical choices such as ‘inégaie’ and ‘détriment’ highlight the criticism. EU agency is further implied, although not explicit, by the nominalisation ‘la mise en concurrence d’économies’.

The instance below portrays Europe as the Actor of the Verbal process ‘to promise’:

⁵⁹⁴ Author’s translation: The example of Mali illustrates the problem well. By lowering the custom barriers, this country will see a large part of the revenue fly away. The customs duties and TVA on imports represents 55% of tax revenues. Now the shortfall after the signing of the EPA is estimated at 18 billion francs CFA (27 million euros).

⁵⁹⁵ Author’s translation: The content of these trade agreements, as proposed by the European Union, leaves ACP countries to predict dramatic consequences, the competition between unequal economies often to the detriment of poorest countries. (« L’Europe favorise la faim en Afrique », Jean Ziegler, *La Libération*, 16/10/07)

- (41) /L'Europe/ **promet** une compensation dont le montant reste à négocier.⁵⁹⁶

The following instance also represents the EU as making promises.

- (42) Autre enjeu des discussions, le contenu réel des «mesures d'accompagnement» **promises** par /Bruxelles/, censées «créer un climat d'affaire dynamique et sécuriser les investisseurs».⁵⁹⁷

Authority is implied by the following Verbal process and the Sayer Participant refers to an organising in Africa. This subjectivity recognises involvement and influence of a small actor and supports the multi-level dimension of EU-ACP relations.

- (43) Hier, /la Communauté économique des Etats de l'Afrique de l'Ouest (Cédéao)/ a **annoncé** son intention d'**informer** l'Union africaine de son refus de signer dans l'immédiat les APE. «Notre zone n'est pas prête à conclure ces accords en l'état actuel des choses», a déclaré son président.⁵⁹⁸

In this instance, the president of the West African region expresses that their zone is not ready to finalise the EPA. The Verbal process represents the unwillingness of some ACP subjects to adopt the EPA.

⁵⁹⁶ Author's translation: Europe promises a compensation in which the figure is left to negotiate. (« En baisse, le marché du sucre est amer », Eco-Terre, *La Libération*, Christian Losson, 19/11/07)

⁵⁹⁷ Author's translation: Another topic of discussion, the actual content of 'accompaniment measures' promised by Brussels, considered to create a dynamic business environment and give security to investors. (« En baisse, le marché du sucre est amer », Eco-Terre, *La Libération*, Christian Losson, 19/11/07)

⁵⁹⁸ Author's translation: Yesterday, The economic community of West African states announced its intention to inform the African Union of its refusal to sign the EPA in the near future. 'Our zone is not ready to conclude these agreements in the current state of things' declared its president. (« L'Afrique veut échapper aux griffes commerciales de l'Europe », Fanny Pigeaud, Eco-Terre, *La Libération*, 05/11/07)

An explicit verbal expression is represented to show disapproval from the ACP region, but another Verbal process occurs in the instance to show that EU, despite this, ‘repeats’ and defends its argument:

- (44) /Martin Abega, secrétaire exécutif du Gicam, la principale organisation patronale camerounaise,/ **dénonce** les nombreuses pressions politiques exercées par l’UE : «Elles sont orientées vers les représentants des Etats africains et s’étendent aux financements demandés ou espérés par ces derniers.» Si les pays ACP ne signent pas les accords avant le 31 décembre, ils n’auront plus d’accès préférentiel sur le marché européen : la banane, le thon, les crevettes, notamment, seront affectés, **répète** /l’UE/.⁵⁹⁹

ACP region is suffering from the pressures ‘exercised’ by the EU. The EU is the Sayer participant of the verbal action ‘répéter’ which implies a continuous verbal experience.

The Foucauldian view of power as knowledge-based can be observed in the following instance where Verbal processes indicate subjects that have/exercise control, notably, verbal actions that involve interrogation. In (45), West Africa is making a request:

- (45) Début octobre, /l’Afrique de l’Ouest/, réticente, a **demandé** qu’une dérogation soit déposée auprès de l’OMC pour continuer le régime de Cotonou, le temps de parvenir à un accord acceptable. «Cette option n’est ni réaliste ni réalisable», a **répondu** /l’UE/.⁶⁰⁰

⁵⁹⁹ Author’s translation: Martin Abega, Chief Executive of Gicam, Cameroon’s leading employers’ organisation, denounced the numerous political pressures made by the EU: ‘They are pointed towards representatives of African states and extended to the financing requested or hoped by the latter’. If the ACP countries do not sign the agreements before 31 December, they will no longer have preferential access to the European market: banana, tuna, prawns, notably, will be affected, EU repeats. (« L’Afrique veut échapper aux griffes commerciales de l’Europe », Fanny Pigeaud, Eco-Terre, *La Libération*, 05/11/07)

⁶⁰⁰ Author’s translation: At the beginning of October, West Africa, hesitant, asked for an exemption to be placed by the WTO for continuing the Cotonou regime, while coming to an acceptable agreement. (« L’Afrique veut échapper aux griffes commerciales de l’Europe », Fanny Pigeaud, Eco-Terre, *La Libération*, 05/11/07)

In this instance, the ACP region is the Sayer participant of the Verbal process. This representation portrays the ACP as making a request to a more authoritative subject which implies a power hierarchy. The next occurring Verbal process is signified by the verb ‘répondre’. The EU is portrayed as the Sayer of a verbal act which denotes an act of replying and rejecting. The reply is represented as being justified through the use of a Relational process which evaluates the object of the request as being unrealistic and not achievable. This manifests ideology and unequal power.

The EU is a Sayer in the following instance:

- (46) /Les Européens/ ont **indiqué** que 400 millions de dollars (plus de 30 milliards de Fcfp) sont versés à tous les pays membres du Forum, sauf l'Australie et la Nouvelle-Zélande, sur un délai de cinq ans, indique Radio Australie.⁶⁰¹

This instance contains a verbal action attributed to the ‘Europeans’ who are the Sayer participant. The Europeans are stating that 400 million dollars are allocated to Forum countries. This indicates that the subject ‘Europeans’ have knowledge and power to talk about its actions extended to the developing countries who do not possess the same power.

7.1.4. Mental Process

In Instance (47) the EPA discursively features as a product of a Mental process represented by the verb ‘reflechir’. This event only represents French political figures as being involved in the processes, creating an

⁶⁰¹ Author’s translation: Europeans have indicated that 400 million dollars (more than 30 billion Fcfp) will be poured to all the member countries of the Forum, except Australia and New Zealand, over 5 years, indicates Radio Australia. (« Forum: l'Union Européenne verse des millions pour des Etats du Pacifique », Pacifique, *Tahiti Presse*, ATP, 21/10/2007)

assumption that France occupied in this issue is and also establishes a power relationship between the two actors represented:

- (47) Nicolas Sarkozy a pourtant confié à Christiane Taubira une mission pour réfléchir aux moyens de faire des Accords de partenariats économiques (APE) «un atout du partenariat» entre l'UE et les pays d'Afrique, des Caraïbes et du Pacifique (ACP).⁶⁰²

The EPA is an 'atout' for a partnership between Europe and the ACP countries, and the clause containing this element is a Circumstantial element of the main event, that is, the material action of 'confier'.

In the instance below, the main process is 'réflechir' and the EPA is represented as the Goal participant composed with the verb 'faire' which has unmarked agency. The EPA is also described to be a 'legal matter' and an 'asset', and 'an instrument renovated by the partnership'.

- (48) /Mme Taubira/ devra **réfléchir** aux moyens de **faire** des APE, "qui tendent à devenir un sujet de contentieux", "un atout et un instrument rénové du partenariat" entre les pays ACP et l'UE.⁶⁰³

This instance shows that 'doing' the EPA is a rational process and product of a French politician's intellectual activities.

Good governance is a conditionality of EU aid to the ACP region which axioms to transform the existing governing tools and bodies of developing countries for a more democratic and transparent structure and practice in

⁶⁰² Author's translation: Nicolas Sarkozy has nevertheless entrusted Christiane Taubira with a mission to think about the ways of doing the Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) 'an asset of partnership' between the European Union and African, Caribbean and Pacific Countries (ACP). ('Radicaux de gauche : Baylet exclut une fusion avec le PS', *Le Figaro*, Samuel Potier, 15/05/2008)

⁶⁰³ Author's translation: Mrs Taubira will have to think about the ways of doing the EPAs 'which are set to becoming a contentious topic', 'an asset and a reforming instrument of partnership' between ACP countries and the EU. ('Sarkozy charge Taubira d'une mission', *Le Figaro*, AFP, 22/04/2008)

policy making and aid implementation. The House metaphor illustrating the EU as the foundation of the ACP region's stability recurs in this instance, which shows the importance of the EU's role in its external relations activities. This representation is further away from representing the EU-ACP partnership as being equal or balanced.

The representation below reveals a euro-sceptic stance of this right-wing French newspaper by projecting EU action in an intergovernmental manner. Subjects expressed are the member countries and the European Commission. Development relations with ACP countries is an object of the Material process 'faire', a product of the interaction between Member States and the European Commission which exemplifies the multiple identity and power of the EU:

- (49) /Remettre le système à plat/ **signifie** tout d'abord faire de l'aide au développement une véritable politique communautaire, ce qui n'est pas le cas aujourd'hui, puisque /les États membres/ **se contentent de déléguer à la Commission européenne la gestion de leurs fonds européens appropriés.**⁶⁰⁴

The power of the European Commission over the EU development policy for the ACP region is portrayed as a contradiction to the practice of a genuine region-wide political participation in the EU decision-making process. The following instance shows a Relational process defining the idea of 'putting the system back to flat', metaphorically portraying the idea of counting back to zero, starting back from the beginning again. It is a House metaphor conceptualising the EU as a house that is taken down which is negative and incites doubt in the stability of the European project. This representation asserts that the initiative of the EU development policy

⁶⁰⁴ Author's translation: Putting the system back to flat means first of all to make the development aid a real political community, which is not the case today, since the Member States are happy to delegate to the Commission the management of the appropriate European funds. (Michel Scarbonchi, *Le Figaro*, 14/10/2007)

which is to take a community-wide approach is being centralised by the European Commission.

Furthermore, the second transitivity structure in (49) projects a Mental process which portrays Member States as being satisfied with delegating power to the European Commission to regulate EDF funding. The Material process 'déléguer' reflects agency of the Member States over the European Commission and the use of the verb 'se contenter' adds sarcasm to criticise the topic of representation. The Mental process 'se contenter' metaphorically represents Member States as having feelings, perceiving states as persons. This is a common feature of intergovernmental discourses which sees the EU integration as composed of individuals and influenced by Member States' interests and positions rather than the central power governing the region, which makes it more personal/person-oriented.

The EU is an Actor participant of a thinking process in the following process. The thinking experience is represented by the verb 'comprendre'. The semantic nuance of this lexical item implies knowledge acquisition. EU agency is also evident in the Material process 'créer'. Both processes indicate control and agency which is reflected on the ACP region:

(50) /L'UE/ l'a enfin **compris** puisqu'elle vient de **créer** pour l'Afrique le fonds de soutien aux infrastructures, **géré** par /la Banque européenne d'investissement/, **doté** d'un budget de 87 millions d'euros en 2008 qui devrait **atteindre** 350 millions d'euros en 2013.⁶⁰⁵

The application of the Mental process 'comprendre' portrays that the EU has a thinking role. According to the Foucauldian view, knowledge is power and thus the EU has the power over the aid/development relations with the

⁶⁰⁵ Author's translation: The EU has finally understood since it created for Africa the infrastructure support funds, managed by the European Investment Bank, endowed with a budget of 87 million euros in 2008 which should reach 350 million euros in 2013. (Michel Scarbonchi, *Le Figaro*, 14/10/2007)

ACP region. *Le Figaro*'s representations expose a more intergovernmental view of the EU rather than perceiving it as a supranational entity. It is sceptical about the EU's power structure and the transitivity features compose a sense of disapproval of how the EU treats its relations with the ACP region. The nominalisation 'soutien' embeds a power structure of a more powerful entity supporting a weaker entity, in this case, the EU and the developing countries respectively. Implied agency in the transitivity structures reflect power hierarchy of parties involved in the representation.

The next instance represents the EPA issue as being France-oriented. The Mental process 'réfléchir' implies room for improvement and portrays the EPA as a rational product of a French politician.

(51) /Taubira/ devra, d'ici le 15 juin, **réfléchir** aux moyens de faire des APE un «atout et un instrument rénové» des rapports UE-ACP.⁶⁰⁶

The EPA is a rationalised object. The EPA is also shown as being instrumental to EU-ACP relations. Taubira is a thinking subject which implies that she is in a position to make an influence to the project. EPA is represented as being instrumental to EU-ACP relations.

The EPA is represented as a source of emotional distress in instance (16):

(52) En Afrique, /on/ le **crain**t.⁶⁰⁷

In this representation of the EPA, a Mental process is used to project the negative attitude of African ACP countries towards the EPA. The subject pronoun 'on' represents the African people which is the Agent of the Mental process 'craindre'. The object pronoun 'le' is referring to the EPA.

⁶⁰⁶ Author's translation: Taubira should, from 15 June, think about the ways of making the EPA a 'real asset and reforming instrument' of EU-ACP rapport. (« Taubira missionnée par Sarkozy », Eco-Terre, *La Libération*, 23/04/08)

⁶⁰⁷ Author's translation: In Africa, it is feared. (« Les accords APE mis à mal », Fanny Pigeaud – Cameroun, 08/12/07)

This is a negative representation of Africa's response to the EPA which is one of the most important aspects of EU-ACP relations.

The following instance portrays the EU as being emotionally involved regarding the EPA deadline. The EPA is a product of the EU's desire:

(53) /L'UE/ **voulait les voir signés** avant le 31 décembre, tandis que les blocs régionaux africains souhaitent poursuivre les négociations.⁶⁰⁸

This shows the authoritative position of the EU in its relations with the ACP as their emotional experience is suggested as influential to the decision-making details of the EPA process. The circumstantial element attached to the transitivity structure shows that the ACP group desires something different.

The deadline of the EPA is the object of the Mental process 'considérer' for which the EU is the responsible participant:

(54) Albert Khemeka, du groupe des industries meunières du Cameroun, lui, s'interroge : «Pourquoi l'UE *considère-t-elle* le 31 décembre comme une date butoir ? Pour aboutir à un bon accord, il faut que les négociations puissent se poursuivre au-delà.»⁶⁰⁹

(55) Si l'Union européenne (UE) présente ces accords comme de véritables «instruments du développement», on a pourtant tout lieu

⁶⁰⁸ Author's translation: The EU wanted to see them signed before 31 December, while African regional blocks wished to continue negotiations. (« Les accords APE mis à mal », Fanny Pigeaud – Cameroun, 08/12/07)

⁶⁰⁹ Author's translation: Albert Khemeka, from the miller industries group in Cameroon, asks himself: 'Why does the EU consider 31 December as a deadline? For coming to a good agreement, negotiations must be able to continue beyond that'. (« L'Afrique veut échapper aux griffes commerciales de l'Europe », Fanny Pigeaud, Eco-Terre, *La Libération*, 05/11/07)

de **craindre** qu'ils aient des conséquences catastrophiques pour les pays en développement concernés.⁶¹⁰

Violence is expressed through the adjective 'catastrophiques' which is modifying the nominal 'conséquences'. The situation representing the EPA as being associated with catastrophic consequences and as being responsible for it is juxtaposed with a contradicting image of the EU presenting the EPA as a development tool.

7.2. Metaphor

Journey metaphors occur both positively and negatively in the instances studied. As a frequent feature of neofunctional discourses to assert progress, the press discourse uses the conceptual field of the 'journey' to criticise the EPA as a project which is uncertain and unreachable. No occurrences of personification was observed in the representations selected for this analysis.

7.2.1. Journey Metaphor

The word 'mission' triggers a metaphorical conceptualisation of a journey and maps the semantic properties of this conceptual metaphor to represent the 'EPA' issue. A sense of space is associated with the metaphor in which a 'mission' is being undertaken and illustrates mobility in EU-ACP relations:

(56) Nicolas Sarkozy a pourtant confié à Christiane Taubira une mission pour réfléchir aux moyens de faire des Accords de partenariats

⁶¹⁰ Author's translation: If the European Union is presenting these agreements as true instruments of development, we should not be worrying that they will have catastrophic consequences for the concerned developing countries. (« L'Europe favorise la faim en Afrique », Jean Ziegler, *La Libération*, 16/10/07)

économiques (APE) «un atout du partenariat» entre l'UE et les pays d'Afrique, des Caraïbes et du Pacifique (ACP).⁶¹¹

The instance below is critical towards the European Commission. The Journey metaphor, a mission ('poursuite') is a nominalised action which is the object of the Material process 'to entrust' ('confier').

In the next instance, the nominal 'la poursuite' projects a Journey metaphorical conceptualisation. The word 'domaines' denote a sense of spatial restriction which reinforces the sense of separation between the EU and developing countries.

(57) Aujourd'hui, si la Commission s'est résignée à signer d'ici à la fin de l'année des APE ne portant «que» sur le commerce des biens, elle intégrera à ces accords des «clauses de rendez-vous» et des dispositions contraignantes sur la poursuite des négociations dans ces domaines controversés.⁶¹²

Lexical items- contraignante, controversé, inadmissible, imposer, tension, incompréhension, péril, inquiétude, désastreux- have negative connotations. This journey is portrayed as unfavourable given the context that the EPA is limited to goods trade and that there are constraints and controversies associated with this journey.

⁶¹¹ Author's translation: Nicolas Sarkozy has nevertheless entrusted Christiane Taubira a mission to think about the ways of doing the Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) 'an asset of partnership' between the European Union and African, Caribbean and Pacific Countries (ACP). ('Radicaux de gauche : Baylet exclut une fusion avec le PS', *Le Figaro*, Samuel Potier, 15/05/2008)

⁶¹² Author's translation: Today, if the Commission has resigned to sign from now until the end of the year EPAs only involving the trade of goods, it [Commission] will integrate into these agreements 'clause appointments' and constraining arrangements in the continuation of negotiations in these controversial domains. (« L'Europe doit favoriser le développement en Afrique », Kader Arif, Thijs Berman, Harlem Désir, Alain Hutchinson, *La Libération*, 01/11/07)

Again, in the next instance, the journey image is portrayed in a negative way.

- (58) Certaines idées fausses circulent cependant à ce sujet : les détracteurs font valoir que l'Union européenne exerce des pressions sur les régions ACP pour que les négociations soient finalisées cette année, mais ce n'est pas l'UE qui impose cette échéance.⁶¹³

Representations in instances (58) and (59) show EU officials justifying the EU's position and involvement in the EPA process. There are a number of metaphorical projections in this representation. False assumptions about the EU are portrayed as 'circulating' which triggers an image of traffic which is associated with the Journey metaphor. The circulating motion does not reach a destination. The EU is associated with Material processes 'exercer' and 'imposer' which are both strong behaviours of power output. The action of 'circulating' evokes the image of a journey in which 'false ideas' about the EPA are implicated. This representation functions as a criticism that there are distractions in this journey symbolising the EPA project.

The journey conceptual metaphor occurring in the instance below is also applied negative. As observed in Chapter Two, factors of a successful journey are used to portray and criticize certain aspects of an issue. In this case, Africa is portrayed as putting on the brakes.

- (59) Freinée par sa dépendance à l'égard de quelques produits de base, l'Afrique accuse un lourd retard par rapport à l'Asie et à l'Amérique latine en matière de réduction de la pauvreté et de croissance économique. En l'absence d'une alternative crédible, réclamer

⁶¹³ Author's translation: Certain false ideas are nevertheless circulating on this topic: the critics argue that the European Union is putting pressure on ACP regions so that the negotiations are finalised this year, but it is not the EU who is imposing this expiration date. (« L'Europe favorise l'Afrique », Peter Mandelson & Louis Michel, *La Libération*, 26/10/07)

l'abandon des négociations sur les APE revient à mettre en péril les moyens de subsistance de ceux que nous nous efforçons d'aider.⁶¹⁴

The EPA is also represented with the Journey metaphor which is perceived as going back ('revenir'). The journey is not successful as it is prevented from reaching its destination.

The trade liberalising action of lowering the custom tariffs is depicted as the driving force of the journey in this discourse. The result/destination associated with this driving force is represented as a 'percée' of European agricultural products which symbolises an opening/breakthrough point. The concept of an 'opening' usually has an ideological value in the application of Journey metaphors as it correlates with the concept of opportunity and better cooperation, however, in the following instance, this image is represented in a negative manner:

(60) /La baisse des tarifs douaniers/ **conduirait** surtout à une percée des produits agricoles européens - largement subventionnés - sur le marché malien. /Les conséquences pour les petits producteurs locaux (le gros de la population)/ **seraient** désastreuses dans le cas d'une ouverture totale.⁶¹⁵

The event of custom liberalisation is represented as a nominalised concept which allows this element to be assigned to the Agent role of the Material process 'conduire'. In the second sentence, a Relational process defines the an 'opening', particularly 'ouverture totale', which would allow a

⁶¹⁴ Author's translation: Slowed down by the dependence on some raw material products, Africa is accusing a heavy delay in comparison to Asia and Latin America in matters of poverty reduction and economic growth. In absence of a credible alternative, claiming to abandon the negotiations on the EPA is putting in danger the means of sustenance for those we are seeking to help. (« L'Europe favorise l'Afrique », Peter Mandelson & Louis Michel, *La Libération*, 26/10/07)

⁶¹⁵ Author's translation: The lowering of custom tariffs will lead to a breakthrough of European agricultural products- heavily subsidised- on the Mali market. The consequences for small local producers (big part of the population) will be disastrous in the case of total opening. And the sectors of milk, wheat, sugar, rice, corn, poultry or beef will be threatened. (« En baisse, le marché du sucre est amer », Eco-Terre, *La Libération*, Christian Losson, 19/11/07)

penetration of European agricultural products in the ACP market, is portrayed as being harmful to small actors in the local industry.

7.2.2. House Metaphor

This type of metaphor is associated with representation of democracy and multi-level identity of the EU governance. In Instance (61), the House metaphor is used to represent the EPA negotiations as needing a new base.

(61) Il n'est pas trop tard pour reprendre les négociations sur des bases nouvelles – celles dont nous n'aurions jamais dû nous écarter – pour répondre enfin aux inquiétudes légitimes des pays ACP et de la société civile.⁶¹⁶

The representation of the negotiations to start again 'sur des bases nouvelles' suggests that the EPA negotiations are not in ideal condition and need a new framework.

The representation of the EU in Instance (62) portrays the negotiation process as the having an active semantic role in the scenario. The EPA is the Actor participant responsible for the action of establishing new trade relations.

(62) Les accords de partenariat économique (APE) que l'Union européenne négocie actuellement avec les six régions d'Afrique, des Caraïbes et du Pacifique (ACP) instaureront une nouvelle relation commerciale, fondée non plus sur la dépendance, mais sur la diversification et la croissance économique.⁶¹⁷

⁶¹⁶ Author's translation: It is not too late to resume the negotiations on a new basis- which will never have separated us- to finally respond to legitimate unrests of ACP countries and the civil society. (« L'Europe doit favoriser le développement en Afrique », Kader Arif, Thijs Berman, Harlem Désir, Alain Hutchinson, *La Libération*, 01/11/07)

⁶¹⁷ Author's translation: The economic partnership agreements that the European Union is negotiating are currently with six regions of Africa, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) will

The House metaphor triggered by the word ‘fondée’ suggests a change in architectural design of the EPA process. Trade relations between the EU and the ACP is founded on diversification and economic growth. Furthermore, the EU is portrayed as the only socio-political subject identity involved in the negotiation process.

(63) L’OMC voyait d’un mauvais œil ce système, qui permettait aux pays ACP d’accéder au marché européen tout en conservant chez eux des barrières douanières élevées.⁶¹⁸

ACP countries are able to enter the EU market while keeping their ‘barrières douanières élevées’, which metaphorically projects an image of high walls on the ACP side. The House metaphor picturing a lowered fence suggests a friendlier neighbourhood which is an image we can easily relate to. The ideology embedded in this discursive construction is that barriers represent bad relations.

Instance (64) portrays African businesses as juggling with various difficulties in regard to the EPA. House metaphors featured are signalled by lexical items ‘barrières’ and ‘fermer’.

(64) Coût élevé de l’énergie, infrastructures inexistantes ou mauvaises, crédit quasi inaccessible : /les entreprises africaines/ doivent jongler avec des difficultés que n’ont pas leurs homologues européennes. «Une fois que les barrières douanières seront levées comme le prévoient les APE, nous serons obligés de fermer nos entreprises.

establish new trade relations, founded not only on dependence but on diversification and economic growth. (« L’Europe favorise l’Afrique », Peter Mandelson & Louis Michel, *La Libération*, 26/10/07)

⁶¹⁸ Author’s translation: The World Trade Organisation (WTO) has set 31 December 2007 as a deadline. Since this date, African, Caribbean and Pacific countries are no longer protected by the non-reciprocal preferential regime in their trade with the European Union. WTO saw a dim view of this system which allowed ACP countries to reach the European market whilst keeping their own custom barriers high. (« Avec les accords APE, le Mali a beaucoup à perdre », Eco-Terre, Célian Mace – Barmako, *La Libération*, 07/01/08)

Nous ne pourrons pas faire face à la concurrence des produits européens, plus compétitifs et souvent subventionnés, qui arriveront sur nos marchés», affirme Célestin Tawamba. Comme lui, une centaine d'entrepreneurs africains ont signé un «appel *contre* la conclusion des APE». ⁶¹⁹

This representation is loaded with linguistic features that exhibit a negative evaluation of the EPA situation. The agreement will result in the raising of barriers in customs and the closure of local businesses when European products arrive. The instance states that they are not able to 'face' these European products. It is a Personification which alludes to the kind of relationship implied by some who cannot face up to another. The arriving act of the European products in the ACP region is projected with a negative connotation, which in turn shows that they are not welcome and projects a hint of colonialist comparison. Furthermore, the event of the ACP refusing to sign the EPA is a nominalised feature, 'un appel', which makes this stance seem more tangible and firm.

7.2.3. War Metaphor

EU identity is represented as being an active participant, in an abrupt and aggressive manner. Instance (65) depicts the EU as the Actor participant of Material processes- 'changer', 'casser' and 'négocier':

⁶¹⁹ Author's translation: High cost of energy, non-existent or poor infrastructures, inaccessible credit: the African businesses have to juggle with difficulties that their European counterparts don't have. 'Once the custom barriers are lifted, as foreseen by the EPAs, we will be obliged to close down our businesses. We will not be able to face the competition of European products, more competitive and often subsidised, which will arrive on our markets', affirms Célestin Tawamba. Like him, hundreds of African entrepreneurs have signed a call against conclusion of the EPA. (« L'Afrique veut échapper aux griffes commerciales de l'Europe », Fanny Pigeaud, Eco-Terre, La Libération, 05/11/07)

(65) L'UE a donc changé de tactique : elle casse les dynamiques régionales et négocie des accords partiels bilatéraux.⁶²⁰

The EU's determination to meet the deadline of the EPA negotiations is criticised by projecting the wish of the ACP region. The EU is portrayed as the principal agent in the EPA negotiation process expressed through Material processes. The use of verb 'casser' is violent and has a negative connotation from the implication of damage caused by the act of breaking. Such violent metaphor construes the EU as the attacking figure and thus projects a negative view. The relationship between the EU and the ACP is associated with war. The actor responsible for this action is the EU clearly illustrating a sense of disapproval in EU's action in the EPA negotiation.

More violent images portraying the EU's agency are found in the next instance:

(66) Elle [EU] a arraché la signature d'Etats d'Afrique de l'Est et essayé de convaincre le Cameroun. Au grand dam des ONG : «Comment l'UE peut-elle dire que les APE renforcent l'intégration régionale, et signer des accords bilatéraux ?» s'indigne une ONG.⁶²¹

The transitivity structure in this instance represents the EU as Actor participant of the Material process 'arracher'. The image of the EU tearing signatures off the East African countries and convincing Cameroun to sign represents the EU as a bully. Both of these depictions portray a sense of aggressiveness of the EU and that the other party is not involved voluntarily. The use of War metaphor 'tactic' projects a contrast to the concept of good relations. The reported speech in the above representation

⁶²⁰ Author's translation: The EU has therefore changed its tactic: It is breaking the regional dynamics and negotiating partially bilateral agreements. (« Les accords APE mis à mal », Fanny Pigeaud – Cameroun, 08/12/07)

⁶²¹ Author's translation: It [EU] has ripped the signatures off Eastern Africa states and has tried to convince Cameroon. To the chagrin of the NGOs: 'How can the EU say that the EPA will reinforce regional integration and sign bilateral agreements?'. (« Les accords APE mis à mal », Fanny Pigeaud – Cameroun, 08/12/07)

constructs the EU as the Sayer participant in a verbal engagement which establishes a power hierarchy in which the EU is a figure of control and authority. The EU has power in the matter of the EPA.

- (67) Une telle menace est inadmissible non seulement sur le fond, car aujourd'hui rien n'oblige les pays ACP à négocier sur ces sujets, mais également sur la forme, car ces négociations se déroulent dans un climat incompatible avec la relation de partenariat historique qui nous lie.⁶²²

This instance is embedded with a war imagery, a journey imagery and a spatial imagery through the nominal 'menace' and Material processes 'dérouler' and 'lier'.

The Material process 'imposer' associated with EU agency has negative connotations:

- (68) 'Europe/ est perçue comme cherchant à **imposer à tout prix** des zones de libre-échange à des pays parmi les plus pauvres du monde, et à ses conditions. A trop faire fi des demandes de nos partenaires, /la Commission/ a **gâché** des mois, voire des années, de négociations qui ont **engendré tensions** et **incompréhensions**, et a **mis en péril l'image** et la **crédibilité** de l'UE dans ces pays.⁶²³

⁶²² Author's translation: Such a threat is inadmissible, not only on the funding, because today, nothing obliges these ACP countries to negotiate on these topics, but equally on the shape, as these negotiations are taking place in an incompatible climate with relations of a historical partnership that links us. (« L'Europe doit favoriser le développement en Afrique », Kader Arif, Thijs Berman, Harlem Désir, Alain Hutchinson, *La Libération*, 01/11/07)

⁶²³ Author's translation: Europe is perceived as looking to impose at all costs free trade zones in countries among the poorest in the world with its [EU] own conditions. Ignoring the demands of our partners, the Commission has wasted months, years of negotiations which has created tensions and misunderstandings and have put in danger the image and credibility of the EU in these countries. (« L'Europe doit favoriser le développement en Afrique », Kader Arif, Thijs Berman, Harlem Désir, Alain Hutchinson, *La Libération*, 01/11/07)

The EU is rich enough to afford to have its way. This is suggested by the image of the EU as imposing on the developing countries to liberalise trade ‘at all costs’. A war-like imagery is represented to highlight the state of deteriorating conditions of EU’s relations with the ACP region.

The EPA is represented as a negative force. A multilateral actor is represented as a participant, namely the African industrial Association, as underlining the UN statement that that the EPA would threaten the job market in ACP countries. This supports the multi-level governance theory that EU policy is influenced by multiple actors that are not just supranational or state powers.

(69) Dans une lettre adressée à l’UE, /l’Association industrielle africaine/ **souligne** que des projections, réalisées notamment par l’ONU, montrent que /les APE/ dans leur forme actuelle «menaceraient des millions d’emplois dans les secteurs manufacturiers et agricoles». Elle assure que «l’ouverture préconisée condamnerait l’Afrique à demeurer un comptoir d’importations, alors même que l’enjeu majeur est, aujourd’hui plus que jamais, l’industrialisation du continent, facteur essentiel de création de richesses et d’emplois». ⁶²⁴

Instance (69) criticises a hypothetical situation in which the opening up of markets is causing Africa to ‘live off’ European imports. The APE is portrayed as the acting participant of the Material process ‘menacer’ (to threaten). A letter addressed to the EU addressing Africa’s concerns about the EPA represents the latter as being responsible for the Material process ‘condamner’ which implies a strong sense of criticism.

⁶²⁴ Author’s translation: In a letter addressed to the EU, the Industry Association Africa highlights that the projections made notably by the UN show that the EPA in its current form ‘threatens millions of jobs in the manufacturing and agricultural sectors’. It assures that ‘the recommended opening up would punish Africa to remain importing whilst the industrialization of the continent, an essential creation of riches and employment, is at stake.

(« L’Afrique veut échapper aux griffes commerciales de l’Europe », Fanny Pigeaud, Eco-Terre, La Libération, 05/11/07)

The application of a War metaphor is a significant feature of the following representation:

- (70) Les entreprises locales [ACP] seront ainsi mieux armées pour écouler leurs produits sur le marché mondial.⁶²⁵

The local businesses in the ACP region are given the attribute of being well armed through a Relational process. This triggers an image of a war that establishes a clear division between the ACP region and the world marking, highlighting the for the ACP region need to prepare for entering the war zone. The Identified participant, local businesses, again highlights the multi-level nature of EU-ACP relations. The use of the War metaphor in this instance reinforces the idea of sides as separating the EU and the ACP region. The EU is perceived as an enemy and gives necessity for the ACP to defend.

The Material process ‘menacer’, which is a violent action, is attributed to the EU subject:

- (71) L’UE ne menace pas de relever les droits qu’elle applique vis-à-vis de ces pays, au contraire elle fait tout ce qui est en son pouvoir pour l’éviter.⁶²⁶

This representation displays the perception that the EU is accused of manipulating the laws concerning ACP countries. Juxtaposed to this is a justifying statement which represents the EU as the Actor participant of the action of doing everything in its power to avoid the which is modified by the description ‘tout ce qui est en son pouvoir’ which covers the scale of EU

⁶²⁵ Author’s translation: Local businesses [ACP] will be better armed to sell off their products on the global market. (« L’Europe favorise l’Afrique », Peter Mandelson & Louis Michel, *La Libération*, 26/10/07)

⁶²⁶ Author’s translation: The EU is not threatening to raise the rights applied to these countries, in the contrary, it is doing all it can in its power to avoid it. (« L’Europe favorise l’Afrique », Peter Mandelson & Louis Michel, *La Libération*, 26/10/07)

competences and explicitly portrays the EU as having power over the trade decisions affecting the ACP region.

The War metaphor featuring in this corpus identifies the EU as attacking and the ACP as defending. Below, the ACP region is represented as having to protect themselves in the context of the EPA:

(72) Les pays d’Afrique, des Caraïbes et du Pacifique pourront protéger et *exclure* certains produits sensibles et tirer parti des longues périodes de transition pour développer des industries émergentes et protéger des secteurs agricoles fragiles.⁶²⁷

The concept of protection is related to the War metaphor. The ACP region has to defend themselves because of the EPA.

The following instance exposes the EPA as being associated with negative images.

(73) Ceux qui laissent entendre que les accords de partenariat économique représentent une menace pour le développement ont non seulement tort mais ils sapent aussi les efforts de ceux qui, en Afrique et dans d’autres pays ACP, s’efforcent d’œuvrer, de manière constructive, en faveur de la réforme économique et de l’établissement de nouvelles relations avec l’Europe.⁶²⁸

This representation conveys the impression of some people who think that the EPA is counteractive to development of ACP countries, which is

⁶²⁷ Author’s translation: African, Caribbean and Pacific countries could protect and exclude certain sensitive products and take long transition periods to develop emerging industries and protect fragile agricultural sectors. (« L’Europe favorise l’Afrique », Peter Mandelson & Louis Michel, *La Libération*, 26/10/07)

⁶²⁸ Author’s translation: Those who suggest that the economic partnership agreements is a threat for development are not only wrong but also saps the efforts of those, in Africa and other ACP countries, who strive to work, in a constructive manner, in favour of the economic reform and establishment of new relations with Europe. (« L’Europe favorise l’Afrique », Peter Mandelson & Louis Michel, *La Libération*, 26/10/07)

destructive to current efforts to facilitate economic ties with Europe. The press discourse is thereby criticising such impressions as being inaccurate, and protects the EPA as an effective instrument for achieving development in ACP countries. At the same time, this representation shows the polarity in views on EU external development strategies, namely the EPA.

7.3. Summary

This analysis indicates that the representation of power hierarchy between EU and ACP/Pacific is more flexible and subtle than that observed in the institutional discourse. The selected institutional discourses exposed explicit hegemonic configurations of transitivity to display EU power. In French newspaper representations, EU power is suggested as both active and passive concepts. That is, not only it occurs as the Actor participant in transitivity structures, it is also implied in nominalisations and processes expressed with passive voicing. Explicit agentivity is represented by a range of subjects, including actors from development countries. This gives the impression that EU-Pacific/ACP relations are more democratic and multi-levelled.

Where EU power is directly represented as the Actor participant of the transitivity structure, The EU subject's substantial agency, representing its influence and authority, which is projected through actions of 'helping' and 'supporting'. However, at times, the direct representation of EU agency is avoided by applying nominalisations such as 'improving governance', where the verb is compacted into a noun phrase.

In the discourse of French newspapers, EU identity is discursively represented as being both intergovernmental and supranational. The EU's discursive subjectivity has multiple features and signally by a range of different subjects. The intergovernmental character of the EU is highlighted by the transitivity structure of instances which gives an impression that the European Commission is influenced by the action of Member States. Other

indications of EU identity as being intergovernmental include occurrences of Material processes representing events and issues related to EU external development action, for which Member States are Actor participants. For instance, French politician and the French government occur in this discourse as being responsible for the EPA.

The Pacific's subjectivity is often constructed individually, and instead represented collectively by a more general 'ACP' subject. On the other hand, Africa's subjectivity is often highlighted and set apart from the rest of the ACP group. This reflects the tendency for Africa to be considered by the EU as being more vulnerable.

Compared to the subjects construed in the institutional discourse observed in Chapter Four and Five, there is more diversity in lexical representations of subjects relevant to EU-Pacific relations. Discursive subjects featuring in this analysis include EU subjects covering a range of levels- supranational, intergovernmental and subnational; and Pacific subjects represented at ACP, national and subnational levels. This exposes the multi-level governance outlook on not only EU identity, but also in the context of EU-Pacific relations.

Conceptual elements often feature as active participants. Political concepts, specifically the EPA agreement is highly active, associated with material actions of influence on EU's relations with developing countries. Nominals signifying the EPA are more lexically diverse and descriptive in the press discourse than in the institutional discourse. The press representations of the EPA subject include: 'notre régime commercial actuel', 'les APE', 'un accord global' and 'ces accords commerciaux'. With these labels, the EPA issue is attributed with more descriptive features.

In comparison to institutional discourse, the semantic aspect of Material processes is harsher meaning in the newspaper representations. This is evident in the use of verbs such as, 'imposer', 'prendre', 'fragiliser', 'priver', 'affamer', 'creuser l'écart', 'appauvrir' and 'scandaliser'. Agency is

not always explicitly represented with these Material processes. While representations of EU actions are harsher in this discourse, the representation of EU agency is less frequent. The representation of agency in this discourse is often signaled by Pacific-related subjects.

There are both positive and negative representations of EU as an Actor participant. EU agency is associated with material actions such as ‘to support’ and ‘to push’, which imply positive actions of power and manipulation. Thus, the EU is identified with the ideology that it is an influential actor responsible for the progress of development in ACP countries. In regard to negative representations of EU agency, there are instances in this discourse where the EU agency is projected through material actions that are negative, aggressive and anti-development. This suggests that the EU is a more powerful figure, but suggests it could be a harmful actor.

In relation to the powerful identity attributed to the EU, the identity of developing countries is constructed as passive objects under manipulation. Subjects signifying developing countries/ACP countries’ identities are represented to a greater degree compared to the institutional discourse. Their passive identity is reinforced by these occurrences. For instance the phrase ‘les [ACP] aider a s’aider eux-mêmes’ which means that the EU should help the ACP countries to help themselves, is ideological in that the ACP subject is represented as needing help. Similarly, phrases such as ‘leur donner’, ‘leur laisser le temps’ ‘leur apporter l’appui’ highlight the ACPs’ passive roles and identity. Furthermore, ACP countries are often represented as being victimised by EU actions, as suggested by the use of Material processes such as ‘menacer’ (‘to threaten’) which occurs several times in this corpus. Material processes associated with EU-agency are less ideological and skeptical compared to those represented by the institutional discourse.

The EPA issue is more frequently featured than other issues defining the base of EU’s external relations with the ACP region. However, the ‘heroic’

image projected of the EPA subject in the institutional discourse is not shared by the press. This discourse represents problems associated with the EPA, for instance, the potential danger of the EPA creating undesired competition in local ACP markets. The 'partnership' ideology suggested by the EU in regard to EU-ACP relations is challenged in this discourse by highlighting the possibility of unequal competition resulting from implementing the EPA. Thus, the EPA is often represented in a negative way or as an agent having a negative influence on the Pacific's economy.

Relational processes observed in this corpus serve to identify, justify and evaluate various elements associated with EU-ACP relations, some of them more positively than others. Relational processes in the corpus attribute negative features to developing countries making them seem fragile, lacking, having problems and in need of help. In contrast, the European Commission and the EDF are represented in a positive light. EU subjectivity is not specific, insignificant, blurred, absorbed into other phrases. Instead, trade concept/issue/activity is given more significance. The EPA is represented negatively, as 'outil de sape', 'inadmissible', 'loss of capital'.

This discourse contains Mental processes which represent rational actions of France regarding the EPA process. This leaves an impression of intergovernmentalism in that the focus is on a Member State, namely France, in the matter of the EPA, which is an EU responsibility in the context of its development action. The nominal 'Member States' representing the EU subject also occurs frequently in this corpus, which displays intergovernmental influences in EU policy.

The EU is represented as a rational socio-political subject experiencing psychological actions of understanding. There is an ideology established through Mental processes in the representations as EU's emotional experience is always portrayed as positive while ACP subjects undergo negative mental experiences. For example, Africa is depicted as being afraid. The same pattern recurs showing that the EU feels positively in the context of the partnership with developing countries, associated with the

feeling of ‘wanting’, while Africa is represented as the Actor participant of ‘fearing’. This makes the EU seem superior to the latter.

The EU is the Sayer participant of verbal processes including: ‘promettre’, ‘répéter’, ‘répondre’, ‘indiquer’ and ‘proposer’. These instances of verbal processes indicate that the EU has a significant say and authority regarding EU-Pacific relations. While the EU is the primary Saying identity, there are some verbal processes featuring in this corpus, where a ‘say’ is given to minor actors such as a local political instrument of West Africa which ‘announces’ something in relation to the EPA issue. Even an individual, from Cameroon, is represented as performing a verbal act signified by the verb ‘dénoncer’ following by a quoted remark. The entity ‘West African region’ is the active participant of the verbal process ‘ask’, which denotes the action of making a request to the EU regarding trade conditions. Contrary to the institutional discourse corpus, instances of Verbal process are associated with a diverse range of actors which gives the impression the state of EU-ACP relations is more dynamic, decentralised and multi-levelled.

All types of metaphors outlined in the template are observed. There are particularly more frequent occurrences of war metaphors, compared to the War metaphors occurring in the institutional discourse corpus. These War metaphors produce a semantic effect of linking negative associations with the EPA. Throughout this corpus, the EPA is generally represented as an influential and powerful element in defining EU-ACP relations. War metaphors also create a hostile division between the EU subject and the ACP subject, which evaluates the state of the partnership as unequal or ideal.

The French press discourse criticises the EPA by presenting it as a journey which is failing to reach the destination. On the other hand, the House metaphor projects a more positive image of the EPA situation in the press. A positive image of EU identity is reinforced by the use of the House metaphor which implies a sense of security and integrity. The EU is

perceived as having a foundation and architecturally designed to support the development policy. The house image of the EU is consistent with the assumption that the EU is superior and already established, in relation to ACP countries whose 'construction' is incomplete. While Personification was a prominent feature in the institutional discourse, which ideologically represented political ideas, issues and subjects, Personification is an insignificant discursive feature in this corpus.

Chapter Eight:

Press Discourse Analysis

Part II

8. Introduction

The discourse analysis carried out in this chapter continues to analyse the press discourse, although here, a selection of representations from French-Pacific newspapers is examined. These newspapers offer a different perspective to that observed in the previous chapter as they are based in the Pacific region. This study views French Polynesia and New Caledonia as being part of the Pacific region, although dual identity of these territories is acknowledged in Chapter Two. Press articles from the French-Pacific territories were obtained from a major local Tahitian newspaper, *Tahitipresse*, which is available on-line. A total of 63 news items were initially collected from the *Tahitipresse* website has an archive search engine by entering the keyword 'Union Européenne'. The same method of search was conducted for collecting items from *Les Nouvelle Calédoniennes*. The corpus consists of 29 articles from *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes* and 17 articles from *Tahitipresse*.

Regional integration is one of the key objectives of EU external development policy and for a more integrated Pacific region; it envisages French Overseas Countries and Territories (OCTs) to increase cooperation with the neighbouring independent Pacific islands, which are represented by the Pacific Islands Forum. Since the French-Pacific territories are economically larger than their neighbouring Pacific nations and have bigger markets, there may be advantages for Pacific countries in French-Pacific territories participating more in trade in the Pacific region. Increased regional integration would also be an impetus for French-Pacific territories to work towards gaining independence and provide the latter an

opportunity to redefine their position as a ‘Pacific’ state rather than being bound to France and the European system.

8.1. Transitivity

8.1.1. Material Process

The political status of the French-Pacific territories represented as a nominalised event, ‘statutory modification’:

- (1) L’objectif est que /les modifications statutaires/ ne **débouchent** pas sur une baisse des aides européennes.⁶²⁹

This linguistic element is placed as being the Actor participant of the Material process ‘déboucher’, and shows the potential for this event to be a causing factor of a decrease in EU aid. The implied ideology in this instance is that EU aid is good and necessary. EU aid is coordinated by European institutions but EU agency in its development aid contributions is not explicitly represented in this discourse. In the following instance, the Material process ‘signer’ is expressed with passive voicing which omits an explicit representation of responsibility.

- (2) Un partenariat entre la BCI et la banque européenne d’investissement a été **signé** hier à Nouméa.⁶³⁰

The partnership is presented as a tangible object affected by the action ‘signer’ and this event is associated with EU development activities in the Pacific region. However, the agent(s) responsible for signing are not indicated. The Central Investment Bank and the European Investment Bank

⁶²⁹ The objective is that the status modifications do not lead to a decrease in European aid. (Le Sénat adopte le budget de l’Outre-mer, *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 05/12/2007)

⁶³⁰ Author’s translation: A partnership between the CIB and the European Investment Bank was signed yesterday in Noumea. *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 30/11/2007)

are represented as the principle subjects involved in the partnership represented but do not occupy the agent position. Local subjects do not feature in this representation.

EU agency in relation to the EU external development action is also represented in a static manner in instance (3):

- (3) 596 millions de francs. C'est le montant de la ligne de crédit mise à disposition de la BCI par /la Banque européenne d'investissement (BEI)/, un organisme financier dépendant directement de l'Union européenne.⁶³¹

Agency in the above transitive structure by syntactically transforming the Material process 'mettre' with passive voicing, putting more emphasis on the Goal participant, namely the sum of the transaction. Through nominalisation and passive voicing, the financial transaction made by the EU to developing countries is thus represented as a concept rather than a fact. This implies a power relationship/hierarchy, with the EU as the most superior subject, ECB as next superior, and BCI as the least superior of these subjects.

A sense of power hierarchy is more visible in the transitivity structure of (4):

- (4) Lundi à Port-Vila, /l'Europe/ a **réuni** les représentants d'une dizaine de petits pays océaniens pour les **informer** de l'accord de partenariat économique qu' /elle/ leur propose, et de ce qui va se passer s'ils n'en veulent pas. Pour l'instant, seuls Fidji et la Papouasie-Nouvelle-Guinée se sont engagés à signer.⁶³²

⁶³¹ Author's translation: 596 Million Francs. That is the figure of the CBI credit line arranged by the European Investment Bank, a financial organisation directly attached to the European Union. Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes, 30/11/2007)

⁶³² Author's translation: On Monday in Port Vila, Europe assembled representatives of a dozen small Oceanian countries to inform them of the economic partnership agreement which it [EU] is proposing them, and of what is going to happen if they do not want it. For the moment, only Fiji and Papua New Guinea are committed to sign. ('Partenariat

Europe is the Actor participant of the Material process ‘réunir’, Verbal process ‘informer’ and material-Verbal processes, ‘informer’ and ‘proposer’. In these actions represented, the Pacific leaders are assigned with a semantically passive role, which establishes a power hierarchy of the EU and the Pacific region.

Here, the EPA negotiation is represented in a less aggressive manner than the French metropolitan press:

- (5) Puisqu’il faut en passer par là, et parce qu’elle croit aussi que la libéralisation des échanges commerciaux et le capitalisme vertueux sont une chance de croissance et d’emploi pour les pays en voie de développement, /l’Europe/ a **proposé** aux pays ACP de repenser leurs liens avec le Vieux Continent et de signer des accords de partenariat économique. Des accords complets, qui traitent évidemment des aspects commerciaux mais vont bien au-delà.⁶³³

This representation demonstrates a situation in which the EU has influence over developing countries. The EU is the Actor participant of the verb ‘proposer’ and the ACP is the affected participant. The Goal participant of this process depicts the redefining of the latter’s relations with the ‘vieux continent’ (the old continent’ by signing the EPA. It is almost as if good relations depend on the EPA. The EU’s commitment intends security, good governance, regional integration and sustainable management of natural resources.

avec l’Europe: Le Pacifique traîne des pieds’, Henri Lepot, *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 28/11/2007)

⁶³³ Author’s translation: Since it must go through it and because it believes that trade liberalisation and virtuous capitalisation are opportunities for growth and jobs for developing countries, Europe has proposed the ACP countries to think again about their links with the Old Continent and sign the economic partnership agreements. The completed agreement, which of course deals with trade arrangements, but also goes far beyond that. For the Pacific, the European commitment envisages security and good governance, regional integration and sustainable management of natural resources. (‘Partenariat avec l’Europe: Le Pacifique traîne des pieds’, Henri Lepot, *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 28/11/2007)

- (6) Lundi, Nicolàs Berlanga Martinez, chargé d'affaires européen au Vanuatu, et Jacques Wunenburger, haut fonctionnaire européen venu spécialement de Bruxelles, ont été clairs : /les pays qui n'auront pas signé/ **retomberont** sous un régime standard moins favorable à leurs échanges avec l'Europe.⁶³⁴

The action of falling down indicates a sense of pessimism regarding the Pacific's failure to sign the EPA.

The representation in Instance (7) articulates EU's influence in the Pacific region, specifically in Vanuatu.

- (7) /L'Europe/ **s'installe** durablement au Vanuatu⁶³⁵

Europe's presence in the Pacific is represented by the verb 's'installer' which implies spatiality as well as duration. It is also modified by the adverb 'durablement' which is an ideological feature in that it adds a positive character to the Europe's installation in the area. The specification of location, 'Vanuatu', shows EU's influence in the area as being on the regional level as well as at the level of individual nations.

In Instance (8), the EU's presence in the Pacific is represented by the EU's agency of the Material process 'construire':

- (8) /Elle/ vient aussi d'y **construire** une résidence pour son chargé d'affaires, vaste représentation qui a accueilli lundi soir sa première

⁶³⁴ Author's translation: On Monday, Nicolas Berlanga Marticnez, in charge of European Affairs in Vanuatu, and Jacques Wunenburger, Senior European Official especially visiting from Brussels, made themselves clear: countries that do not sign will fall under a standard regime less favourable for trading with Europe. ('Partenariat avec l'Europe: Le Pacifique traîne des pieds', Henri Lepot, *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 28/11/2007)

⁶³⁵ Author's translation: Europe settles durably in Vanuatu. ('Partenariat avec l'Europe: Le Pacifique traîne des pieds', Henri Lepot, *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 28/11/2007)

réception officielle dans la foulée du séminaire sur l'accord de partenariat économique.⁶³⁶

In Instance (9), the Forum features as the actor that links the Pacific together by being placed as the Actor participant of the Material process 'assister':

(9) /Près de quatre cents délégués venus des Etats et territoires de la région, mais aussi de l'Union européenne, de la Chine, du Japon, et des Etats-Unis/ ont **assisté** à la cérémonie d'ouverture, mardi, pour ce 38e Forum.⁶³⁷

The instance below contains another Material process which represents the Forum's agency in regional engagements, and in this case the 38th Forum meeting.

(10) Le 38e Forum des îles pacifiques se tiendra du 15 au 18 octobre à Nuku'alofa, capitale des îles Tonga. /Le Forum du Pacifique/ **réunit** les chefs de gouvernements des seize pays membres du Pacifique - Sud, de Nouvelle-Calédonie, et de Polynésie française qui ont le statut de membres associés, depuis l'an dernier Harold Martin, président du gouvernement de Nouvelle-Calédonie et Oscar Temaru, président du gouvernement de Polynésie française seront donc aussi à Nuku'alofa, mardi, pour l'ouverture du 38e sommet.⁶³⁸

⁶³⁶ Author's translation: It [Europe] has also just constructed a residence for the Chargé d'affaires, wider representation which welcomed Monday evening its first official reception in the wake of the seminar on the economic partnership agreement. ('Partenariat avec l'Europe: Le Pacifique traîne des pieds', Henri Lepot, *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 28/11/2007)

⁶³⁷ Author's translation: Near four hundred delegations from States and territories from the region and from the European Union, China, Japan and United States of America participated in the opening ceremony on Tuesday for the 38th Forum. (« Dissensions au forum du Pacifique », *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 18/10/2007)

⁶³⁸ Author's translation: The 38th Pacific Islands Forum will be held from 15th to 18th October in Nuku'alofa, the capital of Tonga. The Pacific Islands Forum assembles heads of governments from sixteen member countries of the South Pacific, from New Caledonia and from French Polynesia which has an associate-member status since last year, Harold Martin, President of New Caledonian government and Oscar Temaru, Preseident of the French Polynesian government will be also in Nuku'alofa, on Tuesday, for the opening of

As the Actor participant of the event represented by ‘reunir’ (to assemble), the Forum is acting in control of the leaders from 16 Pacific countries which exposes a supranational character. The Pacific Forum is a regional institutional body partially funded by the EU. The Forum coordinates EDF projects and other regional projects. The above representation shows institutional power over political leaders.

Below, the EU is represented as the Actor participant of the Material process ‘financer’:

(11) 1,497 milliard de francs, c’est le coût final de l’Aquarium des lagons, soit deux fois plus que ce qui était prévu, **financé** par /l’Union européenne/ (627 millions), la province Sud (423 millions), la Nouvelle-Calédonie (218 millions), l’État (56 millions) et la ville de Nouméa (173 millions).⁶³⁹

Although indirectly indicated due to the use of passive voicing, this discursive structure portrays the EU as being primarily responsible for funding the aquarium project in New Caledonia.

In the press discourse, Pacific subjects are more frequently represented than the institutional discourse. New Caledonia is the Actor participant of the Material process ‘profiter’ in Instance (13):

the 38th summit. (« Estrosi, Clark et Howard au Forum du Pacifique », *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 13/10/2007)

⁶³⁹ Author’s translation: 1,497 million francs is the final cost of the lagoon aquarium, twice as expensive than expected, financed by the European Union (627 million), The Southern Province (423 million), New Caledonia (218 million) and the State (56 million) and the city of Noumea (173 million). (« L’Aquarium des lagons fait enfin surface », *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 08/08/2007)

- (12) /La Nouvelle-Calédonie/ **profite** de la non-utilisation de subventions **débloquées** par /l'Union européenne/ pour les pays et territoires d'outre-mer.⁶⁴⁰

This represents New Caledonia as having an active role in the transitivity structure. However, New Caledonia does not have a causal impact due to the nature of the action which is benefiting from the unused subsidies from EU development funds. This reflects the tendency of this discourse type to represent EU agentivity with actions that imply a sense of effect and control, while actions associated with the agency of Pacific-related subjects imply a passive and receptive action, such as 'to benefit from'. EU subjectivity and agency is implied by the material action 'débloquer' which features as an adjunctive phrase. According to the logic of this transitivity configuration, New Caledonia's experience with Europe is positive and the benefits are 'unlocked' by the EU.

The next instance highlights supranational power of the EU.

- (13) /Bruxelles/ a **décidé** de transférer 1,4 milliard de francs supplémentaires au pays dans ce cadre là. Cette somme complète les 2,5 milliards de francs déjà attribués.⁶⁴¹

The powerful aspect of EU identity is constructed in this representation with the application of Material processes 'décider', 'maintenir', 'déclarer' and 'fournir' which imply authority and a supporting role. EU identity as a powerful supranational entity is also reflected below:

- (14) Dans ce cas /l'UE/ **décide** de les réaffecter.⁶⁴²

⁶⁴⁰ Author's translation: New Caledonia profits from not using the subsidies freed up by the European Union for the Overseas countries and territories. (« Un milliard de fonds européens pour la Calédonie », *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 24/07/2007)

⁶⁴¹ Author's translation: Brussels has decided to transfer extra 1.4 billion francs to countries under the framework. This amount completes the already attributed 2.5 billion francs. (« Un milliard de fonds européens pour la Calédonie », *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 24/07/2007)

The EU is the Actor participant of the Material process ‘décider’. The affected participant signalled by the object pronoun ‘les’ which refers to EDF projects. This shows control of the EU in its external development action and relations with developing countries. Similarly:

(15) /L’Union européenne/ **maintient** son aide (« L’Union européenne maintient son aide », *NC*, 26/06/2007)⁶⁴³

Instance (16) expresses EU agency through the Material process ‘to maintain’ which represents the EU’s responsibility in providing development aid to ACP countries. The next instance also depicts EU agency:

(16) /L’Europe/ **envisage de supprimer** la quasi-totalité des quotas et des taxes d’importation sur l’ensemble des produits expédiés sur le Vieux continent par soixante-dix pays d’Afrique, des Caraïbes et du Pacifique.⁶⁴⁴

EU agency is associated with the EPA issue. The subjectivity of ACP countries, while being most directly affected by the EPA, is merely mentioned in a minor way, in an adjunctive phrase.

The following instances portray European development relations with the Pacific in a less active manner, as a circumstantial element of the representation:

⁶⁴² Author’s translation: Each year, the OCTs must take stock of the use of credit allocated to them. Sometimes the projects do not succeed. In this case, the EU decides to reassign them.

⁶⁴³ Author’s translation: The European Union maintains its aid. (« Un milliard de fonds européens pour la Calédonie », *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 24/07/2007)

⁶⁴⁴ Author’s translation: Europe envisages deleting almost all of the quotas and import taxation on all products sent to the Old continent from 70 countries of Africa, the Caribbeans and the Pacific. (« L’Europe envisage d’ouvrir ses portes aux produits du Pacifique », *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 10/04/2007)

- (17) « Près de 2,5 milliards de francs ont été **investis** pour la formation professionnelle grâce à l'aide de l'Europe. Cela a permis à des femmes d'accéder aux métiers dits masculins », a **souligné** /Alain Song/.⁶⁴⁵

The EU is not identified as a participant constituting the transitivity core, but its representation is represented in a positive way due to the use of the causal preposition 'thanks to' ('grace à').

The next instance constructs a multi-layered view of EU development action with the representation of various actors:

- (18) /L'architecte/ **revoit** ses plans, la province Sud et /l'Union européenne/ **augmentent** leur participation et le budget est porté à plus d'un milliard. Seule certitude, /l'Europe/ ne **paiera** pas.⁶⁴⁶

The subjects present in this instance are, an architect ('l'architecte'), the local council of the Southern Province of New Caledonia ('la province Sud') and the EU ('l'Union européenne', 'l'Europe') which all occupy Actor participant positions in the transitive structures contained in this representation. The second sentence criticises the EU in that it is not cooperative with New Caledonia's needs for this aquarium project. This representation is constructed in a multi-levelled manner as it portrays various actors, while in institutional discourses, subjectivity is more limited.

In Instance (19), the focus is on the visit of the Tahitian President to Brussels.

⁶⁴⁵ Author's translation: Near 2.5 billion francs were invested in professional training thanks to Europe's aid. This allows women to access masculine jobs. (« La Calédonie célèbre cinquante ans de partenariat avec l'Europe », Catherine Léhé, *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 11/05/2007)

⁶⁴⁶ Author's translation: Originally, the aquarium would have cost 720 million francs. But the first call for tenders was declared unsuccessful in year 2000, no business candidates succeeded in holding this budget. The architect is reviewing his plans, the Southern Province and the European Union are increasing their participation and the budget reached over one billion. The only certainty is the Europe won't pay. (« L'ouverture de l'aquarium parasitée », *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 10/03/2007)

- (19) Jeudi 15 mars, /le chef de l'exécutif local/ **se rendra** à Bruxelles en vue d'une série d'entretiens avec des responsables de l'Union européenne où parmi les différents sujets abordés, il devrait être question de l'introduction de l'Euro en Polynésie française.⁶⁴⁷

'Le chef de l'exécutif local' is the Actor participant of the transitivity structure based on the Material process 'se rendre'. The EU subject only features in an adjunctive phrase. The next instance is static, with no representation of human subjects.

- (20) Pour le Xème FED, qui concerne la période 2008-2011, /le ministère de l'Economie/ **dispose** déjà de données importantes.⁶⁴⁸

The representation in Instance (21) the Material process 'aider' implies a power relationship between the Actor participant and the goal participant. The EU sees the French-Pacific territories as providing an investment opportunity for Europe to gain a larger presence the Pacific region. This is articulated in the adjunctive clause headed by the logical connector 'pour que'.

- (21) Aujourd'hui, il ne s'agit plus pour /l'Europe/ **d'aider** des PTOM, mais d'y **investir** pour que /l'Union européenne/ **s'implante** durablement dans cette région du monde.⁶⁴⁹

⁶⁴⁷ Author's translation: On Thursday 15th March, the local chief executive will go to Brussels for a series of meetings with representatives from the European Union where amongst the different topics discussed, there will be the question of introducing the Euro in French Polynesia. (« L'agenda du président Tong Sang en mission à Paris », Politique, ATP, *Tahiti Presse*, 11/03/2007)

⁶⁴⁸ Author's translation: For the 10th EDF, which concerns the period 2008-2011, the Ministry of Economy is already gathering important data. («Le point sur l'exécution du IXème Fonds européen de développement, Economie, *Tahiti Presse*, ATP, 09/03/2007)

⁶⁴⁹ Author's translation: Today it is no longer the question of Europe helping the OCTs but also to invest in them so that the European Union can enter sustainably in this region of the world. (« Gaston Tong Sang : "L'Europe doit investir en Polynésie" », Politique, ATP – DPF, *Tahiti Presse*, 16/03/2007)

The EDF project of an underwater cable is an initiative to deepen regional integration. The personal pronoun ‘il’ refers to this project and it is the agent of ‘permettre’ which results in international investments.

- (22) /Il [EDF project]/ **permettrait** aussi de réunir les conditions pour accueillir des sociétés internationales. Car telle est bien l'idée du président Gaston Tong Sang : miser sur la matière grise, attirer les bureaux d'études internationaux qui, avec cette autoroute de l'information, pourraient être reliés au monde entier.⁶⁵⁰

In the following instance, the EU is the Actor participant of ‘verser’ and the phrase ‘des millions’ is the goal participant of the action of ‘giving’. This creates a power hierarchy between the subjects ‘l'Union Européenne’ and ‘des Etats du Pacifique’. This piece of discourse represents the EU development relations with the Pacific region which is hegemonic and financial.

- (23) Forum: /l'Union Européenne/ **verse** des millions pour des Etats du Pacifique. Plus de 500 millions de dollars (38 milliards de Fcfp) seront alloués aux îles du Pacifique dans le cadre d'un accord qui a été signé au "Dialogue post-forum " du sommet des 16 États membres du Forum des îles du Pacifique, selon Radio Australie. (« Forum: l'Union Européenne verse des millions pour des Etats du Pacifique », Pacifique, *Tahiti Presse*, ATP, 21/10/2007)⁶⁵¹

Another representation of the EU development action is observed in the transitivity structure in which the EDF itself is the Actor participant of the

⁶⁵⁰ Author's translation: It would also put together conditions for receiving international companies. Such is the idea of President Gaston Tong Sang : to put a bet on gray matter, attracting international research centres which, with this information highway, could be connected to the world. (« Gaston Tong Sang : "L'Europe doit investir en Polynésie" », Politique, ATP – DPF, *Tahiti Presse*, 16/03/2007)

⁶⁵¹ Author's translation: The Forum: The European Union is pouring millions to the Pacific nations. More than 500 million dollars (38 billion Fcfp) will be allocated to Pacific islands in the framework of the agreement which was signed at the ‘Post-Forum Dialogue’ from the Summit of 16 Forum Member Countries of the Pacific Islands, according to Radio Australia.

Material process ‘permettre’. The EDF is an inanimate concept and it is assigned with power implied by the action of ‘allowing’.

- (24) /Cet accord de financement/ **permettra** notamment de fournir un peu plus de 33 millions de dollars (2,5 milliards de Fcfp) à la Papouasie Nouvelle-Guinée pour l'amélioration du réseau d'alimentation en eau des zones rurales.⁶⁵²

In the following instance, the Pacific plays the predominant role in the processes represented while the EPA features a passive element of the transitivity structure, namely as a goal participant.

- (25) /L'industrie de la pêche aux îles Salomon/ devrait substantiellement **bénéficier** d'un accord provisoire entre l'Union européenne et les États insulaires du Pacifique, selon notre correspondant dans le Pacifique. Actuellement, /l'archipel/ **exporte** principalement du thon en boîte en Europe, mais /la signature de cet accord/, qui pourrait être signé les 12 et 13 novembre prochain/, *permettra* aux îles Salomon d'exporter aussi du thon cru et d'augmenter ses revenus à l'exportation. (« Salomon: une ouverture pour la filière thon en Europe », Pacifique, *Tahiti Presse*, 28/10/07)⁶⁵³

The Solomon Islands' fish industry is the actor of the action of benefitting from the EPA. However in the latter part of the representation, the EPA, in its finalised form, has an active role. The nominal ‘la signature de cet accord’ is the Actor participant of the power-implied Material process ‘to

⁶⁵² Author's translation: This financial agreement will notably give more than 33 million dollars (2.5 billion Fcfp) to Papua New Guinea for the improvement of water supplies in rural areas.

⁶⁵³ Author's translation: The fishing industry of the Solomon Islands will substantially benefit from a provisional agreement between European Union and the Pacific Island nations, according to our Correspondent in the Pacific. Currently, the archipelago mainly exports canned tuna to Europe, but the signing of this agreement which could be signed on 12th and 13th November next year, will allow Solomon Islands to also export raw tuna and augment its export earnings. (« Forum: l'Union Européenne verse des millions pour des Etats du Pacifique », Pacifique, *Tahiti Presse*, ATP, 21/10/2007)

allow' for which the Solomon Islands is the goal participant. This constructs a power hierarchy.

The use of passive voicing is a syntactic transformation, which renders a representation of an action more static. A static representation of EU action is evident in the use of passive voice in the instance below. The EU actions/agency associated with the EDF is not displayed discursively:

- (26) Le FED, précise le ministère de l'Economie, peut **être découpé** en trois parties distinctes: le FED territorial, la réserve C, et les programmes régionaux.⁶⁵⁴

EDF is again, shown as the Passive Participant of the verb 'cut into' which expressed with passive voicing. Observe the instances below:

- (27) L'enveloppe C, qui porte sur un montant de 238 millions Fcfp, **sera attribuée** à un programme d'assainissement des eaux usées à Haapiti, sur l'île de Moorea. Quant aux programmes régionaux, la plupart d'entre eux sont en cours d'exécution.⁶⁵⁵
- (28) Fonds **versés** directement au budget du Pays⁶⁵⁶

This instance shows the limits and protectiveness of French Polynesia's domestic competences.

⁶⁵⁴ Author's translation: The Ministry of Economy specified that the EDF could be divided into three distinct parts : the territorial EDF, the C Reserve, and religious programmes. («Le point sur l'exécution du IXème Fonds européen de développement, Economie, *Tahiti Presse*, ATP, 09/03/2007)

⁶⁵⁵ Author's translation: The C envelope which amounts to 238 million Fcfp will be attributed to the water treatment programme used in Haapiti, on Moorea Island. As for the regional programmes, most of them are currently running. («Le point sur l'exécution du IXème Fonds européen de développement, Economie, *Tahiti Presse*, ATP, 09/03/2007)

⁶⁵⁶ Author's translation: Funding directly paid to the national budget. («Le point sur l'exécution du IXème Fonds européen de développement, Economie, *Tahiti Presse*, ATP, 09/03/2007)

- (29) Ce séjour bruxellois a été marqué par /de nombreux rendez-vous au plus haut niveau/. Parmi eux, un entretien avec Pierre Sellal, Ambassadeur représentant permanent de la France auprès de l'Union européenne. Autre temps fort, un déjeuner avec Clive Stanbroock, président du comité exécutif de l'OCTA, organisation réunissant tous les PTOM. L'OCTA est aujourd'hui reconnue par les instances européennes, preuve tangible que les PTOM, et donc la Polynésie française, bénéficient d'une oreille attentive à la Commission européenne.⁶⁵⁷
- (30) La réunion du Forum sera complétée, le 18 octobre, par un dialogue avec les grands Etats (Union européenne, Etats-Unis, etc.), bailleurs de fonds dans la région. Le trente-septième Forum, en 2006, devait déjà se dérouler à Tonga.⁶⁵⁸

The EDF is represented as the goal participant of the Material process 'gérer'. It is expressed with a passive voice and agency is indicated by the nominal 'les autorités locales' (local authorities), referring to the local governments in the Pacific.

- (31) Les fonds seront **gérés** par /les autorités locales/, /Louis Michel/, le commissaire au développement et à l'aide humanitaire de l'Union européenne, **estimant** qu'il est temps que les pays donateurs d'aides "fassent davantage confiance aux nations qui les reçoivent".⁶⁵⁹

⁶⁵⁷ Author's translation: This Brussels event was marked by a number of high-level meetings. Among which was an interview with Pierre Sellal, Ambassador from the permanent representation of France in the European Union. Another highlight was a lunch with Clive Stanbroock, president of the executive committee of OCTA, an organisation assembling all OCTs. OCTA is today known for European authorities, which is a tangible proof that OCTs, and thus French Polynesia, benefit from an attentive ear of the European Commission. (« Gaston Tong Sang : "L'Europe doit investir en Polynésie" », Politique, ATP – DPF, *Tahiti Presse*, 16/03/2007)

⁶⁵⁸ Author's translation: The Forum meeting will be completed, on 18th October, by a dialogue with big states (European Union, United States of America, etc), donors to the region. The 37th Forum in 2006 will be held on 16th and 17th October. (« Le Forum des îles du Pacifique aura lieu les 16 et 17 octobre », Politique, *Tahiti Presse*, ATP, 23/05/20)

⁶⁵⁹ Author's translation: The funds will be managed by the local authorities, EU Commissioner for Development and Humanitarian Aid Louis Michel, considers that it is time for aid donor countries to make greater efforts to trust the recipient nations.

The instance below represents the EPA issue:

- (32) Une demande du Pays sera formalisée en ce sens à l'occasion de la revue à mi-parcours qui se tiendra en juillet prochain. (23 May 2006, *Tahitipresse*)

In this instance, the main process signalled by the verb 'to formalise' occupies the experiential centre and it is presented with passive voicing which places the goal participant in the subject position. The element affected by the formalising process is an abstract entity, namely, '*une demande du pays*'. The passive voice removes agency and therefore makes the event represented impersonal. Due to the absence of agency and the nature of the goal participant, the representation seems static and factual; it does not have a victimising effect on any individual or party.

Nominalisation is another form of syntactic transformation which makes a representation more static and conceptual. In the instance below, the development action associated with the EDF are nominalised.

- (33) Au cours du dernier Conseil des ministres, mercredi, le ministre de l'Economie, Teva Rohfritsch, a fait le point sur **les aides** attribuées par /l'Union Européenne/ et plus précisément, sur **l'exécution** du IXème FED pour la période 2001-2007.⁶⁶⁰

EU's aid, namely the EDF, is nominalised twice in the above instance. Nominalisation emit agency from the transitivity structure which renders the represented event more abstract and factual, rather than concrete. The

(« Forum: l'Union Européenne verse des millions pour des Etats du Pacifique », Pacifique, *Tahiti Presse*, ATP, 21/10/2007)

⁶⁶⁰ Author's translation: During the last Council of Ministers, on Wednesday, the Minister of Economy, Teva Rohfritsch, made a point about the aid given by the European Union and more precisely, on the execution of the 9th EDF for the period 2001-2007. («Le point sur l'exécution du IXème Fonds européen de développement, Economie, *Tahiti Presse*, ATP, 09/03/2007)

EU does not feature as a role of power in the representation of the EDF. The nominalisation and infinitive form of verbs remove room to represent agency:

- (34) "Le principe de **reconduction** du FED étant acquis, il s'agit aujourd'hui de fixer l'enveloppe territoriale qui sera dévolue à la Polynésie française."⁶⁶¹

Material processes associated with the EDF, namely 'reconduire' and 'fixer', are portrayed as events without cause. This renders the EU aid to French Polynesia as a state, rather than a cause-and-effect event. A similar case can be observed below:

- (35) Avec une différence de taille qui devrait permettre d'accélérer la **concrétisation** des projets: "Pour raccourcir les délais de mise en oeuvre des programmes, il est prévu que ces fonds seront *versés* au budget de la Polynésie et gérés par le Pays".⁶⁶²

Material processes depicting the EDF projects lack the presence of an Actor participant in the transitivity structure due to syntactic transformations such as infinitive verb form, passive voice and nominalisations. Verbs concerned are 'accélérer', 'concrétiser', and 'verser'.

The adoption of the euro currency by the French territories in the Pacific is represented as a nominalised entity and the euro is shown as being 'placed':

⁶⁶¹ Author's translation: The principle of the renewal of the EDF being acquired is today to set the territorial envelope which will be allocated to French Polynesia. («Le point sur l'exécution du IXème Fonds européen de développement, Economie, *Tahiti Presse*, ATP, 09/03/2007)

⁶⁶² Author's translation: With a size difference which is to allow speeding up the realisation of projects : 'to shorten the delays of programme implementations, these funds are expected to be paid to the budget of French Polynesia and managed by the country'. («Le point sur l'exécution du IXème Fonds européen de développement, Economie, *Tahiti Presse*, ATP, 09/03/2007)

- (36) Au centre des discussions, le Fonds Européen de Développement (FED), l'association du Pays avec l'Europe et **la mise en place** de la monnaie européenne. Autant de dossiers suivis avec bienveillance par les dirigeants de la Commission européenne.⁶⁶³

Such spatial conceptualisation reconstructs the border of these territories. European authority depicted through Material process 'suivre', with the European Commission as the Actor Participant.

- (37) La **décision** des Européens d'interdire le kava et les produits à base de kava aurait coûté en 6 ans plus d'un milliard de dollars (70 milliards de Fcfp) à certains États insulaires du Pacifique.⁶⁶⁴

In the following instance, New Caledonia and French Polynesia are assigned with the agent role for the material event of participating in the Forum meetings.

- (38) /La Nouvelle-Calédonie, et la Polynésie française/ peuvent désormais **participer** de plein droit à toutes les réunions du Forum. Auparavant, elles devaient être invitées à participer aux réunions.⁶⁶⁵

⁶⁶³ Author's translation: At the centre of discussions, are the European Development Fund (EDF), the Association of this country to Europe and the implementation of the European currency. So many topics were passionately followed by the leaders of the European Commission. (« Gaston Tong Sang : "L'Europe doit investir en Polynésie" », Politique, ATP – DPF, *Tahiti Presse*, 16/03/2007)

⁶⁶⁴ Author's translation: The Europeans' decision to ban kava and kava-based products will have cost in 6 years more than one billion dollars (70 billion Fcfp) to some Pacific island states. (« Appel pour les exportations de Kava en Europe », Pierre Riant - ABC/Radio Australia, Pacifique, *Tahiti Presse*, 25/09/2007)

⁶⁶⁵ Author's translation: New Caledonia and French Polynesia nevertheless have the right to participate in all Forum meetings. Before, they had to be invited to participate in the meetings. Today, the governments of the two archipelagos have access to all the information, can give their opinions, or be consulted. But they cannot vote. It's the only different in status of partial member. Having said that, consensus is the basis of the Forum's decision-making. And the members consider arguments or opinions which have been expressed by the associated members. (« Estrosi, Clark et Howard au Forum du Pacifique », *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 13/10/2007)

This depicts an active subjectivity and engagement of these territories in the regional cooperation of the Pacific, which gives them a more ‘Pacific’ character.

The next instance represents political figures of Pacific Island countries as subjects responsible for the action of criticising the EU.

(39) /Les ministres du commerce des pays du Pacifique réunis à Port-Vila, la capitale du Vanuatu/ **accusent** l'Union de changer les règles du jeu à la dernière minute.⁶⁶⁶

EU development action to ACP countries is represented as being EU-centred. The instance below constructs the event of the EPA negotiation as being an EU action.

(40) Cette proposition inclut les produits agricoles et laitiers, les céréales, les fruits et les légumes, et prendra effet à travers les accords de partenariat économique que /l'Union européenne/ est en train de **négoier** avec six régions d'Afrique, des Caraïbes et du Pacifique (ACP).⁶⁶⁷

The EPA negotiation is shown as an EU action with the ACP featuring only in the adjunctive phrase. Another EU-centred representation can be seen as follows:

⁶⁶⁶ Author's translation: Negotiations on trade liberalisation between the European Union and Pacific countries are on the verge of collapse. Trade ministers from the Pacific meeting in Port-Vila, the capital of Vanuatu, are accusing the Union of changing the rules of the game at the last minute. (« Pacifique-Europe: la guerre économique », International, *Tahiti Presse*, 02/08/2007)

⁶⁶⁷ Author's translation: This proposition includes agricultural and dairy products, grains, fruit and vegetables, and will take effect through the economic partnership agreement which the European Union is in the middle of negotiating with six regions of Africa, the Caribbeans and the Pacific (ACP). (« L'Europe envisage d'ouvrir ses portes aux produits du Pacifique », *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 10/04/2007)

- (41) Il a rappelé que /le conseil des vingt-sept ministres européens/ a **décidé** en juillet dernier de renforcer les relations de l'Union européenne avec les îles du Pacifique.⁶⁶⁸

This transitivity structure is based on the action 'to decide' which is carried out by Actor participants, the Council of 27 European ministers. The entity being decided upon is the goal of reinforcing external relations between the EU and the Pacific. The issue of improving partnership is a product of a decision made by the European Council. Again, EU-developing nations' relationship is EU-motivated.

Political instability in the Pacific is a common experience for many nations in this region. Although extreme violence or starvation does not occur to the same extent as in some African ACP countries, Pacific Islanders often face obstacles in governance. This is evident in the case of the coups that took place in the recent years in Fiji, and also by the shake-up in Tahiti caused by the autonomy revision in 2004 which led to ten changes of government.

There are other issues which surfaced in the discourse on EU-Pacific relations which included the event of the Fiji coup d'état and the question of introducing the euro currency to French territories in the Pacific region. The following representation displays the EU's reaction to the Fijian coup situation:

- (42) /L'Union européenne/ a **suspendu** son aide à Fidji après le coup d'Etat du 5 décembre dernier.⁶⁶⁹

⁶⁶⁸ Author's translation: On Wednesday, Jean-Pierre Piérard, chargé d'affaires of the delegation of the European Commission delegation for the Pacific, also celebrated the 50 years of the Treaty of Rome and of partnership between New Caledonia and European Union. He reminded that the council of twenty-seven European ministers decided last July to reinforce European Union relations with the Pacific islands. (« La Calédonie célèbre cinquante ans de partenariat avec l'Europe », Catherine Léhé, *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 11/05/2007)

⁶⁶⁹ Author's translation: The European Union suspended its aid to Fiji after the Coup d'état of 5th December last year. (« L'Europe octroie une aide de 32 milliards pour les pays du Forum », 26/10/2007)

The transitivity structure presented above is based on the Material process 'suspendre' and the Actor participant is the EU. The Goal participant of that process is the aid and Fiji is placed as a circumstance. EU's power is displayed through a clear power hierarchy established through this transitivity configuration and also by associating EU agency with a verb which has strong semantic indications of authority and effect.

The nominalisation in instance (43) implies agency but is not exposed:

(43) **Pression** sur l'administration Fidjienne⁶⁷⁰

This instance displays a sense of 'pressure' on the Fijian government, but the nominalisation process omits specification of the Actor participant which is responsible for the pressure. Again, the following contains a nominalisation associated with the act of pressuring but detached from direct agency:

(44) /L'Union européenne/, l'Australie et la Nouvelle-Zélande n'ont cessé de **faire pression** sur l'administration par intérim Fidjienne pour qu'elle organise rapidement des élections, en vue d'un retour rapide à un régime démocratique. /L'Union européenne/ vient *d'adresser* un courrier au Président fidjien pour signifier son « inquiétude devant le peu d'avancées vers un retour à un régime démocratique ». ⁶⁷¹

The EU's initiative to cut aid to Fiji is represented below:

⁶⁷⁰ Author's translation: Pressure on the Fijian government (« Les militaires font machine arrière sur la date des élections », *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 10/10/2007)

⁶⁷¹ Author's translation: The European Union, Australia and New Zealand have moved to put pressure on Fiji's interim government so that it quickly organises elections, to a fast return back to a democratic regime. The European Union has just addressed a letter to the Fijian President to signal his concerns regarding the slow recovery back to a democratic regime'. (« Les militaires font machine arrière sur la date des élections », *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 10/10/2007)

(45) /L'Union européenne/ envisage de **suspendre** son aide⁶⁷²

As a responsible Actor for improving development in ACP countries, the EU stresses on the importance of good governance. It is a requirement for recipients to respect democratic practice and therefore, Fiji does not qualify as a recipient, following the military coup d'état and the continuing autocratic regime. However, the EU's commitment to good governance is contradicted by maintaining Fiji's signature in the EPA. If the EU interrupts its development aid relations with Fiji due to the violation of good governance, why are their trade relations- for which 'development' is key- still operative?

Concerning the Fijian Coup crisis, the representations of the EU's position contain linguistic features with positive connotations.

(46) /Les Européens/ ont aussi **applaudi** la décision des autorités fidjiennes, le 31 mai dernier, de lever l'état d'urgence en vigueur depuis le coup d'Etat du 5 décembre. /L'Union européenne/ *désire* maintenant continuer le dialogue avec l'administration Bainimarama pour que le calendrier des élections se concrétise.⁶⁷³

(47) /L'Union européenne/ a bien **accueilli** les progrès effectués par une mission du Forum des îles du Pacifique pour que des élections soient organisées dans l'archipel fidjien, au cours du premier trimestre 2009, au plus tard.⁶⁷⁴

⁶⁷² Author's translation: The European Union envisages suspending its aid. (« L'Union européenne envisage de suspendre son aide », *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 21/09/2007)

⁶⁷³ Author's translation: European have also applauded at the decision of Fijian authorities, 31st May last year, to declare a state of emergency entered into force since the coup d'état of 5th December. The European Union wants to now continue the dialogue with Bainimarama's administration so that the election schedules are realised. (« L'Union européenne maintient son aide », *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 26/06/2007)

⁶⁷⁴ Author's translation: The European Union welcomed the progress made by the project of the Pacific Islands Forum for making sure that elections are organised in the Fijian archipelagos, during the first trimester of 2009 at the latest. (« L'Union européenne maintient son aide », *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 26/06/2007)

The instance below illustrates EU agency with the use of nominalisation and passive voice.

- (48) L'état d'urgence était en vigueur à Fidji depuis le 5 décembre dernier. Mais la levée de cette mesure d'exception était une des conditions **exigées** par /l'Union européenne/, pour l'octroi de son programme d'aide d'une valeur de 150 millions d'euros, répartis sur les huit ans à venir.⁶⁷⁵

This representation backgrounds EU authority associated with the material action 'exiger' which highlights the nominalised event of the state of emergency being lifted. This structure constructs the relevance of this event to the EU and a sense of agency of the EU is present in the transitivity structure.

The EU's subjectivity and agency in the Fijian coup event is also suggested in (49):

- (49) Une condition mise par /l'Union européenne/⁶⁷⁶

The agency of the EU of the material verb 'mettre' is expressed with passive voicing. The Goal participant of this action is an abstract concept, a condition, which exposes the EU's influence over the Pacific region, namely Fiji in regard to its state of governance.

EU agency is also clear in the next instance:

⁶⁷⁵ Author's translation: The state of emergency was enforced in Fiji since 5th December last year. But the lifting of this exceptional measure was one of the conditions demanded by the European Union for the grant of its aid programme worth 150 million euros to be distributed over eight years to come. (« L'état d'urgence est levé », *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 05/06/2007)

⁶⁷⁶ Author's translation: A condition placed by the European Union. (« L'état d'urgence est levé », *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 05/06/2007)

- (50) /L'UE/ **assure** qu'elle suivra l'évolution de la situation à Fidji de très près et, en particulier, les engagements qui garantissent la tenue rapide, prévue d'ici le 1er mars 2009, d'élections générales.⁶⁷⁷

The EU is the Actor participant of the material action 'assurer'. This transitivity structure represents the EU as taking action to restore democracy in Fiji. The EU's subjectivity as a supranational governing power which has agency in the event represented, while Fiji or the Fijian government does not feature in the transitivity core.

The above examples demonstrated that representations of EU-Pacific relations are conditioned by events as well as trade and development cooperation fixed by the EU external development policy. The power of the EU subject is more prominent in the representations of the Fijian coup event than representations of EDF and the EPA.

- (51) Fidji au sein des discussions de l'Union européenne⁶⁷⁸

With the prepositional expression 'au sein de', 'Fidji' is discursively articulated as a significant participant which represents Fiji as being a part of European discussions. This arguably symbolises that Fiji is spatially dominated by Europe. In the next instance, 'Europe' is the Actor participant of the Material process 'souligner' which emphasises Europe's say in the matter. The articulation of EU's opinion about the Fijian situation gives the EU more legitimacy and projects the rational quality of its identity.

⁶⁷⁷ Author's translation: The EU assures that it will follow the progress of the situation in Fiji very closely, and particularly, the commitments which guarantee the fast holding of general elections expected from now until 1st March 2009. (« L'Union européenne veut des élections avant mars 2009 », *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 25/04/2007)

⁶⁷⁸ Author's translation: Fiji amidst European Union's discussions. (« Fidji au sein des discussions de l'Union européenne », Pierre Riant- ABC/Radio Australia, Pacifique, *Tahiti Presse*, 10/09/2007)

- (52) Dans un communiqué, /l'Europe/ **souligne** que la sécurité nationale n'est pas menacée à Fidji, que l'ordre public règne et que rien ne peut justifier une mesure si radicale.⁶⁷⁹

Europe's involvement in the Fijian coup event is linguistically constructed by its subjectivity in the clausal structure. The previous examples project the EU's authoritative and powerful identity. This is also shown in the following two instances, but this time portraying Europe's optimistic attitude and support for progress in restoring democracy in Fiji.

- (53) /L'Union européenne/ a bien **accueilli** les progrès effectués par une mission du Forum des îles du Pacifique_pour que des élections soient organisées dans l'archipel fidjien pendant le premier trimestre 2009.⁶⁸⁰

- (54) /Les Européens/ ont aussi **applaudi** la décision des autorités fidjiennes, le 31 mai dernier, de lever l'état d'urgence en vigueur depuis le putsch du 5 décembre.⁶⁸¹

The EU's supranational identity and agency is clearly evident in the representations of the Fiji coup in the French territories' press. Another significant issue featured in this press discourse is the possibility of the French-Pacific territories adopting the euro currency. The following instance exposes the EU subjectivity regarding this issue:

⁶⁷⁹ Author's translation: In a communiqué, Europe highlighted that national security is not threatened in Fiji, that public order is in place and that nothing would justify such a radical measure. (« Fidji au sein des discussions de l'Union européenne », Pierre Riant-ABC/Radio Australia, Pacifique, *Tahiti Presse*, 10/09/2007)

⁶⁸⁰ Author's translation: The European Union welcomed the progress made by the Pacific Island Forum mission to have elections organised in the Fijian archipelagos during the first half of 2009. (« L'Europe satisfaite des progrès à Fidji », Pierre Riant-ABC/Radio Australia, Pacifique, *Tahiti Presse*, 24/06/2007)

⁶⁸¹ Author's translation: Europeans also applauded at the decision of Fijian authorities, 31st May last year, to uplift the state of emergency in force since the putsch of 5th December. (« L'Europe satisfaite des progrès à Fidji », Pierre Riant-ABC/Radio Australia, Pacifique, *Tahiti Presse*, 24/06/2007)

- (55) /Le Commissaire européen, Louis Michel, et le président de la Polynésie française/ ont **convenu** qu'il fallait en premier lieu introduire l'euro, puis envisager des grands projets structurants à une échelle de coopération régionale, voire interrégionale.⁶⁸²

Both the European Commissioner and the president of French Polynesia are depicted as the Actor participant of the Material process 'convenir'. This shows a sense of partnership between these subjects as they are positioned at the same semantic level and represented as taking the same material action.

The euro itself, while being an inanimate concept, occurs as an actor in the discourse:

- (56) /L'Euro/ a également **trouvé** toute sa place au menu de la discussion.⁶⁸³

The European currency is represented as the Actor participant of the Material process 'trouver'. This instance portrays the euro issue as finding its place in high-level discussions. This creates an impression that the euro is an active and independent concept which is not defined by EU action.

The Pacific territories have prominent subjectivity in the representations of the euro issue, which is different from the lack of subjectivity of Fiji in the representations of the Fiji coup in this corpus. On the other hand, the EU, whose subjectivity/agency was more recognised in the representations of the Fiji coup, is not articulated in the representations of the euro issue. This can be observed below:

⁶⁸² Author's translation: The European Commission, Louis Michel, and the President of French Polynesia agreed that first of all, the euro must be introduced, then to envisage big structuring projects to the scale of regional, namely interregional, cooperation. (« Gaston Tong Sang : "L'Europe doit investir en Polynésie" », Politique, ATP – DPF, *Tahiti Presse*, 16/03/2007)

⁶⁸³ Author's translation: The Euro has equally found its place on the discussion menu. (« Gaston Tong Sang reçoit le directeur général de l'IEOM », **Economie**, *Tahiti Presse*, ATP, 20/02/2007)

- (57) Dialogue et réflexion oui, mais en aucun cas /la Polynésie/ n'acceptera de perdre un seul pan de ses compétences en matière économique et dans le domaine de la fiscalité : " Je crois que le message a été bien reçu, ici en Europe. Il n'est pas question de toucher à nos compétences " précise le président polynésien.⁶⁸⁴

‘La Polynésie’ is the Actor participant of the Material process ‘accepter’. This shows French Polynesia as having an active input in order to retain competence in the area of finances and taxation.

The transitivity structure consisting of material actions exposed varying degree of agency of subjects like the EU, the Pacific region and developing countries, which constructed a power relationship between these subjects. The next analysis focuses on Relational processes, which serve to make assumptions and evaluations on factors conditioning EU-Pacific relations.

8.1.2. Relational Process

The following Relational process reinforces the identity of the ACP.

- (58) Pour l’Europe, /ils/ **sont** « ACP », pour Afrique-Caraïbes-Pacifique, et peuvent pour quelques semaines encore profiter d’une logique de « préférence commerciale » qui leur permet le libre accès de leurs produits en Europe, tout en verrouillant s’ils le veulent leurs propres frontières.⁶⁸⁵

⁶⁸⁴ Author’s translation: Dialogue and reflection yes, but under no circumstances would Polynesia accept to lose a single bit of its competencies in economic matters and in the area of taxation: “I think that the message was well received, here in Europe. It’s out of the question to touch our competencies” specified, the Polynesian President. (« Gaston Tong Sang : "L'Europe doit investir en Polynésie" », Politique, ATP – DPF, *Tahiti Presse*, 16/03/2007)

⁶⁸⁵ Author’s translation: For Europe, they are ‘ACP’ Africa-Caribbean-Pacific, and for another few weeks they can still benefit from the logic of ‘trade preferences’ which allow

This instance depicts the benefits ACP nations receive from the preferential access to the EU market. So far, the discourse analysis has observed explicit representation of the developing nations' interests in the trade regime with the EU, but benefits from such partnership for the EU are never represented. There is a spatial image projected by this representation which constructs a clear border between Europe and ACP products. The expression used, 'tout en verrouillant', critically suggests that ACP countries protect their producers while having duty free access to the European market. This adds to the way the ACP identity is defined for the EU.

The following instance is about the EPA. A Relational process is used to identify the EPA in the following representation:

(59) Même si /l'accord de partenariat économique/ est au point mort, l'Europe ne va évidemment pas cesser sa coopération avec le Pacifique insulaire.⁶⁸⁶

The personifying quality of death is attributed to the EPA which emphasises the state of its failure. However, despite the negative state of the EPA, this represents EU cooperation with the Pacific as being unaffected.

Instance (60) projects a sense of Pacific regionalism while representing EU's development action in Vanuatu.

them free access of their products to Europe while locking up their own frontiers to their desire. ('Partenariat avec l'Europe: Le Pacifique traîne des pieds', Henri Lepot, *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 28/11/2007)

⁶⁸⁶ Author's translation: Even if the economic partnership agreement is almost dead, Europe is obviously not going to cease its cooperation with the Pacific Islands. ('Partenariat avec l'Europe: Le Pacifique traîne des pieds', Henri Lepot, *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 28/11/2007)

- (60) /Notre voisin/, à la croisée des chemins, **est une bonne solution de repli**. D'autant que /l'Europe/ **y est active**. Elle vient d'y financer une école hôtelière, la première totalement bilingue au Vanuatu.⁶⁸⁷

The nominal signifying a Pacific subject 'notre voisin' which in this case, Vanuatu, otherises the identity of French territories and other Pacific islands. The Relational process defines Vanuatu as a positive phenomenon, which is conditional to Europe being active there. The prepositional pronoun 'y' portrays the location of EU's active presence which is the Pacific region. This instance indicates that EU-Pacific relations are positive and that it is defined by Europe's active presence in the region.

Instance (61) identifies New Caledonia and French Polynesia as being part of the Pacific region by attributing the identity through a Relational process that they are 'comme des pays du Pacifique':

- (61) «/ La Nouvelle-Calédonie et la Polynésie/ **sont reconnues comme des pays du Pacifique** », déclarait Marie-Noëlle Themereau à l'issue du sommet du Forum 2006.⁶⁸⁸

The use of word 'like' also implies that such identity was/is not always considered the case.

Again, in Instance (62), a Relational process is applied to project an identity, in this case, the Pacific Islands Forum. It is described as a regional political organisation which is 'prééminente':

- (62) La Polynésie et la Calédonie font maintenant partie du /Forum du Pacifique/ qui **est l'organisation politique régionale prééminente**.⁶⁸⁹

⁶⁸⁷ Author's translation: Our neighbour, at the crossroads, is a good fallback solution. Especially as Europe is active there. It [Europe] has just financed a hospitality school, first one to be entirely bilingual in Vanuatu. ('Partenariat avec l'Europe: Le Pacific traine des pieds', Henri Lepot, *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 28/11/2007)

⁶⁸⁸ Author's translation: 'New Caledonia and French Polynesia are recognised as Pacific countries', announced Marie-Noëlle Themereau at the occasion of the 2006 Forum meeting. (« Estrosi, Clark et Howard au Forum du Pacifique », *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 13/10/2007)

The French-Pacific territories' new status in the Forum seems to open up the borders between them and the permanent Pacific Islands Forum countries:

- (63) Aujourd'hui, /les gouvernements des deux archipels/ **ont accès à toutes les informations**, peuvent donner leurs avis, ou être consultés. Mais, ils ne peuvent voter. C'est la seule différence avec le statut de membre à part entière. Cela dit, la recherche du consensus est la base de la formation des décisions du Forum. Et les membres tiennent compte /des arguments, ou des avis/, qui **sont avancés par les membres associés**.⁶⁹⁰
- (64) « Ce timbre démontre l'effort de la Nouvelle-Calédonie pour rendre visible l'action de l'Europe sur place. Le problème du pays, c'est qu'il se situe au milieu du Pacifique. D'où l'importance de se faire connaître car /l'Europe/ **n'est pas un vain mot** », a conclu Jean-Pierre Piérard.⁶⁹¹

The 'Identified' participants of relative processes portraying the issue of trade liberalisation in news articles from *Tahitipresse* tend to be a 'happening', abstract and non-human, rather than referring to specific individuals. Like the previous examples, these representations reveal a

⁶⁸⁹ Author's translation: French Polynesia and New Caledonia are now part of the Pacific Islands Forum which is a prominent regional political organisation. (« Estrosi, Clark et Howard au Forum du Pacifique », *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 13/10/2007)

⁶⁹⁰ Author's translation: New Caledonia and French Polynesia nevertheless have the right to participate in all Forum meetings. Before, they had to be invited to participate in the meetings. Today, the governments of the two archipelagos have access to all the information, can give their opinions, or be consulted. But they cannot vote. It's the only different in status of partial member. Having said that, consensus is the basis of the Forum's decision-making. And the members consider arguments or opinions which have been expressed by the associated members. (« Estrosi, Clark et Howard au Forum du Pacifique », *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 13/10/2007)

⁶⁹¹ Author's translation: This stamp demonstrates New Caledonia's efforts to make Europe's action here more visible. This country's problem is that it is located in the middle of the Pacific. Hence it is important to be recognised because Europe is not an empty word. (« La Calédonie célèbre cinquante ans de partenariat avec l'Europe », Catherine Léhé, *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 11/05/2007)

negative stance on free trade, however, they are less judgmental than the representations from the English speaking Pacific Island media.

The next instance portrays the influence of Forum's activities on regional integration:

(65) « /Les réunions annuelles du Forum/ **constituent** une excellente opportunité pour développer le régionalisme pacifique et s'entretenir avec d'autres dirigeants », affirme la Premier ministre dans un communiqué.⁶⁹²

The Forum meetings are shown as the cause of an opportunity of developing regionalism.

According to Louis Michel, the French-Pacific territories have a role in the Pacific implicitly assigned by Europe:

(66) Dans l'esprit de Louis Michel, /les PTOM/ **ont un autre rôle à jouer** dans le Pacifique en faveur de l'Europe. Les deux hommes ont considéré que les PTOM français du Pacifique étaient bel et bien les postes avancés de l'Union européenne dans le Pacifique.⁶⁹³

This gives them a separate identity to the rest of the Pacific region. They are given the role of an intermediary to strengthen ties between Europe and Pacific. This scenario alludes to Tahiti's situation in the past with the 'demi' population securing the intermediary and government positions to facilitate colonial links between France and French Polynesia.

⁶⁹² Author's translation: The annual meetings of the Forum are an excellent opportunity for developing Pacific regionalism and to discuss with other leaders', asserted the Prime Minister in a communiqué. (« Estrosi, Clark et Howard au Forum du Pacifique », *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 13/10/2007)

⁶⁹³ Author's translation: In the mind of Louis Michel, the OCTs have another role to play in the Pacific for Europe. The two men considered French Pacific OCTs as outposts of the European Union in the Pacific. (« Gaston Tong Sang : "L'Europe doit investir en Polynésie" », *Politique, ATP – DPF, Tahiti Presse*, 16/03/2007)

(67) /Les négociations de libéralisation des échanges commerciaux entre l'Union européenne et les pays du Pacifique/ **sont sur le point d'échouer.**⁶⁹⁴

The following representation of the EPA through the Relational process identifies it as an instrument of development:

(68) Pour l'Europe, /l'accord de partenariat économique/ **est un instrument de développement en soi**, et elle veut y mettre les moyens pour esquisser « une communauté du Pacifique fière de ses particularismes et en même temps ouverte au monde ». ⁶⁹⁵

The EPA is represented positively and ideologically as a solution for development but at the same time, this identification is specified as coming from Europe's perspective, which does not have a persuasive function.

The EDF is the Identified participant of a Relational process which describes it as having an active role for its objective:

(69) /Ces fonds/ **ont pour objectif d'aider les États insulaires dans la gestion des ressources naturelles, l'amélioration de la gouvernance et l'intégration régionale.**⁶⁹⁶

⁶⁹⁴ Author's translation: Negotiations on trade liberalisation between the European Union and Pacific countries are on the verge of collapse. Trade ministers from the Pacific met in Port-Vila, the capital of Vanuatu, are accusing the Union of changing the rules of the game at the last minute. (« Pacifique-Europe: la guerre économique », International, *Tahiti Presse*, 02/08/2007)

⁶⁹⁵ Author's translation: 500 million euros between 2008 and 2014 for Pacific ACP countries in which 95 million is to help them face new challenges in trade. For Europe, the economic partnership agreement is a development tool, and it wants to come up with ways to establish a 'Pacific community proud of its particularities and at the same time opened to the world'. ('Partenariat avec l'Europe: Le Pacifique traine des pieds', Henri Lepot, *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 28/11/2007)

⁶⁹⁶ Author's translation: The funds aim to help Island nations in management of natural resources, improvement of governance and regional integration. (« Forum: l'Union Européenne verse des millions pour des Etats du Pacifique », Pacifique, *Tahiti Presse*, ATP, 21/10/2007)

The Material process ‘aider’ is the main action defining the EDF objective. The agent is unspecified due to the infinitive form of the verb.

- (70) /Les pourparlers entre Bruxelles et ACP/ **semblent toujours** achopper sur des perceptions divergentes de l’avenir du partenariat entre l’Europe et cette région Pacifique.⁶⁹⁷

In this occurrence, the identified element of the transitivity structure is ‘les pourparlers entre Bruxelles et ACP’ and the identifying element of the Relational process refers to the talks held between Brussels and ACP nations. EU-ACP negotiations are represented as being constantly perplexed by the diversity of perceptions of the future partnership between the EU and the Pacific. Although this representation denotes a negative situation, the distribution of semantic roles in this transitivity structure neutralises responsibility for the situation by the use of nominalisation: ‘les pourparlers’. Thus, with the absence of agency in the transitivity structure, this representation does not assign blame to a particular party.

As observed in the analysis of Material processes, there are also occurrences of Relational processes representing elements other than trade and development, such as the euro currency issue in the French-Pacific territories. The Relational process of Instance (71) defines French Polynesia’s position regarding the euro issue as being ‘favourable’:

- (71) Le président de la Polynésie française a rappelé la position de son gouvernement, qui est constante : /la Polynésie/ **est** tout à fait favorable à l’introduction de l’Euro, à condition que les compétences propres du Pays ne soient pas remises en cause, notamment en matière fiscale.⁶⁹⁸

⁶⁹⁷ Author’s translation: The talks between Brussels and ACP always seem to always stumble on the diverse perceptions of the future partnership between Europe and this Pacific region. (1 June 2006, *Tahitipresse*)

⁶⁹⁸ Author’s translation: The President of French Polynesia remembered the position of his government, which is consistent: Polynesia is totally favourable of the introduction of the Euro, on the condition that the country’s own competencies are not compromised notably in

Here, the semi-colon separates two clauses. The first clause introduces a concept, namely the argument proposed by Oceania and ACP. This clause is modified by the second clause which attributes more information regarding the ‘argument’, which describes the latter’s hesitant stance towards EU’s future actions regarding aid and development. The main linguistic characteristic noted from the above two observations is that both of these Relational processes contain identifying clauses which concern the future which identifies a semantic entity in which the EU and the Pacific are bound together.

Instance (72) contains a Relational process which defines the nature of the dialogue on the topic of the euro:

(72) « /La discussion/ **est** plutôt franco-française. C'est elle qu'il faudrait faire avancer et notamment avec nos amis de Nouvelle-Calédonie. Il faut que nous avancions ensemble sur ce dossier. Saint-Pierre et Miquelon, Mayotte ont eu l'Euro, pourquoi pas nous ? » s'interroge le président polynésien.⁶⁹⁹

The Relational process modifies the concept ‘discussion’, representing it as being ‘Franco-French’ which has the implication of the Euro issue being an internal matter of France. The question of introducing the European common currency is represented as being intergovernmental.

Regarding the Fiji coup d’état, the EU is portrayed as being concerned:

taxation matters. (« Gaston Tong Sang reçoit le directeur général de l'IEOM », **Economie**, *Tahiti Presse*, ATP, 20/02/2007)

⁶⁹⁹ Author’s translation: The discussion is more Franco-French. It is that [the discussion] which must be advanced and notably with our New Caledonian friends. We must advance together on this issue. Saint-Pierre et Miquelon, Mayotte got the Euro, why not we? (« Gaston Tong Sang : "L'Europe doit investir en Polynésie" », *Politique*, ATP – DPF, *Tahiti Presse*, 16/03/2007)

- (73) /L'Union européenne/ **est inquiète** du peu de progrès vers un retour à la démocratie, et l'Australie vient de relever le niveau de mise en garde pour ses ressortissants qui se rendent à Fidji.⁷⁰⁰

The Relational process gives the EU subject a caring quality, which suggests a sense of closeness between the EU and the Pacific region.

8.1.3. Verbal Process

Instance (74) portrays a Verbal process with the verb 'to ask' which triggers a sense of authority:

- (74) /Le sénateur calédonien/ a également **demandé** que la présidence de l'Union européenne par la France permette de discuter des statuts des Pays et Territoires d'outre-mer.⁷⁰¹

The French Presidency of the European Union is depicted as playing the intermediary/authoritative role for discussion about the status of the OCTs. The main process is a Verbal process representing the New Caledonian leader as questioning while its goal participant is the material verb 'permettre' which also implies control. Moreover, the permission is requested for another Verbal process 'discuter', referring to a discussion scenario between all parties. Verbal processes often represent authority and hierarchy and this representation structures the New Caledonian leader as asking for the EU's permission, thus establishing a power hierarchy.

⁷⁰⁰ Author's translation: European Union is a worried about little progress made to return to democracy, and Australia raised a warning to its nationals visiting Fiji. (« Les militaires font machine arrière sur la date des élections », *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 10/10/2007)

⁷⁰¹ Author's translation: The Caledonian Senator asked likewise that the presidency of the European Union by France allows to discuss the status of the Overseas Countries and Territories. (Le Sénat adopte le budget de l'Outre-mer, *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 05/12/2007)

The following instance contains a Verbal process which implies a sense of authority. Louis Michel, the European Commissioner of Development is placed as the Sayer Participant regarding the aid issue:

(75) /Louis Michel, le commissaire au Développement et à l'Aide humanitaire de l'Union européenne/, a **annoncé**, lors du Forum du Pacifique, l'octroi d'une aide de 267 millions d'euros (32 milliards de francs) au pays de la région.⁷⁰²

Instance (76) contains another Verbal process 'se affirmer':

(76) /L'Union européenne, représentée par Louis Michel, le commissaire au Développement et à l'Aide humanitaire de l'Union européenne/, s'est **affirmée** comme un partenaire privilégié des pays de la région, lors du 38e sommet du Forum du Pacifique qui s'est déroulé à Tonga, la semaine dernière. Plus de 267 millions d'euros (32 milliards de F CFP) seront alloués aux îles du Pacifique, dans le cadre d'un accord, qui a été signé lors du « dialogue post-forum », à Nuku'alofa, la capitale du royaume. Une enveloppe qui s'inscrit dans le cadre du 10e Fonds européen de développement, qui couvre la période 2008-2013.⁷⁰³

The speaking subjects are not always human. The EU is the Sayer participant of the Verbal process which identifies itself as a 'privileged partner' of the Pacific region.

⁷⁰² Author's translation: Louis Michel, the Commissioner for Development and Humanitarian Aid announced at the Pacific Islands Forum a grant of 267 million euros (32 billion francs) to this regional country. (« L'Europe octroie une aide de 32 milliards pour les pays du Forum », 26/10/2007)

⁷⁰³ Author's translation: The European Union, represented by Louis Michel, Commissioner for Development and Humanitarian Aid of the European Union asserted itself as a privileged partner of the countries of this region, at the 38th Summit of the Pacific Islands Forum which took place in Tonga last week. More than 267 million euros (32 billion FCFP) will be allocated to the Pacific Islands, in the framework of the 10th European Development Fund, which covers the period 2008-2013. (« L'Europe octroie une aide de 32 milliards pour les pays du Forum », 26/10/2007)

The 10th EDF is represented through a Verbal process for which the EU is the Sayer participant:

(77) /Les Européens/ ont **indiqué** que les fonds du 10e Fonds seront versés à tous les pays membres du Forum, sauf l'Australie, et la Nouvelle-Zélande, sur un délai de cinq ans.⁷⁰⁴

The presence of the Verbal process implies a structure of knowledge and power associated with the aid system, who decides and who makes the rules. The Instances below illustrates this:

(78) Les fonds seront gérés par les autorités locales, /Louis Michel, le commissaire au Développement et à l'Aide humanitaire de l'Union européenne/, a **estimé** « qu'il est temps que les pays donateurs d'aides fassent davantage confiance aux nations qui les reçoivent. Vous ne m'entendrez pas faire de la morale. Mon but est de soutenir ce qui a le potentiel de s'améliorer ». ⁷⁰⁵

There is a quoted speech introduced by the verb 'to estimate' ('estimer') in this instance. EU Commissioner Louis Michel is the active participant of this verbal process.

Another EU Commissioner, Peter Mandelson, features in this discourse as a Sayer participant.

(79) /Peter Mandelson, le commissaire européen au commerce/, a **déclaré** que : « Le commerce et le développement pour les pays

⁷⁰⁴ Author's translation: Europeans have indicated that the funding from the 10th Fund will be given to all the Forum member countries except Australia and New Zealand over the period of five years. (« L'Europe octroie une aide de 32 milliards pour les pays du Forum », 26/10/2007)

⁷⁰⁵ Author's translation: The funding will be managed by local authorities, Louis Michel, Commissioner for Development and Humanitarian Aid of the European Union, considered 'that it is time for Aid donor countries to make greater efforts to trust nations that receive it'. You won't let me give you lectures. My goal is to support whatever has the potential to improve. (« L'Europe octroie une aide de 32 milliards pour les pays du Forum », 26/10/2007)

moins nantis ont besoin de beaucoup plus qu'un simple accès au marché européen. Toutefois, la suppression de tous les tarifs et les quotas pour tous les pays d'Afrique, des Caraïbes et du Pacifique permettra de créer les meilleures ouvertures possibles pour ces économies. »⁷⁰⁶

These constructions of Verbal processes represent subjects which are powerful and give importance to what is stated in the verbal action. More examples of the EU as the Sayer participant in the Verbal process are found below:

- (80) Si aucun communiqué officiel n'a encore été rendu public, /l'Europe/ a clairement **indiqué** que les militaires n'avaient aucune raison de réimposer l'état d'urgence.⁷⁰⁷
- (81) /L'Union européenne/ a **déclaré** être prête à fournir une assistance financière et technique pour *restaurer* la démocratie dans l'archipel.⁷⁰⁸
- (82) C'est /à Bruxelles/ que la situation à Fiji sera évoquée après la réimposition de l'état d'urgence vendredi dernier. Ces lois d'exception devraient être maintenues pendant un mois et ont pour but de faire taire l'ancien Premier ministre déchu, Laisenia Qarase,

⁷⁰⁶ Author's translation: Peter Mandelson, the European Commission for Trade declared that 'Trade and development for less well-off countries require more than a simple access to the European market. Still, the removal of all tariffs and quotas for all the countries from Africa, the Caribbeans, and the Pacific will allow to create better possible openings for these economies'. (« L'Europe envisage d'ouvrir ses portes aux produits du Pacifique », *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 10/04/2007)

⁷⁰⁷ Author's translation: If no official communiqués have been made public, Europe has clearly indicated that the military have no reason to reimpose a state of emergency. (« L'Union européenne envisage de suspendre son aide », *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 21/09/2007)

⁷⁰⁸ Author's translation: The European Union declared itself ready to provide a financial and technical assistance to restore democracy in the archipelagos. (« L'Union européenne maintient son aide », *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 26/06/2007)

qui n'a cessé de critiquer le régime militaire depuis son retour à Suva après 9 mois d'exil sur son île de Vanuabalavu.⁷⁰⁹

- (83) /Les Européens/ **se sont déclarés prêts à fournir une assistance** financière et technique pour restaurer la démocratie dans l'archipel.⁷¹⁰

In the following instance, the Verbal process represents the political leaders acting as the participant of 'déclarer' regarding the coup d'état situation in Fiji. The EU is another Sayer participant of a Verbal process signified by the verb 'condamné'.

- (84) Par ailleurs, /Jean-François Buffador et Roger Skyes, respectivement ambassadeur de France et ambassadeur d'Angleterre à Fidji/, ont déclaré que leurs pays adhéraient à la position de l'Union européenne /qui/ a condamné le coup d'état et appelé à un retour rapide à un régime démocratique. « Nos pays n'ont pas de position individuelle sur ce dossier », ont-ils précisé.⁷¹¹
- (85) /Louis Michel/ a **confirmé** que l'aide européenne sera versée, si l'administration par intérim Fidjienne « apporte des preuves

⁷⁰⁹ Author's translation: It's in Brussels where the situation in Fiji will be evoked after the restoration of the state of emergency last Friday. These exceptional rules are to be maintained for a month and aims to silence the ousted former prime minister, Laisenia Qarase, who has been criticising the military regime since his return to Suva after 9 months of exile on an island of Vanuabalavu. (« Fidji au sein des discussions de l'Union européenne », Pierre Riant- ABC/Radio Australia, Pacifique, *Tahiti Presse*, 10/09/2007)

⁷¹⁰ Author's translation: Europeans have declared themselves ready to provide financial and technical assistance for restoring democracy in the archipelago. (« L'Europe satisfaite des progrès à Fidji », Pierre Riant-ABC/Radio Australia, Pacifique, 24/06/2007)

⁷¹¹ Author's translation: Moreover, Jean-François Buffador and Roger Skyes, ambassadors of France and England respectively, declared that their countries will adhere to the European Union's position which condemns the military coup and calls for a quick return to a democratic regime. 'Our countries do not have individual positions on this case', they specified. (« Fidji : L'état d'urgence prorogé pour trente jours », *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 15/03/2007)

tangibles de la sincérité de sa volonté d'organiser des élections au début de l'année 2009 ».⁷¹²

8.1.4. Mental Process

As mentioned in the methodology chapter, Mental processes provide another means of Personification because thinking/emotional qualities are only inherent in human beings. In the next instance, the opening image is associated with housing. Unlike previous examples from the metropolitan press discourse, it is represented in a fairly neutral and static manner as it does not carry any evaluative connotations:

(86) Lundi à Port-Vila, il est apparu que seules la Papouasie-Nouvelle-Guinée et Fidji vont le signer. /Les autres nations insulaires/
craignent trop d'ouvrir leur marché aux produits européens.⁷¹³

The subjects outlined in this representation refer to Pacific Island countries excluding Fiji and PNG. The adjective 'seul' modifying the nominal phrase PNG and Fiji is a value assumption which shows that it is not a good thing that few countries are interested in the EPA. The other Pacific islands are depicted with a Mental process 'craindre', which portrays a negative feeling on behalf of the Pacific. This is a negative experience and European products are the source triggering this emotional experience.

The EU is not placed in the transitivity centre:

(87) /La Calédonie/ célèbre cinquante ans de partenariat avec l'Europe⁷¹⁴

⁷¹² Author's translation: Louis Michel confirmed that European aid will be given, if the Fijian interim government 'brings tangible evidence of sincerity in its will to organise elections at the beginning of year 2009. (« L'Europe octroie une aide de 32 milliards pour les pays du Forum », 26/10/2007)

⁷¹³ Author's translation: On Monday in Port Vila, it appeared that only Papua New Guinea and Fiji were going to sign it. Other island nations are too scared to open up their markets to European products. ('Partenariat avec l'Europe: Le Pacifique traîne des pieds', Henri Lepot, *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 28/11/2007)

Instance (88) depicts the president of French Polynesia as experiencing a Mental process:

- (88) Au cours de sa mission en métropole, /le président Gaston Tong Sang /a **souhaité** consacrer une journée entière aux dossiers européens et s'est rendu à Bruxelles au Parlement Européen.⁷¹⁵

This Tahitian political figure is shown as one of the subjects who are emotionally involved in EU partnership with developing countries.

In the next representation, a non-animate concept is the Sensor participant of a Mental process:

- (89) Pour le Pacifique, /l'engagement européen/ **vis** la sécurité et la bonne gouvernance, l'intégration régionale et la gestion durable des ressources naturelles.⁷¹⁶

This instance depicts the Pacific region's perspective which perceives the European commitment as keeping its eyes on its values, namely, security, good governance, regional integration and sustainable.

Instance (92) portrays EU-Pacific relations in a positive manner and the Actor Participants are more personally represented:

⁷¹⁴ Author's translation: New Caledonia celebrates fifty years of partnership with Europe. (« La Calédonie célèbre cinquante ans de partenariat avec l'Europe », Catherine Léhé, *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 11/05/2007)

⁷¹⁵ Author's translation: During his mission to Metropolitan France, President Gaston Tong Sang wished to dedicate the whole day to European matters and went to the European Parliament in Brussels. (« Gaston Tong Sang : "L'Europe doit investir en Polynésie" », Politique, ATP – DPF, *Tahiti Presse*, 16/03/2007)

⁷¹⁶ Author's translation: For the Pacific, the European commitment envisages security and good governance, regional integration and sustainable management of natural resources. ('Partenariat avec l'Europe: Le Pacifique traîne des pieds', Henri Lepot, *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 28/11/2007)

- (90) Mercredi, /Jean-Pierre Piérard, chargé d'affaires de la délégation de la commission européenne pour le Pacifique/, a également **célébré** les 50 ans du Traité de Rome et du partenariat entre la Nouvelle-Calédonie et l'Union Européenne.⁷¹⁷

The Mental process indicates a positive experience which is associated with the Treaty of Rome and the 50 years of partnership between the EU and New Caledonia. The Sensor participant is a political figure, an EU representative from the European Commission.

The following instance contains a Mental process attributed to the EU subject.

- (91) Pour l'Europe, l'accord de partenariat économique est un instrument de développement en soi, et /elle/ **veut** y mettre les moyens pour esquisser « une communauté du Pacifique fière de ses particularismes et en même temps ouverte au monde ». ⁷¹⁸

The representation of the EU as the Sensor participant of the experience of wanting ('vouloir') is related to the reconstruction of the Pacific identity as a more distinct and open entity. Pacific identity is thus expressed through Europe's feeling of desire.

The EU is worried, sympathetic for the Pacific.

⁷¹⁷ Author's translation: On Wednesday, Jean-Pierre Piérard, chargé d'affaires of the delegation of the European Commission delegation for the Pacific, celebrated 50 years of Treaty of Rome and of partnership between New Caledonia and European Union. He reminded that the council of twenty-seven European ministers decided last July to reinforce European Union relations with the Pacific islands. (« La Calédonie célèbre cinquante ans de partenariat avec l'Europe », Catherine Léhé, *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 11/05/2007)

⁷¹⁸ Author's translation: 500 million euros between 2008 and 2014 for Pacific ACP countries in which 95 million is to help them face new challenges in trade. For Europe, the economic partnership agreement is a development tool, and it wants to come up with ways to establish a 'Pacific community proud of its particularities and at the same time opened to the world'. ('Partenariat avec l'Europe: Le Pacifique traine des pieds', Henri Lepot, *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 28/11/2007)

- (92) Notamment de l'aide de l'Union européenne pour réorganiser l'industrie sucrière. Aujourd'hui, l'économie s'écroule autour de lui.
 » /Elle/ **pense** aussi à de nouvelles sanctions après l'expulsion de son ambassadeur. Voreqe Bainimarama a, pour sa part, a déclaré que si l'économie continuait de décliner, les élections pourraient être repoussées.⁷¹⁹

There are a number of instants in the corpus which use Mental processes which represent the EU as being emotionally involved in the Fiji coup crisis.

- (93) /L'Union européenne/ **veut** des élections avant mars 2009⁷²⁰

This instance shows that the EU is undergoing emotional experience for the practice of democracy which is in this case elections being held in Fiji to end the military rule. This gives a human quality to the EU which has emotions and which is a single bodied unit, highlighting the supranational characteristic of its identity.

- (94) /L'Union européenne/ **désire** maintenant continuer le dialogue avec l'administration Bainimarama pour que le calendrier des élections se concrétise.⁷²¹

⁷¹⁹ Author's translation: Notably the European Union aid for reorganising the sugar industry. Today, the [Fijian] economy is collapsing around it. It is also thinking of new sanctions after evicting its ambassador. Vorequ Bainimara, for his part, declared that if the economy continued to decline, the elections may be postponed. (« Fidji : Bainimarama annonce des élections début 2009 », *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 21/06/2007)

⁷²⁰ Author's translation: The European Union wants elections before March 2009. (« L'Union européenne veut des élections avant mars 2009 », *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 25/04/2007)

⁷²¹ Author's translation: The European Union now desires to continue the dialogue with the Bainimarama administration so that the election dates are finalised. (« L'Europe satisfaite des progrès à Fidji », Pierre Riant-ABC/Radio Australia, Pacifique, *Tahiti Presse*, 24/06/2007)

This instance shows that the EU is taking the initiative to continue dialogue with Bainimarama's administration to organise an election. The dialogue, which is a democratic approach, is an object of EU's desire.

(95) /L'Union européenne/ **estime** que le coup d'État militaire perpétré le 5 décembre 2006 constitue une violation de l'accord de Cotonou.⁷²²

In this instance, the EU is a thinking subject, making a judgment regarding the situation in Fiji, in relation to its partnership framework asserting that the coup is a violation of Cotonou. This is ideological and reinforces the EU identity and the idealised relationship with the Pacific region as framed by the Cotonou Agreement.

(96) Dans un communiqué rendu public la semaine dernière, à l'issue des consultations avec une délégation du gouvernement provisoire fidjien, à Bruxelles, /l'Union européenne/ **estime** « indispensable que l'État de droit soit rétabli, et que les droits politiques de tous les citoyens des Fidji soient respectés sur un pied d'égalité et sur la base de la Constitution de Fidji ». ⁷²³

The EU, again, is shown as undergoing a rational experience, which presents an evaluation that it is indispensable to change the state of governance in Fiji. The EU ideology of democracy is thus represented through the emotional process.

(97) /Les Européens/ **estiment** que le rétablissement de l'état d'urgence contrevient aux engagements pris par Fidji à l'occasion des

⁷²² Author's translation: These instances are identified below: The European Union considers the military coup d'état perpetrated on 5th December 2006 is a violation of the Cotonou Agreement. (« L'Union européenne veut des élections avant mars 2009 », *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 25/04/2007)

⁷²³ Author's translation: In a communiqué made public last week, the topic of consultations with a delegation from the provisional Fijian government, in Brussels, The European Union considers that it is 'indispensable that the rule of law is restored and that the political rights of Fiji's citizens are respected on an equal footing and according to the Constitution of Fiji'. (« L'Union européenne veut des élections avant mars 2009 », *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 25/04/2007)

pourparlers d'avril 2007 entre l'Europe et l'administration par intérim.⁷²⁴

The EU is represented at a different level here. In the corpus examined, the EU is generally represented as a supranational unit and at times, intergovernmental, with the recognition of Member States in the representations. However, in this instance, the multi-governance view of the EU is projected by referring to the European citizens as the Actor participant of the Mental process in this transitivity structure. This suggests that the democratic core of the EU 'thinks' that the coup is having a detrimental effect on Europe-Pacific cooperation.

8.2. Metaphor

8.2.1. Personification

Personification triggers a cognitive effect on readers to connect them on a more personal level to the events representing the EU-ACP relations. By giving personal qualities to the EPA or to the EU, it renders the actions more credible and understandable.

The EU proposal of the EPA is portrayed by the Material process 'viser' which is also a Personification and this helps to project an image of EU action as reassuring and credible. The representation below also contains Personification:

(98) Il y a de l'argent à la clé : 500 millions d'euros entre 2008 et 2014 pour les pays ACP du Pacifique, dont 95 millions spécialement pour les aider à faire face aux nouveaux enjeux commerciaux. Pour

⁷²⁴ Author's translation: Europeans consider that the restoring of the state of emergency violates commitments taken by Fiji at the occasion of the discussions of April 2007 between Europe and the Interim government. (« Fidji au sein des discussions de l'Union européenne », Pierre Riant- ABC/Radio Australia, Pacifique, *Tahiti Presse*, 10/09/2007)

l'Europe, l'accord de partenariat économique est un instrument de développement en soi, et elle veut y mettre les moyens pour esquisser « une communauté du Pacifique fière de ses particularismes et en même temps ouverte au monde ». ⁷²⁵

The verb 'help' is an ideological assumption implying that the Actor participant of this Material process is more powerful than the goal participant, which is in this case the Pacific region. The Pacific is portrayed as vulnerable to trade problems and in need of EU's help. The ideology carried is that the EPA is the solution to the Pacific's problems.

The next instance is a negative representation of the Pacific's partnership with Europe which projects a metaphorical imagery of the Pacific's laid-back stance towards the partnership:

(99) Partenariat avec l'Europe : /Le Pacifique/ traîne des pieds ⁷²⁶

There are two metaphorical concepts connected to the representation of the Pacific region as 'dragging its feet'. This is a negative statement critiquing the lack of enthusiasm on behalf of the Pacific using Personification and the Journey metaphor. The Pacific is depicted as a lazy person, and as making slow process to reaching the journey destination. This representation is a contradiction to the Pacific's persistent and prompting demands made to the EU regarding the specificities of the EPA which were unanswered.

⁷²⁵ Author's translation: 500 million euros between 2008 and 2014 for Pacific ACP countries in which 95 million is to help them face new challenges in trade. For Europe, the economic partnership agreement is a development tool, and it wants to come up with ways to establish a 'Pacific community proud of its particularities and at the same time open to the world'. ('Partenariat avec l'Europe: Le Pacifique traîne des pieds', Henri Lepot, *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 28/11/2007)

⁷²⁶ Author's translation: Partnership with Europe: The Pacific is dragging its feet. ('Partenariat avec l'Europe: Le Pacifique traîne des pieds', Henri Lepot, *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 28/11/2007)

French-Pacific territories are differentiated from the Pacific region which is represented as a lazy person in Instance (98) shows the Pacific as being lazy and as unable to see any interest in its trade relations with the EU:

(100) Pour le Pacifique qui traîne des pieds et qui globalement ne voit pas l'intérêt de changer le système, comme d'ailleurs pour certaines régions ACP d'Afrique, il est clair aujourd'hui que l'accord complet ne pourra pas être signé avant 2008.⁷²⁷

(101) « Il ne faut plus considérer la Polynésie comme un pays à qui l'on donne des aides mais un pays porteur de projets et de l'esprit européen. Nous menons déjà une action pour la France dans le Pacifique mais il faut élargir notre mission dans le Pacifique », a insisté le président de la Polynésie française. Selon lui, « les mentalités évoluent à Bruxelles » et l'on s'oriente plus vers un contrat de partenariat que vers un contrat d'aides : « Cela veut dire que l'on fait plus confiance aux PTOM. La France le fait déjà avec nous et c'est une bonne chose ». ⁷²⁸

This gives an identity to French Polynesia, as having an active semantic role and a European spirit/mentality.

⁷²⁷ Author's translation: For the Pacific which is dragging its feet and which generally is not interested in changing the system, as elsewhere for certain ACP regions of Africa, it is clear today that the complete agreement will not be signed before 2008. ('Partenariat avec l'Europe: Le Pacifique traîne des pieds', Henri Lepot, *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 28/11/2007)

⁷²⁸ Author's translation: 'French Polynesia shouldn't be considered as a country to whom aid is given, but a project promoter country in the European spirit. We are already taking action for France in the Pacific but our mission should be extended in the Pacific', insisted President of French Polynesia. According to him 'the mentalities are evolving in Brussels' and are more orientated towards a partnership contract than an aid contract : 'Which means that they are trusting the OCTs more. France is already doing it with us and it is a good thing'. (« Gaston Tong Sang : "L'Europe doit investir en Polynésie" », Politique, ATP – DPF, *Tahiti Presse*, 16/03/2007)

8.2.2. Journey Metaphor

(102) /L'accord/ a été conclu hier, à Nouméa, et vise à soutenir les entreprises calédoniennes s'inscrivant dans une démarche « en faveur du développement durable, de la préservation de l'environnement et des énergies renouvelables ». ⁷²⁹

The power and authority of the EU is less asserted in the territories' press discourse and this is achieved by reducing the agency in the transitivity structure. The agreement is the goal participant of the Material process 'conclurer' and it is expressed with passive voicing, avoiding representation of people involved. A Journey metaphor is present in this instance which is triggered by the nominal 'une démarche'.

Metaphors using conceptual fields such as Journey or Housing are applied to make both positive and negative evaluation on the target concept. Journey metaphors can be depicted as an unsuccessful process and the House metaphor can suggest instability, imbalance and separation. The house metaphor can reinforce conceptual borders with the image of and inside and an outside of a house. The representation below begins with a Journey metaphor. The EU is on a new journey within the Pacific region:

(103) « C'est un nouveau départ de l'Europe dans la région. Il s'agit de la plus forte aide de l'Europe par habitant. C'est aussi le témoignage que la nature de la relation entre l'Union européenne et le Pacifique a changé. Nous voulons sortir de la relation donateur bénéficiaire, pour aller vers un vrai partenariat politique », indique Louis Michel. ⁷³⁰

⁷²⁹ Author's translation: The agreement was concluded yesterday, in Noumea, and expects to support New Caledonian businesses partaking in the move 'in favour of sustainable development, environmental protection and renewable energy'. Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes, 30/11/2007)

⁷³⁰ Author's translation: It is a fresh start for Europe in the region. It receives the highest aid from Europe per inhabitant. That is also witnesses the change in nature of relations between Europe and the Pacific. We want to get out of the donor-beneficiary relationship

In this representation, there is a metaphor of voyage. The EU aid to the Pacific region is portrayed as a 'new departure' for Europe. The image of a 'witness' shows that there is evidence for the changed nature of partnership between the EU and the Pacific over the years. The current EU's aid relationship with this region is moving towards another destination which is indicated by the phrase "pour aller vers" ('to move towards') and the partnership which is the destination is a 'real political' one.

Louis Michel is the agent of 'parvenir':

(104) Au cours de cet échange, /le président de la Polynésie française et Louis Michel, Commissaire européen au développement et à l'aide humanitaire/ sont parvenus à la conclusion qu'il ne fallait pas cantonner les Pays et Territoires d'Outre-mer (PTOM), dont fait partie la Polynésie française, au seul statut de collectivités bénéficiaires de subventions.⁷³¹

8.2.3. House Metaphor

The European Bank features as the Actor participant of the Material process 'soutenir' which is also a metaphor using the construction/housing conceptual field:

to move towards a real political partnership, indicated Louis Michel. (« L'Europe octroie une aide de 32 milliards pour les pays du Forum », 26/10/2007)

⁷³¹ Author's translation: During this exchange, the president of French Polynesia and Louis Michel, the European Commissioner for Development and Humanitarian aid came to the conclusion that Overseas Countries and Territories (OCTs) should not be confined, which French Polynesia is part of, as only recipient communities of funding. (« Gaston Tong Sang : "L'Europe doit investir en Polynésie" », Politique, ATP – DPF, *Tahiti Presse*, 16/03/2007)

(105) /La banque européenne/ soutient le développement durable⁷³²

The European Bank is represented as the fundamental element which supports external countries' development and stability.

The former Secretary of State for Overseas, Christian Estrosi, is represented as the cause of the boost of French recognition in the Pacific.

The following instance depicts the EU as opening doors to Pacific products. The image of the door opening is a spatial metaphor which brings two different parties into a common space:

(106) /L'Europe/ envisage d'ouvrir ses portes aux produits du Pacifique⁷³³

The following representation is follows on from the representation in (106). Another House metaphor is used to project the border separating the territories from other Pacific nations:

(107) Mais ses voisins océaniens, eux, ne sont pas aussi protégés.⁷³⁴

The Pacific islands are privileged to be protected inside the walls of EU. The French-Pacific territories are portrayed as being protected in trade. Due to the current protection applied to the territories, the reorganisation of EU-Pacific trade partnership does not cause any problems or anxieties. On the other hand, for the rest of the Pacific nations, they do not receive the same treatment from the EU as the territories.

House metaphors project the EU's supranational institutional nature of its external activities. House metaphors also establish borders and imply

⁷³² Author's translation: The European Bank supports sustainable development. (*Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 30/11/2007)

⁷³³ Author's translation: Europe aims to open its doors to products from the Pacific. (« L'Europe envisage d'ouvrir ses portes aux produits du Pacifique », *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 10/04/2007)

⁷³⁴ Author's translation: But the Oceanian neighbours are not as protected. ('Partenariat avec l'Europe: Le Pacifique traîne des pieds', Henri Lepot, *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 28/11/2007)

positive meaning to be ‘inside’. The EU is a building complex which can shelter the outsiders through means of liberalised trade. Its democratic and transparency values are portrayed by openings such as doors and windows.

A House metaphor is used in the following representation, portraying Bora Bora as a window:

(108) A ce titre, Bora Bora est une vitrine au travers des réalisations, en terme de développement durable, financées par les fonds européens.⁷³⁵

Instance (109) makes a value assumption about the ‘good’ of the European market:

(109) Salomon: une ouverture pour la filière thon en Europe⁷³⁶

The image of opening is a House metaphor which shows that the Solomon Islands have an opportunity to enter the European market which is implied as a positive value. Another opening image can be seen in the next instance which is idealised from Europe’s perspective.

(110) Pour l’Europe, l’accord de partenariat économique est un instrument de développement en soi, et elle veut y mettre les moyens pour esquisser « une communauté du Pacifique fière de ses particularismes et en même temps ouverte au monde ». ⁷³⁷

⁷³⁵ Author’s translation: As such, Bora Bora is a window to realisation, in terms of sustainable development, financed by the European Funds. (« Gaston Tong Sang : "L’Europe doit investir en Polynésie" », Politique, ATP – DPF, *Tahiti Presse*, 16/03/2007)

⁷³⁶ Author’s translation: The Solomons: an opening for the tuna sector to Europe. (« Salomon: une ouverture pour la filière thon en Europe », Pacifique, *Tahiti Presse*, 28/10/07)

⁷³⁷ Author’s translation: 500 million euros between 2008 and 2014 for Pacific ACP countries in which 95 million is to help them face new challenges in trade. For Europe, the economic partnership agreement is a development tool, and it wants to come up with ways to establish a ‘Pacific community proud of its particularities and at the same time

The EPA is represented as a development tool for achieving a proud Pacific community which is ‘open’ to the world. This opening is not only to Europe but also to the rest of the world which reflects the EU objective of injecting developing countries in the global market.

The EU and the Pacific are sharing the role of the Actor participant of the Material process ‘s’entendre’.

(111) Patteson Oti, le ministre des affaires étrangères, l'affirme et indique que l'accord en question restera en vigueur pendant toute l'année 2008, le temps que /les Européens et les nations insulaires de la région/ **s'entendent** sur une nouvelle base de relations commerciales qui mettra fin au système d'accès préférentiel, incompatible avec les règles de l'Organisation mondiale du Commerce (OMC).⁷³⁸

This instance contains a House metaphor signalled by an image of a foundation, ‘une nouvelle base’, which is applied to conceptualise the EU’s relations with the Pacific. This metaphor assumes that a common building is sheltering both parties, a supranational tendency binding them together.

8.2.4. War Metaphor

Instance (112) is embedded with several metaphors:

opened to the world’. (‘Partenariat avec l’Europe: Le Pacifique traîne des pieds’, Henri Lepot, *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 28/11/2007)

⁷³⁸ Author’s translation: Patteson Oti, Foreign Affairs Minister, asserts and indicates that the agreement in question will stay in force during year 2008, while Europeans and Island nations of the region agrees on a new basis of trade relations which will end the preferential access system which is incompatible with the regulations of the World Trade Organisation (WTO). (« Salomon: une ouverture pour la filière thon en Europe », Pacifique, *Tahiti Presse*, 28/10/07)

- (112) Bien au chaud derrière ses protections commerciales, adossée à la France et nichée dans son statut particulier de Pays d’Outre-mer, souvent ignorante ou méprisante de ce que peut lui apporter l’Europe, elle ne craint rien et n’est même pas concernée.⁷³⁹

The adjective ‘chaud’ identifies the comfortable state of the French territories in the Pacific. The preposition ‘derrière’ creates a spatial positioning of the territories inside the EU border which shelters them and this is emphasised by the nominal ‘protections’, a War metaphor which represents the territories as receiving EU protection. The adjective ‘niché’ is a House metaphor which again, shows the territories as being sheltered. This image of a nest suggests that the territories are like a bird/chick in its place with nothing to worry about, fed, and ignorant about what the EU is doing for them receiving care for granted.

War metaphors featuring in this discourse is counteractive to the ideology of cooperation in EU-Pacific relations as it separates the EU and the Pacific and represents them as opponents. French Polynesian President, Gaston Tong Sang, is reported by the French-Pacific press discourse of having ‘defended’ his position in relation to the EDF issue:

- (113) "Lors de mon entretien avec le commissaire européen, monsieur Louis Michel, j'ai évoqué le FED, et j'ai notamment défendu des critères d'éloignement, de dispersion de nos îles pour obtenir davantage par rapport à l'enveloppe du Xème FED. Le IXème est en cours d'exécution et nous avons été un bon élève en matière d'utilisation des fonds européens" a indiqué Gaston Tong Sang.⁷⁴⁰

⁷³⁹ Author’s translation: Nicely warm behind the trade protections leaning against France and nested under its special Overseas territory status, often ignorant and scornful of what Europe can bring them, they [territories] do not fear anything and are not even worried. (‘Partenariat avec l’Europe: Le Pacifique traîne des pieds’, Henri Lepot, *Les Nouvelles Calédoniennes*, 28/11/2007)

⁷⁴⁰ Author’s translation: At my meeting with the European Commission, Mr Louis Michel, I brought up the EDF, and notably defended the issue of distance and the dispersion of our islands to get more for the 10th EDF envelope. (« Gaston Tong Sang : "L’Europe doit investir en Polynésie" », Politique, ATP – DPF, *Tahiti Presse*, 16/03/2007)

EU-Pacific relations are represented as an economic ‘war’:

(114) Pacifique-Europe: la guerre économique⁷⁴¹

The Pacific’s hostility towards the EPA is emphasised with the verb ‘rompre’. This depicts an image of the Pacific making a physical effort to break from the EPA negotiations:

(115) Les ministres du commerce du Pacifique accusent l'Europe d'avoir recours au chantage économique. Ils ont envoyé une lettre au siège de l'Union à Bruxelles, en Belgique, pour clairement affirmer que les pays du Pacifique souhaitent rompre les négociations si l'Europe ne retire pas ses dernières conditions.⁷⁴²

Local ACP products are perceived as being threatened by the EPA:

(116) Et les filières lait, blé, sucre, riz, maïs, volaille ou viande bovine seraient menacées.⁷⁴³

8.3. Summary

The agency of material processes occurring in this discourse is more dynamic and versatile than in institutional discursive representations.

⁷⁴¹ Author’s translation: Pacific-Europe : economic war. (« Pacifique-Europe: la guerre économique », International, *Tahiti Presse*, 02/08/2007)

⁷⁴² Author’s translation: The ministers of trade from the Pacific are accusing Europe of an economic blackmail. They sent a letter to the Union headquarters in Brussels, in Belgium, to clearly express that Pacific countries wish to break off negotiations if Europe does not withdraw the latest conditions. (« Pacifique-Europe: la guerre économique », International, *Tahiti Presse*, 02/08/2007)

⁷⁴³ Author’s translation: The lowering of custom tariffs will lead to a breakthrough of European agricultural products- heavily subsidised- on the Mali market. The consequences for small local producers (big part of the population) will be disastrous in the case of total opening. And the sectors of milk, wheat, sugar, rice, corn, poultry or beef will be threatened. (« En baisse, le marché du sucre est amer », Eco-Terre, *La Libération*, Christian Losson, 19/11/07)

Actor participants are discursively signified by a bigger range of subjects in both direct and indirect manner. However, although agency is attributed to both EU and Pacific/ACP subjects, there are notable semantic differences between these subjects in that EU agents are responsible for actions which imply a sense of authority, manipulation and knowledge such as ‘proposer’; ‘reunir’; ‘informer’; ‘mettre’; ‘signer’; ‘financer’; ‘débloquer’; ‘decider’; ‘maintenir’; and ‘aider’. In contrast, Pacific-related subjects tend to be represented as being the cause of actions which are passive and intransitive, such as ‘retomber’; ‘profiter’; ‘se rendre’; and ‘bénéficier’.

This discourse constructs a strong sense of power hierarchy with the EU having responsibility over all other subjects occurring in the representations, namely, Pacific/ACP subjects, and issues related to EU-Pacific relations such as the EDF and the EPA. EU agency is also strongly articulated in relation to the events on the Fiji coup and to the question of introducing euro-currency to the French-Pacific territories. Conceptual subjects such as the EDF and the EPA often occur as Actor participants in this discourse and are represented as having influence over Pacific/ACP subjects. This again reflects the discursive power hierarchy with the EU at the top of the food-chain. Another note of observation regarding agency is that, Australia and New Zealand, although significant actors in the Pacific region, are not discursively acknowledged in the selected discursive representations.

Compared to the representations from the institutional discourse corpus, there are more syntactic transformations observed from which agency is implied. The use of syntactic transformations such as passive voicing, nominalisation or infinitive forms of verbs renders representation of events and issues more static, conceptual and abstract. In one instance observed in this discourse, a causal link is established between the issue on statutory revision of French territories, which is nominalised and represented as having a causal effect upon the concept of the EDF. Thus

the use of syntactic formations can compact events and represent them in a 'logical' order.

Relational processes occurring in this discourse construct the identity of various subjects/issues and expose the ideological position of discourse type. Through the use of relational process, the Pacific region is given the identity as being 'Pacific' and the Pacific Islands Forum is identified as a 'regional actor'. Representations of the euro currency displays that it is a French issue (intergovernmental) and that the territories are 'pro-euro' which contradicts their inclination to become a more integral part of the mainstream Pacific community.

In this discourse, Verbal actions are predominantly associated with the EU subject as the Sayer participant. Transitivity structures containing verbal processes with the EU as the Sayer participant, represent the EU as 'affirming', 'saying' and 'announcing' which are verbal actions that imply authority and knowledge. In one instance, where a New Caledonian political figure is attributed with the Sayer role of the verbal process 'demander', the semantic nature of this verb does not express a sense of authority over the receiving party. The Pacific subject is making a request to the EU subject, which suggests that the latter has control over the Sayer participant. Mental processes occurring in this discourse indicate that emotions are experienced by Pacific/ACP subjects, and that mental processes signified by verbs which imply a rational character are often attributed to the EU subject as the Sensor participant. This represents the EU as a rational actor.

Many occurrences of metaphorical expressions in this discourse expose negative aspects of concepts represented, whereas metaphors were mostly ideological tools for the institutional discourse to highlight positive aspects of EU external development action. For instance, while the Journey metaphors in the institutional discourse highlighted the EU-Pacific relations as making progress in reaching the state of development and good partnership, the Journey metaphors contained in the press discourse suggest

that the concept represented as a journey ('une mission', 'une poursuite') has flaws and barriers. This discourse perceives the relations as being a traffic that is cluttered with 'false ideas circulating'. The speed of a journey is also applied to represent the journey as not very successful. Africa is portrayed as 'putting on the brakes' while the Pacific is 'dragging its feet', lagging behind. This also exposes a lack of cooperation and enthusiasm on behalf of ACP countries.

The Pacific is perceived as a person who is assisted by the EU in order to 'face' the EPA and to 'open up' to the world. The image of an opening in this discourse has both positive and negative implications. The Pacific press discourse states that local production would be 'désastreuses dans le cas d'une ouverture totale'. This asserts that the opening up of the markets, as suggested by the EPA, would cause local ACP businesses to close down. The image of barriers being lifted is also portrayed as being causal to such closures. With the use of the House metaphor, the EPA is represented as being founded on diversification and economic growth. On the other hand, the EPA is also represented as being in the process of being built and in need of a new foundation, which suggests that diversification and economic growth are not enough to support this agreement.

In this discourse, the representation of the EPA often occurs with War metaphors. The EU and EPA are perceived as being on one side of the war zone while the ACP stands on the opposing side. However, while the enemy was defined by the institutional discourse as being factors such as poverty and poor governance of ACP countries, in the Pacific press discourse the enemy is the EU and the EPA. The ACP is on guard to defend the attack of the enemy which is the EU/EPA— better armed 'mieux armée' against the EPA, 'protéger', 'tirer', 'fragiles'. This represents the relationship between the EU and the ACP in a negative way, as damaging, undesired and involving opponents of unequal power. Moreover, the linguistic features in the press discourse exposed a negative and sceptical, particularly towards the concept of trade liberalisation which is ideologically promoted by the EU as a development strategy. Violence is

frequently depicted in the representations of Material processes. The EU is associated with- 'casser', 'arracher', 'menacer', 'imposer', 'gâcher, engendrer tensions, mis en péril. The EPA is likewise associated with violent actions 'menacer', 'condamner', 'demeurer'.

Chapter Nine:

Conclusion

9. Overview

This research observed EU-Pacific relations through discourse analysis in the recognition that it is critical to look deeper into linguistic representations than merely relying on contextual/institutional definitions of identities and issues because these are often camouflaged by political and institutional ideologies. This multi-(inter-)disciplinary study emphasises the correlation between contextual and linguistic formations of meaning and applies linguistic methods to critically analyse and interpret the discursively constructed relationship between the EU and the Pacific region. As such, this research offers a unique approach that incorporates elements of several complementing disciplines in order to study the EU external development policy holistically.

Linguistic analysis reveals ideologies and conditions of discursive formation that are not perceptible at a surface level of EU policy. The contextual and linguistic analyses presented in this thesis examined dominant institutional fixation of meaning of signifiers as well as non-dominant, but still respected meanings, such as those represented by newspapers. It questioned what the EU does – legal frameworks and development of policy; what the EU is – EU identity through major EU integration theories and through its external development policy; what the Pacific is – in relation to the EU and relevant issues associated with EU-Pacific relations, such as regionalism, trade and development.

The institutional discursive representations, from European parliamentary reports, Commissioner's speeches and the EU official website texts reflected ideologies about the EU's helping role in the third world. These ideologies were discursively manicured to project positive images

regarding the identity of the EU and its values and initiatives. Institutional representations highlight the EU's 'influential' identity by recognising its active semantic roles in cause-and-effect scenarios signified by transitivity structures. However, this study has demonstrated that EU identity is not only represented in relation to the Pacific 'Other' but also in relation to concepts, such as trade liberalisation. The discursive representation of the Pacific region was constructed by the EU's self-identification, its norms and values, and also by its on-going and changing political/legislative outputs such as agreements, frameworks and decision-making. The representation of these qualities differed in the institutional discourse from the press discourse, especially in relation to the trade issue, as the EU influence is portrayed negatively and aggressively. This is evident in the occurrences of strong agency in transitivity structures and also in the occurrences of War metaphors that attribute aggressive and violent qualities to EU action.

The transitivity structure mirrors the logic of causality which represents 'EU-Pacific relations' as being part of an on-going neofunctional sequence. The semantic relationship between participants in the transitivity configuration exposed dynamics of power associated with the elements represented in the discourse. The identity of the EU as an assisting and supporting figure was constructed by assigning the EU subject active semantic roles in the transitivity structure. The identity of the Pacific as the recipient of the EU's benevolence was reflected in the same transitivity configuration in which this Pacific 'Other', or as part of a African Caribbean Pacific (ACP) group, was assigned passive semantic roles.

Metaphors were significant linguistic features because they compared EU-Pacific relations with a variety of images that portrayed particular implications. For instance, the portrayal of the EU-Pacific partnership as an on-going journey suggested that there was a goal to be achieved by this partnership. Additionally, the comparison of the Cotonou Agreement to a building highlighted the benefits and security it offered. However, these positive aspects of the concept of cooperation were at times contradicted

by the use of journey and War metaphors that suggested difficulties and negative aspects of the concept of cooperation.

While Personification was particularly prominent in representing the EU as a supranational body, this study also challenged the debated view of the EU as a supranational; intergovernmental or multi-levelled subject. The EU's discursive identity in the context of its external relations with the Pacific region was observed to be more supranational than intergovernmental or multi-levelled across the discourses studied. However, this was not always consistent, particularly when representations concerned the French-Pacific territories, in which case EU identity or action in the Pacific was often portrayed as being more intergovernmental, asserting French influence. French newspapers also differentiated the identity of French territories from the general identity of the Pacific region. This finding did not correspond with the EU initiative to integrate French territories with the Pacific community which is represented by full members of the Pacific Islands Forum.

9.1. Discussion of Findings

Institutional and newspaper representations provided different perceptions of power dynamics and ideologies defining EU-Pacific relations. Meaning varied across these two types of discourse as each type articulated different aspects of subjects and issues according to the ideological motivation of discursive formation. Representations were more politically motivated in the institutional discourse, whereas the newspaper representations were more motivated by the economic effects of the EU in the developing world. Findings from the analyses demonstrate the two discourse types use of transitivity structure and metaphors in representing EU identity and action, the concept of development, trade, regional integration and democracy, and Pacific identity. Representations of EU values, such as democracy, were significantly more prominent in institutional discourses than in newspaper representations. Institutionally conditioned

representations projected ideologies about the EU's role in development of ACP countries in a positive light. The concept of development was constructed differently by newspapers observed as it was represented as a result of a neofunctional spill-over from trade. Whilst notable differences were observed between the types of discourses, there were also similarities. The representation of the EU subject was generally high in agency in all discourses. This is because it occupies the 'Sayer' participant position in Verbal processes, the Actor participant in Material processes and the active positive in Mental processes that portray the process of thinking. Generally, EU agency was represented in a direct and hegemonic way in the institutional discourse. In contrast, the press discourse represented EU power in a more versatile and abstract way by using a passive voice or nominalisation.

Studying instances of representations according to the type of transitivity process was effective as each type carried different ideological implications. Material processes were the most prominently represented type in the discourses and they revealed the causal link between Actor participants and concrete actions. Verbal processes were the next most frequently occurring type of process. This feature exposed the practice of power in EU-ACP partnership, with the EU occupying the Sayer role which is implied to hold knowledge and authority. Relational processes, although not very frequently featured, carried ideologies in that they constructed identity and judgments regarding socio-political subjects and issues. Occurrences of Mental processes were also minor. The use of this process type highlighted the rational and emotional aspects of socio-political subject or issues represented. The semantic configuration in the transitivity structure represented the EU as having control whereas the Pacific region was described as being passive, weak and threatened.

Thus, Power is represented relationally, as a dynamic force, in transitivity structures where agency is assigned to a powerful subject that transmits and exercises its power onto a less powerful, Goal participant (object). It

can be assumed that, when there is a higher level of transitivity present within a clause, there is more power involved in the activity represented by that clause. Constructions which are modified by syntactic tools such as nominalisation or passive voicing can omit the Actor participant from the structure, with the effect of reducing the level of transitivity and taking away the responsibility held by certain socio-political actors. The variation in the representation of agency in transitivity structures shows that power dynamics of subjects involved in the representation can be altered. In the press articles, transitivity structures reflecting EU-Pacific relations are more often EU-oriented than oriented towards the Pacific region. The EU identity is given more importance in the representations. Furthermore, the representation of agency has an 'otherising' effect, as well as the function of assigning identity. It discursively creates a border between the entities concerned and structures the power hierarchy. This is particularly evident in media discourse, but only marginal in the policy discourse.

Findings from the transitivity analysis indicate that while the EU claims to pursue an equal partnership with external developing countries, the EU also represents itself as having control and dominance over the ACP region. In this discourse, the representation of an 'equal partnership' only occurs in the form of Relational process which has the function of creating/affirming facts, evaluating and making judgments (ideological function). On the other hand, the concept of 'partnership' is represented by the press discourse as unequal. EU discourses treat the Pacific as a collective ACP subject which diminishes its individual identity and voice. EU-Pacific relations are articulated largely in the Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) debate, which is having a negative impact on the state of the relationship.

An authoritarian and supranational institutionalist aspects of EU identity tended to surface in institutional discourse, while EU identity was represented as less influential and more multi-levelled in the press discourse. The multi-level governance view is therefore compatible with representations observed in the press discourse. The institutional discourse

articulates EU power in an abstract way by defining institutional and legislative frameworks, such as the Cotonou Agreement or the EPA as having agency.

Linguistic features representing diverse influences (not just the 'EU') and issues associated with EU-Pacific relations provide evidence for the multi-level governance theory which states that the EU is a multi-layered system with supranational, institutional, intergovernmental and subnational tendencies which establish a complex pool of influence to set up and practice equally multi-layered policies. In press discourses, the intergovernmental and neofunctional identity of the EU was more perceptible in the subjectivity of the EU than its supranational and institutional characteristics. Within its own borders, the EU stimulates diverse national interests and intergovernmental input to decision-making; however, in external policy such as matters of development, it acts as a more confined supranational block. In the context of the EU development policy and action in the Pacific region, the EU is mostly represented as being a powerful, institutional agent.

In comparison to the EU identity, the Pacific identity is not often articulated in the discourses studied. Its existence is largely subsumed under the EU's collective treatment of the ACP region. In occurrences where the Pacific's individual identity is recognised, it is predominantly portrayed as insignificant and associated with 'weaknesses' such as bad governance and economic vulnerability. The Pacific region's subjectivity in discourse was mostly verified in a relational manner, in the light of how the Pacific was semantically positioned in relation to events or other subjects. While the EU aims to work with the Pacific as an equal partner, discursive representations indicate that the EU views the Pacific as an 'object' or an 'issue'.

The concept of trade in the context of EU external development action features in an active/concrete/event-based way, rather than in a passive/abstract way, with more positive or negative connotations

depending on the type of discourse. In the institutional discourse, trade liberalisation through the EPA is considered instrumental for better cooperation and a more equal partnership between the EU and the Pacific ACP countries. The EPA is an Actor participant of Material processes that would lead to development in ACP countries. The findings show that trade liberalisation is represented as a positive concept in the institutional discourse, but it is represented as a negative concept in the press discourse which is sympathetic towards the vulnerability of average citizens in developing countries. Trade, especially in the press discourse, often features as having agency and as causing another event. The press discourse represents the EPA as being the cause of negative events and at the same time exposes the unevenness of power. This is because the EPA is an issue that affects both the EU and the Pacific, but the EU is in control.

The European Development Fund (EDF) and EPA issues binding EU-Pacific relations are represented with differing semantic undertones across the different types of discourses studied in this thesis. The EPA is more topical than the EDF and the meaning attributed to the 'EPA' was more contingent. Although development aid is an essential mechanism for transferring EU values, such as regionalism and democracy, this is not as influential as trade in regard to the partnership between the EU and the ACP region. The Pacific region's attitude towards the EU seems more positive in terms of development rather than trade, which is reflected in the press discourse's scepticism regarding the EPA issue. In the press media from the Pacific region, trade is often demonised. The EPA is a controversial issue for the Pacific region. From the Pacific's perspective, the EPA is a constraint on establishing positive relations with the EU. In the press discourse, the EPA is identified as being dangerous and associated with negative and violent images. Pacific island states are also attributed with negative qualities in the European Parliament's policy discourses, while European institutional discourse represents the EPA as a solution to development and better partnership, the Pacific press media perceives it as causing negative effects.

The Pacific wants to develop aid relations with the EU rather than trade relations. However, the EU sees development as a product of the EPA. Development objectives are also pursued by encouraging regional integration in the Pacific and their harmonised treatment of the French OCTs with the Pacific ACPs through the common framework of EDF. In trade, the EU has a separate agreement with the French OCTs. The French OCTs do not participate in the proposed EPAs, which isolates them from the central Pacific community held together by the Pacific Islands Forum.

The EU views and promotes democracy as a tool for achieving good regional governance. The ideology that 'democracy is better governance' is reinforced by images of transparency and Verbal processes. The concept of 'democracy' was semantically refilled and projected as something that is transparent and open. Equality is expressed by the Cotonou Agreement as the essential element of the new partnership which the EU aims to establish with the ACP countries. Representation of equality, however, did not feature often in the discourses studied, even though it was assumed to be a fundamental semantic building block of defining the EU's relations with the Pacific region. On the other hand, the political concept of 'regionalism' was prominently articulated in the discourses. Regionalism was represented as an institutional, on-going process with a definite goal. The concept of development was metaphorically portrayed as a neofunctional activity which requires material actions.

Regional integration is an EU instrument for achieving development that reinforces the current regional integration initiatives in the Pacific region. The importance of regionalism is largely recognised by the Pacific press discourse. There is a continuing debate on the nature and development of regionalism in the Pacific region which is reshaping the identity of the Pacific. Regionalism in the Pacific is different to the EU model in that the Pacific version is more intergovernmental and neofunctional.

Regional integration in the Pacific is an intergovernmental-institutional phenomenon where institutions such as PIF create a collective voice that is necessary to deal with other regions such as the EU. A strong collective needs to be built to assert Pacific goals, interests, conditions and identity in an increasingly global world. The French territories' identity was further explored by studying discursive representations of issues associated with the EU and also with the Pacific. The discourses studied reveal that the French territories' identity is both 'Pacific' and 'European/French'. French territories are represented as being 'Pacific' in the context of regionalism and development. They are represented as being European in the context of trade and in relation to the euro currency. The question of the regional identity of French territories is rarely represented in the institutional discourses and was only mildly exposed in the press discourse.

Both French and Pacific newspaper representations portrayed trade with spatial metaphors, indicating that trade liberalisation is perceived as having an impact on the EU's borders. This discourse also represented trade as a journey that facilitates the perception of EU-Pacific cooperation as having a dynamic neofunctional character. The journey image highlights the necessity to reach a destination, make progress by action and EU direction. The Pacific region is portrayed as pursuing this journey, however, this metaphorical representation is often constructed in a negative manner to represent it as a problem. Indeed, the Pacific is represented as slow and as coming across many hurdles in the journey. The EU-Pacific relationship is discursively viewed as an on-going, gradual process during which new issues, problems and interests emerge, bringing/forcing the involved parties to work together.

Personification occurred predominantly in the EU commissioners' speech discourse, where it was applied as a cognitive tool to seek sympathy and to facilitate the understanding of complex political concepts by associating them with basic human experiences such as health and body movements. Personification also featured as a political conceptualisation of power in European Parliament policy papers. Institutions or political initiatives were

displayed as having human attributes and acting as a person, to validate their power. We can also conclude that human-oriented representations applying body/life metaphors are more functional than ideological as they primarily facilitate cognitive processing of discourse formation for generating sympathy and validating initiatives.

The House metaphors in the discourse signalled a sense of safety, structure and shelter, and projected the supranational institutionalist identity of the EU. EU-Pacific relations are often portrayed through the House metaphor which suggests that it is an in-house, EU issue. This type of metaphor is a prominent discursive feature for representing the concept 'development' and this portrays development as a supranational institutionalist product. Regional integration, when conceptualised as a house, carries an ideological message that integration provides shelter for people, and it is a finished/constructed product. The construction process of building a house occurs in the discourse which reflects the necessity of perseverance and labour. The EPA and EU values are often represented as building blocks and foundations of the house. Moreover, the House metaphor draws a conceptual border between those within and the outside. Greater cooperation between the EU and developing countries is therefore suggested by the use of additional images of openings and windows. Transparency in governance is an EU conditionality in EU development action. The concept of 'democracy' is conceptualised in the discourse corpus as a window of a building that allows people inside and outside to have partial access to view what is going on either side.

War metaphors involved violent images which amplified criticism towards particular concepts. While the War metaphor was used by both institutional and press discourse types, the enemy differed. Institutional discourses conceptualised factors deterring good governance in developing countries as the enemy, while the press discourse represented the EPA as the enemy by highlighting its negative impacts. The use of the War metaphor also served to provoke consensus in the attitudes of readers and pursued them to 'fight' the problem 'together'. By dividing up two sides, it

had the effect of discursively establishing borders. The use of War metaphors by the press challenged the institutional ideology that trade liberalisation is good and has benefits for development.

9.2. Contributions

This research makes contributions to a wide range of disciplines including EU studies, linguistics, discourse studies and foreign language studies. It contributes to these disciplines by acknowledging and identifying dynamics of ideology and its importance, which are embedded in different linguistic significations of socio-political issues and identities. This study highlights the benefits of carrying out multi-(inter-)disciplinary research, which includes a contextual review of the topic by policy analysis as well as a linguistic discourse analysis.

This thesis demonstrated that discourses can be critically studied using means of linguistic analysis to extract meaning, ideologies and the conditioning factors of the semantic composition. It developed an effective methodological template for conducting discourse observations on EU identities, power and action in the context of its external development action to the ACP region. This research effectively utilised discourse analysis tools for deciphering transitivity/metaphor structure cross-discourse types. For this study, it was important to consider what was present in the linguistic structures, but also what was absent. That is to say, certain syntactic transformations allow subjects to be removed from the structure, and this technique is ideologically motivated in that semantic content is manipulated and changed.

The approach adopted here was valuable in that discourse provided evidence of how the EU is perceived in relation to specific issues or actors/subjects and offered insights into how EU identity is discursively constructed. This contributes to the continuing debate on EU identity. Identity representations were connected to the existence of power

relations. Both identity and power have discursive 'outfits'. This study has exposed that various aspects of EU identity are articulated at discursive level which are relative to different views of European integration. Theories defining the identity and integration of the EU can be reinforced by discourses reflecting the characteristics of these theories. This research makes an empirical contribution with observations on how discourse manifests the variance of power in society, and it supported the multi-level view of EU identity with linguistic findings highlighting the EU's multiple subjectivity and versatile transitivity configurations showing influences which are at times intergovernmental, institutional, supranational, and policy oriented. These findings revealed that discourse is ideologically motivated, producing different representations of EU identity and power in the two types of discourse studied, namely institutional and press discourses. Power dynamics of the EU decision-making system are viewed as multi-levelled. EU-Pacific/ACP relations are an appropriate example of the multi-level governance theory because they involve a dynamic set of actors and subjects: collective, individual, active, passive, animate, inanimate.

Thus, linguistic findings of this research indicated that power distribution in the EU-Pacific relations is diverse, layered and inconsistent. Through institutional discourse observations, this study also revealed a sense of power struggle between European institutions, namely between the European Parliament and the European Commission. Political concepts, namely trade and development, are also portrayed as having agency in this type of discourse. The representations are loaded with the ideology that the EU has a global responsibility in looking after developing countries and that it has the responsibility to transfer EU values, such as democracy, to the rest of the world. While financial assistance via an EDF is the crucial basis and requirement for achieving development and maintaining EU-Pacific cooperation, it does not feature as importantly in discourses.

The different aspects of EU identity surfaced in the analysis of transitivity and metaphor structures in discursive representations. For example, some

discursive representations constructed an image of a house or a person to highlight a sense of security offered by the EU's supranational/institutional nature. On the other hand, discursive representations of power/agency in transitivity structures varied suggesting the changing power structure of the EU. This study has observed that power is at times assigned to policies and political concepts themselves. This confirms the multi-level nature of EU identity/power in that it is not just the institutional units that carry/mobilise power, but it also lies in certain issues themselves, which makes power conceptual and floating. The variance of power represented in discourse confirms and reinforces the view of multi-level governance.

This study also offers theoretical contributions to Poststructuralism with critical reflection on meaning, ideology and the dynamics of power associated with the EU-Pacific relations. The discursive differences in the two types of discourse investigated confirm Foucault's view on the 'discursive formation' and support the view of social antagonism as discussed by Habermas, Heidegger and Laclau and Mouffe. This study demonstrates effectively that meaning in the signifier is floating, temporary, ideological and stabilised by dominant institutional power.

The linguistic features of discursive representations unraveled in this study demonstrated that 'EU-Pacific relations' is a signifier which lacks a fixed centre and is often challenged by social antagonism. There is no 'absolute way', especially not just through the EU legal frameworks/decision-making, of defining the EU's relations with the Pacific region, as there are many elements that shape the signifier. The arbitrariness of the signifier-signified relationship was demonstrated in the transitivity and metaphor structures where subjects were not consistently assigned a particular semantic role, and concepts were represented with other completely unrelated concepts such as the metaphorical representation of the EU as a house. This study demonstrated the flexibility of discursive constructions of meaning. It has put emphasis on the contextual analysis to complement the study discursive meaning and recognised the dynamics of ideology related to the issues concerned.

While ideology was significant in the discourse observations, linguistic features exposed varying degrees of ideology. Some signifiers were loaded with ideological meaning such as power relations and evaluation, which served to maintain political ideas and values. There were also discursive representations which were static and structurally simple. Some signifiers represented abstract concepts as concrete actions, and *vice versa*. Variations in the representations found in the two discourse types reflected the conditions of discursive formation and the fixation of meaning in a signifier. Institutional discourse tended to be more ideological about political issues while the press discourse provided a critique of ideology in that it evaluated and questioned the political issues. The press discourse represents the EU-Pacific relations as being more economic than political in nature. On the other hand, in institutional discourse, the EU's economic aspirations are less articulated and dominated by its political initiatives.

This confirms Laclau and Mouffe's view that the semantic composition of signifiers is under constant hegemonic struggle due to other subjects challenging dominant view. It also confirms that discursive meaning is partial, but is fixed to create ideology and pose as a universal representation. There is an inevitable presence of hegemony that holds together socio-political 'relations' and the dominant, institutionalised subject maintains and systemises ideologies upon the 'Other'. This imbalance in power is ideologically concealed but is discursively present.

9.3. Limitations and Suggestions for Further Research

Due to the multi-disciplinary nature of this research, it was not possible to dwell on the finer details of linguistic features. The linguistic approach could be further reinforced by adding to the methodological template adopted here with other components of Halliday's functional-grammar theory. Tools used in this discourse analysis were simplified and adapted to draw out meanings associated with subjects and issues in

representations. Focusing on the structure of transitivity and metaphors proved to be useful because these linguistic features were considered most effective for observing representations of subjectivity, power and ideologies. There were other linguistic approaches to discourse analysis that this research did not pursue, such as the speech act theory and code-switching. These would have offered interesting socio-linguistic insights but could not be applied because they would have distracted the delimited scope of study which focused on the textual aspects of meaning.

The research on EU-Pacific relations through discourse representations raises the question as to whether or not there will be efforts made at policy level to dismantle the current hegemonic relationship exposed by discourses, in order to more effectively build an 'equal' partnership between the EU and the Pacific. The discursive representations show that there is a permanent sense of power hierarchy behind EU relations with developing countries. The EU's dominating attitude towards trade and development matters concerning the Pacific region needs to change if an 'equal partnership' is envisaged as part of developing EU external policy. In an attempt to draft precise methods for minimising the present hegemony in EU relations with the Pacific region, it is important to work on the factors that condition such power hierarchy. Relevant policies should be revised accordingly and new measures proposed.

Moreover, the Pacific expects many changes for achieving further cooperation, which includes integrating the French territories that still frequently perceive themselves as being more European. It would be useful for this research to further discover how much of the constitutional makeup of the French territories impinges on the latter being pushed outside the boundaries of the Pacific community and what reformations are necessary for them to cooperate and participate more effectively in Pacific regionalism.

The method of discourse analysis developed in this study can be applied not only to address EU topics but would also be useful for social research such

as the question of ideology and power relations behind development *within* the EU, that is, comparing regional identities and various debated parts of the EU such as newly joined Eastern European countries. Similar discourse analysis could be carried out on topics more relevant to New Zealand, comparing discursively constructed identities and power relations through policy and media discourses in relation to important domestic topics such as the nuclear-free initiative or important local industries such as dairy or tourism. The integrated methodological approach could also be applied in language studies where textual material can be broken down into linguistic structures, semantic blocks, and cultural ideologies. This would be particularly important in translation practice, for making sure that ideologies carried by subtle linguistic features are not compromised and best retained through translation.

This study could also pursue further enquiry into EU identity and the nature of its decision-making power. Instead of focusing on representations by different discourse types, a parallel selection of a particular discourse type would be interesting for observing the multi-level governance aspect of EU identity. For example, institutional discourse could be explored in parallel and a wider range of categories which correspond to institutions representing the different levels of influences in EU decision-making. These would be discourses of regional representations in the EU, lobby discourse, discourse of citizens' forums existing within the EU decision-making space, NGO discourses, along with discourse of the Commission, the Parliament and the Council.

The discourse analysis findings indicate that Pacific identity is reflected relationally through EU's own identity, actions and influence. Despite the particularities of the Pacific region in relation to regionalism and its collective identity, the Pacific tends to be underrepresented in EU external development actions. The EU places the Pacific under the umbrella of the ACP region, but it is in the interest of ACP countries to receive more individualised recognition from the EU. This is a potential area for improvement in the current EU external development policy, to redefine

and clarify its relationship with ACP countries. While regionalism is an EU value extended to developing countries and is an ongoing effort in the Pacific, it is not strong enough as long as the Pacific is still considered to be just a part of the ACP region.

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