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Discourses and counter-discourses on Europe. From the Enlightenment to the EU

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8 The alter-globalist counter-discourse in European rhetoric and translation

Women's rights at the European Parliament

Maria Cristina Caimotto and Rachele Raus¹

Introduction

It is a shared opinion amongst many linguists² that the language employed by international institutions and organisations tends to be deprived of all kinds of positioning and bias up to the point of becoming a 'cotton language', a language made less effective by the removal of internal discussion.³ This appears to be in contrast with the widespread perception that the European Union is unable to speak with a single voice as a unitary actor (see also Chapters 9 and 11). Our hypothesis is twofold: the conflict among multiple voices may be due to the presence of counter-discourse and/or to the translation from one official language into another – notably processes that are present within the European Parliament (henceforth EP). Analysing the communication of the EU from the point of view of Discourse Studies and Translation Studies thus proves particularly relevant.

Hence our research aims to investigate whether it is possible to identify traces of counter-discourse coming from the alter-globalist ATTAC association in the EP reports.⁴ Our observation starts from the French versions, as ATTAC France is the main source of the counter-discourse. We shall then move to the comparative analysis of the EP English and French texts in order to observe the effects of translation on discourse. The multilingual versions available on the official EP websites are the results of processes of translation and editing. In 'Translators and translation' we explain why, together with Translation Studies scholars,⁵ we prefer to use the term 'translation' to refer to these texts.

The reason for choosing parliamentary reports is that, as a genre, they do not possess binding value, thus they encourage the deployment of a discourse that is not yet institutive,⁶ and allow polyphony and co-discursive openness towards other discourses, such as the counter-discourses. Such openness should not be envisaged as a lack of legitimation or pragmatic weakness, as the reports actually contribute to the circulation of the European Union's ideas and values. According to Judge and Earnshaw⁷ and taking into account the enlargement policy, Aydın-Düzgit highlights 'the important degree of discursive power' of the EP.⁸

The corpus

The corpus under investigation consists of texts published between 2004 and 2012 by the Committee on Women's Rights and Equal Opportunities (5th legislature) and the Committee on Women's Rights and Gender Equality (6th and 7th legislature). We analysed legislative and non-legislative final reports, which are normed by the EP Regulations and were written between 2004 and 2012. Following Maingueneau, these documents can be labelled as '*routinier*'⁹ as they reproduce the same textual, discursive and lexical structure. The space allowed for variation, even if wider in comparison with binding legal texts, remains limited to specific sections. Moreover, such documents are heterogeneous from the constitutive point of view,¹⁰ written in one of the EU official languages or one of the working languages, and later amended and translated into the various languages (see 'Translators and translations').

For the alter-globalist counter-discourse, we consulted the articles concerning M/W equality from 2002 to 2012 on the ATTAC France website.¹¹ These texts are usually authored either by a plurality of writers or presented as the common production of the association (*Lignes d'ATTAC France*). We have also taken into account the printed publications concerning the subject. Counter-discourse belonging to this specific association was chosen because ATTAC explicitly positions itself on an international level and in relation with the EU. In fact it differentiates itself from other similar associations through its willingness to create structured relations amongst directors, adherents, social movements, unions and press agencies. ATTAC presents the EU as the driving engine of globalisation, that is the '*mondialisation liberale*'.¹² Its criticism is directed at European institutions including the EP,¹³ which is considered one of the actors of liberalisation policies.

Analysis method

In order to analyse the corpus, our approach blends the French approach to discourse analysis (henceforth DA) with the school known as Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth CDA) and more specifically Discourse Historical Analysis¹⁴ (henceforth DHA). We believe that these two approaches are strongly correlated and share an interest in focusing on the relationships linking words to ideology and society – notably on enunciators, their position and their point of view – and focusing also on the notions of inter-discourse and inter-text.¹⁵

We thus envisage our work as inscribed within the research domain recently labelled as *Discourse Studies*:¹⁶

Since the 1960s a new field of research has emerged around the concept of *discourse*, known as Discourse Analysis or – more recently – Discourse Studies. [...] Discourse studies (abbreviated as DS) is, we believe, the result of the convergence of a number of theoretical and methodological currents originating in various countries (above all in Europe and North America)

and in different disciplines of the social sciences and the humanities [...] Discourse Studies could be considered as not only a trans-disciplinary or even post-disciplinary project but rather one which runs counter to the division of knowledge into specialized disciplines and sub-disciplines.

Overcoming the differences of their various approaches, Angermüller, Maingueneau and Wodak point out that:¹⁷

The common denominator of the many strands in Discourse Studies is that they consider meaning as a product of social practices. Meaning [...] results from the use that is made of language in specific context. [...] Discourse Studies, with its many approaches, schools and developments, is now emerging as a new and fully-fledged field in which a number of currents meet – from structuralism to symbolic interactionism, from poststructuralism to problem-oriented strands like Critical Discourse Analysis.

In his works, Teun van Dijk also highlighted a certain level of convergence and transversality of approaches, at least on the level of CDA methods. In his own words:¹⁸

[T]here is not ‘a’ or ‘one’ method of CDA [Critical Discourse Analysis], but many. Hence, I recommend to use the term *Critical Discourse Studies* for the theories, methods, analyses, applications and other practices of critical discourse analysts, and to forget about the confusing term ‘CDA’. So, please, no more ‘I am going to apply CDA’ because it does not make sense.

The presence of a real ‘cluster’ of European researchers working around CDA¹⁹ makes further synergies possible, together with the cross-influence of similar approaches. In this sense, as Angermüller points out,²⁰ the name of Foucault represents a point of reference. To this, we should add that of Althusser, whose notion of ideology is central for CDA as well as for the French discourse analysts, from which stems the interest towards political discourse especially at the beginning of DA. Thanks to the choice of putting the notion of inter-text and inter-discourse at the centre of the debate, the recent conception of *Discourse Historical Analysis* favours the rapprochement between CDA and DA even more, as these two analytical categories are at the very heart of the enunciation configurations in which the French discourse analysts are interested.

Translators and translations

Given the nature of the EP reports that comprise our corpus, a reflection on the use of labels is not a futile academic exercise. The reports under scrutiny are often drafted by several authors, using more than one language; the texts are later transformed into monolingual texts and translated again in a number of languages; to obtain parallel texts with the same status, the notion of ‘original’

and derivative texts is explicitly avoided. The individuals who draft the texts tend to be highly skilled from the linguistic point of view, so that the notion of first, second and foreign language proves somewhat inappropriate to describe their language proficiency. As a consequence, it would be misleading to use widespread terminology such as ‘source’ and ‘target’ texts, as the translation processes these texts undergo is often more intertextual than would be expected.

This high level of manipulation, editing and rewriting recalls the translation process observed in News Translation.²¹ The labelling of translation procedures represents one of the thorniest terminological issues within Translation Studies.²² Together with Schäffner we believe it is more appropriate to simply refer to the complex array of linguistic transformations as ‘translation’ – thus avoiding the risk of perpetuating the diminishing conception of translation as a word-to-word transfer process.²³

As for the role played by translators working on these documents, again the situation appears complex and, as Cosmai explains:²⁴

It makes little sense to provide an abstract and generalised definition of EU translators, not least because the officials of the EU institutions’ language services originate from a very wide variety of training and working paths, and their qualifications and skills cannot be reduced simply to knowledge of one or more foreign languages.

Hence, we shall simply state that what Cosmai points out concerning the translation of EU political documents²⁵ certainly includes the EP reports.

The counter-discourse of ATTAC France

ATTAC’s counter-discourse often marks their alternative positioning:²⁶

Dès sa fondation en 1998, ATTAC a identifié les politiques néolibérales menées partout dans le monde, et particulièrement en Europe et en France (quels que soient les gouvernements), comme la cause principale de la montée des inégalités [...]. [*gloss translation*: Ever since its foundation in 1998, ATTAC has recognised the neoliberal policies implemented all over the world, and notably in Europe and in France (prescinding from the governmental political position), as the main cause for the growth of inequalities].

As a consequence, members of the association distance themselves from the International and European lexis and discourse through antonymic comments, marking their choices through a process of polemical over-statement (*sur-énonciation*):²⁷

Défini par l’Union européenne comme «une forme d’emploi caractérisé par une durée inférieure à la durée légale, conventionnelle ou usuelle», le temps partiel regroupe en réalité des pratiques et des logiques sociales opposées.

[...] Qu'il soit «choisi sous contrainte» ou «subi», le temps partiel concerne essentiellement les femmes. Dans l'Europe des Quinze, le taux de féminisation du temps partiel atteint 81%. [*gloss translation*: Defined by the EU as a 'kind of employment characterised by a duration inferior to the legal, conventional or usual one', part-time work actually comprises contrasting social practices and logics. [...] Whether it is 'chosen under constraints' or 'suffered', part-time work concerns women mainly. In the Europe of the Fifteen, the rate of feminization of part-time work reached 81%].²⁸

Le terme d'«équité», abondamment ressassé, a précisément pour fonction de ne pas parler de lutte véritable contre les inégalités. A aucun moment bien sûr, il n'est question de remettre en cause la division sexuelle du travail [...]. [*gloss translation*: The term 'equity', abundantly over-employed, helps avoiding the discussion of a proper war at inequalities. Of course, the sharing of burdens between the sexes is never questioned [...].²⁹

As far as prostitution is concerned, denunciations are even more precise and address the EP, among others:

Une offensive internationale contre la Convention de 1949 est menée par les pays réglementaristes qui introduisent la notion de prostitution forcée par opposition à celle de «prostitution libre». [*gloss translation*: An international attack against the 1949 Convention is driven by the pro-regulation countries that introduce the notion of forced prostitution as opposed to that of 'free prostitution']³⁰

Dans ce débat [entre pays réglementaristes et abolitionnistes], non seulement tous les mots sont piégés, mais aussi les concepts: «droit», «libre choix», ou encore «travailleuse du sexe». [*gloss translation*: in this debate [between pro-regulation and pro-abolition countries], not only are all the words manipulative, but also the concepts: 'right', 'free choice', or also 'sex worker']³¹

[...] au Parlement européen, certaines féministes, au nom du consentement, disent pouvoir distinguer de façon incontestable la prostitution «libre» de la prostitution «forcée». [*gloss translation*: in the European Parliament, some feminists, in the name of consent, declare that they can incontestably distinguish between 'free' prostitution and 'forced' prostitution].³²

The embedding of ATTAC's words in EP discourse after the 'crisis'

Given the wide diachronic space under scrutiny, it is possible to observe the presence of at least one event that influences both discourse and counter-discourse,³³ i.e. the 'crisis' – first financial, in 2007, and later economic, starting

from 2008 – which questions the (classic) liberal model of development. From the lexical viewpoint, EP reports show the embedding of the event through the increased frequency of the French word '*crise*' which imposes itself from 2010 substituting the more generic 'crisis' employed in previous texts (see Figure 8.1). The official translations are reported here simply to help English-speaking readers, their analysis can be found in 'The effects of translation'.

From a rhetorical viewpoint, the crisis becomes a paradigmatic commonplace and is inscribed in the EP reports:

Tarabella (2010: 8) observe que la crise économique, sociale et financière peut représenter une opportunité pour faire de l'Union une économie plus productive et innovante et une société prenant davantage en compte l'égalité entre les femmes et les hommes, si les politiques et les mesures adéquates étaient adoptées.

Tarabella (2010: 8) points out that the economic, social and financial crisis might offer an opportunity to make the Union, as an economy, more productive and innovative and, as a society, more mindful of gender equality, if the right policies and measures were to be put into effect.

Romeva i Rueda (2010: 19) Les réponses à la récession à l'échelle européenne et au niveau des États représentent également une opportunité et œuvrent une période de transformation visant à promouvoir l'égalité des sexes; la crise économique et financière fournit ainsi une opportunité pour élaborer des réponses, dessiner des perspectives et identifier les espaces politiques d'intervention.

Romeva i Rueda (2010: 18) The responses to the recession at the European and national levels also represent an opportunity and transformational

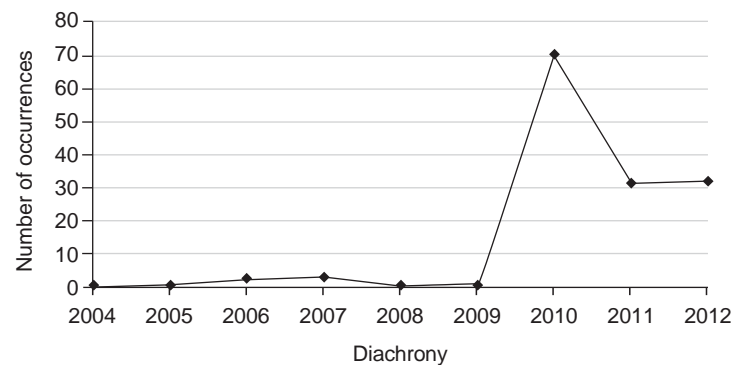


Figure 8.1 '*Crise*' (crisis) frequency in the French version of the EP reports (2004–2012). Results roughly correspond when investigating the English versions for the word 'crisis'.

moment to promote gender equality, the financial and economic crisis also provides us with an opportunity to develop responses and perspectives and identify policy spaces for intervention and alternative solutions.

Nedelcheva (2011: 9) la crise économique et financière doit être envisagée comme une occasion de faire des propositions nouvelles et innovantes [...]

Nedelcheva (2011: 10) the economic and financial crisis should be seen as a chance to put forward new and innovative proposals [...]

This commonplace statement tries to posit the crisis as legitimating an EU revival through new policies while it presents the advantage of bringing together the EP discourse and the alter-globalist counter-discourse.³⁴ In fact, the ATTAC slogan '*Un autre monde est possible*' ('Another world is possible') starts being embedded in the EP texts after the introduction of the 'crisis'. Still, such inclusion is implemented through a co-discursive mechanism of 'silencing'³⁵ through the paradigm of stating 'x' instead of 'y'. Here is an extract to exemplify the way in which the alter-globalist paradigm becomes embedded in EP texts:

Tarabella (2010: 14) La crise économique, financière et sociale qui secoue l'Union européenne et le monde a un impact sur les femmes [...] Cependant, la crise recèle également un énorme potentiel: les gouvernements et l'Union européenne doivent revoir la façon dont ils élaborent leurs politiques. **Une nouvelle société est possible**,³⁶ portée par un idéal d'égalité réelle.

Tarabella (2010: 13) The economic, financial and social crisis that is destabilising the European Union and the rest of the world is having a definite impact on women [...]. At the same time, however, the crisis offers tremendous potential, as governments and the Union must rethink their approach to policy making. A new society, underpinned by an ideal of genuine quality [*sic*], could conceivably emerge.

The comparison reveals two differences: '*nouvelle*' (new) substitutes '*autre*' (another) and the focus is on society ('*société*') rather than world ('*monde*'). The former is part of the novelty paradigm which is spread in discourse through the phrase '*nouveau* + X / X + *nouveau*':³⁷

Tarabella (2010: 8) il faut davantage d'actions concrètes et de **nouvelles politiques**.

Tarabella (2010: 8) the need for further practical action and new policies.

Figueiredo (2010: 6) considérant que nous ne pouvons rester attachés à des modèles économiques vidés de leurs substances [...] que nous avons besoin d'un **nouveau modèle** basé sur la croissance et l'innovation.³⁸

Figueiredo (2010: 6) whereas we cannot continue to be tied to worn-out, environmentally unsustainable economic models [...] whereas we need a new and socially sustainable model based on knowledge³⁹ and innovation.

Nedelcheva (2011: 9) la crise économique et financière doit être envisagée comme une occasion de faire des **propositions nouvelles** et innovantes.⁴⁰

Nedelcheva (2011: 10) the economic and financial crisis should be seen as a chance to put forward new and innovative proposals [...]

Novelty reminds us both of something added to what exists and the presence of innovation, which can also rise on the discursive surface in various forms such as '*innovation*' '*innovantes*' (innovative).

The substitution of the notion of otherness with that of novelty allows us to:

- 1 avoid delegitimising the previous policies, as the notion of alternative implies that the previous dominant model failed. Moreover, the EU does not give up on their development policies;
- 2 avoid altering the positive idea of progress, notably in the phrase '*X+ nouveau*', which links novelty to innovation;
- 3 inscribe and align to the 'cotton language' usually found in EU documents and statements (New Lisbon Strategy,⁴¹ New strategy for equality between men and women...).

As for the need for novelty, in 2012 the novelty paradigm becomes saturated by the green economy, as the crisis becomes the pretence for legitimising an economy trying to balance growth and environmental sustainability:

Gustafsson (2012: 7) souligne la nécessité de convertir la société à un **modèle d'économie verte** [... 14] Dans une économie verte, le développement économique s'inscrit dans le cadre de ce que la nature supporte et il garantit une distribution équitable des ressources entre les individus, entre les hommes et les femmes, ainsi qu'entre les générations.⁴²

Gustafsson (2012: 6) supports the need to move society towards a green economy [... 13] Economic development in a green economy therefore takes place within the context of what nature can tolerate, and ensures a fair distribution of resources between people, between men and women and between generations.

With the aim of legitimating the new economic model in the era of globalisation, the EP discourse draws from the general European discourse strategies:⁴³

In the situation of globalisation and the prolonged global crisis as well as increased public mistrust towards the EU, the EU policy discourse

apparently cannot only resort to describing policy and implementation paths as such but must also provide relevant modes of legitimization of the policies in question.

Coming back to the reformulation of the alter-globalist slogan, it is worth pointing out that the use of society (*'société'*) by the EP is certainly due to a co-discursive strategy aimed at the adaptation of the other's discourse into one's own discursive and ethical realm, which also allows the institution to occupy its place and positioning. Even if often contested, the 'European social model'⁴⁴ is a pivotal element of the EP discourse and of the EU in general, which employs it to underline the importance that Europe attributes to social aspects.

A different case study: the notion of 'patriarchy'

ATTAC has been aligned with feminists in the struggle against patriarchy ever since the first contestations of the world social forums:⁴⁵

Le mouvement des femmes est un puissant vecteur qui lutte contre la mondialisation libérale avec des moyens naturellement alternatifs en raison même de la situation des femmes dans la société patriarcale. [*gloss translation*: The women's movement is a powerful vector to fight liberal globalisation with naturally alternative methods as a consequence of the situation of women in a patriarchal society.]

The 2012 Brussels call, proposed by the European Women's Lobby and signed, among others, by ATTAC, shows their convergence concerning patriarchy: '*La prostitution s'inscrit dans la longue tradition patriarcale de mise à disposition du corps des femmes au profit des hommes*' ('Prostitution is inscribed in the long patriarchal tradition of making women's bodies available for men'). As a form of domination of men over women, patriarchy creates unequal power relationships between sexes from the structural point of view, which is why it is criticised.

From the point of view of co-discourse, we want to investigate whether the criticisms towards patriarchy are embedded in the EP discourse and, if so, how. Here are some excerpts from the texts under scrutiny concerning 'patriarchy':

Valenciano Martínez-Orozco (2004: 17) Le peuple rom repose sur une **tradition patriarcale** très ancrée. [...] Elles [les femmes rom] se trouvent au croisement entre la culture traditionnelle et la modernité et sont confrontées aux valeurs de leurs familles et au poids culturel du patriarcat [...].

Valenciano Martínez-Orozco (2004: 15–16) there is a very strong patriarchal tradition among the Roma [...]. They [Roma women] must come to terms with their system of family values and the cultural burden of patriarchy as well as racist attitudes towards their people from the rest of society.

Karamanou (2004: 7) invite les gouvernements de l'Europe du Sud-Est, à la lumière de l'accroissement du fondamentalisme religieux et de retour au **patriarcat** dans les sociétés, à garantir les libertés fondamentales [...].

Karamanou (2004: 7) invites the governments of South-East Europe, in the light of increasing religious fundamentalism and the re-patriarchalisation of societies, to guarantee fundamental freedoms and respect for human rights [...].

Bozkurt (2005: 5) considérant que le sous-développement économique et social dans certaines zones urbaines et rurales en général et dans certaines régions défavorisées de Turquie [...] aggravent les problèmes des femmes dans ces régions et affaiblissent leur position, qui est aussi fragilisée par des **structures sociales patriarcales** dominantes [...].

Bozkurt (2005: 5) whereas economic and social underdevelopment in some urban and rural areas in general and in disadvantaged regions of Turkey [...] aggravate the problems of women in those regions and undermine their position, which is also hampered by prevailing patriarchal social structures [...].

Járóka (2006: 4) considérant qu'il semblerait que, en raison de **traditions patriarcales**, beaucoup de femmes – notamment des femmes et des filles roms – ne bénéficient pas du respect total de leur liberté de choix [...].

Járóka (2006: 4) whereas there are indications that, as a result of patriarchal traditions, many women – including Romani women and girls – do not enjoy full respect for their freedom of choice [...].

Romeva i Rueda (2007: 12) Le phénomène du féminicide [au Mexique] est à replacer dans un contexte social influencé par la **mentalité patriarcale** dans lequel les femmes supportent la majeure partie du travail domestique et procréatif [...].

Romeva i Rueda (2007: 11) Feminicide appears in a social context conditioned by a patriarchal mentality, where most domestic and reproductive labour is performed by women [...]

Parvanova (2010: 8) demande à la Commission et aux États membres, en collaboration avec les ONG, de réaliser des campagnes de sensibilisation ciblant les femmes appartenant à des minorités ainsi que le grand public et d'assurer la pleine mise en œuvre des dispositions pertinentes pour lutter contre les habitudes culturelles discriminatoires et les **modèles patriarcaux** [...].

Parvanova (2010: 7–8) calls on the Commission and the Member States, in collaboration with NGOs, to carry out awareness-raising campaigns aimed

at ethnic minority women as well as the general public, and to ensure the full implementation of the relevant provisions in order to combat discriminatory cultural habits and patriarchal role models [...].

Gustaffson (2012: 12) demande à la Commission de prêter une attention particulière au fait que, dans de nombreux pays en développement, la possibilité pour les femmes d'embrasser une carrière dans l'économie verte est encore fortement limitée en raison **des systèmes patriarcaux** et des modèles sociaux [...].

Gustaffson (2012: 11) calls on the Commission to pay particular attention to the fact that in many developing countries, the opportunities for women to pursue careers in a green economy are still severely limited as a result of social conditioning and patriarchal patterns, and that women fail to gain access to the information, training and technologies needed to access this sector;

The EP discourse concerning patriarchy turns on 'other' contexts: patriarchy is an issue for minorities, notably Roma, and underdeveloped areas (Mexico, developing countries), that is, countries lacking modernity, which can also be due to Muslim religious traditions (Turkey). Differently from the ATTAC discourse, patriarchy is not an issue for developed countries (i.e. the EU), but it is presented as exclusively attached to other cultures as part of tradition. Discriminations that women suffer within 'modern' Europe are rather presented as the consequence of stereotypes that justify unequal power relationships, which are reinforced by the media and school books:

Svensson (2008: 4) La publicité véhiculant des stéréotypes de genre se fait l'écho d'un rapport de force inégal [...].

Svensson (2008: 4) whereas gender stereotyping in advertising thus echoes the unequal distribution of gender power [...].

Liotard (2012: 4) considérant que les stéréotypes persistent à tous les niveaux de la société [et qu'ils] perpétuent des rapports de force latents; [...] les enfants sont confrontés aux stéréotypes liés au genre dès leur plus jeune âge par le biais des modèles mis en valeur dans les séries et les émissions télévisées, les débats, les jeux, les jeux vidéos, les publicités, les manuels et les programmes scolaires, les attitudes à l'école, dans la famille et la société, ce qui retentit sur leur perception du comportement que devraient adopter les hommes et les femmes et a des implications sur le reste de leur vie et sur leurs aspirations futures.

Liotard (2012: 4) whereas stereotypes still exist at all levels of society and in all age groups [and they] perpetuate underlying power relations; [...] children are confronted with gender stereotypes at a very young age through

role models promoted by television series and programmes, discussions, games, video games and advertisements, study materials and educational programmes, attitudes in schools, the family and society, which influence their perception of how men and women should behave and which have implications for the rest of their lives and their future aspirations.

Counter-discourse is thus ‘silenced’⁴⁶ and reframed through a discourse revolving around the opposition between tradition (others) and modernity (European developed countries). Silencing represents a co-discursive mechanism that EU discourse produces through the reframing of counter-discourse. In this sense, co-discursive mechanisms of appropriation and reframing contribute to the European rhetoric of identity-building and internal values as opposed to exterior cultures (see also the notion of ‘*narrative against*’ in Chapter 10). This kind of rhetoric was analysed in the speeches of individual European actors (for instance interviews or speeches delivered by official representatives of national governments), where the opposition between the EU and the rest is expressed through the use of pronouns ‘we’ ‘them’, as argued by Attila Kriszan or Caterina Carta.⁴⁷

In the EP reports, the use of impersonal formulae – which are typical of this genre – do not allow the use of first and second personal pronouns, and the lack of deixis makes the contrast us–them even more effective through assertiveness and assumptions. Contributing to what Guilbert calls the ‘*effet d’évidence*’ (evidence effect),⁴⁸ the intertextual repetition contributes to the growing validation of these discursive strategies, which at the same time naturalise the identification of patriarchy and otherness and the link connecting patriarchy and the lack of women’s emancipation (access to fundamental liberties, safety, career...).

Járóka⁴⁹ remains an exception, as she employs an alethic modality (‘can contribute’, ‘*peut contribuer*’) to talk about patriarchy as a potential, hence not certain, cause of violence.

Járóka (2006: 11) Romani women often live within traditional patriarchal communities, which can contribute to the violence against them and denies them basic freedoms of choice.

(*Idem*) Les femmes roms vivent souvent dans des communautés patriarcales traditionnelles. Cette situation peut contribuer à la violence dont elles sont victimes et à l’absence de libertés de choix fondamentales.

This is not the only case in which she distances herself from the typical discourse strategies of the genre. In the explanatory statement, she uses the first person pronoun, which, by contrast, is never found in the report:

Járóka (2006: 11) While preparing the draft of my report, I have had discussions with both public and private parties in the European Union. [...] As a woman of Roma origin, I have experienced first hand much of the same discrimination that faces Romani women across Europe.

In fact, even if the explanatory statement is the freest part of this textual genre (Raus 2010: 117), most authors still avoid the use of first person pronouns and translators intervene to remove such pronouns if they are found – it is usual for translators to intervene when there is a problem with the drafting.⁵⁰ Moreover, in the following part of the English version, Járóka herself will go back to the impersonal reference to herself ('the rapporteur') but only after having legitimised her words by telling about her own personal experience.

These othering discourse strategies – breaking the expected discursive constraints – can be explained by the fact the author herself is of Roma origin. Her rhetoric thus distances itself from the usual European discourse – which is why the latter is then internally modified.

The effects of translation

Given the peculiar nature of Járóka's text, as explained above, the translation of her writing shows significant transformations that deserve closer observation. This French version shows the removal of the first person, as explained above:

Járóka (2006: 11) Lors de l'élaboration du présent projet de rapport, votre rapporteur a eu des discussions avec des organes publics et privés de l'Union européenne. [...] en tant que femme d'origine rom, votre rapporteur a elle-même subi une grande part des discriminations dont sont victimes les femmes roms de toute l'Europe.

As is often the case, the translator transmits and normalises some language choices that deviate from standard English:

Járóka (2006: 11) some criteria **have be borne in mind** when analysing the problems faced by Romani women.

(*Idem*) certains critères **ont été appliqués** à l'analyse des problèmes des femmes roms.

Járóka (2006: 11) There is a **cry** of minority and **in special** Romani women to find themselves in the policies and actions of the member states as well as European Union's Institutions when addressing both gender equality and racial and ethnic discrimination.

(*Idem*) Parmi les minorités et **en particulier** les Roms, les femmes **souhaitent être prises en compte** dans les politiques et actions des États membres et des institutions de l'Union européenne en matière d'égalité hommes-femmes et de discrimination raciale et ethnique.

In both cases, we notice how what appeared to be non-idiomatic in standard English has been rendered with ordinary French Europeak.⁵¹ At the same time, what we could label as 'interlingual revision',⁵² has altered the meaning that

could be reasonably understood from the English version notwithstanding the ‘errors’. In the first case, the expression – which was probably intended to be ‘have to be borne in mind’ – sounds like a caveat for the recipients, warning them of the necessity to remember the underlying difference that characterises the situation of the two groups described. The French translation glosses over the imperative meaning of the direct addressing and refers to criteria that ‘have been applied’, which leaves the French reader unsure of who has applied what.

Something similar happens in the second case, where the non-idiomatic expression ‘in special’ is rendered with the French ‘en particulier’ but the strength of the lexical choice ‘a cry’ is weakened in translation with the verb ‘*souhaitent*’. We can perhaps dare to hypothesise what happened in the cognitive process of the translator, whose attention was focused on normalising the ‘mistake’ in the English text – solved by removing the existential phrase ‘there is’ – and then weakening the strong lexical choice in a process of normalisation.

The case of Járóka shows changes that appear to be part of a process of adaptation to render the translated text in line with French Europeak, while at the same time glossing over the points that rendered the text effective in its discursive choices. This form of normalisation is of course ideological in itself as it weakens the author’s performativity. This ideological normalisation can also be observed in the translation of texts that do not bear non-idiomatic choices that might need ‘correction’, and it is possible to notice that these kind of changes are introduced as part of the translation process exactly where the effect of counter discourse (ATTAC’s in our case) could be observed in the first place.

If we look at the following example – which was already discussed above in ‘The embedding of ATTAC’s words’ – we notice a discrepancy between the English and the French versions, French most probably being the language in which the Belgian Tarabella wrote the text.

Tarabella (2010: 14) Une nouvelle société est possible, portée par un idéal d’égalité réelle.

Tarabella (2010: 13) A new society, underpinned by an ideal of genuine quality [*sic*], could conceivably emerge.

We see how the English version adds distance and the process of creating this new society by guaranteeing genuine equality appears as something natural that ‘could emerge’ spontaneously and not as a consequence of the work carried out by the EU and the governments. By shifting the ideal of genuine equality and introducing it between commas after ‘society’ the English version cancels the performativity implied in the French text as ‘*portée par un idéal d’égalité réelle*’ is referred to the possibility of making it real and not to the society itself. The introduction of the metaphorical verb ‘emerge’ in English to substitute the existential ‘*est possible*’ not only distances the action and backgrounds the role of those who are expected to make this possibility real, but also contributes to the removal of the intertextual reference that in the French version clearly reminds the recipients of ATTAC’s

motto. From the point of view of modality, the French '*est possible*' is more assertive compared to 'could', which introduces doubt and contributes to the lack of certainty expressed through the lexical choice of 'conceivably'. Moreover, the typographic error that turns 'equality' into 'quality' also adds to a form of distortion and silencing; for example someone searching automatically for the word 'equality' would miss that passage.

The changes in meaning that these aspects bring to the English text when compared to the French one prove even more significant when we compare the same sentence across other European versions. All the versions checked retain the structure of the French version, which also confirms our hypothesis that at least this passage was originally written in French. Some of the other languages use a strategy of explicitation and reveal more clearly what the French version implies, that is 'it is possible hence we should make sure it happens by promoting genuine equality'.

Tarabella (2010: 13) Una nuova società è possibile, a patto che sia ispirata a un ideale di reale uguaglianza.

Tarabella (2010: 14) Es posible construir una nueva sociedad, basada en un ideal de verdadera igualdad.

Tarabella (2010: 14) Este posibilă crearea unei noi societăți, animată de idealul unei egalități reale.

Tarabella (2010: 14) Uma nova sociedade é possível, animada por um ideal de igualdade real.

Tarabella (2010: 15) Eine neue Gesellschaftsordnung ist möglich, getragen von der Idealvorstellung einer echten Gleichberechtigung.

The Italian sentence introduces the expression '*a patto che*' (providing that, only if) while the Spanish and the Romanian versions introduce the verbs '*construir*' and '*crearea*' foregrounding that this new society needs actions in order to become real and will not simply 'emerge' on its own. Even if the EU declaredly promotes the equal importance of all the European languages, it is not hard to imagine that the English version had much wider diffusion compared to the other languages reported. Thus the effect of a change in meaning in the translation process when translating into English is likely to cause powerful effects.

Conclusions

The examples reported in this chapter illustrate the kind of transformation EP texts undergo both in the process of drafting, with the embedding of counter-discourse – in a process that often reveals strategies of silencing and normalisation – and in the process of translation. The examples illustrated here may appear

very subtle and could be ruled out as insignificant discrepancies in the overall process of communication that is carried out in the EP everyday activities. Nevertheless, in our view the sum of all these subtle discrepancies, both between the counter-discourses and the EP reports and between the various parallel versions produced by the EP, altogether contribute to a co-discursive rewriting process that tends towards a normalisation and a taming of the messages.

Of course the balance is a difficult one, as the translated texts require a process of explicitation, but at the same time it is important that the message of the text to be translated is rendered fully without adding or removing references and implicatures. Hence the translator, when adding or removing the mentioned features introduces a form of positioning that doubles the enunciative instance. Thus, we need to bear in mind that both neutralising and adding performativity through different discourse strategies are potentially ideological operations. Moreover it could be argued that some texts are created through a self-translation process even when they are drafted, as their authors may be writing in a language different from their native one and may thus be translating in their mind or anyway creating a text which is influenced by the structures of a different language. In the case of Járóka we can observe a diastratic effect, as her English is not idiomatic, the register is not appropriate and these aspects weaken the effectiveness of her message both in the English text and in the translated version analysed. This weakening is also consequence of an attempt to normalise her text and adapt it to the necessities of the genre, but at the same time, it appears ideological in the way it tames the spontaneous and sincere ring of the English version, in particular in its axiological aspects, i.e. 'cry'.

In conclusion, we can state that in the cases analysed we have observed some strategies of normalisation that appear ideological. Counter-discourse is embedded within the official discourse in ways that gradually weaken its effectiveness through the various passages that texts undergo, through intertextual references that distort and silence the original message and through the translation process. Moreover, in the cases observed during this study, the co-discursive processes that allow intertextuality and interdiscursivity are more productive when translating towards French while counter-discourse is silenced when translating towards English. This may explain the apparent paradox presented in the introduction, i.e. the internal rhetorical cohesion of what we called 'cotton language' versus the 'lack of a common language' that results in an EU perceived as not really united. Our findings appear to highlight how the process of embedding counter-discourse silences and normalises the reports while the process of translation may reintroduce disalignments. Further research could investigate the way in which different languages and translators affect discourse in the translation process.

Notes

- 1 This chapter is a joint production and reflects the views of both authors. All the paragraphs referring to the French texts were written by Raus and those referring to the English texts were written by Caimotto.
- 2 See for example Gobin and Deroubaix 2010.

- 3 The expression ‘cotton language’, introduced by François-Bernard Huyghe in 1991, indicates the kind of language and consensual rhetoric based on an empty and naturalising logic which is typical of the current institutional language, among others. See Rist 2002.
- 4 The association was born in France in 1998 as a reaction to financial globalisation and is now one of the main associations opposing neo-liberalism on a global scale (see also their international website: <https://www.attac.org/en>). The acronym stays for ‘Association for the Taxation of financial Transactions and to Aid to Citizens’. For an historical overview, see ATTAC 2002, 10–21.
- 5 See Bassnett 2014.
- 6 Oger and Ollivier-Yanniv 2003, 3.
- 7 Judge and Earnshow 2003.
- 8 Aydin-Düzgit 2015, 155.
- 9 Maingueneau 2007, 30.
- 10 Raus 2010, 122.
- 11 See <https://france.attac.org>.
- 12 ATTAC 2002, 36.
- 13 ATTAC 2002, 37.
- 14 For an introduction to CDA, see Wodak and Meyer 2009, 1–33.
- 15 Even if they may appear similar, there are differences between these two notions, see Paveau 2010, 93–105.
- 16 Angermüller *et al.* 2014, 1.
- 17 Angermüller *et al.* 2014, 3.
- 18 Teun van Dijk 2013, 1.
- 19 Angermüller 2007, 12.
- 20 Angermüller 2007, 17.
- 21 Bielsa and Bassnett 2009.
- 22 Van Dooslae, 2010, 179
- 23 Schäffner 2012, 881.
- 24 Cosmai 2014, 111.
- 25 Cosmai 2014: 115.
- 26 ATTAC 2007, 8.
- 27 See Rabatel 2005.
- 28 ATTAC 2003, 67.
- 29 ATTAC 2003, 115.
- 30 ATTAC 2003, 139.
- 31 ATTAC 2008, 75.
- 32 ATTAC 2008, 35.
- 33 Concerning the impact of historical events on discourse see also the effects of the last European elections in Chapter 9 and the Arab uprisings in Chapter 11.
- 34 This coming together is certainly fostered by the intermediary role played by the European Women’s Lobby who, in the meantime, had got closer to ATTAC itself (Raus 2015).
- 35 Puccinelli-Orlandi 1996, 62.
- 36 As Marc Tarabella is Belgian, we suppose he produced his text in French. Bold type added.
- 37 In French, adjectives can be positioned before or after the noun.
- 38 The expression is part of the Spanish amendment suggested by Garcia Perez: « *considerando que necesitamos un nuevo modelo basado en el conocimiento y la innovación* ».
- 39 The translation of *croissance* (growth) as ‘knowledge’ clearly appears to be a mistake and does not seem to have any potential ideological explanation. We believe it might be the consequence of using translation memories, i.e. segments of texts stored by Computer Aided Translation tools to databases that translators can use to speed up the translation process.

- 40 Nedelchova is Bulgarian and often employs French, hence her version was probably either in French or in Bulgarian.
- 41 There are other translations of this expression ('Renewed/Revised Lisbon Strategy'). See also IATE site.
- 42 The expression is the result of a manipulation of the French text to improve readability. The French report project simply read '*une économie verte*'. The English version was not modified: 'Supports the need to move society towards a green economy in which ecological considerations go hand in hand with social sustainability, e.g. greater equality and greater social justice'.
- 43 Michal Krzyzanowski 2014, 111.
- 44 Jonckheer 2006.
- 45 Marty *et al.* 2002.
- 46 Puccinelli-Orlandi 1996.
- 47 Kriszan 2011; Carta 2014.
- 48 Guilbert 2015, 88.
- 49 Járóka wrote the amendments to this report in English, which led us to reasonably establish that English was her own language of choice when writing the first version of the text.
- 50 This process can be observed in the other translations of this document, where the first person pronoun was rendered in French as '*votre rapporteure*', in Italian as '*la relatrice*', in Spanish as '*la ponente*', in Portuguese as '*a relatora*'.
- 51 The translated sentences are not particularly idiomatic in French either, as the translated version is closer to French Europeak rather than the everyday French used in France. This European variant of French (cf. Raus 2014, 386–388 and 391) is characterised by the influence of the translation process over lexical choices and over the sentence and discourse structure of the target language – French in this case – which sometimes results in discrepancies if compared to standard French. Still, differently from the French version, Járóka's English is at times ungrammatical and distant from the formal register required by this textual genre. In fact her English shows a positioning that results from her personal experience and tends to connote the discourse.
- 52 Drawing on Jakobson 1959.

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