



The Human Face of the European Union: A Critical Study

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Abstract

Recent studies on the informative material made available to the general public by the European Union (Caliendo 2007, forthcoming in coll. with Piga; Magistro 2007a, 2007b, forthcoming) have shown that the community institutions and bodies notably draw from a variety of different genres and discursive practices to appeal to their audience. More specifically, the European Union (EU) benefits from orders of discourse that are generally found in communication in the commodity sector. The spread of consumer culture has affected the way public entities present and manage themselves, leading to a more commercial approach in terms of the objects they deal with (i.e. public products), the beneficiaries of these objects (i.e. customers), and the way public entities represent these objects and address such beneficiaries (i.e. the adoption of a promotional style). Hence, the public sector has lately been experiencing a process of commodification of social life, carrying elements of marketisation of public and institutional discourse (Fairclough and Wodak 1997).

Albeit critical research focusing specifically on EU informative documents is still at an early stage, the above-mentioned trends have been documented under many respects, looking at revealing instances of lexicon and grammar, as well as larger-scale discursive and visual elements. This paper intends to broaden investigations on the strategies and genres adopted by the EU to win consensus and promote its institutional structure. Attention is called to alternative tools supplementing the array of discursive devices and structures employed in EU brochures of comparable nature. In particular, focus will be placed on the 'humanisation' of the European Union, achieved by means of the incorporation of EU employees' profiles in the Union's informative material. The attribution of precise names, faces, roles and objectives to activity carried out at the European Union will be examined along with the social impact of such attribution discussed within the framework of critical discourse analysis.

Keywords: EU discourse, interdiscursivity, legitimation, self-representation, humanisation

1. Introduction¹

The paper is framed within two wider academic projects in which the authors respectively target the way the European Union (EU) is shaping interaction with its citizens in order to gain consensus and to support the integration process. The new media, namely the Internet and the main institutional information channel represented by the EUROPA website², occupy a key position for the purpose of this analysis.

As a way of reacting to a general and widespread lack of public support, noteworthy strategies and modes of interaction are enacted by the EU through discursive practices which are ‘socially constitutive’ (Fairclough 1992: 64; cf. Wodak *et al.* 1999; Fairclough and Wodak 1997), as they create new communication bonds that tie citizens to Community institutions. In this respect, Caliendo (2007, forthcoming in coll. with Piga), Caliendo and Napolitano (2008), and Magistro (2007a, 2007b) have detected some rhetorical and pragmatic trends that characterise the construction of a common European identity in the overall process of legitimation of European institutions. Focusing on the communicative style adopted in EU informative brochures, Magistro (2007a, 2007b, forthcoming) documented traits of promotional and conversation-typical discourse and identified European identity as one of the ‘public goods’³ being promoted by the European Union to win greater consensus and fuel popular participation in the EU building process. In addition, Caliendo’s findings (2008 in coll. with Napolitano, 2007, forthcoming in coll. with Piga) demonstrated that public endorsement also seems to be ‘enticed’ by motivations of a utilitarian and pragmatic character (e.g. prosperity, freedom, better living standards). The EU is thus increasingly portraying itself as a provider of a new supranational identity, but also of tangible goods and services that are ‘advertised’ as practical results brought about by EU membership.

In line with the assumption of the ‘socially constitutive’ nature of language, language can indeed be used to affect society as it portrays the locutor’s desired scenario: in this context it is claimed that the European Union portrays its desired social and identity scenario. This scenario does not necessarily represent the actual *status quo*, rather the *status quo* that the European Union seems to be pursuing for the benefit of Europe’s integration.

In our previous investigations of EU informative materials, we found that numerous strategies were used for self- and other-representation, respectively EU-representation and citizen-representation. These strategies served a number of purposes (e.g. attenuating claims, strengthening roles, conveying agency and accountability or lack thereof, etc.) by exploiting key grammar devices.⁴

As far as self-representation is concerned, in the brochures previously examined no reference was made to existing officials working for the EU. Only key institutional figures were clearly named and identified; hence, the sole ‘human face’ the European Union was endowed with was that of EU personnel in managerial or authority positions (e.g. the President of the Commission, the European Ombudsman, etc.). Nonetheless, even the naming of EU authorities in EU texts was the exception rather than the rule.

In terms of other-representation, reference to national ‘case studies’ showing EU problem-solving ability and interviews to ‘satisfied’ EU citizens was also documented. However, no details to identify the citizens involved were given – most likely for privacy reasons – except for a few generic labels such as ‘a UK citizen’ or ‘a Spanish citizen’ (cf. European Communities 1995-2005, Solvit).

Against this background, the current work focuses on the informative text ‘Serving the People of Europe’, which is available on the EUROPA website and has been published in two versions: 2002 and 2005. As the introduction to the 2005 version reads:

The present booklet looks at the European Commission, the largest of the three bodies [sic. of the EU]. It tells very briefly and simply what the Commission does and how it works. It also profiles some of the people, ordinary Europeans like the rest of us, who work for the Commission and whose job is to make sure that the EU is run in our common interest.

What immediately captured our attention was the pervading ‘human component’ emerging from the texts: ‘ordinary Europeans like the rest of us’ working for the EU but not in authority positions were explicitly identified, described and interviewed. Hence, these are the first texts where the European Union represents itself through real EU officials and, most importantly, where EU officials are given a precise name, story, voice and face. This communicative trend has been praised and further encouraged by the European Commission in its White paper on a European Communication Policy:

Action should focus on [...] *giving Europe a human face*. The European Union is often perceived as ‘faceless’: it has no clear public identity. Citizens need help to connect with Europe, and political information has greater impact when put in a ‘human interest’ frame that allows citizens to understand why it is relevant to them personally. *EU institutions and all levels of government can do more to ‘give a human face’ to the information they provide* (European Commission 2006: 9). [emphasis added]

The objective of this work is therefore to explore ‘humanisation’ as a strategy for the Union’s self-representation, an alternative communicative approach with respect to what our previous research has so far documented. The analysis will stretch over two stages: in the first instance we look at the discursive representation of the social actor ‘European Union’, revealing a real process of humanisation of the institution; in the second stage, we show to what extent this discursive representation is achieved through interdiscursivity, as it deploys elements belonging to a variety of discourse practices, mostly promotional in nature. A critical approach is applied to this analysis: at both stages we will discuss the intended social impact of the Union’s discursive choices, what assumed institutional agenda can reasonably motivate this discourse event.

2. EU Self-representation

In ‘The Representation of Social Actors’ (1996), Van Leeuwen provides a list of categories for exploring the representation of social actors in discourse. In particular, he outlines a ‘sociosemantic inventory’ of ways in which social actors can be represented, and investigates how their representation is accomplished through linguistic means. Van Leeuwen’s research question reads: ‘What are the ways in which social actors can be represented in [...] discourse?’ (p. 32) as he looks at all actors involved in the event (i.e. authors, recipients and third parties). Since our interest lies primarily in self-representation, we applied Van Leeuwen’s model to determine how the European Union, as a social actor, represents itself in the texts. Hence, Van Leeuwen’s research question has been re-contextualised as follows: What are the principal ways in which the European Union represents itself in these booklets?

2.1 Exclusion/inclusion

The first category refers to the exclusion or inclusion of social actors in the representation of a given social practice. This involves either overtly mentioning or suppressing/backgrounding an actor in the surface text to produce - or avoid producing - specific reactions in the intended readership (Van Leeuwen 1996: 38). Instances of exclusion/inclusion have been extensively discussed in some of our previous studies on EU informative texts, with an emphasis on features such as pronouns, voice and third-person reference. The modulation between these two categories was attributed to the institution’s attempt to build a pan-European sense of belonging to Europe and attenuate any threat or imposition to the national dignity of EU citizens (Magistro 2007a, Magistro 2007b; Caliendo 2007).

Unlike the previous findings, in both versions of ‘Serving the People of Europe’ inclusion is pervasive: the employees used to portray the social actor ‘European Union’ are named and given full agency in EU activities. Hence, the concept of exclusion does not apply in these texts, as they entirely rely on identifying actors and attributing to them clear agentive roles and accountability for their tasks.⁵

2.2 Role allocation

Role allocation refers to the part the participants in the discourse event are called to play to fulfill the author’s communicative intention. Namely, the participants can be ‘activated’ or ‘passivated’: they can be represented as active forces in the pursuit of a given activity or simply as agentless patients of such activity (Van Leeuwen 1996: 43-44). As Van Leeuwen explains, the distinction between activation and passivation transcends the actual grammatical realisation of the representation: ‘there need not be congruence between the roles that social actors actually play in social practices and the grammatical roles they are given in texts’ (p. 43). This implies that activation and passivation are not bound to grammatical features, but mostly relate to ‘conceptualisations’ of activity and passivity embedded in the representation. For example, activation can be attained by conveying ‘participation’ of an

actor in the action described through the use of foregrounding grammatical roles:

(1)
Katarina **is responsible for** the way EU-funded development programmes and projects for poorer regions are selected, funded and implemented in seven countries. (2005: 11)⁶

(2)
We are **helping to create** a more dynamic management culture and, by giving independent and objective advice, we **can help** departments **to refocus** when need be. (2002: 7)

Activation can also be achieved through ‘circumstantialisation’ (p. 44), giving an actor accountability for a specific action:

(3)
The Commission [...] is staffed not by an army of face-less bureaucrats but **by ordinary European citizens** who share a common goal of building a strong and diverse Union. (2002: 22)

(4)
The ‘D’ grade is being gradually phased out and the functions carried out **by this staff** transferred to outside contractors. (2005: 12)

Even if ‘by ordinary European citizens’ and ‘by this staff’ appear in a passive-voiced sentence, conceptually this phrase highlights the dynamic role of EU employees, who are represented as active operational forces in EU building.

Activation, rather than passivation, is the relevant strategy in ‘Serving the People of Europe’ as the notion of ‘being active’ is the crucial message of these texts. The booklets reject indeed the idea that EU employees are inert ‘undergoers’ of EU integration and portrays them as hard-working contributors to this process.

2.3 Genericisation and specification

While generic reference is used to represent classes or groups of people where participants are equal anonymous members of these groups, specific reference represents ‘identifiable individuals’, real people existing in the real world (Van Leeuwen 1996: 46). Hence, opting for either generic or specific reference produces radically different representational effects.

In terms of self-representation, two main dimensions can be observed in this text: direct reference is made to real individuals but also to the concrete world surrounding each individual, namely to the idiosyncratic background and ‘flux of experience’ singling out a person and making him/her unique (p. 46).

As regards direct reference, this is accomplished through the use of the officials’ proper names, as opposed to the classification labels mostly used in other brochures (e.g. EU officials, EU staff, EU personnel); for example: Matthias Langemeyer (2002: 5), Giorgio Clarotti (2005: 15), Dervla O’Shea (2002: 17), and so forth. As for the distinctive background of each individual, reference is made, for example, to particular educational histories or family

environments, what makes a person's life experience unique and unclassifiable:

(5)

With a first law degree from the Comenius University in Bratislava and a post-graduate degree from the University of Michigan, Katarina joined the World Bank in Washington in 1993. (2005: 11)

(6)

Vijay came to the United Kingdom with his father, a teacher, when he was 10 years old. He went to school in London and, before qualifying as a chartered accountant, he earned a B.Sc. in economics at the London School of Economics. (2002: 7)

Drawing from Bourdieu (1986), Van Leeuwen explains that 'concrete reference to immediate experience is linked to the habitus of the working class' (1996: 46), thus suggesting that it usually addresses a mass audience. Similarly, it could be claimed that the European Union makes concrete reference to its officials' experience to reach a wider public, the mass audience of 'ordinary' European citizens who can identify themselves with the 'ordinary' employees portrayed in these booklets.

2.4 Assimilation and individualisation

This set of categories is strictly linked to the previous one (i.e. genericisation and specification). The only difference lies in the type of emphasis conveyed: what is highlighted through individualisation is not the specific identity of an individual, rather his/her being a single entity, his/her standing out as separate personality as opposed to dissolving into a group (assimilation). Van Leeuwen (1996: 50) explains indeed that individualisation draws attention to singleness, while assimilation emphasises conformity and collectivisation.

In terms of self-representation, our previous work showed plentiful instances of assimilation conferring a collective persona on the EU workforce (e.g. they, we, the European Union, EU staff, the language services, etc.). Only a few cases of individualisation were recorded, but they referred to the top of EU hierarchy: while 'ordinary officials' and subordinate civil servants were grouped together under a variety of labels, the executive sphere of super-ordinate officials were individualised (e.g. 'What can he do?' referred to the European Ombudsman, 2005). As previously noted, though, this trend was hardly ever documented. The emphasis on individuality emerging in 'Serving the People of Europe' is, therefore, in clear contrast with the collective and team-spirited image of the institution frequently conveyed in other informative texts:

(7)

He also had a long-standing personal interest in IT. (2005: 13)

(8)

Initially a secretary in the department for transport, **she** then sought a job where **she** could have more contact with people. (2005: 17)

(9)

The unit I work for helps people in the regions in Britain. (2002: 13)

The European Union no longer appears as a compact front, rather as a fragmented mosaic of assorted individuals, each one contributing with different skills to the building of Europe. On one hand, this choice seems to be made to foster the readers' self-respect and self-confidence and to raise awareness on their potential as single individuals. On the other hand, it portrays being employed at the EU as an attainable career objective, whatever the background of the applicant. This strategy ultimately denotes a call for people's contribution by the institution, as it encourages readers to bring their distinctive input to the EU project.

2.5 Association and disassociation

The applicability of this set of categories to the booklets is debatable and can only be discussed if a macro-perspective is assumed. Association is defined by Van Leeuwen as reference to 'groups of social actors (either generically or specifically referred to) which are never labeled in the text (although the actors or groups who make up the association may of course themselves be named and/or categorised)' (1996: 50). We can talk about association when actors are grouped together *ad hoc*; that is, in the context of a specific activity which does not normally imply classes or categories. This *una-tantum* grouping is motivated by the author's underlying communicative intent. Conversely, when actors are grouped together in socially- or culturally-sanctioned classes (e.g. age, profession, belief, political orientation, etc.), we no longer talk about association, but categorisation or assimilation (cf. the relevant sections).

If association brings together groups of social actors, dissociation simply involves the unforming of associations by means of separate reference to the single actor or by assimilating the actors in a socially-acknowledged class endowed of a known label. Going back to the actual documents, our EU officials are clearly labeled as 'members of staff' or 'ordinary Europeans who work for the Commission', which highlights their belonging to the occupational category 'EU staff'. This makes the notion of association inapplicable to the booklets because one of the requisites of association, as explained by Van Leeuwen, is the lack of a sanctioned label for the grouping of the actors. In other words, the actors need to be associated only in relation to a specific *ad-hoc* activity, but they need not be members of a defined class. Hence, what is realised corresponds to Van Leeuwen's notion of categorisation or assimilation (cf. the relevant sections).

Just as categorisation/assimilation promptly turn into nomination/individualisation as soon as EU staff assumes a non-collective form and each individual is discretely presented and identified, similarly association is promptly undone and turns into disassociation as soon as each section outlines independent and individual-specific backgrounds, profiles, feelings, tasks, skills, etc.

Although these idiosyncratic ties and paths are utterly unrelated as they have developed independently for each employee, it must be noted that they are all connected by a common denominator: being employed at the European

Union. If these texts emphasise the separate backgrounds, interests and experiences of these employees, at the same time, they stress their belonging to a sanctioned labeled group (i.e. EU staff). This communicative approach aims to call attention to the double dimension of EU personnel by making it more 'human' and similar to us: if these are generic EU employees, they are also distinct individuals with unrelated life experiences; they came from independent routes - as ordinary as ours - but they all converged to serving Europe.

2.6 Indetermination and differentiation

Indetermination and differentiation refer to the degree of uniformity or diversity conferred to a social actor *vis-à-vis* other actors. Indetermination 'anonymises a social actor' through conformity with others, while differentiation clearly 'differentiates an individual social actor or group of social actors from a similar actor or group, creating the difference between the 'self' and the 'other', or between 'us' and 'them'" (Van Leeuwen 1996: 52).

The 2002 and 2005 versions begin respectively with 'each chapter gives you a chance to meet a member of staff, to find out who they are and what they do' (p. 3) and '[the booklet] profiles some of the people, ordinary Europeans like the rest of us, who work for the Commission and whose job is to make sure the EU is run in our common interest' (p. 3). This wording marks the difference between 'them' and 'us' but, at the same time, in the second incipit, it explicitly challenges such separation via the comparative form 'like', highlighting the affinity between 'them' and 'us'. Throughout the texts, this balance between equality and difference is wisely kept: on one hand the author highlights the features and skills making all the EU employees described equally unique and valuable in the pursuit of the EU project; on the other hand, the readers are encouraged to see themselves as individuals, different from other individuals, who can give a special contribution to the EU thanks to their unique life experience. This is nicely expressed in the words of Giorgio, one of the members of staff: 'I was now able to help 100 Giorgios' (2005: 15). This statement incorporates the uniqueness of Giorgio's work but also the similarity of this social actor with other actors whose experiences are similar to his. Hence, differentiation is emphasised as long as it implies equality of value and merit of each citizen's special path. 'Them' and 'us' are forcibly distinguished but they are also endowed with an underlying connection that makes them equivalent: being unique is not a unique feature but it equally helps all EU employees to give a one-of-a-kind contribution to EU building.

2.7 Nomination and categorisation

When proper names are used in a text, Van Leeuwen refers to nomination. Through nomination, social actors are represented 'in terms of their unique identity', as opposed to categorisation, where social actors are grouped according to roles or ideas that they share with the other group members (1996: 52).

As discussed in genericisation and specification, we found that, in general, individuals are rarely nominated in EU brochures. If they are, it is because

they usually fulfill an executive-level institutional and diplomatic function. The predominant tendency is to categorise people working for the European institutions according to their sector (e.g. translators, legal services, etc.), their level of education (e.g. recent graduates) or simply as generic 'EU staff' or 'EU employees'.

These booklets, on the other hand delineate the identity of ordinary officials featuring, in particular, a type of nomination that Van Leeuwen describes as semi-formal (given name + surname) and informal (given name only); no instances of formal nomination (surname only) were found. Opting for informal ways of address places EU officials face-to-face with the readers and deletes any traces of authority, thus minimizing social distance. Informal nomination depicts EU officials as people we are familiar with.

Semi-formal:

(10)

This is the career path of **Katarina Mathernova**, who took over as director in the Commission's department for regional policy in early 2005. (2005: 11)

(11)

Effective coordination is essential, so civil servants such as **Xabier Atutxa** closely monitor the development of draft EU laws in order to facilitate their passage through the Parliament. (2002: 19)

Informal:

(12)

Marco studied political sciences in his home-town university of Pisa. (2002: 5)

(13)

Dorota came to the Commission in 2004 with qualifications which included study at the College of Europe's Polish campus at Natolin, and work in the Polish Ministry of European Affairs. (2005: 19)

2.8 Functionalisation and identification

These categories apply different perspectives during representation: while functionalisation represents a person according to the activity s/he carries out (e.g. occupation), identification defines social actors 'not in terms of what they do, but in terms of what they, more or less permanently, or unavoidably, are' (Van Leeuwen 1996: 54). The latter category may involve the classification of people according to classes like gender, age, class or race, but also according to the roles they hold in relation with other actors (e.g. work relations, family ties, etc.) or to physical features (p. 56-7).

The texts show numerous examples of functionalisation: this was quite predictable considering that the booklets focus on members of EU staff. Emphasis is given, therefore, to the current positions held by the employees and to the specific tasks they carry out within the institution:

(14)

Matthias Langemeyer, **a negotiator** involved in the 2004 EU enlargement to 25 countries and in talks with potential future members, works at the heart of this democratic process. (2005: 5)

(15)

As **head of the delegation** in Niger Jeremy manages a staff of 45 and the largest development assistance programme in that country. (2005: 7)

(16)

Marta Sanz Fernández is **an interpreter**. (2005: 21)

(17)

I am now **an audit supervisor**, but I have held several different positions since I started in this unit in September 2000. (2002: 7)

(18)

This is a historic time for the Polish and I am really pleased to be **one of the first trainees** from the enlargement countries to be at the Commission, which is the centre of it all. (2002: 11)

Reference is also made to the interviewees' occupations preceding their recruitment at the EU. This outlines the 'ordinary' career path that most employees have followed, so as to encourage the readers' identification with them:

(19)

From 20 years as **a Dutch navy cook** to deciding which IT equipment best suits a particular Commission official may sound like a quantum leap, but that has been the career path for Frans. (2005: 13)

(20)

'Like Obelix, I fell into the potion as a child,' he says, though he initially became **a biomedical researcher** thinking that better suited to his desire to bring about change and innovation. (2005: 15)

(21)

I was **a secondary school teacher** for 16 years before I started at the European Commission. (2002: 9)

(22)

He joined the Commission in 1988 after working at the European Court of Auditors for four years, having initially trained **as an auditor and lecturing in management accountancy** at Sheffield Polytechnic. (2002: 7)

(23)

Having been **an assistant professor** at the University of Nuremberg, even though it is in a similar field, it is a considerable change to be in such a large institution. (2002: 21)

Although the employees' job activities are given priority over other information and extensive space in the profiles, the author does not fail to provide other elements of identification for these 'ordinary Europeans', to make them even more ordinary and human and their life choices more tangible, imitable and achievable.

Firstly, identification is performed via ‘classification’, defined by Van Leeuwen as the grouping into classes according to gender, race, religion, provenance and so forth. In the booklets, provenance plays a major role to highlight the multinational scope of the European Union. The following phrases, especially those possessivated by means of possessive pronouns (26 and 28), lay emphasis on the local roots of each employee thereby implicitly acknowledging any feeling of regional belonging in the readership. Example (28) also conveys the institution’s respect paid to each official language, which is part of the heritage of the people of Europe.

(24)

After schooling in France and **his native Germany**, Matthias picked studies in agronomy in Bonn and Toulouse as a likely route to an international career. (2005: 5)

(25)

Dorota Lewczuk-Bianco **from Poland** is a lawyer checking compliance with these standards. (2005: 19)

(26)

Marco studied political sciences **in his home-town university of Pisa**. (2002: 5)

(27)

And even though it is perhaps a little unusual for **a Brit**, I like to cook as well. (2002: 13)

(28)

They are sometimes so technical that I have to learn terminology **in my native Spanish** before I master it in other languages. (2005: 21)

Secondly, ‘relational identification’ is performed: actors are represented on the basis of ‘their personal, kinship or work relation to each other’ (Van Leeuwen 1996: 56). The following are examples of family ties:

(29)

Moving to Brussels meant Marta could give **her four children** the same experience she had of living abroad. (2005: 21)

(30)

Outside the office, I spend as much time as I can with **my wife and daughter** and enjoy swimming. (2002: 13)

(31)

Vijay came to the United Kingdom **with his father**, a teacher, when he was 10 years old. (2002: 7)

Including classification:

(32)

Immediately before moving to Brussels with **her Italian husband**, met while studying in Milan, her job was to adapt Polish food law to EU membership requirements. (2005: 19)

(33)

In between came more than 10 years working in the kitchens of the Commission, the job which enabled him for the first time to live full-time in the home country of **his Belgian wife, son and daughter**. (2005: 13)

These statements portray the interviewees as normal human beings having families and partners. They also try to persuade the readership that a career at the EU is compatible with building a family or raising children. It is interesting to note that the last two examples include 'classification' as they specify the national origin of the employee's partner (i.e. Italian and Belgian). This specification, not strictly relevant in the context, can be attributed to an attempt to demonstrate that the multinational dimension of the institution may successfully be reflected in the household of its staff. Lastly, another incursion into the private life of the interviewees is prompted by the many references to their hobbies and interests. The example of classification below (34) represents the actor as a musician, thus prioritizing once again an activity. However, because such activity is not work-related, it contributes to further 'humanise' the actor:

(34)

He is also **a keen jazz musician**. (2002: 5)

The profiles are not intended, therefore, as documentary appraisals of the employees' tasks within the institution, but as comprehensive presentations of real individuals who are authentic and human from every respect.

2.9 Personalisation and impersonalisation

This set of categories is a crucial component in the representation of social actors, as well as a key element in endowing an actor with a 'human side'. Personalizing a social actor means representing him/her as a human being, including therefore 'the feature 'human'' (Van Leeuwen 1996: 59) in his/her representation. Impersonalisation, on the other hand, helps delete the human component from the surface text by backgrounding the identity and man-typical features of a social actor (i.e. agency).

Van Leeuwen outlines a few subcategories for impersonalisation, some of which are particularly relevant for our discussion. Impersonalisation can be 'objectivated' 'when social actors are represented by means of reference to a place or thing closely associated either with their person or with the activity they are represented as being engaged in' (p. 59). The first objectivating subcategory proposed by Van Leeuwen, spatialisation (a), involves reference to the place the social actor is usually associated with; whereas the second subcategory, instrumentalisation (b), involves reference to the function fulfilled by a social actor or to the instrument used to perform such function. It is important to distinguish instrumentalisation from functionalisation, described above: the first one occurs when reference is made to de-personified objective nouns (i.e., Brussels, the translation service), while the second one implies the use of person-related suffixes (i.e. -ist, -er, -or, -man, -person, -eer, etc.), which explicitly connect a root to an agent.

Unlike the booklets under investigation, the informative texts previously analyzed featured objectivated impersonalisation:

- a) Spatialisation: Brussels (EU employees/authorities)
 b) Instrumentalisation: The translation service of the EU (EU translators)
 The European Commission manages/decides (EU commissioners)

As reported in Magistro 2007a and 2007b, impersonal forms were also exploited in sections where a lack of clear agency was desirable to attenuate claims or EU accountability, thus avoiding any threats to EU citizens' assumed national pride.

Going back to the categories, unlike impersonalisation, personalisation calls attention to the 'human face' of social actors as living beings. This is essential to achieve the 'humanisation' of the institution: EU bodies consist of real people having distinct personalities, families, hobbies and past experiences. The only communal aspect of these people's lives is their commitment to Europe, their being part of the European Union and their practical contribution to European integration; this does not prevent them from preserving their own 'world', their own passions and interests. Personalizing calls for sympathy on the part of the readers and encourages them to identify with EU officials. It also provides full transparency about the EU workforce and dissipates the fog often surrounding the behind-the-scenes of an institution.

The following are a few manifest examples of personalisation, or human-trait-endowment, contained in the two versions of 'Serving the People of Europe':

Providing identity:

(35)

Ann Ropers (2005: 9); **Ann-Kerstin Myleus** (2002: 9)

Possession:

(36)

Our publications are not technical (2005: 17)

(37)

Despite moving to Brussels, **his** regional identity is very important to him (2002: 19)

(38)

To relax, Jeremy has **his** garden. (2005: 7)

Family ties:

(39)

Valerie and **her husband** moved to Brussels from Dublin in 1990 when he got a job with the European Parliament. (2005: 17)

(40)

I spend as much time as I can with **my wife and daughter**. (2002: 13)

Agency:

(41)

Katarina **is responsible for** the way EU-funded development programmes and projects for poorer regions are selected, funded and implemented in seven countries. (2005: 11)

(42)

Civil servants such as Xabier Atutxa **closely monitor** the development of draft EU laws in order to facilitate their passage through the Parliament. (2002: 19)

(43)

As head of the delegation in Niger, Jeremy **manages a staff** of 45 and the largest development assistance programme in that country. (2005: 7)

Personality traits and emotions:

(44)

It was an interesting and historic time to join, and **I really liked** the idea of the togetherness of the EU. (2002: 15)

(45)

I am keen to see how the new dynamic in the EU created by the entry of eight countries from central and eastern Europe will play out in the Commission. (2005: 11)

(46)

I hold the institution in high esteem and our work to improve **it is not only challenging but also satisfying**. (2002: 7)

(47)

I enjoy helping them [people] find exactly what they need. (2005: 17)

(48)

I am proud to work here as the European Commission has been extremely progressive in its work on climate change and I feel that my everyday work can make a difference. (2002: 5)

(49)

[...] he initially became a biomedical researcher, thinking that better suited to **his desire** to bring about change and innovation. (2005: 15)

(50)

And **I love** working on subjects which affect so many people. (2005: 5)

2.10 Overdetermination

Overdetermination occurs when more than one role or function is attributed to an actor, when ‘social actors are represented as participating, at the same time, in more than one social practice’ (Van Leeuwen 1996: 61), thus highlighting a social actor’s multidimensional approach to social life. In our context, this strategy suggests that a career at the European Union does not imply compromising on private life, personal interests or leisure activities. We find indeed an interpreter who is also a mother, a publication officer who is

also a wife; the Secretary to the Mint Directors also has multicultural interests while the Head of the Niger delegation is also a fan of gardening.

EU officials are portrayed as versatile individuals who have a challenging career and, at the same time, cultivate a variety of interests. Just like ordinary 'employees' all around Europe, EU officials are able to reconcile work with family and free time. This multiple involvement of EU staff in work- and non-work-related activities is a major ingredient in these booklets and has never been documented before in any other informative texts of the European Union.

3. Interdiscursivity

In its second stage, the analysis sets out to investigate the role of language in producing the effects of authority, legitimacy and consensus (Chilton 2004), as well as the use of promotional and strategic discourse features on the part of the EU to pursue legitimation. In line with what Fairclough and Chouliaraki define as dialectics of the 'colonisation/appropriation' of discourse practices (1999: 41), the promotional features that can generally be ascribed to the discourse of the private sector are appropriated by EU institutions and developed into new articulations of discourse. With reference to our case-study, we shall therefore draw from Fairclough's view on the idea of the 'marketisation' of discourse (1995: 51-52):

Changes in media discourse also reflect, and help to diffuse, contemporary 'promotional' [...] or 'consumer' culture, the way in which *models of promotion* (of goods, institutions, parties, personalities, and so forth) *and consumption have spread from the domain of economic consumption to the public services, the arts, and the media* [...] Similarly, in government leaflets aimed at the public [...] the influence of advertising and promotional genres is increasingly evident, with the public again being constructed as consumers rather than – or as well as – citizens [...]. [emphasis added]

Hybridisation and appropriation thus translate into the use of some discursive practices typical of the private sector for a specific consensus-building purpose. As underlined by Rutherford (2000), established authorities are threatened by a decline in the level of people's confidence and by widespread scepticism towards the institutions. The institutions' response to those pressures has been represented by 'an enormous burst of publicity and promotion' through which a variety of organisations has sought that most valuable (because most scarce) of commodities: public attention (p. 7).

'Humanisation' is a common trend in the promotional genre. By looking at some of the banks' website sections, like Barclays' introductory page of its Board for instance (Figure 1), it is clear that associating a name and a face to a company's name or brand proves an effective way of enhancing the audience's level of trust and facilitating a process of personal identification: a human presence holds a strong reassuring power and, at the same time, stands as an underwriter vouching for the company/institution's *bona fide* and legitimate purpose.

Figure 1: Barclays Bank PLC © website⁷


BARCLAYS

▶ About us ▶ Media Centre ▶ Sustainability ▶ Investor Relations ▶ Careers

John Varley

Group Chief Executive (Board and Executive Committee member)

John was appointed as Group Chief Executive on 1 September 2004, prior to which he had been Group Deputy Chief Executive from 1 January 2004.

He held the position of Group Finance Director from 2000 until the end of 2003. John joined the Executive Committee in September 1996 and was appointed to the Board in June 1998.

He was Chief Executive of Retail Financial Services from 1998 to 2000 and Chairman of the Asset Management Division from 1995 to 1998.

John is a non-executive director of AstraZeneca PLC. He is also Chairman of Business Action on Homelessness, President of the Employer's Forum on Disability, President of the UK Drug Policy Commission and a member of the International Advisory Panel of the Monetary Authority of Singapore.

John is married and a father to two children.

DOB: 1 April 1956



Similarly, a TV series of commercials launched by the Italian banking group Intesa Sanpaolo© (Figure 2) is an interesting example of the 'humanisation' strategy, also summarised in the advertisement slogan that the Sanpaolo bank institute launched in 2005, ironically playing with its name: '*Sanpaolo. Meno Banca. Più ... Paolo, Luca, Giorgio, Elisabetta, Francesco...*'⁸ [Less Bank, more... Paolo, etc.]:

Figure 2: Banca Intesa Sanpaolo SpA©⁹

In the EU informative brochures under investigation, the presence of 'human faces' also aims to stress the dialectic and relational aspect of communication. The institution 'steps down' in the shape of its representatives, 'ordinary people' who directly and personally take the floor to address the audience. The visual presence of an 'ordinary person' like one of us is a way to lower power asymmetry and increase involvement and participatory democracy among citizens, who are the final addressees of EU policies.

But, what is it that the EU is actually promoting? The pressures of globalisation lead to the emergence of ‘public goods’ that are promoted and ‘sold’ by the institutions. These commodities, shared by us all as Europeans, are defined by Rutherford (2000) as benefits that are quantified in social terms and that become ‘commodified’ (cf. Magistro 2007a: 51). By endorsing the institutions, citizens thus buy a ‘social product’ (Rutherford 2000) that brings personal and social satisfaction and that affects citizens’ real lives, such as environment protection (51), easy access to information and documentation (52 and 53), solidarity, social opportunities and innovation (54), cultural and linguistic democracy (55), food safety (56):

(51)

I am working on Europe’s implementation of the Kyoto Protocol (an international agreement on climate change). We are working with governments, businesses, non-governmental organisations and other groups to see what can be done **to reduce the greenhouse gas emissions that are responsible for global warming.** (2002: 5)

(52)

The online system known as ‘Consultation, the European Commission and civil society’ (Coneccs) **is part of the Commission’s commitment to provide better information** about its consultation process. (2002: 15)

(53)

The Commission consults very widely, but it also **provides user-friendly information on key policies** – both in print and on the internet. (2005: 17)

(54)

The European model is about solidarity. **Social policies are a productive factor, giving opportunities to all citizens and ensuring that change does not leave people behind.** (2005: 15)

(55)

Government officials and experts working on new laws that will apply throughout the EU **must be able to read and discuss these texts in their own language.** (2005: 21)

(56)

Having EU-wide rules and **knowing that all our food meets certain criteria** is important. For example, you can’t have one level for permitted pesticide residues in one country, a second in another and a third for imports. Because of the single market, it is important that we all work together. (2005: 19)

The influence of advertising and promotional genres on institutional discourse is evidently reflected in the presentation of the social actors who are personally and practically involved in the functioning of the EU. Interdiscursivity, here referring to the ‘colonisation’ of institutional discourse by promotional discourse practices, can operate at different levels, and is particularly investigated with reference to its intended persuasive and legitimating effect. The foregrounding of ‘promotional spokespersons’ pursues the twofold aim of enhancing dialogue and promoting identification, also in the light of the range of tangible benefits being provided by the institution they represent.

3.1 Factuality

‘Humanisation’ generally contributes to increase the factuality of a statement, as in the case of the promotional discourse of the private sector. In EU informative brochures employees introduce themselves in terms of their personal and professional experience (reference to personal details such as birth dates, or to the time spent in a specific job position). These data add to the transparency and the truthfulness of the statement. References to personal data also give texture and consistency to the ‘institutional testimonial’. This results in the portrait of a ‘multilayered’ *persona* and adds a strong human component to what is being said. As discussed in the category entry of ‘overdetermination’ in section 2 (Van Leeuwen 1996: 61), the EU officials portrayed in the leaflets have families, children, make choices and have been working for the Institutions for a considerable number of years:

Figure 3: Vijay Bhardwaj, Internal Audit Service



(57)

Vijay Bhardwaj

BORN: 1954 in Nairobi, Kenya

POSITION: Head of Unit, Internal Audit Service

[...] **He joined the Commission in 1988 after working at the European Court of Auditors for four years**, having initially trained as an auditor and lecturing in management accountancy at Sheffield Polytechnic. (2002: 7)

Figure 4: Anne Ropers, Working Group on euro coins



(58)

Anne Ropers

BORN: 1945 in Paris, France

POSITION: Secretary to the Mint Directors Working Group on euro coins

[...] **After 32 years in Brussels**, the international environment is still the part of her work she likes best. (2005: 9)

The above data are all facts, elements that support the trustworthiness and credibility/reliability of the testimonials. The employees have committed themselves for a substantial period of their life to pursuing the aims and the long-term plans of the institution they represent. These traits bring us back to the promotional corporate discourse of the Barclays website (Figure 1), whose content and formulation display similar patterns ('John joined the Executive Committee in September 1996 and was appointed to the Board in June 1998'; 'He was Chief Executive of Retail Financial Services from 1998 to 2000 and Chairman of the Asset Management Division from 1995 to 1998'; 'John is married and a father to two children'; 'date of birth: 1 April 1956'). The message being foregrounded here is that real persons exist behind the Corporation/Institution, employees ready to 'put their neck on the line' for what is being claimed, i.e. the Company's cause.

Among many others, another interesting example of a similar promotional approach adopted in the private sector is represented by the advertising campaign launched by ERG SpA©, one of the most prominent Italian groups operating in the energy and petroleum sector. The responsibility taken by ERG employees to 'leave themselves personally exposed' is conveyed by the locution of the company's main slogan '*ci mettiamo la faccia*' ['we put our neck on the line for it'] (Figure 5), which translates both taking a risk (personally responding for what is being claimed and/or offered) and, more literally in the original Italian, posing for the close-up of the advert and having one's face displayed on a promotional leaflet or poster. A further play on words in the advert refers to petrol stations as 'trust' stations ('*Distributori di fiducia*'), a place where trust is dispensed and distributed by the employees as a real 'commodity':

Figure 5: ERG SpA© slogan¹⁰



On the ERG SpA© website, the same advertising campaign is developed through a series of profile-like dossiers (in the same interview format as the EU booklets) introducing some of the company's ordinary employees, mainly petrol station owners and managers. In an attempt to instil customer loyalty and retention, their individual account foregrounds specific elements, such as

their personal age and the period of time spent working at this company. In line with Van Leeuwen's categories of social actors introduced in section 2, this move can also be considered in the light of the 'identification category' (1996: 56-57), according to which social actors are defined in terms of what they are, e.g. their age, work relation or provenance.

Figure 6: Diego Allemandi. ERG SpA© local petrol station manager¹¹

Intervista a...*[Interview with...]*

Diego Allemandi - 27 anni *[27 years old]*

Punto vendita *[Sales point]:* Marene (CN) - SS 662 KM 7,715

Diego è uno dei tre titolari del punto vendita ERG di Marene. Ci dice: 'Quando ho cominciato avevo **solo** 21 anni...' *['Diego is one of the three owners of the ERG petrol station in Marene. He says: 'I started when I was **only** 21']*



Figure 7: Antonio and Massimo Carbonaro. ERG SpA© local petrol station manager¹²



Due di noi [Two of us]

Antonio e Massimo Carbonaro - 35 e 32 anni [35 and 32 years old]

Punto vendita [Sales point]: Biancavilla (CT) Via Vittorio Emanuele e Catania Via Lorenzo Bolano, 42

‘Sul primo impianto *ci siamo praticamente nati*. L’altro lo abbiamo in gestione dal 1991’.[‘*We were practically born in our first petrol station. As for the second, we have managed it since 1991*’]

In the above examples, the employees’ long-term commitment (‘I started when I was only 21’; ‘We were practically born in our first petrol station’) aims to instil customer loyalty and retention.

The originality of this highly ‘humanised’ website campaign mostly lies in the ‘follow-up’ to the website advert and in the idea of presenting the picture of local employees on gigantic posters, this time positioned in the same petrol station where they work. This spatial ‘human’ deictic represented in visual terms increases the factuality of the statement and the personal commitment of the narrating voice:

Figure 8: Luciano, local ERG distributor in Naples, Italy



3.2 Personification, embodiment and transfer of narrating voice

In the booklets published by the European Union, the institutions' embodiment in their 'human representatives' is not only conveyed in visual terms through photographs portraying real officials at work, but also by means of specific and recurring linguistic patterns.

The moment of personification, meant as a 'synthesis' of the institutional and physical/human entity, is linguistically rendered in the very first paragraph of each personal dossier. This opening section is indeed instrumental to the passage from the institution to the narrating *persona*, thus making the 'institutional incarnation' possible. The sequence consists in a two-sentence pattern in which the nexus is produced by discourse deixis (e.g. anaphoric references linking back to phrases or propositions, as in (59) - (61)), or other elements of lexical cohesion, like substitution (62), or partial/total lexical repetition (examples 63 and 64)¹³:

(59)

From the World Bank to the European Commission via a spell at home to help prepare Slovakia for EU membership. **This** is the career path of Katarina Mathernova, who took over as director in the Commission's department for regional policy in early 2005. (2005: 11)

(60)

The EU is the world's largest trader and aid donor, and has a special partnership with 78 countries in Africa, the Carribean and the Pacific (ACP). Jeremy Lester specialises in working with **these countries**. (2005: 71)

(61)

To ensure our food is safe to eat wherever it comes from, the EU has a common set of strict standards. Dorota Lewczuk-Bianco from Poland is a lawyer checking compliance with **these standards**. (2005: 19)

(62)

The Commission is updating its management practices, outsourcing nonessential services and encouraging greater internal job mobility. Frans Rijpstra has first-hand experience of **both**. (2005: 13)

(63)

Working in partnership with the European Commission, the directly elected European Parliament plays a key role in developing EU policy and in making laws. Effective coordination is essential, so civil servants such as Xabier Atutxa closely monitor the development of **draft EU laws** in order to facilitate their passage through the Parliament. (2002: 19)

(64)

The idea that Commission officials make rules without worrying about their impact is far from the reality of EU decision-making. It is, in fact, a democratic process involving the Commission, 25 national governments, the European Parliament and many others. Matthias Langemeyer, a negotiator involved in the 2004 EU enlargement to 25 countries and in talks with potential future members, works at the heart of **this democratic process**. (2005: 5)

It is also worth noting that, in each opening paragraph, the first and the second sentence are ‘bridged’ by the very name of the employee (Katarina, Jeremy, Dorota, Frans, etc.), whose personal contribution is essential to turn EU aims and policies into a tangible reality. In (60) for instance, the anaphoric reference links the EU external policy to its actual realisation: by introducing Jeremy, the institution steps back and delegates its ambassador to take the floor and make the ACP partnership real. Again, in (64), it is Matthias who works ‘at the heart’ of the democratic process in which numerous institutional actors are involved.

Example (65) displays an interesting syllogism-like structure that leads to the logical conclusion according to which the presence of the employee (Marta) is indispensable for the functioning of the institution and for its same existence. Premises [1] and [2] lead to the conclusive statement [3]. The sequence results in an osmosis between the institutional and human entity, also linguistically conveyed by lexical repetition:

- (65)
 [1] Government officials and experts working on new laws that will apply throughout the EU must be able to read and discuss these texts in their own language. [2] So the Commission cannot function without translators for written texts and interpreters for real-time discussions. [3] Marta Sanz Fernández is an **interpreter**. (2005: 21)

The aim here is also to provide evidence of the fact that the institutions are composed of human beings, without whom they could not possibly operate. The expression of this crucial and irreplaceable nature of the human component is clear from the above sequence: Multilingual communication is a keystone in the EU / Multilingual communication is impossible without interpreters / Marta is an interpreter. The ‘can’t-do-without’ message places the human actor at the centre of stage, portraying him/her as indispensable for the daily functioning of the institutional apparatus.

3.3 Legitimation

Once the narrating voice is shifted onto the employees to achieve humanisation, the dynamics of self-representation and evaluation are, as in advertising, ‘delegated’ to the human vector to achieve legitimation. Legitimation is one of the four ‘strategic functions’ that linguistic expressions may be used for (Chilton and Schäffner 1997: 211-215). This concept deals with the way receivers are managed into acceptance of the institutional order and is oriented towards acts of self-representation and self-praise as a source of ‘reason, vision and sanity’ (Chilton 2004: 47). According to Cap (2005: 5), legitimation strategies include ‘the awareness and/or assertion of the addressee’s wants and needs, reinforcement of indisputable ideological principles, boasting about one’s performance, positive self-presentation and many more’.

Working at the EU makes these employees satisfied, proud, useful for the community and for those in need. In line with the legitimation taxonomy explored by Van Leeuwen (1996) and Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999), the officials’ personal account can be ascribed to the category of legitimation achieved by ‘moral evaluation’, i.e. ‘based on moral values, rather than

imposed by some kind of authority without further justification' (Van Leeuwen 1996: 97). Their daily work consists in pursuing ambitious and at the same time principled achievements: these employees are 'helping people' (66), 'making a difference' (67), 'working for the whole of society' (68) and 'steering change' (69):

(66)

In addition, **I feel I'm helping build Europe by helping people do their job better.** (2005: 13)

(67)

I am proud to work here, as the European Commission has been extremely progressive in its work on climate change and **I feel that my everyday work can make a difference. I am also interested in making a difference in the developing world** and I will soon be moving to another job in the Commission to work with development aid. (2002: 5)

(68)

From a personal point of view, **I find it very satisfying to be working for the whole of the society in which we live** in a sector which affects daily life. (2005: 19)

(69)

This is the area that, for me, is the EU's biggest challenge – creating an innovative, dynamic economy in an ageing society [...]. The European Social Fund plays a vital role in **steering change and helping even the less competitive take advantage of change.** (2005: 15)

Legitimation is also achieved through the use of expressions having a high evaluative dimension (Van Leeuwen 2005: 12). The EU officials' 'success story' is enthusiastically narrated in the first person and filtered through evaluative statements, such as 'I like' (example 44), 'I am keen' (example 45), 'I hold the institution in high esteem' (example 46), 'I enjoy' (example 47), 'I am proud' (example 48), 'I love' (example 50). This increases both the persuasive appeal and the human strand of self-representation, in an attempt to foster a process of identification with the social actors involved (as previously highlighted in section 2), and therefore instills a positive attitude towards EU actions and goals.

Employees thus become actual 'facilitators' who translate EU policies into real life in terms of human experience and practical everyday repercussions that are beneficial to all. By doing so they 'vouch', from a personal stance, for the effectiveness and the utility of EU policies. Strategies of legitimation are therefore also achieved according to the principle of 'rationalisation' (Van Leeuwen 1996): EU practices are justified on a utility principle as they serve a specific purpose and have a positive effect (see examples 51-56).

4. Conclusion

The analysis of the 2002 and 2005 booklets 'Serving the people of Europe' according to Van Leeuwen's taxonomy shows a clear identification and personalisation of the social actor 'European Union'. In particular, a definite

human component is conferred to the institution through reference to real identities, evocation of personal experiences, and emphasis on man-specific characteristics belonging to the EU officials presented in the texts. This alternative method for self-representation does not transpire as evidently in the other informative material published by the EU investigated in our previous research. This communicative approach can be read as an attempt, on the part of the institution, to step closer to European citizens in an informal, human and comforting way. The choice of providing faces and voices for the real actors in the backstage of the European Union is a winning formula to convey the people-oriented approach of the Union and to intimately connect the writer and the reader, the institution and the citizen.

The study also showed that, through interdiscursivity and the appropriation of traits that belong to the discourse of the private sector, the EU works in the direction of a 'politics of certainty' (Rutherford 2000: 7), where 'experts offer proof and people seek confirmation to assuage anxiety'. The EU features elements of promotional discourse as the appropriation of linguistic strategies that are typical of the private sector are aimed to capture the public and increase popular endorsement. The use of these discursive practices to generate advocacy *vis-à-vis* the EU confirms Rutherford's claim (2000: 262), according to which: 'The technology of persuasion pioneered by corporations was soon appropriated by governments'. The analysis thus throws light on a different communication pattern: from a self-referential and institution-centred perspective, the narrating voice now shifts to the institutions' 'spokesperson', who is at the same time a civil servant and a man/woman, thus a perfect intermediary in the exchange process and in the identification stage. Their 'success stories', through the use of narratives, are aimed to share a common perspective and to lower citizens' inhibition and scepticism towards a legitimated and democratically elected European Union. These facilitators are actors translating the 'human side' of EU policies, which are put into practice through the employees' daily lives and job tasks. This is another way to 'activate' and 'operationalise' institutional initiatives which are not presented in a merely referential and descriptive way, but rather endorsed, lived and made by the faces and hands of the Commission.

Overall, the informative material under investigation has emphasised that the EU is an institution made up of ordinary Europeans who safeguard, serve and, after all, closely resemble their fellow citizens in their approach to work and life, in their hobbies and passions, in their interests and in their family ties. This helps establish a tight like-minded and personal relationship between the institution and its citizens, most of all, a human-typical relationship. In 'Serving the People of Europe' we see that the Union and its citizens are no longer portrayed as separate entities but merge in an inclusive and humanised 'we, ordinary Europeans'.

¹ The authors discussed and conceived the article together. Giuditta Caliendo is responsible for section 3 and relevant subsections; Elena Magistro is responsible for section 2 and relevant subsections.

² <http://www.europa.eu> (Retrieved in: December 2009).

³ On the notion of 'public goods' cf. Rutherford, 2000.

- 4 Cf. impersonal forms, modality, passive and active voice, pronouns and third-person reference in Magistro 2007a; Magistro 2007b; Magistro forthcoming; Caliendo 2007; Caliendo forthcoming.
- 5 Cf. the notion of 'role' in the section *Role allocation*.
- 6 Emphasis added in examples (1)-(69).
- 7 <http://www.aboutbarclays.com/Content/Detail.asp?ReleaseID=33&NewsAreaID=137> (Retrieved in: December 2008).
- 8 Cf. Gruppo Sanpaolo IMI 2005, Bilancio Sociale. Available at:
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- 13 In the relevant examples, anaphora and cohesive devices **are marked in bold** and refer to the underlined clauses/phrases of the preceding sentence.

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