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EUROPE IN 12 LESSONS: THE IMPACT OF EU LANGUAGE AND COMMUNICATION POLICY ON SUCCESSIVE EDITIONS OF AN EU BOOKLET

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Resumen

Esta tesis examina cómo el predominio actual del inglés se relaciona con la política de comunicación general de la UE. Algunos estudios anteriores y la evidencia anecdótica muestran que el inglés se está convirtiendo en el principal idioma de trabajo de la UE y que el francés se usa cada vez en menor medida. En este trabajo de indagación, el folleto de la Comisión Europea "Europa en 12 lecciones" sirve como estudio de caso. Incluye un estudio longitudinal, como así también un análisis retórico de las cuatro ediciones en francés e inglés publicadas entre 1997 y 2014. Los cambios en estas ediciones y las entrevistas con dos de los principales agentes en la producción de la publicación indican que las instituciones europeas se están alejando de un estilo de escritura académico con frases largas y complejas, que caracteriza a lenguas latinas, para acercarse a un estilo de comunicación anglosajón más secillo para el lector. De manera oficial, todas las 24 lenguas de la UE tienen igual importancia. Sin embargo, el creciente euroescepticismo y los críticos como el lobby Open Europe, que acusan a la UE de un 'déficit democrático', pueden contribuir a que el inglés se vuelva su lengua principal. Este trabajo sostiene que los cambios observados en "Europa en 12 lecciones", con el tiempo y entre los dos idiomas, son indicadores del cambio en la política de comunicación general de la UE, que busca facilitar la lectura y ayudar a las instituciones a comunicar sus beneficios a los ciudadanos. Asimismo, la tesis concluye que el folleto no es puramente informativo, sino que el autor intenta cada vez más persuadir al lector de que la UE es la mejor respuesta para el futuro de Europa.

Abstract

This thesis examines how the current predominance of English relates to the EU's overall communication policy. Previous studies and anecdotal evidence show English is becoming the EU's primary working language and French is becoming less prominent. This thesis takes the European Commission's booklet 'Europe in 12 lessons' as a case study. It includes a longitudinal study as well as a rhetorical analysis of four editions of the French and English versions published between 1997 and 2014. The changes in both language editions and interviews with two of the main agents in the production of this booklet suggest the EU institutions are moving away from the academic writing style with long and complex sentences that characterises Latin languages, to a more reader-friendly, Anglo-Saxon communication style. Officially, all 24 of the EU's languages have equal importance. However, growing Euroscepticism and critics such as the Open Europe lobby, who accuse the EU of a 'democratic deficit', may contribute to English becoming the EU's main language. This thesis argues that the changes observed in 'Europe in 12 lessons' over time and between the two languages are evidence of the change in the EU's overall communication policy, which aims to be more reader-friendly and help the institutions communicate the EU's benefits to citizens. The thesis further concludes the booklet is not purely informative but that the author increasingly seeks to persuade the reader the EU is the best answer for the future of Europe.

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Introduction

In their book *The Europe of elites: a study into the Europeanness of Europe's political and economic elites*, Best, Lengyel and Verzichelli (2013, p. 3) state:

> "The fact that, notwithstanding some setbacks such as the rejection of the European constitution in several national referenda, European integration is still widening and deepening indicates that it is driven by forces largely independent of immediate external threats and pressures, and that this impetus is being maintained by an endogenous logic."

According to this provocative statement, the European integration process is an unstoppable force driven by a political elite and undeterred by external events. It was impossible to predict that only three years after their book came out, the British public voted to leave the EU. Brexit is now scheduled to go ahead in March 2019 and it would seem the unstoppable force of European integration has been brought to a halt.

The current state of affairs is the result of a long crescendo of Euroscepticism, which originated in the minds of the political elites, but is now spreading within national populations too (Best, Lengyel and Verzichelli, 2013). Criticisms levelled at the EU range from accusations of spending too much money, not listening to citizens, and producing biased content (Open Europe, 2003), to the use of impenetrable language (Grin, 2006). Even EU supporters, such as German philosopher Jürgen Habermas, have warned the EU it urgently needs to get the public more involved (Dempsey, 2011). Most recently, French President, Emmanuel Macron, addressed members of the European Parliament urging them to defend Europe's democracy (Khan, 2018).

Within this context, the EU institutions have been looking to counteract these attacks. In this way, they are stepping up their efforts to communicate more clearly and make the content more relevant to citizens. Countries, such as the UK, where the Plain English campaign came into being in the 80s, or Portugal, where the Claro campaign was implemented to help public administrations better communicate with citizens (Fisher-Martins, 2010), set this trend. Within the EU institutions, Emma Wagner, an English-language translator at the European Commission, spearheaded the first campaign for clearer writing ('Fight the FOG') in 1998.

In order to examine possible links between EU communication policy and these external pressures, I have chosen to write a case study on one of the EU's own publications about the European institutions. 'Europe in 12 lessons', written by Pascal Fontaine, first appeared in 1993 with the latest edition published in 2018. It is a short booklet intended to give readers a simple overview of the EU, in 12 lessons. Given its numerous editions, it provides the perfect basis for a longitudinal study on the evolution of the French original and the English version. Specifically, I will look at the 1998, 2003/4, 2010, and 2014 editions.

The first part of the (1) literature review covers the EU's communication objectives, the European Commission campaigns for clearer writing, and examples of some of the criticisms against the EU. The second part includes relevant translation theory, which will be used to analyse the French and English texts.

In the (2) methodology, I will describe the kinds of investigations I undertook, how I carried out the research, as well as the study's limitations. The section on (3) rhetorical analysis

presents some of the rhetorical devices and elements of political discourse used in 'Europe in 12 lessons', which serve as a basis to examine both language versions in closer detail.

The first part of the (4) findings links to my first research question, which is how the French version evolves over time. Here, I analyse the changes throughout the editions and categorise them to get better clarity of the historic trends. In the second part of the (5) findings, I aim to answer my second research question, which is how the English evolves over time and in comparison to the French. The aim of this section is to look at some of the more salient examples, which, according to the literature review, best illustrate the differences and similarities, between the French and the English versions.

The third part of the (6) findings provides a summary of the two interviews carried out with two people closely involved in the creation of the last three English editions. Firstly, this section contributes to confirming and/or nuancing the findings from my analyses of the French and English editions. Secondly, it gives more background on the booklet and helps answer my third research question, which is how the EU's communication policy may or may not have impacted the booklet. In the conclusion (7) I answer these three questions by linking my main findings to the literature and discussing their implications.

With this study I have been able to establish that the two language versions of the booklet 'Europe in 12 lessons' evolve differently over the years. The French version includes many of the author's own opinions, of which he seeks to persuade his readers. On the other hand, the English edition is more neutral and balanced and becomes an original in its own right. As such, this case study shows how the EU, in the face of various internal and external factors – for example, increasingly Eurosceptic citizens and politicians – seeks to communicate more clearly with the public and include people more in the democratic dialogue. It also shows that English with its tendency towards clear and concise writing, lends itself well for this purpose and that it is taking on a more prominent role within the European institutions.

1) Literature review

Part 1 – Translation in the EU institutions

Introduction

In the first part of this literature review I hope to gain a better understanding of what has been shaping EU translation over the years and what some of the internal and external driving forces of the EU institutions have been. First, I will look at what is happening within the EU institutions with regards to language policy and internal language campaigns. Next I will provide a small introduction to the literature on Euroscepticism, which I consider to be one of the possible external influences on EU translation policy. To round this first part off, I will look at how the EU institutions describe their communication policy, as well as what external commentators make of this.

In the second part I will take a closer look at some of the translation theory that will come into play in the analysis and findings in the subsequent sections. I will start by mentioning some of the distinguishing linguistic factors between French and English, and move on to some of the fundamental concepts of translation theory. I will further go over other translation and linguistic theory such as communicative purposes, text typology, rhetorical devices, discourse analysis, as well as political discourse, in order to create the basis for my analysis in the following sections.

EU language policy

In order to study translation within the EU institutions it is necessary to get a clearer sense of how they approach this task. The Commission's Directorate-General for Translation is, amongst other things, dedicated to "strengthening multilingualism in the European Union and to helping to [sic] bring the Union's policies closer to its citizens, thereby promoting its legitimacy, transparency and efficiency" (European Commission, 2006). This shows that translators are in a unique position to promote the EU institutions' positive qualities by making these visible in their languages.

At the present moment, the EU has 24 official languages, which means official documents need to be translated into all of these languages (European Commission, 2018). As such, the EU institutions represent a goldmine for comparing translations. Besides the 24 official languages, there are also preponderant languages known as 'working languages', which are the ones used for drafting documents and they are mostly limited to English, French and German (Gibová, 2009).

Table 1 illustrates the growing trend for drafting in English, whilst other languages, such as German and French, are increasingly less used. French and German were initially two of the dominant languages, since both countries were founding members. The fact that the UK joined the EU in 1973 and that English has become a global lingua franca has seemingly contributed to English becoming the new dominant language within the EU institutions, particularly as a drafting language.

Table 1 Trends of the predominance of individual EU languages in drafting "originals"

	1997	2004	2006
Total output in pages	1 125 709	1 270 586	1 541 518
Drafted in English	45.5%	62%	72%
Drafted in French	40.4%	26%	14%
Drafted in German	5.4%	3.1%	2.8%
Drafted in other EU languages	8.7%	8.8%	10.8%

Source: Gibová (2009)

Rollason (2003), too, has observed the increasing pressure English is exerting on French and all other EU languages. The European Parliament administration uses mostly French, which, according to Rouse (2003), is a legacy of France's position in the European Communities before the UK's accession. As Robinson (2005, p.4) puts it, "Formerly French enjoyed a clear predominance but in recent years the balance has shifted and now within the Commission most drafting is done in English."

The paradox, as Gubbins (2002, p. 48) puts it, is that "over-reliance on English, whatever the practicalities, is nevertheless impossible to reconcile with the declared notion of equal status for all EU languages and is potentially damaging to future harmonious cooperation in Europe". This suggests that the use of English as a dominant language can be a sensitive issue, as people might feel their language is at a disadvantage or less important.

When it comes to translating EU legislation, it is not the target language conventions that are of primary concern but rather ensuring coherence and cohesion across all language versions (Gibová, 2009). It should be noted at this point that I am studying a non-legislative text, with different characteristics and priorities with regards to translation. When it comes to the translation of political discourse, Schäffner (2012, p. 120) notes, "Translation is embedded in institutional practices, which in turn are determined by institutional policies and ideologies." In the following subsection, I will explore what this internal policy might be.

EU communication policy

In a EU communication policy White Paper, the European Commission suggests action should be focused 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" (European Commission, 2006, p. 9).

In a Communication on an information and communication strategy for the EU, the European Commission established the following objectives (European Commission, 2002, p. 11): "To improve perceptions of the European Union, its institutions and their legitimacy by enhancing

familiarity with and comprehension of its tasks, structure and achievements and establishing dialogue with the general public."

It further concedes (European Commission, 2002, p. 10):

> "<u>Neutral factual information is needed of course, but it is not enough on its own.</u> Experience has shown that a given item of information will not remain neutral because its presentation will constantly be reworked by the media, relays and other opinion multipliers.

> <u>Genuine communication by the European Union cannot be reduced to the mere provision of information</u>: it must convey a meaning, facilitate comprehension, set both action and policy in a real context, and prompt dialogue within national public opinion so as to enhance the participation of the general public in the great European debate."

Ironically, this very passage was used against it by Open Europe, a business group campaigning to turn the EU into a looser trading area (Charlemagne, 2010), shortened significantly – only the words underlined were quoted – and misconstrued to represent the European Commission as a reckless propaganda machine. In their report on EU communication policy, Open Europe claim, "the EU publishes classic promotional material, such as booklets, adverts and films, all under the guise of providing 'information'" (2008, p. 1). Indeed, 'Europe in 12 lessons' is included in their list of such publications.

One of the concrete ways in which the EU institutions have been trying to improve their communication is by implementing campaigns for clearer writing. Below, I will provide an overview of these campaigns and their aims.

Campaigns for clearer writing

In our email exchange (see appendix), Emma Wagner, English translator for the European Commission's translation service, informed me she led and implemented the 'Fight the FOG' campaign in 1998 and was part of the steering committee of the 'Clear Writing campaign' in 2009. The first campaign was aimed at English-speaking staff but the second was extended to all EU languages.

Wagner claimed that everybody was interested in the campaign, since English was the main drafting language and would therefore make things easier for translators working from this language. Indeed, one of the issues translators face is translating English texts written by non-native speakers. Furthermore, she explained that many other countries had national initiatives for clear writing, which helped put together the European Commission's guidelines.

The main guidelines, which the 'Fight the FOG' and 'Clear Writing' campaigns focus on are: putting the reader first; using verbs, not nouns; being concrete, not abstract; using active, not passive constructions; and keeping it short and simple (abbreviated to form the acronym KISS). Furthermore, when drafting a text, the author should ask whether any of the questions readers would naturally ask have been answered, such as information regarding costs, what is being done, where, and why (Monkcom, 2012).

Some of these guidelines seem more easily applicable to English than French. I will return to this below, when I discuss some of the linguistic discrepancies between French and English. According to Delisle, Lee-Jahnke and Cormier (1999), French and German prefer to package verb-related information in verbal nouns, whereas English prefers to use verbs, particularly action verbs. In other words, nominal structures not verbal structures make French and German sound more idiomatic.

In that sense, it would appear that to want to make the EU more intelligible to its citizens might go against the EU institutions' principle of linguistic equality and multilingualism. As Castorina (2010, p. 12) puts it:

> "The campaign Fight the FOG offers clear examples of linguistic ethnocentrism and myopia. It fights not only against the EU's principles of equal language rights between Member States, but against English itself which is now spontaneously evolving into a more European and International language and which has much to gain in appropriately valuing shared European terminology which uses common structures and combining forms."

It would seem that the principle of giving all 24 EU languages equal importance, as mentioned above, takes second place to adopting a more Anglo-Saxon writing style, which, presumably, would facilitate communication with the lay people. One of the reasons why the EU gives priority to improving communication with citizens could be linked to the growing presence of Euroscepticism, which is a phenomenon I will look at in the next section.

Euroscepticism

It is hard to put a date on the start of Euroscepticism and, arguably, it exists in many EU countries, to a greater or lesser extent. In the UK, in 2001, then British Minister for Europe, Peter Hain, first used the term 'Eurobabble' to describe official EU texts he felt were written in impenetrable language. According to Grin (2004), this term exemplifies the British government's attempt at distancing itself from what the EU is perceived as representing. The fact that a national politician openly criticises the EU's communication style, suggest this is an issue for the general population too.

According to Foster and Holehouse (2016), because the institutions are facing growing Euroscepticism, they wish to make citizens aware of the benefits of the Union in order to prevent growing nationalistic tendencies and alleged attempts by Russia to undermine the EU. In an article in the New York Times, German philosopher and EU supporter, Jürgen Habermas was quoted as warning the EU heads of government "the process of European integration, which has always taken place over the heads of the population, has now reached a dead end. It cannot go any further without switching from its usual administrative mode to one of greater public involvement" (Dempsey, 2011).

Best et al. (2012, p. 7) explain the problem as follows:

> "Elements of Euroscepticism have been manifest in several segments of European political elites since the start of the European integration process. Recently, however, they have been enhanced by a growing antipathy within national populations towards deepening integration. The creation of a

labyrinth-like superstructure of European institutions, which intervene from afar in the affairs of European populations, and the cession of national sovereignty rights to political bodies that are inaccessible for any direct interventions by European electorates, have contributed to an estrangement between the Europe of citizens and the Europe of elites (Rohrschneider 2002; Eichenberg and Dalton 2007). Indicative of this gap is the fact that a deepening of European integration through the introduction of a European constitution or through the signing of a new fundamental treaty has been rejected by referenda in some traditionally EU-friendly countries, such as Ireland."

From the above, I can see how certain national public figures and even prominent EU citizens criticise the EU institutions' inability to communicate effectively and clearly. These criticisms contribute to the sense of Euroscepticism a growing number of citizens are experiencing and which national politicians are using as a platform for their campaigns.

Furthermore, I am able to see how both internal and external trends impact language and communication policy within the EU. On the one hand, there are internal driving forces and initiatives to simplify language, so as to make EU linguists' work easier and more efficient. On the other hand, members of the public and politicians accuse the EU institutions of a lack of transparency and poor communication with its citizens.

In this first part of the literature review, I have gained a sense of the institutional and political context in which the publication 'Europe in 12 lessons' is situated. Below, I will cover some of the theory, which I will use to analyse the booklet.

Part 2 – Translation theory

Introduction

This section includes some fundamental concepts to help compare the original French text with its English translation. First, I will look at the linguistic factors that distinguish the French and English language. Next, I will look at the Skopos theory, developed by Reiss and Vermeer in 1984, and then I will discuss communicative purpose. Finally, I will provide a brief overview of text typologies to gain a better sense of what kinds of texts exist and how this affects their translation.

Linguistic factors

To compare the evolution of the French original and the English language version of the text, I need to find out more about some of the linguistic discrepancies between the two languages. Bennett and Muresan (2016) have studied the incompatibilities between them in academic writing and their findings are very useful to this study.

In their paper, they refer to several phenomena in Romance languages such as: complex sentences; deferral of main information; verbal fronting; and 'literary' use of language, amongst other things. While these features reflect the Classical humanist belief that linguistic abundance and complexity are a sign of mental sophistication, in English, Benett and Muresan (2016, p. 101) explain, "…elaboration is perceived as redundant and digressive,

while the tone may be seen as pompous and undemocratic, compromising the values of clarity, economy and precision that lie at the heart of English factual writing".

Furthermore, Siepmann (2006) has found that, in France and other Southern countries, there is great relevance of aesthetic concerns to linguistic sentiment. He argues French paragraph writing is much more tolerant of digression. Conversely, according to Anglo-Saxon academic culture, a paragraph should open with a topic sentence, which all other sentences must support. English style manuals also usually advocate maintaining the Subject-Verb-Object unit intact, with most adverbial information placed before or after the main clause (Bennett and Muresan, 2016).

Another difference is that English syntax relies on verbs, whilst nouns often dominate French sentences. According to Plain English, writers should use active rather than passive verbs (e.g. "we're doing" not "this is being done by us") and avoid nominalisations, which derive from verbs, such as: "failure" from "fail", "engagement" from "engage", "investigation" from "investigate", and "refusal" from "refuse" (Plain English tip sheet, 2004). In French writing, on the other hand, it is much more common to use nominalisations and passive structures.

This would suggest that there are some significant differences between French and English writing. While the two languages might seem incompatible on a linguistic level, perhaps this can be mitigated in the case of a shared text type – in this case a factual booklet. Below, I will look at the importance of the purpose behind each text and what some of the existing typologies are.

Skopos theory & text typology

Skopos theory is famous for rejecting that a translation should automatically seek to achieve the same as the original. According to this theory, the skopos (or purpose) of the original text could be very different from the translation, as when verse is translated as prose or a novel adapted for a children's version (Chesterman, 1998).

With regards to the booklet 'Europe in 12 lessons', I know it was originally written for the general public, however, as mentioned above, French and English, as written languages, follow different guiding principles. Thus, the French skopos might be to convey to the readers that the author of the text is linguistically highly proficient and well educated, whilst the skopos of the English translation might be to simplify the language of the original text and make it more reader-friendly.

Since I want to examine the evolution of the booklet over time, it may also be useful to establish its communicative purpose and whether it stays constant over time. Reiss (2004) has defined three main text types: 1) **informative**, focusing on content; 2) **expressive**, made up of artistically organised content; and 3) **operative**, containing content with a persuasive character. Further, informative texts usually intend to convey a message, knowledge, opinions or facts, whilst operative texts intend to trigger behaviour (e.g. as in advertising or propaganda material) (Payer, 2011).

Referring to the work of Jakobson (1960) and Kinneavy (1971), Trosborg (1997) also divides texts into 1) **referential**, intended to represent the realities of the world; 2) **expressive**, where

the focus lies on the sender; 3) **persuasive**, where the focus is on the receiver; as well as 4) **literary**, where the focus of the text is on the linguistic code.

Indeed, there is some overlap in the theory and these typologies will be useful to categorise the text of this case study, 'Europe in 12 lessons'. On the one hand, it will help make a prediction on the English translation from the French in terms of its skopos, its communicative purpose, and text type. On the other hand, it will also further enable me to determine some of the markers I would expect in both texts, based on its text type.

If I were to find the original text to be more persuasive and not merely informative, I would equally expect for this characteristic to be present in the translation. Indeed, the psychological mechanisms used in persuasive language should be adapted to the needs of the new language community (Reiss, 2004). What I expect to find, is a gradual shift over time from a more sober, informative text to an increasingly persuasive text, which tends to idealise the European Union and to silence dissent. On the other hand, it will be interesting to see, whether both the French and the English editions evolve in a similar way.

Text parameters

In addition to the importance of identifying the communicative purpose and the text type, in order to make observations and predictions about the text I chose to study, I will include two more parameters in my analysis. To identify a text type, Reiss (2004) recommends looking at the use of language. That is:

> "The particular frequency of words and phrases of evaluation (positive for the addresser or for the cause to which he has committed himself; negative for any obstacle to his commitment), the particular frequency of certain rhetorical figures may, among other factors, lead to the conclusion that the text is operative." (Reiss, 2004, p. 162).

She further suggests we ask ourselves whether we are dealing with a speech object capable of making an appeal, or, in the absence of the above qualities, we can conclude the text is purely informative.

Another useful parameter is what Hatim and Mason (2005) call 'markedness'. As they explain: "conventionally, markedness is defined either as infrequency of occurrence (that is, less frequently occurring expressions are somehow more significant when they do occur) or as informativity (that is, the less predictable in context an item is, the more information it potentially relays)" (2005, p. 10). Thus, one example for markedness could be the use of very poetic language or many rhetorical devices in what is supposed to be an informative text.

Discourse analysis

Norman Fairclough has studied ideological effects in critical discourse analysis and several of his findings are important for the study of Pascal Fontaine's booklet. First and foremost, he highlights the importance of assumptions in a text. These are divided into existential assumptions, about what exists; propositional assumptions, about what is, can or will be the case; and value assumptions, about what is good or desirable (Fairclough, 2004).

One of the examples Fairclough (2001, p. 129) provides is the acronym 'TINA' (in reference to Margaret Thatcher's notorious claim that 'there is no alternative'), whereby "global capitalism in its neoliberal form is pervasively constructed as external, unchangeable, and unquestionable ± the simple 'fact of life' which we must respond to." The use of such immutable concepts can be taken as evidence of an operative text, which not only conveys an opinion but also seeks to convince readers of this truth.

Another point Fairclough (2004) makes, is that distinguishing between 'strategic' and 'communicative' is not always as clear as it seems. In this sense, a text intended to inform EU citizens could also be a strategic interaction, which seeks merely to simulate neutrality and facts. Perhaps 'Europe in 12 lessons' is purely an informative text but the fact that the EU feels the need to inform its citizens of its activities and the benefits it creates for them already shows a higher purpose, which could be to make the EU look good.

Summary

In this literature review I have looked at some of the internal and external pressures on the EU institutions, which contribute to the trends concerning the use of languages and how the languages themselves are being shaped. I have uncovered some of the political challenges faced by the EU institutions, such as growing scepticism towards it and its perceived democratic deficit.

To understand the dynamics between French and English, I have looked at some of their major incompatibilities as written languages. Crucial to my subsequent analysis, I have also gained a better understanding of theoretical aspects of translation, such as the purpose (Skopos); different kinds of communicative purposes; text typologies and rhetorical devices. The concepts covered in the subsection on discourse analysis will provide me with further tools to identify any assumptions or hidden purposes in my case study.

Finally, this literature review has helped me refine my research objectives for my case study of 'Europe in 12 lessons'. As a result, I have articulated the following three research questions, below:

(1) How does the French original evolve over time?
(2) How does the English translation evolve over time and in comparison to the French original?
(3) How (if at all) has EU communication policy impacted both language versions over time?

2) Methodology

Mapping out the methodology

In order to establish an appropriate research methodology for this thesis, I have used Holmes' map of translation studies (Chesterman, 2009). According to this map (see Figure 1.), I can situate study in the "pure", theoretical, partial and text-type restricted branch of translation studies. This is because the study focuses on a specific kind of text (an information booklet) and part of the investigation is centred on this text type.

On the other hand, my analysis might show that the text type is not perfectly stable over time. In this sense, I could also trace the map down the "pure", descriptive and function-oriented branch. While the theory I have covered at in the literature review is borrowed from the text-type restricted branch, my own analysis is a descriptive translation study, in which I describe what I observe by comparing a text and its translation.

Figure 1. The map
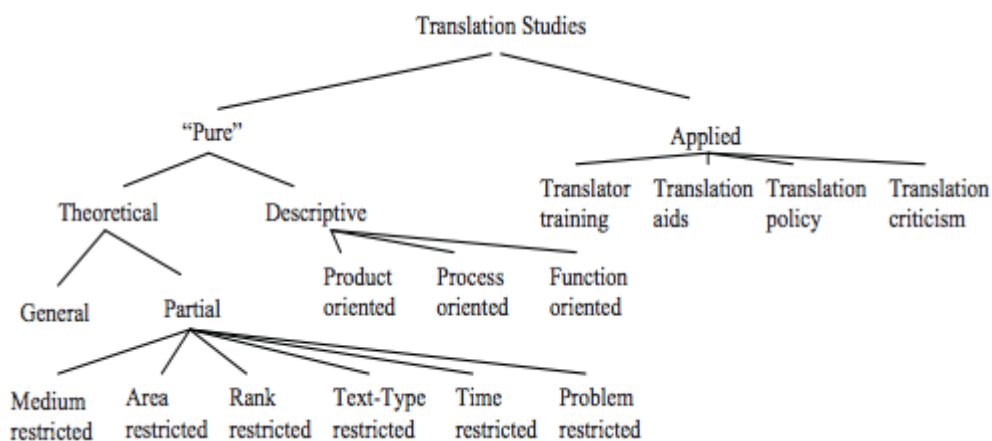
Source: Holmes' map (based on Holmes 1988); in Chesterman (2009, p. 14)

Furthermore, it is function-oriented, as I will be comparing the original text's and the translation's communicative purposes, rather than simply examining the final product or the translation process behind it. Indeed, I am interested in determining the evolving nature of the text over time. For example, if either of the two language editions becomes less informative and more persuasive, I expect the other text to behave in a similar way.

This is an original endeavour, as studies on EU translation mostly deal with legal translations and not the EU institutions' own promotional material. In addition, in the literature review, I saw that considerable time and money is being invested in this kind of communication from the EU institutions towards its citizens, hence it is important to understand what the developments in this area might be.

Longitudinal study

In order to improve the validity of the conclusions I will draw from this study, I have chosen to carry out a longitudinal study, to observe a trend over time. To do so, I have selected four editions of the booklet 'Europe in 12 lessons' and compared them between each other.

The four editions that I selected are the 1998 English and French editions, the 2003 French and the 2004 English editions (although technically the French was published sooner, they are the same editions), the 2010 French and English editions and the 2014 French and English editions. It should be noted that the latest edition came out in 2018 and that, in total, around nine editions were published from 1993 to 2018. However, not all of these are

available on the EU institution's publication website (publications.europa.eu) anymore, which makes it difficult to keep track.

I made this selection, on the one hand, because I noticed these four editions showed the biggest quantity of changes between them. For example, there was not much difference between the 1993 and 1997 edition when I compared them nor was the 2003/4 edition very different from the 2007 edition. Despite the little change between the 2010 and 2014 editions, I included the latter nonetheless, to have a broader data set. On the other hand, I also thought they would relate historically to other changes, such as the rollout of the 'Fight the FOG' (in 1998) and 'Clear Writing' (in 2009) campaigns. Although including more editions in the longitudinal analysis would allow for more conclusive results, I have limited myself to four, to be used as a starting point for future, further investigations.

Once I compared the French editions longitudinally, I analysed the same English language editions to determine how they evolved in comparison. Specifically, I chose examples from the French analysis, which I thought would be particularly interesting to compare to the English edition. For example, I was interested to see how the translator dealt with literary language or rhetorical questions, which, based on the literature review, I identified as being unidiomatic for English.

Description of the analysis

The first stage of the comparative analysis consisted of looking at the four French editions side by side. Initially, I studied any changes from one edition to the next. At first, I transferred similar looking passages into an excel spreadsheet, so as to be able to analyse them section-by-section and side-by-side. I did not consider changes made as a result of updating the content to make it more accurate, e.g. the number of current Member States or the EU population, pertinent to this analysis.

First, I looked at those sections, which remained roughly the same, but where small parts had been left occasionally, or where small changes had been made without any obvious reason for it (e.g. rewording a sentence to sound more positive). Next, I tried to identify bigger changes, for example, if several paragraphs were removed or when two new chapters were added from 2003 onwards (Chapter 1: 'The EU, Why?' and Chapter 8: 'Information and Knowledge Society', renamed 'Knowledge and Innovation Society' in 2010). I then proceeded to create a detailed summary of both the small and big changes by chapter.

It is during the course of this initial investigation, that I became aware of smaller textual elements, which stood out as noteworthy. Occurrences, such as repeated rhetorical questions, seemed worth singling out, so as to examine the translation strategies employed in the English version (where this rhetorical device might seem inappropriate), but also to highlight examples of literary language in a supposedly informative text. Slowly, I began to formulate categories of change, such as those of a rhetorical nature or, the bigger changes, described above, as changes in layout.

The next step was to determine to what extent these same changes had occurred in the English editions and whether or not any additional changes could be noted. To this purpose, I created a new spreadsheet, in which additional columns for the English language versions were added.

During this part of the investigation, the recurring use of literary devices in the text reminded me of the tool Arnoux (2008) uses to analyse the speeches of famous Latin American political orators ('The matrix of Latin American discourse'). Through this analytical tool, I was able to identify rhetorical devices, such as the use of intertextuality and the creation of antagonists in the text. I will present examples of these in the following section, (3) the rhetorical analysis, below.

Interviews

My choice of interviewees was determined somewhat by chance and luck. Initially, I contacted Emma Wagner, as I had read about her during my research for the literature review. She then put me in contact with David Monkcom and suggested I approach him, as he was based in Brussels. Morten Espelund was the person that got back to me after I sent an information request to the Europe Direct Contact Centre, asking if I could be put in touch with Pascal Fontaine. He explained he had been responsible for the European Commission's editorial work for several years – including for 'Europe in 12 lessons' – and that he was happy to answer any other questions I might have.

The format of the interviews was semi-structured, as I had prepared a set of questions for both interviews beforehand. Nonetheless, I did not want the interview to be too restrictive and came up with questions spontaneously and based on the interviewee's answers, throughout the interview.

Some of the questions I had initially prepared were: 1) what are the possible differences between the French and the English editions?; 2) what were the main challenges in editing the English edition?; 3) how many linguists were involved in editing an edition?; 4) how have the editions changed over time? (the full interview guide is available in the appendix). However, the advantage of the semi-structured approach was that it allowed me to collect more detailed information about my research questions, rather than having to limit myself to the questions I had first devised.

Both interviews were conducted in a public space (a restaurant), which provided a relaxed environment and allowed for the interviewees to be free of any forms of pressure. The duration of the interview with David Monkcom was of about an hour and forty minutes and that with Morten Espelund an hour and twenty minutes.

Study limitations

The author of 'Europe in 12 lessons', Pascal Fontaine, is likely to be positively biased towards the EU. He was a professor at the Paris Institute of Political Studies, but more importantly, used to be Jean Monnet's assistant. Jean Monnet is considered to be one of the founding fathers of the EU and hence, I can safely assume Pascale Fontaine is in favour of further EU integration. On the other hand, this bias also represents an opportunity, as I should be able to conclude this from my own analyses.

The booklet can be accessed on the European bookshop's website (publications.europa.eu) and several editions in all the EU's official languages can be downloaded from there. As

such, I chose to study this booklet because of its unique nature of being a text produced by the EU institutions, which is non-legislative in nature. Its many editions provided an additional incentive, as this allowed me to do a longitudinal study.

However, one of the limitations of this study is the fact that it is based on a single booklet. A larger study of additional 'informational' booklets on the EU produced by the EU institutions, over a period of time, would increase the body of literature studied and provide more significant results. Nonetheless, I felt a detailed study of one booklet over time would provide sufficient material for analysis. Furthermore, no other general text about the EU has been subject to so many revisions, with all the previous editions available online. I also find it noteworthy that 'Europe in 12 lessons' is recommended for K12 education in the United States (National Education Association, 2018).

Some of my findings are linked to text that the author removes from one edition to the next. For example, I noticed that there is consistently less information on the CAP or on the EU's nuclear energy programmes, across the editions. Since I am not an expert on EU policies myself, it is difficult to establish whether some parts are removed as they reflect a failed EU policy or whether information on this policy is no longer relevant for other reasons. Asides from any political bias, I recognise that I hope to obtain significant results through my analysis, which could skew these. On the other hand, I accept that I may not be able to answer my research questions fully and I commit to being transparent about this throughout the thesis.

The intention, for the interviews, was for the questions to be neutral and not to lead the interviewees on. However, the reality is that during the actual interview, my questions – especially those improvised on the spot – may not be perfectly open-ended and this could skew the interviewees' answers. On the other hand, I was able to avoid further bias, by taking care not to over-react to interviewees' responses and to dress inconspicuously and appropriately for the environment, so as not to intimidate them in any way.

Summary

In this chapter I presented the research questions, which were: (1) how does the French original evolve over time?; (2) how does the English translation evolve over time and in comparison to the French original?; (3) how (if at all) has EU communication policy impacted both language versions?

Based on the map of translation studies above, I have defined this thesis to be both 1) a pure, theoretical, partial, and text-type restricted study, and 2) a pure, descriptive, and function-oriented study. Although I will rely on theory for text-type restricted studies, I am interested in the evolution of the text function over time and effectively carry out a descriptive analysis of the two texts.

Since I want to identify a historical trend, I have chosen to do a longitudinal study and have explained the step-by-step process of it. To provide the study with additional background and first-hand information I interviewed to people directly involved in the creation of the booklet and have given a description of how the interviews came about and how they were set up.

Finally, I mentioned the biggest limitations to this study, which were related to the study's scope (examining more than one booklet would provide more conclusive results) and to myself, the author of the study, as there is likely to be some form of bias, whether conscious or not.

With this in mind, I will move on to my rhetorical analysis of 'Europe in 12 lessons', which aims to outline some of the key elements of rhetoric that I found by comparing the booklet to other political texts such political as speeches.

3) Rhetorical analysis

The booklet 'Europe in 12 lessons' is supposed to be an informative text intended to help ordinary people understand the EU. However, sometimes texts can belong to two or more categories (e.g. informative with some persuasive or appellative elements). One way in which to determine this is to examine whether the author uses any kind of rhetorical devices. Examples of such devices include intertextuality – such as citing figures of authority – creating antagonists, rhetorical questions, and emotive language.

Table of examples of rhetorical devices found in 'Europe in 12 lessons'

Intertextuality	Antagonists	Symbolic language
Victor Hugo	The US	The founding fathers
Jean Monnet	Brazil	A united voice / One voice
Robert Schuman	China	Brutal division
Romano Prodi	India	Dramatic fluctuations
	Globalisation	Its people were freed
	The USSR	New European dynamism
		New Europe
		Join forces
		Progress towards EMU increasingly irresistible (French edition)
		The European identity (French edition)
		Jean Monnet's 'European idea'

Examples of rhetorical questions in the French edition

- "How can Europeans be confident in the benefits when there is structural unemployment affecting 17.9 million people?" (p. 22, 1998)
- "How could Europeans believe in the benefits and the future of the EU when, in 1997, 10% of the population was unemployed?" (p. 26, 2003)

- "When can we expect to have European Olympic teams or military or community service consisting of multinational units?" (p. 40, 1998)
- "What values and ambitions will a EU of up to 25 countries share?" (p. 39, 1998; p. 43, 2003)
- "Where should the EU's final borders lie? Is it enough to merely fulfil political and economic criteria to apply?" (p. 22, 2003)
- "How can you successfully integrate 110 m people, accounting for 5% of GDP?" (p. 45, 1998)
- "How far should the EU go?" (p. 13, 2003)

Throughout the booklet, rhetorical or open-ended questions seem to point towards some of the most important and contentious questions regarding the EU. They also seem to serve as a way to present the reader with a possible answer. For example, when the author asks where the EU's borders should end and whether it is enough to merely fulfil the accession criteria, he continues by answering the question with his own opinion: that putting a limit on the unification process would go against the basic ideology of EU integration.

Political discourse analysis

Arnoux's (2008) work on Hugo Chávez' discourse provides insight into the structures and recurring patterns of political discourse. She claims great modern narratives construct social objects, which are positively or negatively valued according to historical experience. In this study, I will use this matrix of Latin American discourse to apply it to Pascal Fontaine's text and to help me determine whether the text contains political discourse properties or not. Although Pascal Fontaine, is not a politician per se but a former lecturer in political science, the number of parallels I was able to draw between Chávez' speeches and 'Europe in 12 lessons' suggest this booklet is, at least partially, a political text.

Like Chávez, Pascal Fontaine presents himself as someone whose discourse has been instructed by previous reading. His frequent references to and citations of French author and playwright Victor Hugo and early supporters of the construction of the EU, Jean Monnet and Robert Schuman, prove to the reader that Pascal Fontaine is well-read on the subject of EU history and history in general.

As Arnoux (2008) explains, any political ideology is characterised by moral categories, such as opposing good and bad objectives and pointing out potentially destructive threats. In this same way, Pascal Fontaine speaks of competitors, Brazil, China and India, who use low wages to their advantage in the global labour market. In his view, the EU should compete by maintaining fair wages, investing in human capital and protecting the environment.

Whilst Chávez' aim is to unite Latin America and the Caribbean, the European project hinges on unifying the European continent economically, politically and culturally as far as possible. One of the ways in which Pascal Fontaine tries to convince us of the importance of European unification is by referring to our discursive memory, such as references to the 'founding fathers' and highlighting that the unification process is still far from completed.

According to Arnoux (2008), people have to be politicised to be mobilised, and for that to happen they have to have a view of the world characterised by conflict and be able to identify

with of one of the opposing sides. Fontaine regularly refers to "the challenges of globalisation" as an issue that cannot be dealt with at a national level and hence, provides a further argument in favour of European unification. According to this idea, integration is necessary, so that Europeans can unite against the presumed negative consequences of globalisation.

In their analysis of Europe's elites, Best et al. (2013, p. 6) explain that according to the intergovernmental theory of integration "… integration is a strategy pursued by national governments in order to gain security in risky international environments and to cope by concerted action with the challenges of globalization." Arguably, Fontaine is part of the European political elite, so this could be another explanation why he is so adamant to make readers see globalisation as a threat to all of us.

Another theme Chávez and Pascal Fontaine share is reference to the past. Chávez believes the Venezuelan people need to look to the past to resolve their current situation. With Pascal Fontaine, I get the sense that European unification has historically been a relatively linear process, something that supporters and politicians have been working towards for a long time. Most notable however, is the reminder of the Second World War and how peace has lasted for over 70 years thanks to European nations coming together. He urges us to remember the terrible wars that separated the continent, so as to never make the same mistake again and to protect if not continue the unification process.

According to Chávez, Latin American unity is a "natural" pre-existing concept, which only has to be backed up politically (Arnoux, 2008, p. 43). In several chapters of the booklet, Pascal Fontaine writes about how Europe finally coincides geographically and politically. As though, there were a natural physical state for Europe to be in, which is a unified continent and that this continent should also form a political union.

Because Chávez hoped to federalise all Latin American and Caribbean states he often looked to Europe to draw comparisons. In that sense too, Europe tends to look to the US for inspiration on how to successfully bring together so many Member States. On the one hand, Pascal Fontaine defends the objective of a "United States of Europe" with clear representation of its executive powers. On the other hand, he also describes the US as a unilaterally thinking competitor, which can be perceived as a threat to Europe.

The recurring mention of a military-economic threat in Chávez' speeches can also be likened to certain monetary vulnerabilities Pascal Fontaine describes with regards to the EU. One of these threats was the currency fluctuation European countries experienced before they joined the euro. Another potential threat to Europe, according to Pascal Fontaine, is its energy dependence, particularly its gas imports from Russia.

Summary

In this section, I have provided examples of some of the rhetorical devices, which I could observe in 'Europe in 12 lessons'. I also examined the importance of the role that rhetorical questions play in the booklet. Furthermore, in order to illustrate how 'Europe in 12 lessons' can be viewed as a political text, I used Arnoux' 'matrix for Latin American discourse'. Amongst other things, I learnt that, similar to Chávez' speeches, Fontaine's booklet too, includes the sense of an external threat. Furthermore, he uses the dream of a "natural" union

of European countries and the need for unity in the face of the challenges globalisation brings with it as arguments in favour of a deepened political cooperation.

With these themes in mind, I will move on to the findings, where I will provide a number of concrete examples from the booklet of changes over time. In the first part of the findings, I will focus on the French edition and the changes made to the different chapters over time.

4) Findings – Part 1 – Changes in the original French booklet

Introduction

In this first part of the findings, I aim to answer my first research question: (1) how does the French original evolve over time? Similarly, the second part of the findings, where I look at the English editions, will contribute to answering my second research question: (2) how does the English translation evolve over time and in comparison to the French original? Finally, the third part of the findings, in combination with the first and second parts, as well as the literature review will help me answer my third research question (3) How (if at all) has EU communication policy influenced both language versions over time?

I will present the most notable changes identified between the four French editions of 1998, 2003, 2010 and 2014. Overall, there were very few changes between the 2010 and 2014 edition, which explains why the 2014 edition is rarely mentioned. After an extensive collection of changes (amounting to over 20,000 words), I have chosen to categorise the predominant types of changes into one of the six categories, below.

The way in which I articulated these categories came about quite naturally, once I started writing up all the changes I had observed. It seemed helpful to come up with categories to make better sense of the changes and to identify those, which recurred most often. After the literature review, I also got a sense that any changes related to rhetoric, to making the text more persuasive or an indication of the influence of the campaigns for clear writing would be particularly significant. On the other hand, I created the category of changes related to removals, layout and to highlighting the democratic aspects simply based on the patterns I had observed.

(1) "Rhetoric": a change in or addition of a rhetorical device, be it an expression or a rhetorical question;
(2) "Removals": the removal of negative facts or language;
(3) "Layout": changes in layout that indicate a different communication priority on behalf of the author, e.g. changing the order of chapter or moving content from one chapter to another etc.;
(4) "Persuasion": instances where the author is attempting to persuade the audience, often by presenting his subjective opinion as a universal truth;
(5) "Clear writing": changes that indicate the influence of the clear writing campaigns, such as simplifying the text or removing legal jargon;
(6) "Highlighting democratic aspects": instances where the author is attempting to highlight the EU institutions' democratic aspects.

All findings are listed chronologically, according to the chapter in the booklet to which they belong. Since the chapter names were amended over time, I have included both the older and

newer name. Hence, many chapters have two different titles and, depending on the year of the edition, correspond to a different chapter number. This is because, as I will discuss below, over time, certain chapters were moved up or down in the booklet, whilst the content remained similar. Although this may appear confusing, I felt this was the most accurate way to name the chapters.

Chapter 1 – A brief history of European integration / Why the European Union?

Rhetoric

With regard to the EU's former rival – the USSR – its people were first "freed from [its] rule" following its "auto-dissolution" (1998), then "subjected to the authoritarian rule of the Warsaw Pact" (2003) and are finally described as having been "forced to live behind the iron curtain for decades" (2010). In the 2003 edition the former Soviet countries "quite naturally" find their way "back" to the European family of democratic countries, fully in charge of their own destiny. In addition, in 2010 "many" have chosen to join the EU, with eight countries joining in 2004 and two more in 2007.

Compared to the 1998 edition, the 2003 and 2010 versions seem to want to portray the creation and evolution of the EU as something effortless and natural. As such, it is no longer a "permanent objective of Member States" (1998) political aims and the "concept of a continent" (1998) has become "a new kind of hope" (2003) to "create the conditions for a durable peace" (2003) instead of being "capable of overcoming national antagonisms" (1998).

Removals

The 1998 edition includes mentions of how De Gaulle vetoed further accessions on two occasions – in 1961 and 1967 – which is not mentioned again in the subsequent versions.

Layout

Whilst the 2003 edition has no subtitles, chapter 1 in the 2010 edition is divided into the following subsections: 1) Peace 2) Bring Europe Together 3) Security 4) Economic and Social Solidarity 5) European Identity and Diversity in a Globalised World 6) Values. This is one example of how, throughout the years, there has been a gradual shift towards a higher number of paragraphs, an airier feel to the pages and more subsections in each chapter.

Persuasion

Both in the 2003 and 2010 edition, under the 'Economic and Social Solidarity' subsection, the author highlights the benefits of a union, since "no single country can pull enough weight to defend economic interests at a global level." In addition, companies benefit from the economies of scale possible in economies larger than the national market. Next to the economic benefits, solidarity is shown when disaster strikes, such as earthquakes or flooding. And the Structural Fund steps in to reduce disparities between regions.

In the subsection 'Working more closely together to promote the European model of society' in the 2003 edition, Fontaine says, "in the long run, all countries taking part in the Union are winners." The EU represents an added value in the economic, social, technological, commercial and also political sphere. In the 2010 edition he tells readers that China, India and Brazil and other emerging economies are hoping to join the US club of superpowers. Hence, the current 27 EU members should unite to retain their "critical mass" and avoid being marginalised.

In the 2010 edition the booklet states that during the 2008 financial crisis and the ensuing recession, the EU government supported banks, so as to avoid extending the crisis. Those countries most affected were also supported and the Euro was a "shield" which helped protect against speculation and devaluation.

Chapter 2/4 – The institutions of the Union / How does the EU work?

Removals

On the subject of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), the 1998 edition states that for "compulsory expenditure – mostly agricultural – the Council has the final say", for non-compulsory expenditure it is the European Parliament (EP). That is, the EP is unable to influence expenditure on the CAP, according to this edition. In the 2003 edition, we are told that whilst the EP fully uses its budgetary power to influence Community policies, an important part of the agricultural expenses remains beyond its control. This comment, which sheds a negative light on the EU agricultural policy, its cost, and the lack of democratic control thereof, is removed in the 2010 edition. This is example suggest that something, which was previously an issue, either gets quietly resolved or quietly removed from the booklet.

I also noticed that the 2014 edition no longer includes a pie chart of the different political factions represented in the European Parliament. I was curious to see whether this was because there are increasingly many right-wing, anti-European parties and that it is not something the author, or indeed the European Commission, would like to publicise.

Pie chart of EP political factions in 2010

Political factions

- PPE 37%
- S&D 26%
- ECR 8%
- ADLE 8%
- GUE/NGL 5%
- Verts/ALE 8%
- EFDD 4%
- NI 4%
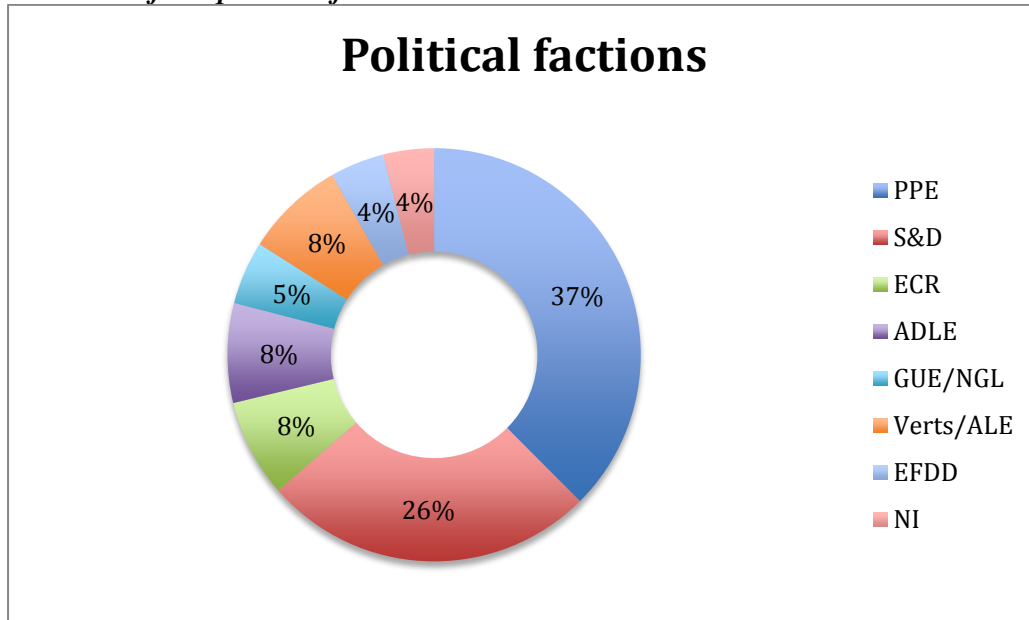
Source: Pascal Fontaine (2010, p. 25)

Pie chart of the EP political factions in 2014

Political factions

- PPE 29%
- S&D 26%
- ECR 9%
- ADLE 9%
- GUE/NGL 7%
- Verts/ALE 7%
- EFDD 6%
- NI 7%
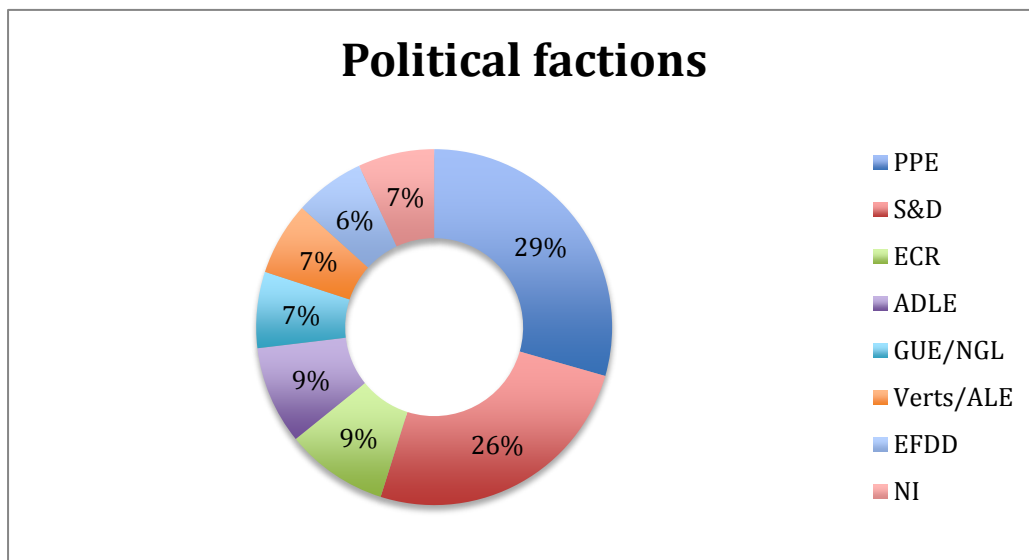
Source: European Parliament (2014)

By comparing the percentage of seats held by each political faction compared to the total number of seats I found that the biggest change is that the PPE, which is the European Parliament's biggest party and can be roughly qualified as conservative, has shrunk whilst the S&D (the left) has remained completely stable.

What the percentage numbers do not reveal, however, is the change in number of seats per political faction from one period to the next. The small table below shows that the PPE and the ADLE (liberals) lost the highest percentage of seats and that the two parties that gained most seats between 2010 and 2014 were the NI (non-attached members) and the EFDD (Europe of Freedom and Democracy). The former indicates an increasing fragmentation of the EP, as the non-attached members represent varying political ideologies, but, crucially, do

not represent a sufficient number of Member States (MSs) to create a faction. The latter, is a faction consisting mostly of far-right parties (Wikipedia, 2018). Its co-president from 2009 to 2014 was British politician Nigel Farage, who led a successful campaign for Britain to leave the EU.

Percentage change from 2010 to 2014 of number of seats for each political faction

-19%	PPE
0%	S&D
29%	ECR
-25%	ADLE
40%	GUE/NGL
0%	Verts/ALE
50%	EFDD
75%	NI
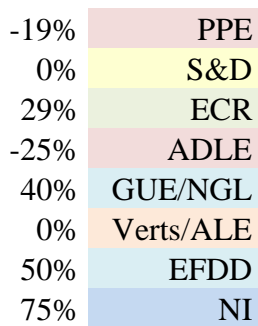
Persuasion

In the 2003 edition the European Council (EC) is described as the "EU's supremely legitimate political body", which certain MSs want to see transformed into an actual European government, so it can represent the EU abroad. Presumably, the EC is less well-known to the general public than the EP, so it is interesting to see how the author qualifies it as 'supremely legitimate' and tells the reader that MSs would like to see it transformed into a European government. In Jürgen Habermas' view, as reported in the online version of German weekly news magazine *Der Spiegel*, "…power has slipped from the hands of the people and shifted to bodies of questionable democratic legitimacy, such as the European Council" (Diez, 2011).

Clear writing

The unnecessarily complex phrase "independent bodies (...) linked between them by a complementary relation from which the decision-making process stems" has been removed from the 1998 edition. In the 2003 edition, the EU is described as having been created 50 years ago, yet constantly evolving, now, with "common institutions" instead of "independent bodies" (1998). The 2010 introduction to the chapter 4 is much shorter and no longer mentions treaties or common institutions that represent the national and common interest. This could be a reflection of changes made to the English version in 2004, which is now also affecting the French original.

I also noticed that, across the board, the habit of referencing the names of EU treaties and their article numbers has disappeared from the latter three versions (2003, 2010, 2014).

Highlighting democratic aspects

In the 2010 edition, the EC becomes "The Council, which consists of national government ministers". The description is simplified overall and the fact that national interests are present

is highlighted. The mention of the Council's power being "quasi" legislative is removed from the 2003 and 2010 editions.

When explaining how votes are counted, the 2003 and 2010 editions clarify that votes are "weighted according to the relative size of its population". A qualified majority is reached if 71.3% (2003) then 73.91% (2010) of votes are collected and if it represents at least 62% of the EU population. These additional explanations show that the author is trying to clarify the decision-making process and show that it is democratic and fair.

In the 2010 edition, the author adds that the EC is the EU's "principal centre of political decision-making" and further explains what its president's job is, how he is elected and who the current one is. Furthermore, this edition (together with the 2014 edition) by far contains the most information on the European Parliament, which is, arguably, one of the more democratic institutions (since MEPs are elected through universal suffrage every 5 years).

The 2010 edition also highlights the importance of the political parties, who are essential to the institution's political line, e.g. when party presidents hold meetings to set the agenda for the plenary session. In light of this statement, I find it even more surprising that the pie charts, which illustrate the representation of parties, within the EP, were removed from the 2014 edition.

Also in the 2010 edition, the EP is described as having the power to reject the President of the Commission, as designated by the EC, with a simple majority. It auditions each candidate for Commissioner and approves the Commission as a whole. The European Parliament (EP) can overthrow the Commission at any moment by adopting a motion of censure. As such, the EP is the EU's and the European Commission's "body of democratic control". It also has daily influence on EU politics by asking questions in oral or written form to the Commission and the Council.

Chapter 2 (2003, 2010 and 2014 editions only) – Historic steps / Ten historic steps

Removals

In the 2010 edition, in the eighth historic step, the author admits that next to the challenges of globalisation in the late 1990s, it is unemployment and the rising cost of pensions that are becoming a problem for MS economies. According to him, 'the public is increasingly impatient for governments to provide practical solutions to these issues.' As a proposed solution, Fontaine explains that the 'Lisbon strategy' was born, in an attempt to adapt European economies to the new conditions present in the global economy.

On the one hand, this change would fit well into the 'influencing the audience' category of changes, since the author first invokes a bleak reality, which then creates an added sense of urgency to implement the solution he provides. On the other hand, the fact that this entire section on unemployment and the Lisbon strategy is removed in the 2014 edition suggests this is a project, which did not come to fruition and that he does not wish to discuss the reasons for this failure.

Persuasion

The introduction to the 2003 edition says the EU is "the most integrated group of countries" in the world, which allows it to "draw great advantage from an open and dynamic domestic market". The use of a superlative ('most integrated in the world'), followed by an unquestioned statement of its advantages, clearly depicts the EU in a biased way.

Once the big historical stages are listed, three more paragraphs were written in the 2003 edition, which were then removed again in the 2010 edition. In them, Fontaine explains, "the era of absolute national sovereignty is out-dated and that only a united force and the vision of *an, at last, shared destiny* will allow old nations to pursue economic and social progress and to maintain their influence in the world."
Furthermore, he states, "the Community method has not lost any of its initial value, based on permanent dialogue between national and common interests with respect for national diversity and a European identity". The East/West rivalry has been overcome and Europe is reunited. The three paragraphs end with "The EU is clearly the most appropriate answer to the massive challenges Europeans face in a globalized world." And that most important of all, "the EU is the best 'insurance policy' for a future of peace and freedom."

Here, it is clear that the author's viewpoint is very transparent; he is clearly in favour of EU integration and does not shy away from using persuasive language, such as superlatives and hyperbole, in order to convince his audience. Why these newly written paragraphs were removed in the following edition is not clear.

Highlighting democratic aspects

Contrary to the 2003 edition, the 2010 edition includes the fact that, in 1979, the EP is elected by universal suffrage for the first time – "a decisive step for the European Community" – elections are now held every 5 years. Throughout these later editions, the EP is often highlighted in the booklet, as it is the single most democratic of all the EU's decision-making institutions.

Chapter 3/6 – The Single Market

Removals

Under this category, there are noteworthy changes such as the removal in the 2003 edition of the phrase "too many accumulated delays", referring to obstacles in completing the single market.

The language also becomes more neutral from 'limit 'traders' profits' (2010) to 'put limits to bank executive's bonuses' (2014). Although this isn't quite the same as removing negative language, it seems to want to make things less clear and perhaps downplay the aggressive tone of *'les profits des traders'* in the French language version.

Once again, the 1998 edition appears to be more candid, as, in the section outlining aims for 1999, the author talks about "shortfalls and delays". In this edition, the European Commission has also noted "more than three years after the single market came into being,

only 65% of the legislation has been fully implemented in Member States." Another fact, which is later removed in the 2003 edition, is the mention that "obstacles in the free movement of people must disappear."

Although Fontaine believes "the results are satisfying overall" (2003) he also concedes, in the 2003 and 2010 edition, that the "free movement of people has been far from achieved" and that European diplomas and certificates are still not recognised in every member state.

Persuasion

In the 2010 edition, the author tells us, "The single market is one of the EU's greatest achievements". This is a sweeping and flattering statement, which fails to take into consideration some of the economic problems, such as unemployment and the cost of an ageing population, which the author claims the EU is facing.

In the 2003 edition's 'results' section the author stresses that the "introduction of the euro has increased transparency and stimulated competition, as everybody can compare prices from one country to the next thanks to the single currency." Under the 'work in progress' section he adds, the "single market affects sectors, which have long been protected in their respective countries, this should increase competition and improve the EU economy." Here, it seems the author is trying to persuade readers that protectionism is bad for 'us' and that countries need to deregulate their economies, in accordance with neoliberal values.

In the 2010 edition, the single market is hailed as "one of the EU's biggest successes: gradually lifting restrictions on exchanges and free competition, it has improved people's quality of life..." This is a far cry from the "slow progress" and "shortcomings" mentioned in previous editions. Now, we are told the "2008-2009 financial crisis has led the EU to seek to deepen the single market", implying that doing so would help protect the EU against any future crises.

In the 2010 edition, Fontaine tells us the deregulation of air transportation has led to significant cost decreases and new offerings. "Everybody is a winner (passengers, companies, airports, staff...)". Another success he describes is the "seamless transition between French and Italian TGVs." Be that as it may, the author should present both the positive and negative impacts the EU has on its citizens. Instead, it seems the trend, over a time, is of increasingly positive statements and of highlighting the advantages whilst hiding any lack of progress or failings.

Chapter 4/5 – Common Policies / What does the EU do?

Rhetoric

In the section on 'Employment policy', in the 1998 edition, the author tells us Europeans expect policies that promote employment. Next, he asks: how can they believe in the benefits of the European construction, when the Fifteen are suffering from structural unemployment, which in 1997 reached 17,9 million people? This is a fairly bold rhetorical question, which is rather honest and even self-critical and, in that way, characteristic of the 1998 edition.

According to my observations, the use of rhetorical questions by the author is often followed by a suggested answer – in this case – a common strategy, drawn up by Member States, to strengthen employment policy and improve social dialogue, amongst other things. We are told that guidelines for employment have been fixed and their implementation will be monitored regularly. Nonetheless, all this is removed in the 2003 edition. It is quite likely that it is the lack of a solution to the problem of unemployment that leads the author to omit this topic in subsequent editions.

In the 2003 edition, problematic text passages referring to the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) have been removed. I also noted the use of markedly literary language, as seen in the following quote: "This diversity and harmonious relationship between the people and the land and the recognition of a rural civilisation are fundamental parts of the European identity." I found, in this instance, the 1998 edition is more concrete, mentioning lower prices and subsidies, while the 2003 edition uses more flowery language and makes it seem as though everything is working out beautifully.

The 1998 edition makes the case for the EU extending its policy areas, including tackling challenges citizens and society at large face. Another example of a rhetorical question is when the author asks, "Is this intrusion justified or even necessary, given that all Member States are governed by democratic systems that should be able to satisfy their citizens' needs?" However, this question does not actually seek to question the extension of EU policy areas, as the answer shows: "Some problems extend beyond borders and require a common effort etc." This answer was kept in the 2003 edition but the question has been removed. In this case, the author uses rhetorical questions to grab the reader's attention to then provide his own answer to the question, rather than leaving it up to the reader to decide. As such, this example sits between two categories, that of the use of rhetoric and that of persuasion.

Removals

When it comes to environmental goals, the 2014 edition is less ambitious and has removed the sentence appearing in the 2010 edition that '10% of transport fuel should be from biofuel, electricity or hydrogen.'

In the two earlier editions (1998 & 2003), the economic and social cohesion fund seeks to address 1) regional aid 2) regions with structural difficulties and 3) the fight against unemployment. In the 2010 edition, these have become 1) regional convergence 2) regional competition and employment and 3) European territorial cooperation. This is a classic example of negative-sounding language being turned into something more positive, i.e. 'aid' becomes 'convergence' (with other, richer regions), 'structural difficulties' become 'competition', and 'unemployment' becomes 'employment'.

In the paragraph entitled 'social dimension' the three editions share a common core. In the 1998 edition, it says the European Social Fund (ESF) extends the European Coal and Steel Community's (ECSC) scope of intervention and that the ECSC intervened heavily in the 60s when thousands of miners were affected by pit closures. By 2003, this information is removed from the text and replaced with the sum of money dedicated to these commitments. In the 2010 edition, even this data is removed to cut down even further. Although one could argue that this information simply is not relevant to the reader, it is interesting to note that in

1998 – more than thirty years after the event in question – the author chose to include this in his booklet, yet he later removes it.

The Common Agricultural Policy (PAC) has, to my knowledge, been a contentious issue for some time, due to its costly subsidies and the overproduction this sometimes causes. The sentence appearing in the 1998 edition, "In the context of a deficit-generating agriculture" is completely removed in 2003. In the 2010 edition details about the amount of money spent are removed and replaced with a positive statement: "the PAC reform is beginning to bear fruits: it has been able to manage its production."

Clearly, here, the author does not feel that the reader should know the exact figures although, when it comes to development aid, he often goes into great numerical detail. Both the 1998 and 2003 editions contain details on what the CAP reforms entail and only small updates or clarifications exist between the two. The 2010 edition does not provide any details, since the CAP is basically being presented as a resolved issue.

Regarding energy, the 2010 edition states that dependency on gas and oil imports currently represent 50% of total consumption, which could rise to 70% by 2030. In the 2014 edition, this sentence has been amended slightly to say that dependency on imports is above half of total consumption, whilst no mention is made of any projected rise. Perhaps the lack of progress in this area, leads the author to avoid making statements on worsening future scenarios.

In the 1998 edition, in the section on the EU's position in the technological race Fontaine tells us, "the administrative hurdles and financial barriers" have to be overcome in order to keep up with the speed of innovation. In the 2003 edition, the administrative hurdles have apparently been overcome, as they are no longer mentioned. And in the 2010 edition, both administrative hurdles and financial barriers have disappeared from the text.

Whilst the two earlier editions (1998 & 2003) mention the JET programme (Joint European Torus) – which works with thermonuclear fusion – as an unending source of energy in the 21st century, the 2010 edition does not include this anymore. This is odd, since the author describes reducing energy dependency, as one of the main goals the EU should pursue. One of the reasons might be that nuclear energy is seen as regressive or contentious.

In the 2003 edition, the section 'Financing common policies' discusses the EU's budgetary plans to accommodate new accessions. It states: "Given the constant worry of European taxpayers, the Berlin European Council intends to implement budgetary discipline and justify European public spending." This section has been completely removed from the 2010 and 2014 editions.

As the table under the 'layout' subsection below shows all four editions share a subsection on the CAP. In the 1998 edition, the author writes: "At the eve of the year 2000, these measures have been successful but more has to be done with regards to the future challenges arising from enlargement. New measures include: lower prices of field crops, beef and milk, paired with subsidies to farmers in the form of direct payments." This information does not reoccur in the subsequent editions. Again I wonder why this information is no longer considered relevant from 2003 onwards.

Under the 'sustainable development' section in the 2010 edition, the author highlights the EU's "major contribution to climate change being the reduction of greenhouse gases." Then, the author tells us that in 2009 in Copenhagen, the EU tried, with limited success, to share its goals with other global powers. In the 2014 edition, that last sentence has been removed and instead, the next paragraph starts with: "The EU countries have agreed on binding legislation intended to achieve this", which sounds a lot more positive and affirmative. The wording in the 2010 edition was a rare example in the later editions of Fontaine openly recognising the EU's shortcomings – in this case, its ability to push for an ambitious agenda in climate talks.

Layout

The subsection 'Employment policy' exists only in the 1998 and 2003 editions. Here, the 1998 edition begins with: "Whilst moving toward an Economic and Monetary Union is becoming increasingly irresistible, Member States are realising that citizens are demanding a proactive approach to employment". The word 'irresistible' is perhaps also somewhat misleading, as it appears as though an economic and monetary union is the unquestionably best option for the EU and could thus be qualified as propaganda-like. In the 2003 edition, the first half of the sentence has become a lot more neutral: "During the final decade of the 20th century, EU citizens were increasingly calling on their governments to take more vigorous action to create jobs".

In the 2010 edition, unemployment is mentioned in chapter 8 (Building on Knowledge and Innovation) in the context of "fostering a high-employment economy…" by focusing on job creation in "high-value sectors such as the e-economy and new energy-saving technologies." It is only in the 2014 edition, that the author recognises how the recent financial crisis has "caused severe economic downturn and increased unemployment in Europe".

One of the major differences between the 2010 and 2014 editions is how much later the 'Solidarity Policies' are mentioned (see table below). In the past, solidarity policies might have been an enticing subject for potential future members, who could benefit from these. Currently, this subject may no longer be popular among some of the older MSs and their populations, as they may feel they have to help new MSs catch up economically. Secondly, the section on the EU's 'employment policy' disappears from the table, as it is moved to the new chapter 8 (Building on Knowledge and Innovation).

There is clearly a new focus in 2010, with the environment and sustainable development as the first subsections. These areas of discussion can probably be aligned to the general political priorities of the EU, at the time. This new focus may also highlight the EU's strong points, as, compared to other world powers, it performs well in these areas. Technological innovation and energy come next. Presumably, these are also some of the EU's new policy areas and opportunities for branding.

Order of subsections in Chapter 4/5 Common Policies/What does the EU do?

1998	2003	2010	2014
Solidarity Policies		**Innovation Policies**	**Innovation Policies**
Regional Action	Regional Action	Environment and sustainable development	Environment and sustainable development
Social Dimension	Structural Policy for Future Member States	Tech innovation	Tech innovation
Employment Policy	Social Dimension	Energy	Energy
Financing Common Policies	Employment Policy	**Solidarity Policies**	**Solidarity Policies**
CAP	Financing Common Policies	Regional Action	Regional Action
Policies for Progress	CAP	CAP	CAP
Major European Networks	Sustainable Development	Social Dimension	Social Dimension
	Tech innovation	**EU Budget and Own Resources**	**EU Budget and Own Resources**
		Competencies Distributed by EU MS (table)	**Competencies Distributed by EU MS (table)**

Persuasion

As mentioned earlier, the CAP has long been criticised for being costly and inefficient, yet, in the 2003 edition, Fontaine tells us, "in 2002 the agricultural subsidies for the CAP represent 40% of the EU budget". Again, we are told "the measures have been successful" and that "the CAP has been able to manage production." Not only that, "the EU is one of the greatest exporters and importers of agro-food products in the world." In the absence of other explanations, I see this a good example of how the author would attempt to influence his readership and give the impression that the CAP is a problem-free, successful policy.

Furthermore, Fontaine tells us, consumers are entitled to quality foods compliant with public health requirements. Indeed, he claims, "It is due to a lack of EU policies in the 90s that we experienced Mad Cow disease and foot and mouth disease in the early 2000s." And "embargos put into place were finally able to stop the spread of such diseases". Although

there are no exact explanations as to the causal link between the two, it appears the author is defending a position of EU policy-making in this area.

What is new, in both the 2003 and 2010 editions, is the section on 'Sustainable development'. It explains that the EU provides funding to help with projects or make certain economic sectors conform to EU legislation. This section also includes ethical questions directed at the general readership: "How can developing countries grow without negatively impacting the environment? How can water be managed? How can we create sustainable energy? How can Africa be saved from famine and epidemics?" All this is answered in a succinct way: "Joint community effort is better than the simple sum of national government". I would certainly categorise this as classic rhetoric where the author is presenting the EU as an answer to a wide range of problems or challenges. Again, the use of rhetorical questions is closely linked to the objective of persuading the readers of the author's point of view.

Chapter 5/7 – EMU / The euro

Rhetoric

Both in the 1998 and 2003 editions, the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) is described as a logical addition to the single market and a step towards European unification. Indeed, "joining all currencies, which were European countries' symbol and instrument of sovereignty for so long, into a single one, is unprecedented in world history". In the 1998 edition, the single currency is also described as "the result of a long and patient evolution." These are all examples of how the author describes the EMU as a historically logical and natural continuum of events. It helps to create, in the reader, a sense of inevitability and that economic and monetary unification of EU MSs is the best possible option.

The last subsection of the 2010 edition, which concludes this chapter, is called 'The Effects of the Economic and Financial Crisis and its Impact on Macroeconomic Convergence Since 2007'. In it, the author starts off by saying, "The 2008 banking and financial crisis increased public debt significantly for most of the EU's Member States. Nevertheless, the euro served as a shield (...)." The use of metaphor is a another example of symbolic language and is used, here, to instil in the reader the sense that the euro can protect those countries, which join this currency from financial woes.

In this respect, the 2014 edition is more balanced and includes more facts about those countries that were particularly hit, such as Ireland, Greece, Spain, Cyprus and Portugal. The good news, we are told, is that Ireland was the first country to successfully implement the economic and financial adjustment programme in 2013 and, was thus able to borrow money on capital markets once again. Although it is a more balanced account of how the financial crisis impacted the EU, there is some bias in portraying the ability to borrow money as a positive achievement, given that poor lending practices may have contributed to the crisis.

Removals

In the 1998 edition, during the "European Council of Bremen on the 6th and 7th of July 1978, heads of state and government decided to create the European monetary system (EMS), which came into action on 13th March 1979". In the 2003 edition, the heads of state and

government are no longer mentioned. Instead, the author explains, "The EMS tried to reduce exchange rate fluctuations between the different Member States' currencies durably by fixing the fluctuations margins from 2.25% to 6%. Yet, the different crises, due to the dollar's instability and weak currencies being attacked during periods of international tension, weakened the EMS' mechanisms." In this way, the reader is given an explanation or an excuse as to the EMS' failings.

In the 2010 edition, the author instead emphasises "the United States' decision to abolish the fixed link between the dollar and the official price of gold, which had, until then, ensured global monetary stability after World War Two". Conversely, there is no mention of why the EMS was weakened. The fact that the dollar and, in later editions, the US are mentioned contributes to the sense of an antagonist, which is partly to blame for the failure of the project.

Persuasion

In the 1998 edition, the author tells us that: "The EMS has not yet reached its full potential". He argues some countries have not yet joined and the lack of convergence in monetary policies is creating tensions with competitive devaluations threatening the single market's unity. This is not a balanced argument, since some countries, e.g. the UK, had previously experienced problems when trying to join the monetary union.

In the 2003 edition, the benefits of the euro are highlighted as "EU citizens are brought closer together because they can travel without having to exchange money." The Single Act was to align European economies and reduce the risks linked to currency exchange. The author then asks the rhetorical question: "How could the single market work if one or the other currency suffered from competitive debasement, distorting trade and competition?" The European Central Bank (ECB), the author claims, resulted from "the fathers of the currency [wanting] to guarantee its stability".

In the 2010 edition, the author tells us about the "advantages for consumers" and how the euro has become a 'reserve currency'. Even during the 2008 banking and financial crisis the euro protected Europeans against competitive debasement and speculative attacks. Although this may have been the case to some extent, other countries such as Spain, Italy and Greece, were part of the euro but certainly did not come out of the financial crisis unscathed. Hence, the author does not quite paint the full picture here.

Finally, the author concludes "Hence, under the pressure of global economic and financial turmoil, the EU is forced to strengthen its mechanisms for solidarity, budgetary and financial responsibility by guaranteeing the euro's credibility as a single currency, allowing Member State economies to deal with the challenges arising from globalisation."

Thus, the 2010 edition, gives the impression that the EU was able to face the challenges from the financial crisis thanks to its coordinated efforts and solidarity and that if anything, a new crisis could be averted if the EU also had a common economic policy and governance. A more balanced view might reflect the fact that some countries benefit more from deepened integration than others and that some of the austerity measures imposed by the EU on countries like Greece, have negatively impacted Greek citizens' quality of life. Hence, the

author's line of argumentation is subjective and intended to convince the reader only of the benefits of being in the EU and having shared economic, monetary and financial policies.

Chapter 6/11 – Political Union and Defence / The EU on the world stage

Rhetoric

This chapter is one, which varies considerably between the three editions. Between 1998 and 2003, virtually none of the text has been kept as, presumably, a new approach and outlook was taken from 2003 onwards. Some of the 2003 content is repeated in the 2010 edition.

In the 1998 edition, the author begins by saying "Europe has not tried to assert itself since the Second World War (...). As it has grown economically and commercially, it has been solicited for mediation and to establish balance in the world." More specifically, the author claims two approaches are possible: 1) a political collaboration between MSs, which defines common positions and 2) gradually taking common measures in areas of important interests. In fact, both of these options involve EU MSs establishing common positions or common measures, the alternative of MSs creating policies independently is simply not mentioned.

Comparing the 1998 edition with the 2003 and 2010 editions, I noticed the latter two share quite a bit of content. The 2003 edition starts out by stating that to describe the EU as "an economic giant but a 'political dwarf'" is an exaggeration. This gives the sense that this chapter is to convince the reader of the EU's potential as a global political power too.

The chapters on 'The Role of the EU in the World', in the 2003 and 2010 editions, have a shared focus on the EU defence policy, as well as its commercial role in the world. In the 1998 edition, the chapter is purely called 'Foreign Policy and Defence'; whilst in the two later editions it is called 'The Role of the EU in the World'. During the GATT talks, the author tells us, "the EU was able to stand united [and] was able to efficiently defend its members' viewpoints." The idea of standing united is reminiscent of the EU's slogan 'strength through unity' and is invoked here to show the benefits of a strong EU able to represent its citizens at international summits.

Removals

In the 2010 edition, the author outlines new and existing ties between the EU and other countries. China is its second biggest trade partner after the US and the EU is Russia's biggest trade partner and biggest source of foreign investment. EU-Russia relations centre on energy provision (gas), commerce and cross-border issues. In a previous paragraph, this edition also includes two sentences on EU-US relations based on equality and partnership with the EU. However, in the 2014 edition, the list of bilateral relations starts with Latin and Central America, China and India, not the US.

As for the African continent, the 2010 edition explains, "new procedures have been defined to deal with human rights violations". This presents the EU as having the 'moral high ground'. We are further told that, in 2009, the EU invested 2.7 billion euros in ACP countries to help with health, water, climate change and peacekeeping. In the 2014 edition, this last sentence referring to the amount of money given was removed.

Persuasion

In the 1998 edition, when discussing the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), the author explains that it should eventually lead to a common defence. Once again, this is the author's personal opinion, which is here presented as an unquestioned universal truth.

In the 2003 edition, the author says: "The rising prices and sophistication of military technology will make industrial cooperation in terms of the armament industry between Member States necessary." Here, Fontaine makes a number of assumptions, which lead him to the conclusion that deepening EU political-military cooperation is a necessary objective.

In the 2010 edition, the author suggests, "Progressive enforcement of the CFSP should improve its credibility and influence", as the EU is perceived as an international player only when it speaks with a united voice. Again, the 'united voice' is presented as a desired objective and for this reason continued enforcement of the Common Foreign and Security Policy is necessary.

Chapter 7/9 – A people's Europe / What does it mean to be a European citizen?

Rhetoric

In the 1998 and 2003 editions, the author asks: "What are the common values and ambitions people will be willing to share in a European Union, which could include as many as 25 countries?" According to him "the feeling of belonging to a same community and to share the same destiny is something that cannot be created artificially." This rhetorical question gets the readers' attention and makes them think about what it might be that creates this feeling of belonging.

He continues to explain that the sense of belonging depends on a good understanding of what the EU does. The institutions should do more to explain the Union in a simple way to citizens. Once again, a rhetorical question is used as a tool to create a doubt in readers, which the author then removes by providing the answer that he wishes the reader to accept. In this sense, Fontaine believes that explaining the EU to citizens will also make them feel a part of it.

The 2010 edition ends with a quote by Jean Monnet and a statement about rallying public opinion in favour of the 'European idea' and that this remains the greatest challenge the institutions have to face. Here, at least, the author directly acknowledges the difficulty in persuading citizens of the 'European idea'.

Removals

In the 2003 edition, the author discusses the symbols of a common identity, such as a European passport, a hymn and a flag, and the author ends with the question: "When can we expect European Olympic teams or military and civil service in multinational entities?" This was removed in the 2003 edition, possibly because it was considered too provocative or unrealistic.

In the 1998 edition, the author warns us "Even if an every day Europe has become a tangible reality, European citizenship is still in its infancy." This was removed from the 2003 edition, perhaps because it was seen as being inaccurate or as too negative a statement.

Clear writing

In both the 1998 and 2003 editions, the author highlights the efforts the EU is taking in the area of education through its various programmes such as Erasmus, Comett, and Lingua. In the 2010 edition, the programmes are not mentioned per se but rather their aim, e.g. they help students participate in transnational school activities, learn new languages and study abroad etc. This could be a result of the influence of the campaigns for clearer writing, which aim to give the reader more concrete information. Indeed, it is more important the reader know what these programmes intend to achieve than knowing their names.

Once again, in the 1998 edition, the author starts the chapter by referring to the relevant articles in the Treaty on the European Community. However, this 'legalese' to most people and has, probably for that reason, been removed across the board, after this edition.

In the 2010 edition, the author concedes that citizens need to be better informed and that communication from the EU to them needs to be improved and simplified. This might well be a reflection of some of the 'clear language' campaigns that were launched by European Commission (EC) translators since the late 1990s or even the EC's aim to improve its communication with citizens in general. Finally, the author concludes: "The EU was created to serve Europe's people. Their involvement, regardless of their social environment, has to increase."

Highlighting democratic aspects

All three editions refer to the direct election of the European Parliament since 1979 as a sign of democratic legitimacy and claim that its role should hence be extended. Once again, the European Parliament is given a prominent role in the booklet to emphasise the EU's most democratic institution.

In the 2010 edition, the author highlights the fact that "to feel part of the Union, citizens need to feel they are able to weigh in on the decision-making." In this edition the author also specifies "all adults can take part in the election". Further, where the 1998 and 2003 editions say, "the democratic Europe must be extended" the 2010 edition says, "the democratic Europe has progressively been strengthened". Another democratic aspect we are informed of is the "involvement of national parliaments in European affairs".

In this edition, we are also told of the 'European right to initiative', which can act as a catalyst for the Commission to propose new laws, the European Charter of Fundamental Rights was given the same value as a treaty in 2009 and so, citizens can now invoke it before the European Court of Justice. Another way for citizens to weigh in on the debate are "discussion forums, parliamentarian's and Commissioner's blogs etc. They can contact the European Parliament and the Commission on the Internet or via their national bureaus (see back cover)".

Chapter 8/3 – Enlargement /Enlarging the EU and getting on with the neighbours

Rhetoric

In the 1998 edition, the author mentions how the end of the Soviet Union has led to the EU being "solidary with" the ex-Soviet countries and that it wishes to help them "transition to a market economy". Hence, the emphasis is on economics and commerce. In the 2003 edition, the emphasis is on politics, as the author emphasises the "fall of the Berlin wall and of the iron curtain". As this happened, the EU "put in place programmes to help these "fledgling democracies".

In the 2010 edition, the 2002 Copenhagen European Council "has taken the most important step in EU unification history". The EU has also "put an end to the brutal division of the continent" and allowed European countries "who were deprived of democratic freedom to join the family of democratic European nations". Finally, the new countries are able to "take part in the 'grand design' of the founding fathers." So, the 2010 edition presents a very strongly worded, coherent picture of how this big step in EU enlargement was not only necessary but also an act of solidarity towards the new countries. The language has gone from focusing on the economical to political aspects to finally being solidly based on emotive language.

Both in the 2003 and 2010 editions, the author claims, "The Fifteen are not just expanding their geographical surface, they have put an end to the brutal division, which has separated the continent since 1945 into the free and the communist world." In his words, "this fifth enlargement has a political and moral dimension." Once again, reference is made to the shared culture, history and aspirations and how they will come to join the family of European democratic nations. This fifth and largest enlargement is very much sold to the reader as a righteous and natural step in the EU's history.

Overall, in the 2010 edition, this chapter was written in a relatively sober tone. On the one hand, the EU should check its capacity to absorb new countries and maintain the good functioning of its institutions prior to each new accession. On the other hand, successive enlargements have led to "stronger democracy, better scrutiny on the continent and have increased the potential for exchange and economic growth." Clearly, the author intends to finish on an optimistic note, ignoring any possible drawbacks, e.g. an increasingly slow central administrative apparatus or the cost of translating and implementing the new laws after each new accession.

Finally, the author answers his own question ('how far should the EU go?') in the following way: "This question has to be answered with common sense (...) Trying to fix the EU's limits contradicts the European construction process, which, since 1950, has been a 'continuous creation'". Hence, the author suggests that as long as a given country can implement the CE acquis, the treaties, secondary legislation and the euro, it can join. He indirectly refuses to offer any possible criteria for which countries should or should not be included and he also implies that this is the only right way of looking at it, if common sense is applied.

Removals

In the 1998 edition, the author discusses the case of Turkey and its potential accession to the EU, "The specific case of Turkey has been the subject of bitter discussions for years." This sentence has been removed in the 2003 edition and instead the author just mentions that Turkey is part of NATO. Apparently, he no longer wants to shed a negative light on the accession negotiations.

The 2010 edition does not include as many rhetorical questions and sounds more pragmatic: "[Turkey's] geographic position and political history have made the EU reticent to positively respond to its application". Between the 2010 and 2014 editions there is a minor change here too: the 'privileged partnership' that the EU wants to offer Turkey instead of membership was, in the 2010 edition, 'rejected by Ankara'. This comment has also been removed from the 2014 edition.

Regarding the difficulty of EU enlargement, the great number of candidate countries and the wide disparity in their development levels the author asks: "How do you successfully integrate 110 million people, a fifth of the EU population but who only account for 5% of its GDP?" In addition to the financial burden, the EU will have to "improve its decision-making procedures to avoid paralysis or dilution" in decades to come. These are arguably sensible premonitions, albeit not the most optimistic. They do not reappear after the 1998 edition.

Chapter 8 (2003/4, 2010, 2014 editions only) – Towards a knowledge-based society / Building on knowledge and innovation

Rhetoric

In the 2010 edition, the common thread in this chapter is the Europe 2020 strategy, which prioritises "making the European economy competitive again". This idea of returning to a past state is noteworthy here, as this suggests Europe did have a competitive economy, in the past, and so it is a natural state for it to return to.

Another recurring theme is the existence of other rising economies such as Brazil, China and India, which serve as antagonists and, potentially, help create support for a united Europe among the readership. Furthermore, the author argues funding for research should be increased to 3% of the EU GDP, which is the same as what the US aims for. Here the author portrays Brazil, China and India as antagonists and the US as a competitor.

Removals

This chapter is a new addition to the 2003 and subsequent editions, which has no precedent in the 1998 edition. The 2003 edition has a paragraph dedicated to drawing comparisons between Europe and the US, which starts by stating that "The tech revolution started in the US and it is the US economy which most benefited from it." From 1995 to 2001 it's growth rate was 3.6% compared with 2.4% for the EU and European GDP per capita is 69% of that of the US, whilst labour productivity is 78% of that of the US. These facts, which give the reader the impression that the tech revolution is inextricably linked with economic growth

also makes Europe look like a laggard in this area and has, perhaps for that reason, been removed from the 2010 edition.

The author continues, "Much remains to be done if we are to use Europe's digital potential to the full", which includes the improvement of infrastructure but also investing in and training people – "Europe's principal wealth". The chapter ends by taking a look at some of Europe's most sensitive issues, e.g. an ageing population, costly social welfare systems, including pensions and long-term structural unemployment in certain areas. These rather gloomy sections are no longer included in the 2010 edition.

I found it interesting, that, in the 2010 edition, the author sounds quite honest when he says, "the results of the Lisbon strategy, which was launched ten years ago, have, so far, been mitigated. Given that the unemployment rate is still very high, the EU will make growth and employment its focus." Such transparent views on how the Lisbon Strategy has worked out or not are missing from the 2014 edition, in which the wording gives the impression that high unemployment is a result mainly of the recent financial crises.

Layout

In the 2010 edition, this chapter included a total of three pages of content. In the 2014 edition, the entire chapter has been reduced to a single page. The Lisbon Strategy is now redundant and the new strategy is called 'Europe 2020', in the 2014 edition. On the other hand, the 2014 edition includes details on what the objectives of the new strategy are – not too dissimilar from the Lisbon Strategy.

Persuasion

In the 2010 edition, the reader is presented with the threat of globalisation and emerging economies such as Brazil, China and India. Faced with which, the EU should protect the European social model and create competitiveness not from low salaries but from a well-trained workforce. Communities affected by delocalisation should be compensated; there should be more investment in technologies and green energy. I would argue, this is not purely informative, but rather the author's personal, political opinions, which he presents as the only or best option to tackle the threat of globalisation.

Both editions include the statement that a "complete overhaul of the European economy" was necessary for the EU to keep its competitive edge compared with the US and other big world economies. Following the ideological basis behind the need to move toward a knowledge-based economy, the author describes the Lisbon strategy, which was adopted by the European Council as a means to achieve this goal. The way the argument is constructed – that Europe needed to keep up to date and how the Lisbon strategy was to achieve this – is an example of influencing the audience and of presenting one option as the best solution to the problem.

Chapter 10 – Freedom, security and justice / A Europe of Freedom, Security and Justice

Clear writing

Where the author talks about how the need for equal access to justice and security arose over time, following the free movement of people, the 2003 edition still includes references to the three relevant treaties: Single Act, Treaty on the EU, Amsterdam Treaty. These are no longer mentioned in the 2010 edition.

In the 2003 edition, the author uses the higher register word of "mouvoir" (to move) to describe the police and judicial cooperation and how they work across the continent to fight crime. In the 2010 edition, this was changed to the simple "organise itself", which I would argue is clearer and easier to understand.

In the 2010 edition, the author restates that the "Schengen space was created without internal borders" at the end of the paragraph for additional clarity. Conversely, when mentioning the Schengen acquis, this edition no longer includes the apposition "that is, the Schengen agreement of 1985, its 1990 Implementing Agreement as well as its derivative law", presumably, as this is considered technical information irrelevant to the common reader.

Chapter – 9/11 The Union and the World / The EU on the world stage

Rhetoric

In the 1998 edition, the message is quite clear: "The EU, the world's foremost commercial power wants to become a political giant." The Maastricht Treaty has offered two major instruments for this: a common currency and common defence. It is now up to the fifteen Member States to show their political will. The author also mentions "the founding fathers" that chose a direction, which has allowed considerable progress towards a European identity. This choice of words lends his statement more authority and plays off of the readers' imagination, so they will see the EU as the symbolic child of the founding fathers.

Removals

In the 1998 edition, the author notes that the European Parliament (EP) has insisted on changing the EU's policies, given that their success so far has been relative. In the EP's opinion, the EU should adopt a global and more balanced policy focusing on the challenges of risk of conflict due to instability, rampant demographics, high unemployment (20+%), foreign debt, insufficient internal growth and large-scale food importation. This information has been removed from the 2003 edition.

Furthermore, the author concedes that the deterioration in Israeli-Palestinian relations after the 1997 Malta conference "has reduced the effectiveness of these conferences". In this edition I found the author had a more critical view of the EU's policies and approaches, which does not reappear in the 2003, 2010 or 2014 editions.

Layout

It is also interesting to note that the 1998 edition includes chapter 6 on EU foreign policy, as well as chapter 9 on the EU's Role in the World, which focuses on its commercial successes and projects (see the table below). Meanwhile, the 2003 edition starts by reproducing content similar to the 1998 chapter 6 and goes into detail about the Common Foreign and Security Policy etc. but moves on to economics with the subsection entitled 'The EU Open to the World'. In the same way, chapter 11 in the 2010 edition starts off with EU foreign policy and then moves on to discussing the WTO, GATT and the EU's relations with the rest of the world.

This suggests that the chapters in the 2003 and 2010 editions were set up to combine common foreign/defence policies, as well as commercial relations in one. This could be because the author wants the reader to view politics and economics as inextricable and to make it easier to make the leap from economic to political union, hence favouring deeper integration.

Table of chapters by edition

Chp.	1997	2003	2010	2014
1	A Brief History of European Integration	Why the European Union?	Why the European Union?	Why the European Union?
2	The Institutions of the Union	Historic Steps	Ten Historic Steps	Ten Historic Steps
3	Single market	Enlargement	Enlarging the EU and getting on with the neighbours	Enlarging the EU and getting on with the neighbours
4	Common Policies	How does the Union work?	How does the EU work?	How does the EU work?
5	EMU	What does the Union do?	What does the EU do?	What does the EU do?
6	Political Union & Defence	The single market	The single market	The single market
7	A People's Europe	EMU and the euro	The euro	The euro
8	The Enlargement of the Union	Towards a knowledge-based society	Building on knowledge and innovation	Building on knowledge and innovation
9	The Union and the World	A citizen's Europe	What does it mean to be a European citizen?	What does it mean to be a European citizen?
10	Europe in XXI Century: The Shape of Things to Come	Freedom, security and justice	A Europe of freedom, security and justice	A Europe of freedom, security and justice
11	—	The EU on the World Stage	The EU on the World Stage	The EU on the World Stage
12	—	What Future for Europe?	What Future for Europe?	What Future for Europe?
Annex	Key Dates in the History of European Integration	Key Dates in the History of European Integration	Key Dates in the History of European Integration	Key Dates in the History of European Integration

Persuasion

In the 1998 edition, regarding Europe's potential as a political giant, Fontaine asks the rhetorical question: "Will the external dimension of the big market turn the EU into a 'fortress' tempted by protectionist measures or will it become a 'sieve' open to the winds of competition incapable of protecting its producers?" The author gives the reader two potential extremes, neither of which he seems to argue for. He does invite the reader to think of what direction the EU should go in and creates a vacuum, which the reader wants to fill by answering the question.

He then continues to talk about the EMU and the euro and how its impact within the international monetary system is yet to be determined. Initially, this makes his view seem balanced. Next, he describes how the Eurozone will offer considerable advantages and stability for European and global investors, which represents his own answer to his earlier rhetorical question and which thus, represents a tool with which to influence his audience.

The author then transitions to explaining that the EU is currently an "economic, commercial and monetary power" and can also become a political power if it uses the Treaty on the European Union's to its full potential. Giving the example of prior sanctions against Argentina and Iraq, he argues "It is impossible to dissociate economics from politics when the EU takes a position in international forums", hence revealing the author's preference for deepened economic and political cooperation.

Chapter 10/12 – Europe in the 21st Century / What Future for Europe?

Rhetoric

In the introduction to this chapter in the 1998 edition, Fontaine claims the unification of Western people after World War II is comparable to the challenges arising from the collapse of the Soviet Union, as "the new democracies (...) expect solidarity from their neighbours and wish to fulfil a common destiny." In this sense, he creates a mental bridge between Western and Eastern Europeans and solicits the readers' empathy to help them achieve the same as Western European nations did after Word War Two.

One sentence, which recurs in subsequent editions, is: "[The] history and geography of the old continent will finally coincide." There is a strong element of rhetoric with which the author tries to create an image of a "common destiny" and a situation, which will result in the coincidence of history and geography, as though there were a natural state to return to.

In the third paragraph of the 2003 edition, we are told that a prominent person from one of the new MSs points out, "Europe has finally consolidated history and geography". Once again, this adds to the sense of historical inevitability of the integration process, which is present throughout the booklet.

The Maastricht Treaty is described as having drawn up "ambitious plans" including the creation of the EMU by 1999 and a political union including a common foreign and security policy. The author assumes, "The EU will continue to draw strength from putting into practice and following its rules, which separate it from other international organisations."

Finally, the author describes the Union as "a motor for the entire continent", as long as MSs allow it and that the EU will reach its ambitions only "if it continues to go down the road it has taken since the very start without turning back." Here, it becomes quite clear that the author favours a broadening of the EU's powers and deepening military cooperation rather than questioning this or keeping military power separate, which some MSs might prefer.

In the 2003 edition, too, I have observed many rhetorical devices. The first paragraph of this chapter is a quote by Victor Hugo from 1849. Fontaine likens its message to a utopia turned reality. The quote refers to "European brotherhood" and is a powerful tool to install a sense of inevitability and fate with regards to the EU project in readers.

Furthermore, the author tells us the first decade of the 21st century is "full of promise"; yet he admonishes "the risks and challenges (...) still remain". Another noteworthy sentence, which includes elements of rhetoric is "Half a billion human beings have chosen to live under the rule of law, in harmony, with secular values at the heart of which stand man and his dignity." This has a very poetic and romantic feel to it, which is unusual for an informative text.

Across the three editions, each chapter on the future of the EU has made extensive use of rhetorical devices, symbolism as well as inter-textual references. In this way, in the 2010 edition, the chapter starts with a quote from Robert Schuman, followed by a citation from Jean Monnet's memoirs (both men are considered to be founding fathers of the EU).

At the end of the chapter in the 2014 edition, the author invokes moral arguments such as the EU's values – which, according to him, are human rights, the rule of law, environmental protection, and maintaining social welfare in a market economy – in order to justify why the EU should bring its weight to bear on the world stage. He further believes the EU "can become a reference" through its success.

Finally, he ends by saying the EU will "be respected and remain a source of inspiration in the entire world". These kinds of compliments and positive descriptions of the EU did not appear in the two previous editions, perhaps, the author felt a stronger need to 'sell' the EU to the readership in light of growing Euroscepticism.

Persuasion

In the 1998 edition, the second paragraph continues with rhetorical questions regarding the possibility of maintaining the EU's decision-making power despite the many new MSs and how different cultures can be brought together without it affecting their sovereignty. The author then continues to reassure the reader, saying that risks should not be overestimated since candidate countries are obligated to implement the CE acquis before joining. Once again, this is an example of how a rhetorical question often introduces a theoretical doubt in the reader, which the author proceeds to address, often in a positive, reassuring way.

In the 2003 edition, the author believes the 21st century is "full of promise". The challenges, on the other hand "can no longer be effectively handled at a national level", hence he indicates the need for deepened political cooperation and common economic governance.

Faced with the challenges of a world described as almost apocalyptic (with the resurgence of radical Islam, famine in Africa, North American unilateralism, economic crises in Latin America, a demographic and economic explosion in Asia, as well as industrial relocation), we are told "the EU has a long way to go before it can speak through a single voice and be a credible player on the global strategic and diplomatic stage." Here, too, the author uses the symbolic image of the EU representing the possibility of speaking through a single voice on the world stage.

Finally, he refers to the founding fathers again, wondering whether the Constitution will mark the final stage in their project or whether there are new developments to come in the EU's political configuration and destiny. Once again, the author uses symbolism and the hint that the Constitution could in fact be the last missing piece.

In the 2010 edition, the author claims the "optimal functioning" of the single market since the 1990s has made the creation of the euro a necessity and that the next logical step after the 2008 financial crisis will be "real common economic governance". He then wonders whether it can be said that the EU is no longer a pertinent political project against globalisation and asks, what better way exists to use the potential of 500 million Europeans who "share the same values and interests". This presupposes that there is a need for a political project to counterbalance the negative effects of globalisation – whatever the author feels these may be – and that the readership agrees in this point of view. The statement that all 500 million European citizens share the same values and interests is of course a gross over-simplification but helps to make EU citizens seem like a homogenous group.

The author makes use of rhetorical questions again when he asks about the possibility of being European all the while remaining attached to one's nation or a country's continued ability to respect its minorities. He then claims this has indeed been the case since the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), which makes it difficult for the reader to answer these questions with a 'no'.

Next, the author argues against the potential conversion of the EU into a 'à la carte Europe' or a Europe of "varying geometry", saying that all countries will be able to reap the benefits of the EU's scope and solidarity, as long as Europe remains coherent with shared goals and discipline. Once again, it looks like this is a text of a persuasive and not just informative nature.

In the 2014 edition, the author explains that, in juxtaposition to other world powers, the EU needs to become a global actor, united in the defence of its common interests and pushing towards a political Union. As such, Fontaine believes the President of the European Council, of the European Commission and the EU's high representative should represent the EU's executive power, as well as a strong and coherent group. Here, the author's opinion becomes quite clear again, as he openly argues for the creation of a supranational government.

Clear writing

In the 2014 edition, the author recognises the EU has to become more democratic. Whilst, he enumerates measures, which have been implemented to make this happen –the European Parliament is re-elected every 5 years and has gained additional powers with every treaty amendment – he laments voter participation is low. At this point, he opens up the debate with

the reader and asks what MSs and the EU can do to improve citizen communication and how they can create a public space for common policy where citizens can get involved. This section could be a direct consequence of the influence of the clear writing campaigns, as well as the EU's new communication policy, as both have aim to make the booklet more reader-centric.

Chronology

Rhetoric

Strangely enough, in the 2003 edition, new dates, which go as far back as 1948 were added, such as the date of The Hague Congress, the creation of the Council of Europe and the birth date of the EU (9/5/17), celebrated as 'Europe Day'. The latter is useful as a symbol of the age and progress of the EU since its birth.

Removals

The 1998 chronology also records when the European Defence Community treaty was signed, although it later specifies that the French national assembly rejected it two years later. Also listed is the start of the European Monetary System, which saw Britain and Italy leave the Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM) in 1992 and 1997 respectively. In subsequent editions, there is no mention of the different states rejecting (Denmark) or approving (Ireland and France) the Maastricht Treaty. It seems the 1998 edition in particular, contained content, which does not make the European project look like smooth sailing.

Clear writing

Many mentions of the different European Councils held across various European cities in the 1998 edition are subsequently removed from the latter editions. Arguably, the exact locations of these meetings are not particularly relevant to the average reader.

Both the 2010 and 2014 editions are generally more succinct in their descriptions of key dates.

Contact the EU

Rhetoric

The brief description at the end of the booklet is very sober in the 1998 edition. Essentially, it says that the brochure explains the nature and development of the EU in ten lessons. In the 2003 edition, there are a number of open-ended questions, which the author or editor tells us will be answered in this "fascinating booklet". "Clear, readable", it is the successor to "the very popular *Europe in Ten Points*". In the 2010 edition, this enthusiasm is toned down slightly to just "popular booklet" and also mentions it is "written for the general public".

These small changes across the three editions give us an indication of the changing communication strategies.

Summary

By looking at the number of changes overall for each chapter, I found that some chapters exhibited more changes than others. In decreasing order, the chapters with most changes are the chapter about the EU's common policies; about the future of the EU; about a citizen's Europe, and about the single market (18, 17, and 14 changes, respectively). The chapters on EU history; the EU institutions; and foreign policy and defence also contained quite a few changes (10, 10, and 9 respectively).

It appears that the subject matter of these chapters led the author to making more of the changes, which I had created categories for. This might be partially explained by the need for updates, but, given the nature of my change categories (change in rhetoric, removals of negative facts, changes in layout, persuasive language, changes due to clear writing and highlighting democratic aspects), it shows that the author took particular care, beyond just updating, in editing these chapters over time.

Other chapters, which had fewest changes made to them, are the contact the EU section; the chronology; the chapter on freedom, security and justice; the historic steps; the chapter on the EU in the world; the chapter on enlargement; the chapter on an information and knowledge economy; and that on the euro (1, 3, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8 and 9 changes, respectively). One of the reasons for this is that some of these chapters were newly created in the last two editions; hence I was only able to compare them in the last two editions. These chapters may also have been created in order to meet the new communication objectives, so that fewer changes to them between the 2010 and 2014 edition were necessary. Some chapters, such as the contact the EU section or the chronology are just much shorter and so do not have much potential for change.

Looking at those chapters with most examples, it is also interesting to observe which type of change occurs in a chapter, depending on its subject. Indeed, there seems to a pattern in the type of changes made according to the content. The chapter on the EU common policies, particularly, showed that the author removed a lot of negative facts about the CAP, which, he presents as a resolved issue, in the last two editions. In the chapter on the future of the EU, Fontaine uses a lot of symbolic language to give the sense that the EU represents a historically and geographically natural union. Furthermore, he seeks to persuade the reader of a promising future and of the need for further integration. According to this logic, it is unsurprising then, that the author would make changes to highlight democratic aspects of the EU in the very chapter that explains to the readers how they can be part of the EU (chapter 9 A Citizen's Europe).

Overall, I noted that changes in rhetorical language often went hand in hand with attempts at persuasion. In this way, the chapter with most rhetorical changes – on the future of the EU – is also that with most indicators of persuasion. Both the chapter on a citizen's Europe and that on the European institutions are those with most changes to reflect the democratic aspects of the EU. Again, it is unsurprising that many such changes should exist in the chapter that explains the EU institutions.

The chapter on a citizen's Europe is also the one in which I found most instances of changes linked to the clear writing campaigns. This seems plausible, since part of the aim of the Clear Writing campaign, is to make texts more reader-friendly and accessible. Finally, I found most changes in layout in the chapter on the EU common policies. This is because over the years and in the last two editions especially, policies on the environment, sustainable development and technology have been given a more prominent position in the chapter, whilst other policies such as the CAP have shifted towards the end. Meanwhile, employment policy has been moved largely to the new chapter on the information and knowledge economy, which the EU hopes to become.

Following this detailed analysis of the French original text, I will continue with the analysis of the English edition. Based on the above findings, I have chosen to look at the English edition with regard to specific examples. I believe some of the changes in the French edition are particularly noteworthy and have investigated below, how these passages have been adapted in the English version.

5) Findings - Part 2 – Changes in the English compared to the French

Introduction

In this second part of the findings, I aim to find answers to my second research question: (2) how does the English translation evolve over time and in comparison to the French original?

Following on from the literature review, I am particularly interested to see if examples from specific change categories, which I identified above, are equally present in the English translation. The categories are: (1) "Rhetoric": a change in or addition of a rhetorical device, be it an expression or a rhetorical question; (4) "Persuasion": instances where the author is attempting to persuade the audience, often by presenting his subjective opinion as a universal truth; and (5)"Clear writing": changes that indicate the influence of the clear writing campaigns, such as simplifying the text or removing legal jargon.

This is because instances of rhetoric, such as rhetorical questions or literary language, would be unidiomatic to translate to English as they are. Likewise, examples of persuasive language indicate the text is operative and not merely informative, and I want to establish whether, over time, the English translation changes as a text type (e.g. from informative to emotive). Since, initially, the campaigns for clearer writing were promoted especially by the English language translation service of the European Commission, I want to determine how prominent the changes from this category are in the English version.

Again, all findings are listed chronologically, according to the chapter in the booklet to which they belong. Since the chapter names were amended over time, I have included both the older and newer name and, depending on the year of the edition, the corresponding chapter number.

Chapter 1 – Why the European Union?

In the 2010 edition, the author tells us China, India and Brazil, and other emerging economies are hoping to join the US in the club of superpowers. Hence, the current 27 EU members should unite to retain their "critical mass" and avoid being marginalised.

Example 1 – 2010

French

Alors que la Chine, l'Inde, le Brésil et d'autres économies émergentes se profilent pour rejoindre les États-Unis dans le club des superpuissances, les vingt-sept États membres de l'Union ont plus que jamais intérêt à <u>unir leurs forces</u> pour conserver ensemble «la masse critique» et éviter la marginalisation.

English

In today's world, rising economies such as China, India and Brazil are set to join the United States as global superpowers. It is therefore more vital than ever for the Member States of the European Union to <u>come together</u> and achieve a 'critical mass', thus maintaining their influence on the world stage.

Here, the phrase 'to join forces', which is used in the French version has not been translated directly in the English version. Indeed, in this instance the translator has chosen to simply base the translation on the act of 'retaining its "critical mass" together', as described in the French version. It is not an entirely uncommon phrase in English, in my view, so what could the reason behind omitting this metaphor be? Perhaps, the English translator did not want to mislead the reader with the French metaphors. To join forces could suggest taking military action, "critical mass" is a metaphor related to atomic bombs. Furthermore, perhaps the English translator did not want to include two metaphors, which are essentially making the same point and would thus make the sentence seem to heavy on rhetoric.

Chapter 2/4 – The institutions of the Union / How does the EU work?

The introduction to chapter 4 in the 2004 edition is much shorter and no longer mentions treaties or common institutions that represent the national and common interest. This may be the reflection of changes made on the grounds of the campaigns for clearer writing in the English version from 2004 onwards.

Example 2 – 2003/4

French

Plus qu'une confédération d'États, moins qu'un État fédéral, l'Union européenne est une construction nouvelle qui n'entre pas dans une catégorie juridique classique. Elle se fonde sur un système politique original en permanente évolution depuis cinquante ans. <u>Les États qui ont souscrit aux traités de Paris et de Rome et aux traités de Maastricht, d'Amsterdam et de Nice consentent des délégations de souveraineté au profit d'institutions communes représentant à la fois les intérêts nationaux et l'intérêt communautaire.</u>

English

The European Union is more than just a confederation of countries, but it is not a federal State. It is, in fact, something entirely new and historically unique. Its political system has been constantly evolving over the past 50 years <u>and it is founded on a series of treaties – from those signed in Paris and Rome in the 1950s to the treaties of Maastricht, Amsterdam and Nice, agreed in the 1990s.</u>

Indeed, the English language translator seems to have taken some liberties in order to make the text more succinct and to situate it historically, so as to give the reader more context. Rather than specifying that the EU does not fit into any 'traditional legal category', the translator simplifies this by saying it is 'new and historically unique'. The translator then provides the rough dates of the various treaties on which the EU is based, so as to make the sentence more fluid and not add too much detail.

Chapter 2 – Historic steps / Ten historic steps (2003, 2010 and 2014 editions)

In this chapter, after listing the EU's big historical stages, Fontaine has added three more paragraphs in the 2003 edition, which were removed from the 2010 edition.

Example 3 – 2003/4

French

(1) *La méthode communautaire,* **(2)** *fondée sur un dialogue permanent entre les intérêts nationaux et l'intérêt commun, respectant les diversités nationales tout en dégageant une identité propre à l'Union, n'a rien perdu de sa valeur initiale.* **(3)** *Inventée pour surmonter les antagonismes séculaires et effacer l'esprit de supériorité et le recours à la force qui marquaient les relations entre États,* **(4)** *cette méthode a permis la cohésion de l'Europe démocratique, attachée aux valeurs de liberté, tout au long de la guerre froide. La disparition de l'antagonisme Est/Ouest et la réunification politique et économique du continent sont la victoire de l'esprit européen, dont les peuples ont plus que jamais besoin pour leur avenir.*

English

Integration has succeeded in overcoming **(3)** age-old enmity between European countries. Attitudes of superiority and the use of force to resolve international differences have been replaced by the **(1)** 'Community method' of working together. This method, **(2)** which balances national interests with the common interest and respects national diversity while creating a Union identity, is as valuable today as ever**. (4)** Throughout the Cold War period it enabled Europe's democratic and freedom-loving countries to stick together. The end of east-west antagonism and the political and economic reunification of the continent are a victory for the spirit of Europe – a spirit that European peoples need more than ever today.

Although this passage follows the French very closely, it is interesting to see how the English translator has been careful to make it as reader-friendly as possible. In order to show how this was done, I have introduced numbers into the original French text to separate the different ideas in the text. They have been marked with the same number where they appear in the English text.

In this way it is easy to see how the English translator has restructured the order of ideas quite significantly. Rather than following the (1), (2), (3), (4) order of the French, it was changed to: (3), (1), (2), (4). Based on my research, I assume the translator chose this method in order to keep the main idea, the topic sentence, at the front and not at the end or middle of

the paragraph and to add details to it from there. From the literature review I found that academic texts written in Latin languages often build up towards the most important idea, which is presented at the end of a paragraph.

Example 4 – 2003/4

French

L'Union apparaît bien comme <u>la réponse la plus adaptée des Européens</u> au gigantesque défi de la mondialisation. Elle <u>est</u> surtout la meilleure «police d'assurance» pour un avenir de paix et de liberté.

English

The European Union <u>offers a response</u> to the huge challenge of globalisation – a response that expresses the values Europeans believe in. The EU <u>offers</u>, above all, the best possible 'insurance policy' for a free and peaceful future.

What is most noteworthy here is that the French language version quite clearly reflects the views of its author, whereas the English language version is a more neutral interpretation of this.

In this short paragraph, Fontaine tells us, 'The EU is the most appropriate response' and the EU is, above all 'the best 'insurance policy''. These are subjective statements and the English translator has been careful to translate them as the EU 'offers **a** response' and, once again, the EU 'offers (...) the best "insurance policy"', instead of 'the EU **is** the best insurance policy', as per the French version. This examples shows, particularly in the first sentence, that the English translator presents the EU as a possible response and not as the only option.

Chapter 3/6 – The Single Market

Example 5 – 2010

French

La tourmente bancaire et financière mondiale de 2008, partie des États-Unis à la suite de la cessation de paiement de certaines banques et de la crise des «subprimes», a profondément ébranlé le système économique mondial et a entraîné un recul du PIB de l'Union en 2009. L'Union européenne a été à l'initiative de la réunion du G20 qui s'est tenue à Londres le 2 avril 2009; les participants se sont engagés à réformer la législation financière dans le sens de la transparence et de la responsabilité. Des pouvoirs seront confiés à des autorités européennes de supervision destinées à encadrer les fonds spéculatifs, à renforcer la garantie des dépôts, à limiter les profits des <u>«traders»</u> et à mieux prévenir et gérer les crises.

English

In 2008, in the wake of the 'sub-prime' mortgage crisis in the United States, a massive financial crisis rocked the world's banking systems and economies, and plunged the European Union into recession in 2009. At the EU's initiative, the G-20 met in London on 2 April 2009. Its members committed themselves to reforming the financial system so as to make it more transparent and accountable. Europe-wide supervisory authorities will be given responsibility for overseeing hedge funds, providing greater protection for bank deposits, limiting traders' profits and taking more effective steps to prevent and manage crises.

Although the word 'trader' can be used in French too it is considered to be an Anglicism. The fact that Fontaine uses it in the above paragraph and puts it in inverted commas, suggests that he uses the term in a sarcastic or derisory way. This of course is lost in translation when using the word in English, where it does not carry any negative connotations. Yet, the translator makes no effort to compensate for this loss in meaning either. Again, the English text is more neutral and avoids reproducing the author's personal opinions.

Chapter 4/5 – Common Policies / What does the EU do?

The section 'Financing common policies' in the 2003 edition talks about the EU's budgetary plans to accommodate new accessions. In French, it says, "Given the constant worry of European taxpayers, the Berlin European Council intends to implement budgetary discipline and justify European public spending."

Example 6 – 2003/4

French

Il veut également répondre aux impératifs de la discipline budgétaire <u>et au constant souci des contribuables européens</u> de vérifier l'efficacité et la justification des dépenses publiques européennes. Le plafond global des «ressources propres» (principalement les ressources provenant de la TVA et d'un prélèvement calculé sur le produit national brut) a été fixé à 1,27 % du PNB de l'Union pour la période 2000-2006.

English

It was also aimed at <u>tightening the EU's purse strings</u> and showing the European taxpayer that EU funds would be used properly and efficiently. The EU's 'own resources' – chiefly made up of the money it raises from VAT and of contributions from the Member States, based on their gross national product (GNP) – would not be allowed to exceed 1.27% of the Union's GNP in 2000-2006.

This paragraph stood out to me, as I noticed that the 'constant worry' of taxpayers in the French version did not reappear in the English version. Both 'constant' and 'worry' are quite strong terms to describe the European taxpayer's state of mind about the EU budget. Nevertheless, the English version is much more sober and simply states the budgetary plans show taxpayers that EU funds are used properly and efficiently.

On the other hand, the English translator somewhat compensates for the absence of such emotive language by introducing a bit of colour with the expression 'tightening the EU's purse strings'. This is a very visual and clear description of the rather bland 'budgetary discipline' in the French version.

Chapter 5/7 – EMU/ The Euro

In the French 2003 edition, after highlighting the benefits of the euro the author asks: "How could the single market work if one or the other currency suffered from competitive debasement, distorting trade and competition?" He then claims the ECB resulted from "the fathers of the single currency [wanting] to guarantee its stability".

Example 7 – 2003/4

French

<u>Les pères de la monnaie unique</u> ont voulu garantir la stabilité de celle-ci, car la hausse des prix réduit la compétitivité de l'économie, mine la confiance des citoyens et diminue leur pouvoir d'achat. Ils ont, dans cet esprit, assuré l'indépendance de la Banque centrale européenne (BCE) qui a son siège à Francfort et dont les statuts garantissent la mission: agir sur les taux d'intérêt pour maintenir la valeur de l'euro.

English

<u>There would have to be some way</u> of ensuring the stability of the single currency, because inflation makes the economy less competitive, undermines people's confidence and reduces their purchasing power. So an independent European Central Bank (ECB) was set up, based in Frankfurt, and given the task of setting interest rates to maintain the value of the euro.

As discussed earlier, the use of symbolism such as the figures of the 'founding fathers' of the EU has been recurrent in the French version of this booklet. I believe the use of symbolism and rhetorical devices enables the author to present the EU institutions as a coherent and historically continuous project to his readers.

In this short paragraph, by comparison, I noticed that the English translator preferred not to translate the concept of the 'founding fathers' word-for-word. Instead, the English sentence starts with an impersonal and passive construction: 'there would have to be'. According to the guidelines for clear writing, to make a text more reader-friendly, it is best to name the actors rather than to make passive constructions. So, this is an interesting example, which suggests the English translator's reluctance to use this kind of symbolic language.

Chapter 6/11 – Political Union & Defence / The EU on the world stage

In the 1998 edition, the author tells us that thanks to the European Council, "the ultimate authority", the EU can make joint statements with regards to international events.

Example 8 – 1998

French

Le Conseil peut adopter, à la majorité qualifiée (pour autant qu'elles portent sur une question retenue à l'unanimité par ce même Conseil), des actions communes qui visent à faire converger les actions conduites par les États membres dans leurs prises de position. L'Union européenne se prononce sur des événements internationaux dans <u>des déclarations communes.</u> Ces déclarations portent en particulier sur la violation des droits de l'homme. Ainsi doivent coexister dans le même ensemble institutionnel des procédures communautaires et des procédures intergouvernementales.

English

The Council may adopt procedures for implementing joint action by a qualified majority (if they cover an issue unanimously accepted by the same Council), the aim being to align actions by the Member States as they take up their positions. The European Union expresses its opinion on international events in <u>its joint statements</u>. These statements cover violation of human rights in particular. Community and intergovernmental procedures must therefore exist side by side in the same institution.

This example shows that the earliest edition of my sample does not include as many rhetorical devices as the later editions. Furthermore, the English edition is very closely calqued on the French. This example backs up the claim I made in the (2) methodology section, earlier, that I could not observe significant changes between the French original and the French translation.

Example 9 – 1998

In the 1998 edition, the author asks himself: "What are the common values and ambitions people will be willing to share in a European Union, which could include as many as 25 countries?"

French

<u>Quelles sont les valeurs et les ambitions collectives que les peuples seront prêts à partager dans une Union européenne qui, au terme d'une prochaine phase d'élargissement, devrait porter le nombre de ses membres à plus de vingt-cinq?</u> Le sentiment d'appartenir à une même collectivité, de partager le même destin, ne peut être créé artificiellement.

English

<u>It remains to be seen what common values and collective ambitions the people of Europe will share in a Union, which may well number more than 25 members.</u> The feeling of belonging to a single entity, of sharing a common destiny, cannot be created artificially.

In this case, I am looking at a rhetorical question, which, in the literature review, I found is a rhetorical device that the English translator is likely to avoid, as it would sound overly dramatic. This example supports this idea, as the English language editor opts for an impersonal and passive construction "it remains to be seen", instead of the open-ended question in the French version. In general, the English translation is also more succinct and thus, more reader-friendly.

Chapter 8/3 – Enlargement / Enlarging the EU and getting on with the neighbours

In this chapter, Fontaine uses emotive language to describe the progressive enlargement of the EU. Hence, it will be interesting to see how the English language compares to the French and how the editor resolves these challenges.

Example 10 – 2010

French

Le Conseil européen, réuni en décembre 2002 à Copenhague, a fait franchir au processus d'unification européenne <u>l'une des étapes les plus importantes de toute son histoire</u>. En décidant de faire adhérer <u>douze</u> nouveaux pays, les Quinze n'ont pas seulement élargi la surface géographique ni accru le nombre de citoyens de l'Union européenne. <u>Ils ont mis fin à la coupure brutale du continent, qui l'avait divisé en deux depuis 1945</u>. Des pays européens, qui, pendant des décennies, avaient été <u>privés de liberté démocratique</u>, ont finalement pu <u>rejoindre la famille démocratique des nations européennes</u>. Sont ainsi devenues membres de l'Union en 2004

l'Estonie, la Hongrie, la Lettonie, la Lituanie, la Pologne, la République tchèque, la Slovaquie et la Slovénie, aux côtés des îles méditerranéennes que sont Chypre et Malte. La Bulgarie et la Roumanie ont suivi dès 2007. <u>*Tous ces États prennent maintenant part au grand dessein des pères fondateurs*</u>*.*

English

When it met in Copenhagen in December 2002, the European Council took <u>one of the most momentous steps in the history of European integration</u>. By inviting <u>12</u> more countries to join it, the European Union was not simply increasing its geographical size and population; <u>it was putting an end to the division, which had split our continent in two since 1945</u>. European countries which, for decades, <u>had not enjoyed democratic freedom</u> were finally able to <u>join the family of democratic European nations</u>. Thus the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia became EU members in 2004, together with the Mediterranean islands of Cyprus and Malta. Bulgaria and Romania followed in 2007. <u>All are now partners in the momentous project conceived by the EU's founding fathers</u>.

Firstly, the English translator is careful to identify the subject in this sentence, in order to make it clearer. Hence, rather than leaving it at "one of the most important steps in <u>its</u> history", the English translation clarifies that it is in fact the history of European integration. Secondly, the phrase "the division which had split our continent", is quite clear, seems less emotive than the French, which loosely translates as "a brutal cut".

As for the last sentence of the paragraph, in the French version, the Member States take part in the "grand design" of the founding fathers. In the English version this has been translated into "momentous project", which, arguably, has a similar impact but is also more concrete and avoids the use of symbolism.

Chapter 9/11 – The Union and the world / The EU on the world stage

In the 1998 edition Fontaine writes: "The EU, the world's foremost commercial power wants to become a political giant." He also mentions "the founding fathers" that chose a direction, which has allowed considerable progress towards a European identity. With the appearance of the "founding fathers" and the concept of "European identity", I felt this warranted further investigation to see whether the English translation would be faithful to the French or whether it would be more sober.

Example 11 – 1998

French

La voie choisie par <u>les fondateurs</u> a déjà permis de progresser considérablement sur le chemin de <u>l'identité européenne</u>. Celle-ci se traduit concrètement, dès 1968, par la mise en place d'un tarif douanier commun, contrepartie externe de la suppression des droits de douane et des contingentements internes.

English

The approach advocated by <u>the founding fathers</u> has gone a long way towards establishing <u>a European identity</u> on the international scene. In 1968, for example, the Community introduced the Common Customs Tariff, an external corollary to the internal abolition of customs duties and quotas.

Although the reference to the 'founding fathers' has been avoided in the later English editions, it has been maintained here. As previously noted in passages from the 1998 edition, the English follows the French very closely.

Summary

Even if this sample of changes in the English editions is smaller than the changes examined in the French text, it was specifically chosen to examine how those examples, which are particularly uncommon to the English writing style were adapted. In the table below, I illustrate the historic trend in this analysis and how this coincides with my overall impression of all editions.

Evolution of the English edition compared to the French

Year of edition	English edition is calqued on the French	English edition differs from French
1998	2/3 examples	1/3 examples
2003/4	0/5 examples	5/5 examples
2010	0/3 examples	3/3 examples
2014	No changes	No changes

Looking at the different editions (1998, 2004, 2010 and 2014), I found that for the three examples, which I looked at in the 1998 edition, the English edition follows the French very closely, with one exception. For the 2003/4 edition, I found that the English is shorter and clearer; has been rearranged to suit English idiosyncrasy; and is more neutral, although it sometimes uses the same symbolic language, such as the "one voice". Furthermore, the 2010 edition continues to be more neutral and concrete and thus differs increasingly from the French. As mentioned earlier, there were no significant changes between the 2010 and 2014 edition, hence why there are no examples from that edition.

Overall, I found it is the 2004 English edition that sets the trend for an English version, which is increasingly different from the French. From this moment onwards, the translator seems to be taking more liberties and the use of rhetorical devices and symbolic language is somewhat neutralised, to become more idiomatic according to the Anglo-Saxon writing style, all the while, avoiding the statement of subjective opinions.

In an effort to substantiate my observations from the first two parts of my findings, above, I spoke to two of the principal agents behind the creation of this booklet and will present my findings of the two interviews below.

6) Findings – Part 3 - Interviews

In this section I will present my main findings from the two interviews I conducted. The purpose of these interviews was to get real-life insights into how the booklet was produced, what editorial decisions were made and how many people worked on it. It is often the case that larger texts will be translated and edited by several people, so this would ultimately impact any conclusions I could draw from my observations. For example, it might be that one person worked on one chapter and made certain choices as a translator based on their personal preferences and that the next chapter, translated by someone else, will contain different kinds of changes.

Although both interviewees provided me with two very different perspectives – one being that of a linguist, the other that of a project supervisor – both complemented each other and the interviewees had shared views on most of the topics raised. In most cases, I paraphrased the interviewee's opinions sometimes I cited them directly (please refer to the appendix for the full transcripts). The following is a summary of their opinions presented according to those topics, which were most relevant to this study.

My first interview was with David Monkcom on 7 September 2017. From the interviews, I learnt that Monkcom was brought on as an English language editor to produce a native-English, more reader-friendly edition from the original French "Europe in 12 lessons". Prior to this, Monkcom had been heavily involved in the two campaigns for clearer writing in the European Commission and this is what made him particularly suitable for this task.

My second interviewee was Morten Espelund. who was responsible for the European Commission's editorial work, including the booklet "Europe in 12 lessons" for a number of years. Whilst Monkcom was in charge of the linguistic aspects, Espelund was responsible for the brief and the wider editorial decisions, which shape the content and tone of "Europe in 12 lessons".

The Brief

When it came to creating the new English edition, in 2004, Monkcom was quite clear on the instructions: "The brief was to make the English text more *Monsieur Tout-Le-Monde* [suitable for the average reader] and to get away from a style that is too academic. I didn't follow the original too closely. I rearranged sentences, without betraying the meaning but making it more accessible." This gave him significant freedom and allowed him to create a translation/adaptation wherever needed to make the text sound as native as possible.

This was also the main factor that Espelund stressed. He wasn't so much concerned with any political aspects relating to content but more to focus on the language level and the types of expressions used or even to aim for shorter sentences.

When Monkcom started working on the 2004 edition, it was the very first native English edition, as opposed to previous English translations of the French edition of 1993 and 1997. From that point onwards, there were two originals, the French and the English, and indeed, translators were given the option to translate from French or English, as they preferred. This was a significant finding from the interview, as indeed I suspected certain language versions,

such as the Spanish, seemed, in later editions, to be more closely based on the English than the French, which I found surprising and could not find any obvious explanations for.

Later, Monkcom worked on the 2007 edition (which is not included in this sample) and subsequently left the Communication department within the European Commission (EC) to work as a translator in the Translation department. In 2010, he made a return to work on that year's edition as a translator and not an editor.

The difference between the French and English editions

Having made my own comparisons between the French and English editions above, I was interested to learn what Monkcom and Espelund thought about potential differences that might exist between the two. Both agreed that the French edition essentially remains Fontaine's work as it carries the name of the author and was written as a booklet by an expert and not by the EC as an institution.

The English edition, on the other hand, can be considered as standard EC editorial output, without the possibility of including personal opinions. Nevertheless, Espelund explained that Fontaine had been carefully picked as an author, as, according to him, he represents the "Jean Monnet, mainstream Commission, Christian democrat" line. In that sense, despite being an independent author, he is considered to reflect the EC's general political orientation.

Monkcom described the French as being quite "*franco-français*" (quintessentially French), academic and with longer abstract sentences. The English edition, on the other hand, was supposed to follow the Anglo-Saxon style of presenting examples first and then giving the context, to be more audience-friendly and to be written from the reader's rather than the institutional perspective.

Regarding the origin of the native English edition, Espelund explains, its creation came about quite organically and there was no clear objective in its creation other than that it occurred to a number of people that it would be good to have. He hypothesised that the French edition would indeed include more propaganda-like elements, as the French language tends to work in this way but also because the French are generally more enthusiastic to be a Member State of the European Union.

One of the things that Monkcom was keen to avoid as the English language editor was to brush over more difficult topics, such as the financial crisis, as he wanted to provide readers with a more balanced view. He felt that a text could easily become bland and that it was important to engage with citizens. Indeed, when providing advice for other linguists, Monkcom (2012) recommends answering the questions readers will naturally ask and to give concrete information about whom, what, and how much money is involved.

Espelund and others, on the other hand, felt it was not the EC's job to "self-flagellate" in this way and that it was important to present facts in an impartial but optimistic way. This correlates exactly with what I discovered in the first part of the literature review, regarding the EC's strategy on how to communicate information to citizens and that it is not sufficient to provide only neutral facts.

In terms of how both editions changed over time, Monkcom suggested the booklet might in fact change according to the different Commissioners, such as Margot Wallström, who was Commissioner for communication, and Jean-Claude Juncker, who has been president of the EC since 2014. Wallström was very keen on getting citizens more involved in EU politics and making the institutions more democratic. Juncker, on the other hand, has set 10 priorities for the EU, which are also the topics that should be communicated on most. Espelund added that in the last two-three editions, i.e. 2017, 2014 and 2010, the onus had been on making the booklet more citizen-friendly and to be more modern.

Clear writing

As mentioned above, the English language editor of "Europe in 12 lessons", David Monkcom, was a key member of the 'Fight the FOG' and 'Clear Writing' campaigns in the EC. I covered these two campaigns in the literature review, as I felt they were important to consider in any kind of EU translation. Since Monkcom confirmed he was the only editor or translator for two of the editions I looked at (2004 and 2010), clear writing is likely to have had an impact on the translation/adaptation.

According to Monkcom, these campaigns came into existence as the Commission originally produced a lot of poorly written English-language texts, due to many non-native officials drafting in English. In addition to this, Espelund explains: "The Commission is not a communication organ, its job is to negotiate and create consensus between different political parties. Part of that is agreeing on (...) unclear language". Hence, over time, the need for campaigns for clearer writing arose, although it wasn't just useful for external communication; Monkcom gives an inside account of some of the implications of poorly written texts:

> "The Clear Writing campaign is not just about communicating with the citizens – although that's part of it. It's also an internal thing, whereby if a translator has got to produce a translation of a proposed piece of policy, say, and it's got to be done within three days, it's a lot easier to do that if the original document is shorter rather than longer and clearer rather than obscure. Because if it's obscure you've got to phone the author and maybe he's in a meeting and you can't get a hold of him today and say, 'what did you mean in paragraph three, how do I translate that, did you mean this or did you mean that?' It's much more effort and time-consuming to translate a badly-written document than a clearly-written document. Besides, if the translator hasn't got time to do the consultation with the author, it could well be that his poorly written text will end up translated differently in German than what it is in Portuguese or Estonian. You may actually end up with a piece of legislation that is ambiguously drafted or drafted differently in different languages or implemented differently in different countries and then you end up with the Court of Justice having to decide what the legislation actually means. It all starts with clear writing of an original document."

This shows that, in the business of translating, a clearly written original text is of great importance in an organisation where any piece of EU-wide legislation has to be translated into 24 different languages. It also emphasises the obvious point that a legal translation will never give the translator or editor the same liberty as an informative booklet on the EU, intended to be read by ordinary citizens. Further, Monkcom adds:

"Sometimes you will find ambiguity in a piece of legal language, fuzzy terms may be used and that may be deliberate because this will all have been discussed in the Council and in the Parliament and different political factions would have insisted on things to be changed and you end up, sometimes, with a text that's a compromise between political pressure groups, so that it can be interpreted in different ways. That's different from fog, that's a kind of creative fudge, as it were. And of course, the translator needs to know that. It's no good the translator getting a text that's fuzzy and thinking: 'This is crap, I'm going to put that, clearly.' Because then you're actually undoing the very careful negotiations that have gone into it."

Communication policy

As is the case for some international organisations, such as large companies, these sometimes put in place an overarching communication policy, so as to be able to maintain consistency in their written or verbal communication. In the literature review, I provided an overview of what the EU institutions present as their objectives for a good communication strategy.

On this subject, Monkcom stated, "communication isn't a policy in the way that agriculture is a policy or industry is a policy. That's one thing that Commissioner Wallström, when she was in charge of communication policy, wanted to change. If possible, she ideally wanted to persuade her colleagues that next time the Treaty was amended, communication should be written into it as an obligation on the part of the institutions. But it isn't, each of the institutions has a limited budget – peanuts really – to do their own communication."

This is somewhat at odds with some of the comments I discussed in the literature review, regarding the large sums of money the EU allegedly spends on self-promotion. On the other hand, it does reflect the shortcomings that certain members of the public perceive in the EU-institutions-to-citizen communication.

Espelund explained that, with regards to a political, top-level communication strategy, the Commission receives a strong line and a set of priorities from its president, Juncker, and his central people, which the institution is supposed to talk about. He believes there are big successes of the EU, which are not priorities, which is a problem. For example, the Erasmus programme and the regional policies are not part of the 10 priorities but that's what's working and these policies are popular.

Summary

Thanks to these interviews I was able to confirm some of my earlier findings in part one and two. For example, I learnt that, whilst the French edition is considered to be a booklet written by an EU expert, the English edition can be qualified as standard EC editorial output. This would explain why the English editor neutralised a lot of the subjective opinions from the French edition. I also learnt that the brief for the English edition was that it should be more reader-friendly and native-sounding, so as to function as a second original text, which translators for other languages could choose from as a basis.

The fact that David Monkcom was the sole English editor for the 2004 edition and translator for the 2010 edition, and given his prior involvement in the campaigns for clearer writing, strongly suggests that these campaigns had an impact on the English edition. Knowing that at

least two of the English versions were edited entirely by Monkcom also makes my findings more significant, as just one person made the editing choices. Although the English edition had to match the French version to some extent, Monkcom had considerable freedom to make the text more neutral, more accessible for common citizens, but also more balanced. This would explain why, over time, the English version was increasingly differing from the French edition, regarding the changes I looked at.

7) Conclusion

In this section, I will present the main findings from my research and discuss their implications. I will answer each question in turn, by combining my own findings with the knowledge I obtained from the literature.

(1) How does the French original evolve over time?

In terms of the booklet's evolution over time, the 1998 edition seemed more balanced and honest and it did not hide any negative facts. There was a notable change from 1998 to 2003 whereby Fontaine becomes less critical and transparent in presenting his ideas about the EU. On the other hand, the 1998 edition was the least reader-friendly in that it had few subsections and still contained numerous legal details.

I can conclude that, from 2003 onwards, the French version of 'Europe in 12 lessons' evolves from a more informative booklet to an increasingly persuasive text. Throughout the French editions, the use of rhetorical questions is striking in its frequency. From my own observations, I found that the rhetorical questions often introduced a contentious subject, for which the author then provided his own, one-sided answer. From the literature, I learnt that the frequent occurrence of a rhetorical device indicates the text is operative, that is, it contains content with a persuasive character.

I also found that Fontaine often presented facts as inevitable. For example, the euro and the European integration are both presented as linear and natural processes. From the matrix of political discourse analysis, I knew this is a tool commonly used in political discourse to justify certain objectives. Again, this shows that the booklet is not purely informational in its nature.

Furthermore, critical discourse analysis helped me see the many value assumptions that Fontaine makes, throughout the editions. He assumes, for example, that globalisation brings many challenges and so, for that reason it is bad and this justifies the proposed solutions, referred to in his text. Indeed, these frequent assumptions reveal Fontaine's own ideologies and indicate his writing is biased, further confirming the evolution of this booklet from informative to persuasive.

(2) How does the English translation evolve over time and in comparison to the French original?

The English language version of 'Europe in 12 lessons' also follows a distinct evolution over time. The 1998 edition is still very close to the French original, as it is a translation of it. The difference between the 1998 and the 2004 English edition, however, is striking. This corroborates the finding from the interviews that from this moment on, the English version became an original text in its own right, which should be native sounding and not just a translation of the French.

From 2004 onwards, the English version is more neutral and hence, closer to an informative text type than the French version. In the detailed comparisons between the French and the English, I found that, over time, the language used in the English version was less emotive and less ambiguous. I also found the editor avoided the use of rhetorical devices present in

the French text. In some cases, he did this to avoid reproducing subjective opinions made by the original author.

In contrast with the French version, the 2010 English edition is particularly reader-friendly, as the clear writing guidelines continue to make their impact, over time, making it clearer and more accessible. This suspicion was confirmed in the interview with David Monkcom, as this had indeed been his intention, especially in the 2010 edition, after the financial crisis. Nonetheless, the content in both the French and the English 2010 editions demonstrate a desire to include citizens in the democratic process.

The findings from the interview show that the Skopos of the English version differs from the French version. The French version can be considered a booklet written by an external expert on the EU with his own opinions. The new English edition (2004 and onwards), on the other hand, has been created specifically with the reader in mind. This and the fact that the English is no longer a translation could mean that, from 2004 onwards, the English edition has influenced the French version more than the other way around.

There were several examples, in the later editions, where the English editor simplified complex sentences or words, removing unnecessary detail. Other times, he would make a sentence more fluid and add a simple analogy for added clarity. From a syntactical perspective, he would clarify the subject, provide more concrete information, and avoid the use of symbolic language, present in the French version. These findings confirm that the clear writing campaigns are likely to have had an impact on the English version. It also supports the claim that clarity, economy, and precision are at the heart of English factual writing, as discussed in the literature review.

(3) How (if at all) has EU communication policy impacted both language versions over time?

After conducting this study, I found that the EU communication policy has impacted the booklet 'Europe in 12 lessons' in two ways. Firstly, the EU communication policy aims have influenced the language and tone of the booklet. Secondly, as Commissioners set new communication priorities the content of the booklet was also adapted.

From the 2003 to the 2010 editions, there was a shift, in both language versions, in the terminology, words, such as 'structural difficulties' become 'convergence' and 'unemployment' becomes 'employment' etc. This is also when the concepts of innovation, environmental policy and technological innovation first appear. In the 2010 edition, they are also given a more prominent role in terms of layout.

There is a notable change of tone in both the English and the French versions of the 2010 edition, as they both openly admit communication between the EU and its citizens needs to improve and be simplified. It is also clear from the content that this edition tries to include citizens in the democratic dialogue, for example, by suggesting ways to engage with the EU politicians. Finally, in the 2014 edition, Fontaine admits that the EU has to become more democratic.

This correlates with the European Commission's communication policy aims of making content more relevant to citizens and establishing a dialogue with the public. Both editions portray the EU in a positive light, to an extent, which supports the aim of improving people's

perceptions of the EU. However, I argue that the English edition is more transparent, neutral and provides a more balanced picture in that respect.

As both the findings and the literature show that the EU institutions are stepping up their efforts to communicate better and clearer with citizens, I conclude that the rise of Euroscepticism has, at least indirectly, influenced the booklet too. Some of the criticisms levelled against the EU that I covered in the literature review, were an impenetrable communication style and a perceived democratic deficit. From the literature on critical discourse analysis, I can deduce that the production of an information booklet, especially one with so many editions, suggests a strategic interaction, by which the publishers seek to improve the EU's image.

Regarding the shift in EU communication policy, I believe it is, at least in part, a response to the changing political narrative surrounding the EU, in particular the rise of Euroscepticism. Furthermore, in light of the EU being increasingly used as a scapegoat within national political discussions, the focus on communicating clearly about the EU's objectives, successes and also challenges becomes all the more necessary. Only by learning more about the EU and how it works, will citizens be empowered to get involved.

Future research

As a result of my study, several lines of enquiry emerged. These could serve as a basis for future research in the areas of translation studies and political communication.

In the interview with David Monkcom I learnt that legal translation in the EU institutions is a regimented activity with little room for deviation. However, having studied a non-legal text, I found that one person could make a significant impact on the content of a translation, as well as influencing the text type (e.g. make it more or less persuasive, informative, balanced, or emotive). Hence, it could be worthwhile conducting a process-oriented study on the choices of an individual translator in translating non-legal EU texts. Taking Europe in 12 lessons as an example, it could be interesting to explore in more detail what impact the translator(s) have, for example, depending on their personal ideologies.

Another potential area for future research arises from my finding above, which suggests that terminology, as it is used within the EU institutions, changes over time. In that sense, it would be interesting to do a lexicographic study of how this changes and examine what its purpose might be. For example, to change the word 'unemployment' to 'employment' could be to sound more positive or hopeful. It is likely many more such cases could be uncovered and help shed light on how the EU uses language to portray itself and its policies.

Finally, it would be interesting to investigate how internal and external factors have influenced EU communication policy, over time. From an internal perspective, it would be interesting to see what impact the different EU strategies, such as the Lisbon and the EU 2020 strategies have had. National political agendas and the communication priorities defined by the EU Commissioners are also likely to play their part. External factors that might have influenced EU communication policy could be globalisation or the financial crisis.

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Appendix

Email exchange with Emma Wagner

Information request for Master's thesis on plain language drafting and EU translation

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christina t <christina.thorngreen@gmail.com>

Mon, Aug 21, 2017 at 3:10 PM

To: emma.wagner@btopenworld.com

Dear Ms. Wagner,

I hope this finds you well.

I am a translation Master's student and am writing my thesis on plain language drafting and EU translation. I have chosen the booklet 'Europe in 12 lessons' by Pascal Fontaine in order to study the revisions made in both the French original and its English language version from 1997 to 2014.

I understand that the Fight the Fog and Clear Writing campaigns you led within the European Commission may have significantly impacted this text over time. Given that they were English language initiatives, I would like to find out how eager other countries were to comply with these new guidelines? How much extra work was involved? Also, how did you decide at what level to pitch the target text?

I live and work in Brussels so would be more than happy to meet with you for a brief informal interview. Otherwise, I would be grateful for any information you could share with me on this subject.

Warm regards,

--
Christina Thorngreen
Msc Management (Cass Business School)
Tel: +32 486 83 55 18
Email: christina.thorngreen@gmail.com
Skype: christina.thorngreen

Emma Wagner <emma.wagner@btopenworld.com>

Tue, Aug 22, 2017 at 1:49 PM

To: christina t <christina.thorngreen@gmail.com>
Cc: David Monkcom <david.monkcom@skynet.be>

Dear Christina,

Thank you for your email. I am happy to help. However I retired in October 2011, so was not involved in any official activity after that date. I am currently in Greece and have no access to my papers, but could if necessary check some details when I return to my home in Brighton in mid-September.

First of all I should correct some misunderstandings about my role in the two clear writing campaigns. I did lead the Fight The Fog Campaign from 1998 to 2002. This was an English-only campaign; part of it was a short booklet called 'How To Write Clearly'.
The Clear Writing campaign followed on from Fight The Fog and began in 2009. I did not lead that campaign, but I was on the steering committee and was heavily involved in it. This second campaign was not English-only, but was multilingual, in all the official EU languages. We re-worked the 'How To Write Clearly' booklet and produced it in all 23 official languages.
It is still available online in all languages and can be downloaded as a PDF.

In your email, you ask if the other countries were eager to apply clear writing guidelines. The simple answer is yes, they were. Several other countries have their own clear writing campaigns at national level, and their publications helped to inspire both Fight The Fog and the Clear Writing Campaign. They also welcomed the efforts to use clearer English because it is the main working language in most EU institutions, and is the language out of which most EU translators have to translate. However there was naturally some opposition, not from 'other countries' but from some staff (including British staff) who had reservations about simplifying professional jargon.

The focus of your thesis will be on 'Europe in 12 lessons'; I was not involved in producing the booklet, but I recommend you contact my former colleague David Monkcom. I have copied this email to him. He has also retired, and lives in Brussels. He was very active in both the Fight The Fog and Clear Writing campaigns. His email address is david.monkcom@skynet.be

Please let me know if you need any more information. You might also find it helpful to look at the following book, which has information about the two campaigns:
'Translating for the European Institutions' by Emma Wagner, Svend Bech and Jesus M. Martinez, published by St Jerome, Manchester, **Second Edition 2011**

I wish you luck with your thesis and am pleased to see academic effort being devoted to clear writing in the EU.

All the best,
Emma

Sent from my iPad
[Quoted text hidden]

Interview guide

1.1 Introduction

We are carrying out a comparative analysis of various editions (1997, 2004, 2010, 2014) of the booklet 'Europe in 12 lessons' by Pascal Fontaine. In addition to this longitudinal study, we are also comparing the French, English and Spanish language versions of the same editions. In this comparison, we will be focusing on any difference we can identify both between the editions as well as the language versions.

The purpose of my study is to gather and analyse any findings in order to contribute to research into the evolution of EU translation. Given that 'Europe in 12 lessons' is a non-legal text, we will be relying on translation as well as linguistic theory in order to analyse my findings. This thesis will review the following areas:

a.   *EU translation*
i.   Internal policies and drafting guidelines
i.   External pressures faced by EU institutions, e.g. Euroscepticism
b.   *Discrepancies between Romance languages and English*
c.   *Translation theory*
.   Skopos theory
i.   Communicative purposes
i.   Text typology
d.   *Discourse analysis and rhetorical devices*

In addition to my literature review and analysis regarding the text 'Europe in 12 lessons', I will carry out interviews with stakeholders such as former EU translators, who have participated in the translation of the text, as well as administrative staff, who oversaw the creation of an English native version and its approval by the original author.

1.   Are you happy for this conversation to be recorded for the purpose of note taking?

2.   What is your background in this area? / What is your particular expertise?

1.2 Interview questions

1)   <u>What</u>, in your opinion, are possible differences between the two versions (French and English)?

2)   <u>What</u> were the main challenges in editing the English language version?

3)   Was one edition more challenging than others?

4)   <u>What</u> was it like working with Pascal Fontaine? <u>How</u> did he respond to your suggested edits?

5)   <u>How</u> many translators and editors are involved in editing an edition?

6)   <u>How</u>, in your opinion, have the editions changed over time?

7)   <u>What</u> are your thoughts on the French and English giving indications that the text is becoming more persuasive over time?

a) **Negative** language removed
b) **Positive** portrayal of EU and its benefits to citizens
c) **Intertextuality**: Victor Hugo, Jean Monnet, Robert Schuman, Romano Prodi
d) **Antagonists**: China, India, Brazil, US...
e) **Rhetorical questions** as a way to present the readers with a possible answer
f) **Emotive language**: the founding fathers, a united voice/one voice, brutal division, dramatic fluctuations, its people were freed, New European dynamism, join forces, the European identity (French), the European idea...

8) <u>How</u> do you think external political events have influenced the work of translators in the EU - particularly, with regard to texts intended for the general public, such as 'Europe in 12 Lessons?'

Transcript of the interview with David Monkcom

Christina Thorngreen:
What, if any, are the differences between the English and the French edition?

David Monkcom:
It depends on the editions. In the beginning, Pascale Fontaine [PF], an academic and scientist wrote the book. It was a little bit academic, *franco-français*. The translations up to that point had been rather faithful to that style.
DG Comm, DG Press, at the time, wanted the text to have a wider appeal. To younger students, e.g. doing the baccalaureate. I had previous experience with clearer writing and teaching school kids before that. The brief was to make the English text more *monsieur tout le monde* and get away from a too much academic style.
I didn't follow the original too closely. I rearranged sentences, without betraying the meaning but making it more accessible.
I was put in touch directly with PF, whether the new script could also be simplified and could it be brought into line with (my first version was in 2003, published 2004). I was given PF's new text, I made several notes to ask him if a given sentence could be changed. Could something be put in a different way, could you add something to make it clearer? PF would say, *Ah oui d'accord*....
In 2004 we ended up with two texts that were both originals. *Les deux faisaient foi*. My boss, who was in charge of Commission publications (Morten Espelund), decided to send both versions to the translation service – choose which one you want. As you've discovered, the Spanish decided to take the English instead of the French. The translators were given free choice.
The goal was to make the text native sounding. The French language can sometimes be a little abstract. The Latin languages, including French, tend to like longer and abstract sentences.

What were the main challenges in translating from the French to the English? How was working with PF?

You certainly don't want to offend the author. We worked together in a constructive and comradely way. He was pleased with the relationship we had. Linguistically the challenge--
So, concretely, the opening passage, which is where people start reading...
I'm not going to translate it literally. It wouldn't sound quite right in English. [reads it out loud] Let's make it more-- how would an English person say this? The idea of uniting Europe vs. *L'idée européenne*.

Were you solely in charge of this project or were several people working on it?

I was a member of the publications team. Myself and M.E., the graduates. A small number of other people, a guy responsible for layout, graphics and proofreading – a Spanish feller. Morten was an administrator and I was the only linguist.
My brief was to produce a translation/adaptation to English. With other booklets, which don't bear the name of the authors, we work with external writers, journalists. Then again my role as editor is to dialogue with them. Being professional writers, they would say, Oh, yes, we should definitely do that!
A small team and we were part of a larger unit, working on other things such as websites.

The different editions were different for you – were some easier or harder?

Every time you update a book, it has to be updated because something has changed. Every two or three years, there is sufficient change in Europe to adapt the content. We take advantage of that to have another look at the text and to see if it reads well. Very often,

something new needs to be inserted but then the flow of the text is different, so you decide to adapt the rest of it.

Once I had done the 2004 version, I noticed the 2010 version I added some 200 suggested changes to the French, to make it clearer and bring it in line with the English version. It took several months it was completed in August 2010. Partly, I was re-reading my own English but mostly it was suggesting changes.

What was the evolution of the text over time? 2004 sounds like it was the biggest change?

I think so. 2004 that was quite major, with my background in clear writing, I wanted to get my hands on these texts and make them more reader-friendly. In 2006, I've highlighted in yellow the things that changed between 2004 and 2006 – there wasn't a lot. The odd line here. This shows I was quite happy.

When the 2012 version came along, there had probably been quite a bit of changes PF had made to some of the text. Probably because of enlargement, which happened in 2007.

The global financial crisis of 2008, there was quite a lot of focus on that in here. "Sharing a single currency helped the euro area protect against speculation and devaluation", says Pascale. And I remember at the time thinking, you can't just dismiss in one sentence, as it were, all the problems that have come up, all the arguments about whether Greece should leave the eurozone. You will notice in later versions, there is a lot more about Greece: "Despite the particular problems that Greece has had, nevertheless, the euro has helped". So, clearly, I felt sometimes that he needed to be pushed to acknowledge some of the problems. A text can otherwise appear too bland and reassuring – "things are all right, Europe's done well".

Did you find the rhetorical questions in the French text bothered you?

It didn't strike me. Give me an example.

Unemployment – referring to the 1997 and 2004 editions – how could European citizens trust the EU with unemployment being as high 10%? And very often these rhetorical questions – in my view – would lead to an implicit answer, some element of persuasion.

They were rhetorical devices to persuade the audience, rather than neutral questions to which you would provide factual answers.

It could be completely harmless but he does use, for example, he refers to Victor Hugo, Robert Schuman, Romano Prodi, they're these images, you're making a historical connection, the fact that this idea existed before. There's an element of political speech writing. The founding fathers, The brutal division of Europe...

I think that's the difference between his booklet, which bears the name of the specific author and the rest of the output from our team, where there's no one authoring it as an individual. Because, normally, what we aim to do in European Commission publications, is to produce purely factual material that doesn't take a political stance. For example, I've published a booklet: How does the EU work? The only sentence in there that wasn't purely neutral was: 'Away from the TV cameras and the crises, Europe is in fact a remarkable success.' It was immediately pounced on by some Eurosceptic think-tank. How the Commission is putting out propaganda. I mean, Come on! But you have to communicate with people.

It's tricky because there are a lot of facts that people don't know about the EU and I think you have a responsibility to inform citizens and there's a lot of good stuff that's come out of it. I'm biased but at the same time, I'm curious to see if there's any bias in

the text as well. When you have the Commission writing about the institutions, they're not going to show all the criticisms or the negative aspects of the EU.

It's an interesting subject, very much so, because within our team there were some differences of view about this. I tend to be annoyed if a text was too bland, and pro-European, and isn't everything wonderful and we fill our booklets with smiley faces and happy young Europeans and the flag. Because out there, there's a lot of problems. There's unemployment, the rise of eurosceptic parties... It seemed to me that we were not taking sufficient accounts of the criticisms that people were making about the euro or the unelected Commission. I thought we ought to either discuss these more or make a mention of it because I think Morten was not too keen on doing that because he didn't feel it was our role to self-flagellate that the press could do that and we needed to present people with the facts, not put positive spin but at least be a bit upbeat. So we settled on a compromise where on the whole we're trying to keep it objective but at least that people ought to know information, that it's interesting, important they should know...

The long answer, when you come to PF's book, it's got the author's name on it. Which no other book does. It's treated as a booklet by an expert. To some extent he's entitled to say what he wants. And I noticed that in the latest version – I don't think it was the case before – there's a little disclaimer: The views set out in this publication are the views of the author and do not necessarily reflect the official opinion of the European Commission. So, that gives him more freedom, of course, to ask his rhetorical questions.

He was an assistant to Jean Monnet, so not too many doubts about what his thoughts are about the EU.

Yes, but one thing I was glad about. I had some say in this. At some point in the booklet-- throughout there's always been a page which says addresses where you can get further information about the EU, but at one point, we've encouraged people to get in touch with the EU in person either by phone, by mail or by email and at a certain point, there's a page, where-- it's about 'a sense of belonging' and I think this was new in this version. 'A sense of belonging comes above all from being personally involved in the EU ... chapter 9 ... A citizen's Europe ... then we decided to call it 'what does it mean to be a European citizen?' To change it to something more concrete. Yes-- 'Involving the citizen', this was us talking to them. You don't want to write from the institutional perspective, you want to write from the reader's perspective, so we changed it to 'a sense of belonging'. We've expanded it quite a bit. Yes, I've decided to put this in: 'People cannot feel they belong to the European Union, unless they are aware of what the EU is doing and understand why. The EU institutions and MSs need to do much more to explain EU affairs in clear and simple language.' This was straight from my heart (2010 edition).

I don't think PF himself put that in, I think it came from me and he later incorporated it into the French. It's rather gratifying that you can persuade an author sometimes to include things that you feel are important. In this paragraph on the same page it says 'if you want to help shape the European agenda or influence policies, there are many ways to do so. Online discussion forums... join in the debate, post your views on commissioners. We ought to put something like this in. Here we are telling people, Okay, Europe's done all this wonderful stuff but – you know – people have different opinions, let's show them that we are welcoming and encouraging them to take part in a debate. I think the reason why I was so on this subject in 2010 is that I had been working with Commissioner Wallström for the previous three years. I was no longer in the editing team for this version. I produced this as a translator or editor rather than-- I was working for the translation team, which is part of the editing team, not the press service. But since Morten had had a good relationship with me over previous years, he made sure I was the guy who was put on this version. I had been working with Margot Wallström [MW] who was very keen on this idea of communication for democracy, opening up a Europe-wide debate, getting the media to reflect European issues more clearly and so you get a paragraph in this version. Then you will notice that it's been

quietly dropped in the later editions because the Commissioner changes. A new Commissioner comes in with a completely different view of what communication is about-- communication is about informing people, so this whole business about dialogue, debate and democracy quietly gets dropped. So the text, once I'm no longer involved... So, it's interesting, depending who's doing the editing, sometimes editorial changes reflect the way the Commission is feeling about communication. So there you are, that's my little rant.

Would you say that the 'Clear Writing' campaign and the 'Fight the FOG' campaign – specifically on this booklet – had an influence?

Yes, it's-- it did on all booklets, from the time that I joined the team. Because they recruited me because I had been involved in the Clear Writing campaign and Morten wanted clear, well-written booklets, so with all booklets I made a real effort to make them clear. It's a bit more of a challenge when you're working with an external author and who's made the booklet that's being published. So you can't really tear into it and re-write it the way you want as an editor. You work with the author and therefore it's a dialogue and you reach a compromise but I think he was probably quite grateful for that. Because an author sometimes doesn't realise what-- that things could be said simpler or differently and-- better. But certainly, although I've been retired for four years and before that I was no longer directly involved in producing the booklet, Morten has always taken an interest in the Clear Writing campaign, he's been involved in meetings, in which committee-type decisions were taken about the direction of the campaign. Therefore, he has carried on this interest in keeping things clear--

The tradition, as it were--

He will tell you more-- in fact he told me about the new book: Ah, David, you'll be pleased to see that a lot of your style is still there [laughs]. It's hard to know to what extent the campaign itself has an impact on writing in the Commission. And since Pascal Fontaine isn't a writer in the Commission, he's even less affected. Who edited this or produced the English text this time around? I have no idea but I would say that it's still-- the aim is still to keep it, you know.

With regards to the campaigns in general – so both 'Fight the FOG' and 'Clear Writing' – is it fair to say they were English initiatives?

Ah, thank you. Yes, that's an important point. The first campaign, the 'Fight the FOG' campaign – which was in the late 90s – was started specifically by English language translators, by Emma Wagner. She was the sort of *émminence grise* behind that. We English translators, at the time, felt that-- and this is already before enlargement-- that so many Commission documents were being written in bad English, which is not difficult to understand because very often it's people whose native language is something else and they were used to the bureaucratic style of the Commission itself and so on. So, we felt that it was time to launch an attack on this; we called it Fight the Fog. At the time, the main thing we did was to try and organise seminars-- workshops, where people involved in drafting for their particular DG, could come together and do some exercises and have a bit of training. I was asked to do those training exercises because I had been a teacher in my previous life. So we used to have half-day sessions, where I came up with exercises based on the booklet-- you may know the booklet, 'How to Write Clearly'-- so the seminars were based on this. We worked through a few exercises for an hour or so and looked at some actual examples of texts produced by that DG to see, What do you think is wrong with this? Not to embarrass people, the author might well have been in the audience. Trying to be not negative. The point that you raise – and is quite true – is that it was entirely focused on the English language text. The campaign ran for three or four years-- originally it was only meant to run for six months but it became quite popular and in demand-- it ran until I could no

longer be involved because I changed jobs. Then, it was decided in 2010 – a decade later basically – that it was time to revise this campaign. But this time, broaden it to all languages and involve not just the translation service but try to get the secretary general involved, DG Communication involved... The SG, which is responsible for general administrative messages for the EU, it was important to get him on-board because they could then exert their influence on the other DGs. We also tried-- we found that if you could get people at the top, like the president of the Commission or one of the vice-presidents to endorse the campaign then the directors general tend to listen and wake up to the fact that something needs to be done. Whereas, if it's simply agitation at the grassroots they tend to say, Oh, I understand what you're saying, But we've always done it like this... Or we wouldn't be taken seriously if we wrote this in simple language...

In such a big organisation it's difficult to make any changes, isn't it?

That's right, it is. In one speech, I remember I compared it to trying to turn around a super tanker that's going down a river with a tailwind. But I think gradually-- anyway, as you say, it's a multilingual campaign and it's been running for the past seven years. There is even, now-- all new officials who are recruited, when they do their initiation training, one of the elements, maybe it's only half an hour, is an introduction to the Clear Writing campaign and the importance of clear writing. Only in place for the last year or two. That's encouraging. We would like Clear Writing to be written into the rules of the house, not sure if we ever got that far. You'll have to ask Morten, he may know.

I did some reading about-- since Pascal Fontaine is an academic, his writing could be qualified as academic-- there's a really nice study done by an English lady who works in a university in Portugal, Karen Bennett, comparing English academic language with Portuguese with other Romance languages. She goes way back into history... All that to say that those two language branches have different traditions, it makes sense in the time we live in – time is money – for everyone now, but there may have been more resistance from some cultures?

There was. The 'Fight the FOG' campaign, people thought-- there was some resistance. People thought Commission style; we couldn't be taken seriously if we put things in a simpler way. To be important you have to write long annexes. When it became a multilingual campaign, there was some resistance on the part of people in the seminaries that we were trying to impose an Anglo-Saxon style of writing on other cultures. Cultural imperialism if you like. That's why we took care to involve people into our campaign not only from English-speaking experts, there was a Portuguese lady campaigning for 'Claro', I've heard her speak at conferences. People from Nordic countries and from Belgium. Although each language is different, the emphasis will vary, we don't need to be so long-winded and use unnecessary words or sentences that are unclear, when we communicate with the public, they need to understand what we're saying. We're there to communicate. There was a consensus across European cultures in a world where things go online. A bit of a North-South divide, perhaps.

I suppose the truth is that English has taken over a bit from French in the institutions. Initially, French was way more important... [reference to statistics]

Yes, and it's not because there's been some campaign to impose English. Enlargement was one of the factors – the fact that the Slavic and the Nordic countries joined in the 1990s or 2004 and 2007 – and most of those folk find themselves more at home with English than with French. And of course, that creates resentment from the francophones, the typical administrators who feel Europe is now unrecognisable from what it was before. What have we done? We've unleashed a Pandora's box... The fact that English is now more widely used, increases the need for a Clear Writing campaign because more and more non-native speakers are writing defacto in English and in fact, the campaign does focus on writing in

English because that's what mostly happens. But we try to keep it as multilingual as possible; for example, there's the Clear Writing awards, that take place every year. Ask Emma Wagner for more details. I mention it in the article. It's not only the seven R's. There's an annual thing called the Clear Writing award where we ask people across the Commission to nominate a document that can be in any language to win the award. There are several winners in different categories. We have an event where the people from the DGs come along and win an award and receive certificates. At the end there's always a little performance by a small choir, and we sing a song, which you can go online and find it on YouTube. 'Good news, clarity', based on a gospel song. To which I wrote words based on the booklet. Everyone thinks: 'Wow!' Fortunately it's a different audience every year. Things like that to help drive the message home in a fun way. To enjoy the whole business of Clear Writing. What was the question you asked me?

No, it's great because everything you say leads me to a new question I hadn't thought of. Speaking about English gaining influence and if you try to link it back to external political events outside of the EU, pressures, such as euroscepticism, is there an argument that in light of those events you also need to be communicating effectively?

Oh, yes. Quite so. The main pressure I can think of is the rise in euroscepticism. The obvious example of that is the way the British tabloid press was constantly inventing or distorting--

When did you start feeling this was happening?

Already back in the 90s...

Was that Blair?

When I joined the Commission in the mid-80s I wasn't so aware of it there wasn't such an undercurrent. But I think it started in the late 80s and through the 90s that there was an increasing-- under Margaret Thatcher there as a sense of not wanting to have-- how did she put it? 'We haven't rolled back the State in order to have it re-introduced through the back door by Brussels'. She came back from Brussels saying, I've just been talking to Delors, who wants the Commission to be the government of Europe and Parliament to be the parliament of Europe and the court of justice to be-- and she said, No, no, no! And this started the conservative anti-European drive to hold back the 'super state'-- they saw Europe as a sort of embryonic super state that was going to overwhelm us and take away all our national identity. That's the way the popular press was presenting it. And then they keep pouncing on examples of what they think are ridiculous pieces of legislation-- 'These barmy Brussels bureaucrats have invented some other crazy idea! They want to impose this'-- but very often there would be a grain of truth in the story but most of it will be exaggeration and distortion and invention.

So that's where I suppose as the EU institutions are faced with that kind of negative press they have to--

That's right, well; certainly the London office of the EU was very busy refuting stories. They would try the next day to come out with a press release saying, Yesterday's story in The Sun was wrong-- in fact; they produced a whole booklet called Euromyths – stories that had appeared in the popular press about straight bananas and whatever. Things, which were a mistake. But it's an uphill battle. Who reads the output from the Commission, really? We maybe publish a million booklets in different languages; there are 500 plus million people in the EU. How many British people regularly read something published by the Commission? Compared to those who regularly read the Daily Mail or The Sun. So, we're never going to win the argument. But we did feel we had to try to rectify that balance a bit. Of course now

that Brexit is happening, I have this gut feeling that all those efforts that we put into communicating clearly and factually didn't really come out much in the debate before referendum, it was all about, How much we pay to the EU and how much are we getting back? And it was personalities like Boris Johnson demonising the president of the Commission. Basically, we lost the argument, we lost the referendum and now Britain's on it's way out and it's disappointing. One wanted to-- personally, I wanted not to persuade people to love Europe and to think it was the best thing since sliced bread but there's a lot more that is valid. I used to dislike the distorted debate, the false facts and the one-sidedness of the debate in the popular press. That was very disappointing. Yes, there are external events – like that one – which add pressure on us to communicate clearly. Not just in Britain, there were things that happened, like when there was a referendum on the Treaty of Nice and the French and the Dutch rejected it. And it was the draft Constitution, which had been drawn up by wise men in a backroom, which was supposed to replace the complicated treaties. It was put to referendum in France and Holland and the people threw it out. Then, the whole issue was, Why have people rejected it? Is it because they disagree with it? Or because they don't understand it or the press has misrepresented it? Are there some bits of the constitution that they disagree with? And the eurosceptics will answer: 'Which part of the Word 'no' don't you understand?' And so we went away and came up with the Treaty of Lisbon, which was basically exactly the same. And in a way that has fuelled the euroscepticism because they say, There you are! We vote on a text and they just go away and produce another one that's the same.' If that's the sort of Europe we're in, we want out. I do understand that we haven't helped by doing that sort of thing.

It's not an easy subject, at all. What do you think would happen to English in the EU if – worst case scenario – Britain really does leave, how do you think--

How would Brexit affect the position of English in the EU? English won't cease to be an official language, because it's not just Britain that speaks English, there's Ireland for a start, Malta and Cyprus (...) It's true, it does somewhat undermine the status of English, on the other hand, all these other countries, where most people use English as a lingua franca for international business, such is the status of English that it won't go away. I'm sure there will be some move to reinstate French, why not? I wonder, whether our booklets and web pages will be quite so aimed at countering euroscepticism or-- there are euroscepticism in Denmark, Holland and France-- so there will still be a need not to persuade but to inform people objectively, so they can be aware of what Brussels does.

I suppose Britain serves as a guinea pig. It will be interesting to see if it does go ahead, how much benefit --

Will things be as bad as we fear? Or--

Or will they really save as much money as they were promised?

Yes, because if Britain can do very well outside of Europe, then this does sort of undermine the case. Except, that Britain is a special case anyway. It's the fifth largest economy in the world, whereas, maybe Britain could make a go of it because of its contacts with America and the Commonwealth, the same would not necessarily apply to little Holland, or little Denmark, or little Luxembourg. So, I think small countries do need to stick together. Arguably, the large ones don't need the Union so much.

I suppose Germany and France have always felt like they were quite happy being in the EU, that it was to their benefit.

It's always been to them as much a political thing as an economic thing. It's reconciliation between two countries that have fought wars over a long period. Of course, to the British

mentality, that's fairly irrelevant: 'Why are you talking about something that happened 70 years ago? It's nothing to do with it. It's all about trade!'

It is an island after all.

Once again, I've gone off track... Your question was?

It was about the external events and how that would influence translators?

Whether Britain leaving would generate a change in the status of the English language. I don't think so. And I don't think the CW campaign will be undermined by it. It could be that Brexit will force Europe to rethink some of the ways that it does things. It will perhaps concentrate minds on the need to maybe push ahead with closer integration of the eurozone or strengthening the euro or it may also, hopefully, European politicians to think about, How can we make Europe more transparent, more responsive, and more democratic? It might even raise the question about the Commission being an unelected body that proposes legislation. That's a big thing that a lot of people have been unhappy about. Maybe the institutional rules will end up being re-written.
One thing I noticed in the latest version of the booklet, when he talks about how the European Union works-- where is that? ...-- In earlier versions of the booklet, I think you will notice that the Commission is probably up front somewhere. No, the European Commission comes third. I noticed, that in the latest version, the Parliament has been promoted to number one. They talk about the Parliament first. The Commissioner comes in right at the end. It comes in before the Court of Justice. I think there must have been some political reason why this was done. It's obviously not to do with clear communication. I think it's probably to encourage people to think of the European Union more in terms of democracy and parliament and votes. After all, this last time around: By voting for parliament, you are voting for the president of the Commission. It's a step towards, you know, more democratic...

No, but it's true, I already noticed that the section on the parliament was becoming longer and more detailed. I thought, well it makes perfect sense, as this is the most democratic element of the EU institutions.

That's right, so people need to know more about it. I still think it's slightly disingenuous, when we come to the section on the European Commission. It says: The Commission is a key EU institution. It alone has the right to draw up proposals for new EU legislation. I think in previous versions-- did it say that explicitly? – "it's job is to uphold the common interest" – "as the EU's executive arm the Commission implements the decisions taken by the Council". --Where does it say that the Commission proposes legislation? It's not obvious, it's not up front. Perhaps actually, now that I look at it, the latest version is more explicit about it. Right up front it says: The European Commission alone has the right to draw up proposals for EU legislation. This is the 2017 version. In the older versions, the text was quite different.

Interesting that you noticed that.

Well, because it's all very good to say, 'Well, we uphold the common interest, we are the guardian of the treaties, we must not take instructions from national governments.' The thing that people criticise is that it is indeed the sole proposer of legislation. I think we seem to be a bit embarrassed about that; we tend to tuck it away. It's in 2010 that we changed the text to be a bit more upfront and honest about it. I must've been involved but given that I was no longer in the team... I must've-- maybe I noticed that I'd never made it clear what the Commission does in terms of legislation. Yes, so, fire away.

What do you feel is the difference between editing a booklet such as Europe in 12 Lessons and, as a translator, working on other types of text.

It's true that when I was a translator, I had all sorts of material that was produced by the different departments of the Commission – policy papers, discussion papers, documents, correspondence, draft legislation, legislation coming in from the MSs, which we had to check to see if it implemented EU legislation and all sorts of things-- rarely did I get to translate a booklet. But I had noticed, in those far-off days, when I'd popped by the Commission *Rondpoint* Schuman offices there were nicely illustrated booklets and when you looked at the texts, you (pretends to yawn) and I thought, Gosh, I'd like to get my hands on this and improve it. And that's the opportunity that I had when I moved to Morten's team in 2002. At last, I had a chance to edit material that I knew was going to be read by ordinary citizens around Europe, therefore, the chance to really influence the way that the European Commission communicated with people. That was very satisfying.

Did you feel that there was an actual policy in that sense, an overarching communication policy from the EU institutions or is that something that doesn't necessarily exist?

Well, that's a very good question. In the treaties, there was nothing about the Commission or any of the institutions having to communicate. Communication isn't a policy in the way that agriculture is a policy or industry is a policy. That's one thing that Commissioner Wallström, when she was in charge of communication policy, wanted to change, if possible, she ideally wanted to persuade her colleagues that next time the Treaty was amended, communication should be written into it as an obligation on the part of the institutions. But it isn't, each of the institutions has a limited budget – peanuts really – to do their own communication. Until Commissioner Wallström, there was no attempt to synchronise or coordinate communication whether it's from the Commission, from the Parliament or from the Council. Everyone produced whatever they felt like to publicise their own work. She felt there ought to be much more working together, to pool resources, all singing from the same hymn sheet, same key messages. So, since then there has been a real concerted effort to communicate more effectively, identifying certain key priorities each year, We'll communicate more on this and that, these are the keys, these are the-- rather than dispersing our efforts, like scattering our fire around the place. Communication policy, although Mrs. Wallström was in charge of it – I was writing speeches for her and was very much involved in it – it proved very difficult to put together something called communication policy. We could see the need to communicate with the citizens but to do that we had to work with the media and organise conferences with journalists and TV and radio people to try and get them on board with the idea that people need to be better informed about Europe but they were very suspicious. They felt that the Commission was trying to influence their editorial decisions about what was published in the newspapers or that the Commission wanted them to just be a propaganda audience for the EU institutions, which wasn't what we wanted at all. But, basically, there was very little progress in getting them on board. Except that we did manage to persuade a certain group of TV stations in various countries across Europe, half a dozen of different countries, to come together to share material-- to produce material about Europe, sort of factual documentary-type material that they could each broadcast in their own language to their own audiences with financial input from the Commission. We would help them finance this work if they agreed to do this. We weren't going to influence their editorial decisions about content, as long as stuff was being produced that could inform people. And the same with radio, except this setup – it was called the TV Net? Or Euro TV Network? (Morten will know) – and there was a similar radio network among broadcasters in different countries. But the budgets were rather small-scale and I don't think anything resulted in huge TV series being produced by the BBC or ZDF or anything, it's all rather on the margins but at least we got them to agree to do that. Of course, we also brought civil society, NGOs, into these conferences because they also represent people and they run for and-- we thought we'd discuss and we thought: 'Well, citizens-type organisations ought to be involved in communicating about Europe and tell members what the EU is up to.' But again, mostly the civil society, NGOs,

were there because they thought they were going to get some money from the Commission and then go away and carry on doing whatever they wanted to do. So, it was difficult to persuade anyone to really come on board, sit around the table with us and produce a communication strategy. I think Mrs. Wallström was quite disappointed after five years of trying to get this done.

But she made an impact.

But she certainly made an impact. And I think since-- I hope that it's true, even though she's left things now that the spirit of what we tried to achieve does live on. Even if her successors never take the same approaches exactly.

Is there a chance you know any people who work other institutions such as the UN – do you have any sense of what the difference in terms of translation policy might be there? Is it even more chaotic? The UN doesn't have a good reputation in terms of being transparent...

Well, it's an interesting question. They also have fewer official languages, don't they? Which means that it's a little bit easier for them you would think. To give you a short answer: I don't actually no. I'm not in touch with anyone who works in the UN. A former colleague of mine did go to work for the UN and another colleague of mine, whose son works for the UN, both as interpreters or translators, so potentially one could find out a bit through them. Send me an email to remind me if I can possibly find out. I could put you in touch with a couple of people that could maybe answer your question. But I myself I don't really know. There must be similar challenges with a smaller range of languages. But, possibly, greater political challenges. The UN may want to say something but perhaps there's fundamental disagreement between China and America about what should be said to people about particular issues, so that must make it hard.

I think what's becoming clear to me now, wanting to apply for the EU institutions, wanting to work for them, you're really so much more than just a translator – aren't you? – working for the EU institutions. Or you have the potential to be, anyway, depends on what your personal ideology is.

Yes, that's right.

There's a lot of responsibility.

There are translators that just want to get their head down and translate and if the text is coming and is full of ambiguity and waffle, well, you produce ambiguous waffle in your own language, go home and forget all about it. That's one approach: garbage in, garbage out; 'I'm here to earn a salary, bye bye.' There are others, like me, I can't stand that. If I've got a clap, trap and waffle sentence I think, what the hell is this person saying? I can't just translate it that way. I need to know what the guy was really trying to get at and put that down in words that mean something and that's what drove me to join clear writing campaigns. So, – and as you've just said – a translator can adopt that approach and through that approach get more involved in external issues like sitting on committees or helping improve writing in DGs, advising them, being a consultant. There are, nowadays, a lot of things that a translator can do that perhaps when I joined 30-odd years ago didn't exist and you weren't expected to get involved with.

Do you think that some of the lessons from translating a booklet like this one could serve translators in general? Good communication towards citizens could be transposed to general better communication. Those are linked ultimately within the institutions.

That's right, yes. The Clear Writing campaign is not just about communicating with the citizens – although that's part of it. It's also an internal thing, whereby if a translator has got to produce a translation of a proposed piece of policy, say, and it's got to be done within three days it's a lot easier to do that if the original document is shorter rather than longer and clearer rather than obscure. Because if it's obscure you've got to phone the author and maybe he's in a meeting and you can't get a hold of him today and say, What did you mean in paragraph three, how do I translate that, did you mean this or did you mean that? It's much more effort and time-consuming to translate a badly written document than a clearly written document. Besides, if the translator hasn't got time to do the consultation with the author, it could well be that his poorly written text will end up translated differently in German than what it is in Portuguese or Estonian. You may actually end up with a piece of legislation that is ambiguously drafted or drafted differently in different languages or implemented differently in different countries and then you end up with the court of justice having to decide what the legislation actually means. It all starts with clear writing of an original document.

One of the differences that I understand, let's say between the translation of legal documents, versus a document intended for the wider public, is that when it comes to legal translation, apparently, the priority is coherence between all the languages, that similar terms are used everywhere. So, they are a bit contradictory because, in this case, you want it to be clear to the person who will be reading it, so more reader-focused as we've said, whereas legal translation, not so much. It's a different emphasis or different priorities.

You really need to talk to a lawyer-linguist about that because you've got both constraints. On the one hand, yes, all the language versions of a piece of legislation have to be *toutes les versions font foi*, as they say in French. So, you can't have a situation where this paragraph 7c)3, says something different from what it does in French. But certainly, legal documents have to be structured in all languages in such a way that they have the same headings, the same paragraphs, the same structures. They will be checked by lawyer-linguists to make sure there are not actual substantive differences between them. Sometimes things slip through the net but it shouldn't happen. Sometimes you will find ambiguity in a piece of legal language, fuzzy terms may be used and that may be deliberate because this will all have been discussed in the Council and in the Parliament and different political factions would have insisted on things to be changed and you end up sometimes with a text that's a compromise between political pressure groups, so that it can be interpreted in different ways. That's different from fog, that's kind of creative fudge, as it were. And of course, the translator needs to know that. It's no good the translator getting a text that's fuzzy and thinking, This is crap, I'm going to put that, clearly. Because then you're actually undoing the very careful negotiations that have gone into it.

It's true, you don't think about these things but yes, absolutely. Sometimes, your hands are tied, aren't they? Okay, well, we've gone over so much already. I'm really pleased so far.

Great.

Would you have expected me to ask you anything else? Are you thinking: 'She hasn't asked me this at all.'

No, I'm not sure what I was expecting. I thought you might ask me about the history, how I came to work on these booklets but we've covered that. I'm wondering, when you do your Master's *mémoire* or your thesis, will you be focusing on this particular text and analysing it in terms of comparing, say the French and the English and the different versions?

Yes, so far, I've started with the original French; I chose 1997, 2004, 2010, and 2014. The reason I chose those ones was because in the beginning I looked at all of them and, as you mentioned, some of the editions are very similar. There's hardly any changes, so if there aren't any changes they don't serve as very good examples for my study. So I've selected the ones where I thought, Okay, here there are some really interesting changes to observe. I've painstakingly gone through every sentence, every paragraph, and checked what happens between the years. Then, the next step is to see what happens with the English and at one point I said, I will look at the Spanish version. And that's where I noticed: in 1997, the Spanish was super close to the French and suddenly here I think, That's clearly taken from the English.

Yes, in 1997 I don't know if Morten was in charge, but I certainly wasn't. So, logically, they just take the French text to everybody. When we got to this stage – that I described to you – when the English and French versions were both considered as originals the translators had a choice.

That's something I found out a week ago, actually. So, all this time I thought, Wow! I was looking for the reasons, why, what was happening? Can you imagine, I thought they had been translated and I thought, Well, the English translator certainly felt the freedom to make quite a few changes! So, that was what I was looking at. As I mentioned, I started looking at discourse analysis. I mean, it sounds silly, but we once studied Hugo Chávez' speeches and there was a very interesting text done by an Argentinian scholar and funnily enough, there were certain elements, which I can find in this booklet as well (by Pascal Fontaine). For example, the historical continuum of the European project, that it's something that's not quite finished yet and that it should continue. There's one sentence where PF says, To ask where it ends – i.e. is it Turkey is it Northern Africa – is almost to go against the philosophy of--

It's an open-ended project.

Exactly.

And you found that in an Argentinian text?

Yes, actually, I mean, you can draw the comparisons however you want. For me, there was a connection. And of course, as I mentioned, the idea of the founding fathers, the use of antagonists, like China, India, Brazil, the US. The US is funny because it is sometimes seen as a competitor but also a bit of a model to follow in that it is the 'United States' and maybe the 'United States of Europe' could be another idea.

The United States of Europe was indeed a concept that was floated after the war had ended.

What else? The sense of defending your ideology against someone else's. So for example, India, and China and maybe Brazil are growing because they have very low wages. But the EU should compete but should maintain certain standards of living and welfare state elements, essentially, that we have. Which I completely agree with. Little things like that. He might have not even thought about it when he initially wrote it that way.

You can see in the different versions whether that's changed.

Yes, and I found that – maybe it's an illusion – but I found that over time-- in fact I thought the language does get more positive-sounding and maybe some of the earlier negative wording was removed. At the same time, it's hard to say whether it was

removed because it was resolved or no longer relevant. I was just curious to find that out.

I think you'll certainly find that things, as time goes by, things that seem relevant in one version have ceased to be hot topics, so they're dropped. Of course, you have to put new things in, so you have to squeeze out some other stuff.

I think focusing a bit more on the financial crisis could be interesting because you said, at the beginning – exactly the sentence you said – the euro 'protected'. And this is also very-- there's a lot of rhetoric in that. The 'weaker nations', there was something very kind, almost a personification of the euro. So it would be interesting to see if the following edition, as you say, was a bit more balanced.

You'll certainly see that one of the editions will focus quite a lot on the financial crisis – after it had happened obviously. Then, in the most recent edition, there's an awful lot more about immigration and about security. The security and justice chapter, instead of being rather bland about cooperation, it's a lot more about the immigration crisis. If you haven't looked at the 2017 version, you might like to, but there's obviously a lot more of that sort of stuff because it reflects people's concerns and the things where Europe appears not to be doing its stuff. You can't produce a booklet in the middle of 2017, which says bland things about security and justice. I also noticed that sometimes where the text itself has changed rather little, it's also because not much has happened in Europe in the intervening years. You know how at the end there's a section giving a sequence of events that have happened. In the later versions it's a timeline. If you look at this period here, over a period of two or three years, there wasn't much happening. A couple of countries started to use the euros and there were new elections for the European Parliament but fundamentally nothing much had happened and so you'll probably find that in the text itself there haven't been very many changes.

No. But it's true that in earlier editions you have so much information at the end in the timeline. You know, they voted on this treaty, this was rejected and this wasn't, and where was the European Council held, was it Helsinki, was it Nice? And then these things were later taken out because probably no one needs to know that.

Who's interested? Yes, that's-- that may have well been part of my editorial input. I thought, we're not writing from the institutional-- people in the institutions, of course, are fascinated by these things, Where was this Council held and what was discussed? From the point of view of the citizen, frankly, if they're going to read the booklet at all, it's not to find out that sort of information. So, there was a deliberate editorial policy to change that.

Quite the task, when you're inside, to take-- to put yourself in the place of someone outside.

It's one of the key rules of writing clearly to put yourself in the audience's place, the reader's position. Same with speech writing, to think, who is this audience, what are they going to be interested in, what will they be listening out for? That's what needs to be in the speech.

You have to be a bit of a psychologist sometimes too, very good with humans anyway.

Well, that's what I love about communication. Not everyone has that passion or sees things that way but I think it's important.

I can see why they put you on the job, definitely.

[laughs]

Yes, I enjoyed it. I enjoyed my time there. I would say, even when I was a translator, I prided myself on producing translations that were clearer than the original because I thought that gives me a sense of satisfaction to have written something that's well done. But since leaving translation and doing editing and speech writing, I think all the more so you get much more freedom to input into create the product. With Pascale, it was a kind of a joint creation of the product. With other booklets like 'How does the EU work?' or-- there's one I did for kids that you might pick up at the *Rondpoint* Schuman. It's called 'Let's explore Europe' and that's one, where it was entirely my project I came up with the hold concept in the first place and said to my editor, I think we need something for kids. I'd like to go away and write it and it's not just about the EU, it's about Europe in a wider sense. The geography, the history, the climate, the agriculture, the fisheries, famous people. But there is a section in there about-- after the wars we had to start bringing Europe together and this is what the European Union did-- but you might want to – just out of interest, when you finish your busy work – read it through because there you might accuse me of being a bit of a propagandist, in fact, I have been accused of being a propagandist because I've tried to write in a way that – for kids of ten, eleven, twelve years old – is interesting and lively and simple. Because when you're simplifying things, you do gloss over complex matters. You have to decide what you put in and what you leave out. You might be accused of being-- And also I've adopted a positive kind of tone, describing Europe as a family of countries coming together. And you might [inaudible] emotive language and indeed, I've had people accusing me of putting pro-EU propaganda into classrooms, that it's entirely wrong to spend public money on this. Whatever.

At least, it's an optimistic discourse, rather than just tearing things down, which is so much easier, isn't it? Without suggesting an alternative, so...

It is important and at the same time, it's important to recognise why there's a whole lot of unhappiness and I think booklets – like the one I did for kids – have to have a bit in there saying, what do you think? Find out more, ask your teacher, do some research. Do you think the EU could do things differently? Write your MEP. Is there some things Europe should stop doing? Tell us about it! Because that, in the end, is what communication should be about. It's about discourse-- dialogue and furthering...

And you can't make the institutions more democratic without people actually getting behind it, feeling passionate about it, whether in a good or a bad way for that matter. As long as people do get involved.

So, if you can write something that raises people's interests and awareness and then tell them: go find out more and then get back to us with your thoughts! To my knowledge, that's the way to do it.

Okay, well, it's uplifting to see that so much thought goes into making or creating something like that and that translators are not just machines and not just output and--

No, if you want that then go to Google Translate. Well, I hope you will succeed in getting your work in that sphere and I'm sure you'll be a terrific asset to one of the institutions if that does happen.

Yes, I'm happy to give it a try for now. But it's funny how this project has evolved and I feel very grateful that both you and Morten have accepted to meet and talk to me, to make it come alive and to be able to know the people that were behind it, it's given me a completely different understanding. It's really great.

Yes, and when will you finish it?

I have until August of next year.

Okay, so a whole year, basically. But, 'objects in the mirror are closer than you think'.

Absolutely, I'm pleased to move on, I've already written part of it, so I'm all right.

I'd be very interested to read it when it's finished.

I hope you mean it! [laughs]

No, no, I mean it.

I'd be happy to share it. No, it's good, it puts more pressure on me to write it well and something interesting and of course, you should know what I end up writing in the end, especially seen as, you know...

Oh, well, I'm not saying that I need to but I am interested to know what you make of it and also what your--

My conclusions, my findings etc.?

Yes, and whether you get a first class marks for it or what do your teachers think of it.

Well, my tutor is very enthusiastic about the topic. He's very keen and super pleased with the interviews and all that so, so far so good. I've got a good support network.

Yes, because it covers not only linguistic aspects but also political aspects and discourse analysis.

Yes, it's a nice mixture but it's also quite unusual because I think most of the academic literature focuses on legal translation actually. Which is-- Well I don't even know if that's-- I think by now, in terms of words and translated output, I think non-legal translation is quite significant now in the EU institutions, it's not just laws. So, I think it's about time to look at that.

Great, absolutely. Gosh, nearly twelve! I'm probably going to have to leave you.

Yeah, okay, no problem!

Transcript of the interview with Morten Espelund

Morten Espelund was part of the DG Communication responsible for Commission publications, to make general public brochures and explanations, to create (usually) free booklets on general EU matters.

Christina Thorngreen:
So you mentioned that you started working on a native English version – was it 2007 or earlier?

Morten Espelund:
To give you some background, me and David decided to hire Pascal Fontaine to write them in general, as he is already known to EU circles, he worked with Jean Monnet and his father was Commission head of representation in Paris in the 60s already. That was his main fame. And what we used is that he worked with Jean Monnet but also as a scholar, and in the Parliament. He represents the social Christian democrat mainstream Monet Commission line. The booklet seemed to become very popular. I still wanted it to be a bit French-Latin style with a professor dividing things into subjects, as opposed to a more modern Anglo-Saxon, "Whatever, let's keep it flashy and with examples or begin with conclusions".

Did you want to move away from the French?

Not to move away from the French but to have that also. It was something much requested as it is used in schools and for people who wish to do presentations on the EU. And in present times, we have to make things more short and more social media-friendly. Examples of stories first and then give the background.

Was the idea to use the English version for different purposes?

Yes, sorry. No, I think for 2003 we made a new edition, which David was already doing. I think he was working with Fontaine and he, being a translator and writer, did the first English native version. He was not working as a translator but as an editor but being a translator, at that stage, he increased it to the 12 lessons.

Did you get to choose to work with David?

He was doing the English freely knowing EU politics, more freely than other translators. He did three main editions like that. 2004, 2010, 2016, same principle but not with him.

When you created the English you were in contact with PF to get a sense of whether he was OK with the English version?

Yes. ...

What do you think, if any would be the main differences between the French and the English from your point of view?

That's the key question.

You had of course a purpose behind the English, there's a reason you didn't just translate it from the French. So the question is, what was your idea, the brief, behind the English? What did you need the English to do which the French wasn't doing already?

Not so many political aspects, more just to sound native, more exactly on the language level of a different type of expression, not too much what it is. Shorter sentences.

So what about other languages then? If a translator were to translate it into Danish for example, would he make sure to make it sound Danish or stick to the English or the French?

Yes, that's an interesting question. It's a Commission translation service, so for the other languages, the client's the commission unit. It was up to translators which translation they used to base themselves on. In reality they probably chose the English more.

That was one of my questions, as you said, once the English was created, it was made readily available to translators to choose French or English?

Yes, certainly. It caused technical issues with the translation workflow.

I noticed, in some cases, specifically the Spanish, that it was based on the English and not on the French. I wondered why?

The English was perhaps better for citizens. Maybe some of the slightly more diplomatic, longer French sentences are not so good, after all.

Was Pascal Fontaine instructed to follow any of the clear writing principles?

No, at most we spoke to him but not so much in the style. Although a bit because of sub-editorial aspects. We carried out a focus group for this booklet, to look at the previous ones to see if it was any good. And politely, they answered, yes if we wanted to know about the EU then this would be ok. But maybe it could have a summary. So we paid someone to do this.

Do you have any sense of how many people read this booklet? Have read in the past?

We've mainly handed out free copies. It's a lot. Other times, we do reprints, mainly send it to local information centres. Our commission's representatives with the embassies are doing propaganda in each country. They further help to have contracts with libraries and consultancies, called Europe Direct. They get a small subvention from us but also because they like to inform the general public of the EU. They hand out and distribute publications, they are a network linked to us. We ask what they need. Do you have room to distribute 200,000? The main use has been to supply these local information centres. For their offices or at events, local networks, school material centres in their region.

Is it EU or outside of the EU as well? The material for schools?

Yes. It is used abroad, also. The EU delegation can also order for their communications. It's not what interested us. They do their own thing. Another example would be events on what the EU means for Thailand. Sometimes it needs to be translated into other languages, such as Chinese and Japanese. Because each delegation have their own communication activities as part of public diplomacy. They want a nice description of everything and invest in a translation but it has to be in agreement with us.

The biggest change following from the clear writing style, which we asked PF to implement in the French too, was the chapter summaries at the beginning of each chapter. Otherwise we were more lenient and started to comment more on the substance.

David Monkcom had his experience with the Clear Writing campaign, you know that he'll bring that to the table and make the English clearer and easier to read. More appropriate for the general public, of course. Was that the main objective with the English? Were there any other criteria when you decided to make the English edition?

Yes, reader-friendly but also to sound British. The main target group is people in Britain. In our work there's a challenge to stay away from international diplomatic language. And politically we did it deliberately too as we wouldn't want American English. That's a political editorial. The conclusion is it doesn't work. We want to sound like a British newspaper like the Guardian or the BBC.

Is the British population an important target audience for the EU?

Yes.

Without wanting to be polemic – there's no way around it – English is more important than Spanish for example. Spain is not likely to leave the EU any time soon. You have certain objectives and things you want to prevent – if you can. For example, we talked with David Monkcom about how the British press always come up with negative news on the EU, so you almost have a responsibility to counteract that and to create your own factual information that readers can compare it with.

Absolutely, that's a big political and communications goal. In our case, this isn't written for British people. It was written for everyone. In the Commission we have local British products produced in London. That's always been our communication strategy. We wanted to produce content, which is relevant for everybody.

Do you feel like external political events have influenced the communications strategy when you create something like this for the general public? Something like euroscepticism or bad Russian or British press?

Yes, it certainly impacts our work. Since '12 lessons' is about history, so the content communication propaganda idea is to stick to the basics and remind them about what Europe, that we have created some things together and that we might like to continue to do so, rather than ... That's very much Monet's and Fontaine's personal line. Let's try to discuss and work together to find practical solutions, based on what we do, mainly economic but also political things.

David mentioned that for him it was important – maybe as a personal ideology – to be factual and to be balanced and somewhat neutral and not gloss over things when speaking about the EU and some of the advantages or disadvantages. Discussing historical events, e.g. the financial crisis. Because there are passages in the booklet where PF says, The euro was a great shield that protected the weaker nations. This may be absolutely true but other countries, such as Greece, suffered a bit more through the crisis. So, to try and present a balanced image. My impression was that the French version has a tendency – it has a lot of examples of rhetoric, literary rhetoric, there's something persuasive in it, Europe has done a lot of good for us, not so much the bad things, more the positive things, there's something like antagonists as well – Brazil, India, Russia, the US – the European ideal that should be defended. So, if the booklet is said to be an informative text, it seems there are examples where you can say it's more than informative and that there are elements of persuasion. Well, that's what I've found but I don't know what your opinion is?

Not persuasive but presenting things in the overall Commission line of the Monnet tradition. That's the whole idea of a public service that we are serious and that we are supposed to be correct and balanced. French naturally sounds more propagandistic, that's a good question. It's a core question for you whether we deliberately deceive people by toning down in English. Now it's hiding what the French says.

I think the French might be more heavy on the propaganda than the English, you don't think so?

This is interesting. I didn't think about what the difference was before. Of course we try not to cheat people and be accused of saying something different. There's more support for the EU in France. As opposed to other countries, particularly the British, who fear that the French or others might take over. The French don't mind, as they know they will have a leading role. Which leads them to say more naturally, We need a *gouvernance européenne*. So we might work on these things a bit more differently, hoping not to cheat. I don't remember the example.

Does the European Commission have an overarching communication policy when it comes to material for the general public? Is there some guidelines that you try to follow or how does that work?

No, not in a centralised, organised way. It's more small political strategies and themes, there's different activities that have different strategies because organisational structures are so strong. People doing social media are considered to have more freedom. They write more aggressive short copy, which could never be approved for something like '12 lessons'.

Depends on the media of course.

Otherwise, with regards to a political top-level strategy, we receive a strong line and a set of priorities from Juncker and his central people we have to speak about them. There are big successes of the EU, which are not priorities, which is a problem. Erasmus and the regional policies are not part of the 10 priorities but that's what's working and they're popular. So that's a bit of a problem but otherwise we don't spend many resources for small things such as cultural or sports policies it's not a EU competence. You could easily invent the European Week of Sports in order to discuss whether the EU should have a role in transfers of players or doping.

David mentioned that in the last edition there's more emphasis on migration of course because you have to mention it, it's more of an issue. And certain things get removed over time because they're not relevant anymore. I remember in 1997 there's still mention of the miners' strike and how Thatcher responded to that or trying to make it sound like they were then taken care of to move into other sectors. After a while it gets taken out and you wonder – of course it loses its relevance for people to know this today, but how does that decision get made? Are some cases maybe just because it's an example of a small failure of the EU and so, you're not so keen on including it in the next edition?

Yes, no, I don't think it's taken out because it didn't work well. More because it's too old. It's more that so much is stable, the same basic things, but many of the main policies and explanations have remained unchanged.

Do you have any sense of whose idea it was originally to say, Let's make an English edition? Was it applied to all booklets?

No, I'm not sure if there's a good general reason other than it's always been a unit service meant to write for all languages and there happened to be people who thought, we should still have a French but it could be better if we had an English. A bit by chance David Monkcom, being there, became responsible.
DG Comm[unnication] controlled the other languages but because this is so big and important we did all the translations. Mainly for quality control, it's normally not the case.

How do you think – if you looked at all of the different editions from the start until now – what do you imagine is the sort of evolving trend or how would they have changed?

The content a bit. That's the main thing otherwise it's amazing that only half has changed content wise. In the last 2-3 editions the big changes was to be more citizen-friendly. To be more modern.

You mentioned earlier that PF has his own political ideology/stance.

You might call it approach. He's an academic and suited the thing to be factually correct and not to be propagandistic and to write about what the EU does is useful.

I was wondering how that would influence how he writes? Seen as everyone has some form of political opinion? How do you manage that when you hire an academic?

That's, if your professional you do that because you have an idea about the guy. Rather than just hiring someone who's available and who pretends not to have any style. It's quite unusual to have his name in print even though it's produced by the Commission, but also to have a slight distance between him and the Commission.

So that lends credibility that he is an outsider?

That he is a person, yes. Persons are more understanding, you see a name or a picture and it doesn't come back to the EU. That's the reason for that. There's another example of a professor in law. Most of what the Commission publishes is just by the Commission or another institution. The Commission usually says "we". It could also serve a political purpose, which we try to avoid. Otherwise the best would be "I" but of course we never do that.

I think David gave an example where he did do that, he said "if <u>you</u> want to get involved", he really had his own approach.

Yes, you're doing a study, good question whether the whole thing is just by chance or whether it's David or a few others. If it reflects the policy of the Commission.

I think one thing I understood from talking to David, when he worked on it, he had his ideas, he was keen on making it reader-friendly because he felt strongly about communicating with the greater public in a way that they would actually stand a chance of understanding the EU, which is great. Once he stopped working on it, it was out of his control, subsequent editions might have made changes on what he did. Even the Commission – which isn't elected – there are changes every five years or so. Going forward maybe there's a different direction?

The Commission isn't elected? Mmm.

Oh it is? [laughs]

Depends on your exact wording or meaning. The general Brexit propaganda is that it's not elected. Obviously it's not correct. It is democratically based.

Exactly, they change as well. I meant not directly elected like the MEPs. So you'll never know how much that can have an impact.

That you'll never know. It's better that you ask a question than a conclusion. Some things aren't political I think everybody would say, it should be clear and explain to people. There's nothing new in that, the problem is very difficult for the political level not to do something

about that, which is why it hasn't changed much over the past 20 years. There was the period of Margot Wallström tried to have a policy to write down and decided we should discuss more with the citizen and involve them. It was not very successful. Then the director said no more bla, bla let's just do it if we have some good policies let's talk about them, like roaming. So, also now it's not political. We should concentrate on the big subjects the 10 priorities.

What are you referring to when you say the 10 priorities? I'm not aware of what they are.

That's what Juncker was elected on. He set them and he speaks about them ever since. Well, that's interesting that, well we are asked to communicate them explicitly. E.g. new investments is the number one but it's difficult to communicate.

Investment in what?

In the economy in general. With EU funds get private investors to invest their money. After the crisis there's a lot of people who had money to invest but didn't dare and so Juncker wanted to coax them to be braver. It kind of worked. But if you haven't heard about it yet... We have a big campaign for professionals and for people in investment.

That's quite neo-liberal isn't it? I mean, I should be an expert, I studied political science but focusing on making companies invest and hire rather than on welfare benefits or healthcare.

In Juncker's time it would be the structural funds, to build roads and that's still on-going and a much bigger business but it's there and it's always been there.

What was your experience in general, working on this booklet, how did you find it?

That's the purpose of that I've tried to explain to you.

[laughs] Yes.

For unknown reasons always done so before. It was an honour to do something. [inaudible]

I got the sense from David as well that it was a really great project to work on. I mean you couldn't ask for better if you have your own personal stance and if you're keen on improving the Commission's communication with European citizens?

No, exactly.

Do you think this booklet or the writing style you aimed for is something that could influence the style in the Commission in general? Could there be a trickle-down effect to legislation?

Probably difficult to say. [inaudible] the general influence of the clear writing campaign, is the bigger question, this is a poor example but there's a whole campaign whether it's changed anything is a good question.

At the same time, it's my impression that in terms of translated output the percentage of non-legal texts is increasing. When we think of EU translation it's no longer just amendments and laws it is also increasingly products like brochures for the general public, there is, as you say, a budget to create these things. In that sense, it's worthwhile to look at this side of text style.

Yes, to inspire it but not sure about the reality. Because it's the whole challenge in being clear comes from the basis that the Commission isn't a communication organ it's there to help making solutions and proposals and manage negotiations between political parties. That is, the opposite of communicating. Because you find a solution or a compromise by being vague or general or give in to another wording in order to please somebody. And that's not good for communication, the whole institution because the core business the focus is on communication being factual and diplomatic.

A specialist allows some freedom. There's no real communication policy. Whereas social media requires you to write shorter and clearer, such as Facebook updates.

You're currently not involved in the booklet?

No. I worked with that unit for quite some years but started on a new job this year. The newest edition I worked on was 2016.

What do you think will happen with the booklet in the future? Will it continue to exist?

Don't know. It could be it has this reputation of being extremely popular. So people might encourage it to continue because it's still unique to have an author external to the Commission.

On his picture he looks quite young and he said he didn't want to look like an EU official so he made a new picture. Without a tie and more sporty looking.

I think I've covered all my questions more or less. Did you expect me to ask you anything else? Or was there anything you wanted me to add? Are you surprised about the format of the interview?

Yes, no, I'm more interested in the question of your thesis. What is the difference between the French and the English? I worked many years and spent many hours on it without writing down what it actually is.

In a way you've already answered it: PF has his own style, he's an academic. French culturally has its own style compared to English so there's bound to be...

A bit but it's not particularly academic. The French are supposed to know French a lot. A real academic but he's still more of a communicator. Since he knows so much about the EU from Monnet. He was very young when he was drafting Monnet's memoirs. Other books by Monnet are also not very academic.

What do you make of-- I found that PF does use a lot of historical figures, which may or may not be intended to make the EU project seem like something that goes way back in history. E.g. he talks about Victor Hugo, who already had this idea of a united Europe.

Yes, that's very French. We also wondered whether to keep that, whether it would interest other people.

Yes, at the end of the day, in the French version the author is French so he uses French examples.

Well, yes. We're not only for French but should it be the same for everybody? It's exactly on the limit of being too French. Nobody else has thought of things maybe a lot of people... [inaudible]

There's also several quotes from Monnet, which is maybe also more than what people would understand or know. 2-3 times he says 'as Monnet has already said' we don't think a lot of people would think: Oh well if Monnet's said it, it must be good.

I didn't study him in depth but my background isn't the same as everybody's either, I went to university I'm working on my second master's degree and I studied political science, so of course I've heard of Jean Monnet and Robert Schuman. I think you could almost call it name-dropping. Not that the reader knows exactly what they said but they might know that these are important men who were part of the creation of the European Union.

Yes, and you read of course the specific explanations about. Not more than that Schuman was a Foreign Minister and made a declaration with the help of his adviser.
Have you considered reading Monnet's memoir?

Did I consider that? Mmm ... I might not have the time. But it's interesting that there are some rhetorical elements that are used and whether it's deliberate or not is hard to say. I actually compared some of the elements in the text to some of Hugo Chávez' speeches. It sounds very crazy but from a very theoretical point of view. All speeches and all political texts use certain rhetorical devices. It could be anything from--

That's very interesting. Are you checking on that? Interesting, I would like to read that.

Of course, and I don't think there's anything wrong with it; it's interesting to study from an academic point of view. For example rhetorical questions or I mention the use of antagonists. Because that makes a more united position, you want to include the reader in this group that's called the EU that's trying to protect itself from other bad countries. I think, another parallel, and I was surprised to find so many, was the idea of a continuum throughout history this project.

That's very much the case, yes. He writes so that you'll have that as a general rhetorical trick.

You do that without noticing almost.

But then you would say that people do it deliberately. If you're a rhetorics teacher you would say that's a thing you could do to highlight that your position is natural and in line with history. While the antagonist is a bigger explicit problem. Because you're always threatened with nasty people. There's a bit of it but not as much as there could be. This year it works as an argument against Brexit. There's a lot of fuss with bad weird guys and the EU might be boring, but it's the opposite of the bad guys. With the antagonists, the latest kind of highlight is that the latest financial crisis is due to speculators, it's a bit detailed, not necessarily the Juncker party line, but Fontaine does deliberately.

That reminds me of another section – it wasn't mentioned since the beginning – in 2004 or 2010, Fontaine explains that a certain crisis was due to the dollar suddenly floating – I can't remember whether it was the oil crisis or...

Yes, that's right there's been, to my taste, a bit too much about the history of currency, that was difficult to. Things before the early 70s but you noticed it as blaming Americans?

Yes, because I looked at every change and then notice it and I wondered why?

That could be an element. Overall it could be much worse. Because it's his and our and the Monnet line it's not that we want Europe against somebody, because it's a common sense, We're together-solution and trying to highlight all the things we created and economic growth and not to scare them. Many foreign political agents always found that it's the best argument but it's never been before Commission particularly Monnet's Commission against the

Americans. It's not Monnet who determined everything. It's more of a Buddhist idea that we should stick together and find solutions.

I don't think it's so much antagonism in the sense of enemies but more, we are different. We want to be different from the United States we don't want to be like them, we don't want to be like China. We have our own model, we should be proud of our own model. E.g. compete because of low wages, we want to compete but we don't want low wages.

So you mentioned a couple of times the word propaganda – which I always thought was a swear word and I didn't want to use it. Is that something you say quite openly?

No, no it's just me, personally, ironical. I bet I do. In the serious sense, we speak of it in the sense of what not to do or if there's too much crazy talk internally we call propaganda as the thing you should not do for the public sector publications we want them to be serious and factual but to represent the main lines of what the democratic majority has decided. It's because the majority has decided the Commission should be there, should do that.

[Espelund makes an analogy with the ministry of defence, which people might say create horrible propaganda persuading people to kill each other. On the other hand, it is there by democratic choice and should thus be allowed to communicate as it wished in order to fulfil its goals.]

It was very much worthwhile talking to you as well because David had more of a linguist's perspective, so it's been really good talking to you. For me, that's it, I don't have any more questions. Thank you so much.

You're most welcome.