The Spanish Presidency of the Council of the European Union in 2010. Between entrepreneurial leadership and transitional leadership

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Abstract: This paper aims to look at the rotating presidency of the Council of the European Union during the Spanish term of office in January-June 2010 starting from the research question: was the Spanish Rotating Presidency in 2010 a model of leadership for future rotating presidencies, or was it rather a transitional presidency? I have opted to analyse the political speech of Spanish Prime Minister José Luis Rodriguez Zapatero, following his rhetoric in relation to the evolution of the Spanish leadership, in order to identify the model for the Spanish Presidency. For data interpretation I have chosen to operationalise with the conceptual framework proposed by Oran Young- the typologies of political leadership, and of Ellen Golding's for transitional leadership. The analysis follows three important moments- the beginning, the half-way and the end of the semester in order to highlight the particularities of the Spanish Presidency in relation to the research issue.

Keywords: *Spanish Rotating Presidency, The Treaty of Lisbon, transition, political leadership, transitional leadership*

Introduction

THE SPANISH PRESIDENCY OF THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL took place under a new legislative circumstance created by the Treaty of Lisbon. One of the main challenges faced by the Spanish Government was to adapt its leadership to the new European realities. Spain assumed the rotating EU's presidency in a difficult context, marked by several factors: the 2008's economic and financial crisis which has had long lasting effects, and which has influenced the EU's political agenda, the fight against climate change and the management of the outcome of the Copenhagen Conference, the establishment of a transatlantic agenda, legislative and institutional changes brought by the Treaty of Lisbon

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(López Garrido 2010:19). These issues were also inherited by Belgium and Hungary, partner States in the third trio established after 2007. From this respect, the Spanish Presidency had led to great expectations from the EU's Member States, given the fact the Union moved toward a new European order. Spain experienced various difficulties during the rotating semester, but it accomplished the transition from the old European order to a new political, institutional, and legislative framework that still exist nowadays and represents the functional basis of the rotating presidencies of the Council of EU.

December 2009 marked a particularly important moment for the European Union. The Treaty of Lisbon came in power, so this led to a series of institutional and legislative changes that directly affected the rotating presidency of the Council of the European Union. The Treaty fundamentally changed the institutional architecture of the Union through the introduction of new positions like the Permanent President of the Council of the European Union and the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. At the same time, the Treaty affected the political feature of the rotating presidency and led to the institutionalisation of the „trio" formula as an alternative option to the presidency. The provisions of the Treaty also have had a direct impact on the Heads of State or Government, and their role has become informal, rather administrative (Cianciara 2012:28). In this respect, the Permanent President of the Council assumed the political tasks of the Heads of States or Governments. Until Lisbon, the foreign policy of the EU was managed by the Minister of the Foreign Affairs of the state which held the presidency of the Council. But, starting with 2010, this responsibility has been taken over by the High Representative.

Identifying this context, the research issue from which this paper begin is taking shape around the next assumption: the rotating Presidency of Spain at the Council of the European Union in 2010 was a model of coordination for the other countries in the trio. The aim of this study is to determine whether the Spanish Presidency of the Council of the European Union is a model of leadership or a transitional presidency. Therefore, by this, the paper attempts to place the Spanish Presidency in one of the typologies proposed by Oran Young (structural, entrepreneurial, and intellectual leadership) or in the typology of the transitional leadership proposed by Ellen Golding. The hypothesis from which this research starts is that the Spanish Presidency of the Council of the EU in 2010 meets the specificities of a transitional presidency but can also be considered a model of political leadership. However, these aspects will be set out in detail in the following sections of this paper. From the point of view of the research design, this paper is divided into seven parts, starting with the introduction which describes a general context of the research issue, the analytical framework chapter, the methodological chapter, the data collection part, the analysis part, the conclusions, and the bibliography section.

Theoretical framework

In order to establish the theoretical framework, we have identified two relevant papers to the present study: Political leadership and regime formation: on the development of institutions in international society (1991) written by Oran Young and Transition Leadership in a Shifting Policy Environment (2003) written by Ellen Goldring, Robert Crowson, David Laird, Robert Berk. I will start by setting out Young's perspective on three types of political leadership: structural, entrepreneurial, and intellectual, to which I will add the fourth, transitional leadership proposed by Goldring.

Oran Young (1991) argues that the political leadership is one of the drivers that determines the success or the failure of the institutional negotiations. The actors tend to create certain international regimes or institutional settlements within the international society. The author claims the institutional negotiation is linked to the efforts of certain autonomous actors who pursue to settle an agreement in constitutional terms regarding the rules and the norms that condition their interaction. The autonomous actors direct these efforts on concluding agreements and/or establishing specialized institutional regimes in order to identify the negotiation core and the other actors involved in the bargaining process. This process could be successful, but, as Young claims, this depends of the leadership style (Young 1991: 281-285).

In this respect, Oran Young (1991) has identified three types of political leadership that impact the negotiations- structural, entrepreneurial, and intellectual. The author highlights the fact that in order to understand how do these types work, or how do they affect the bargaining process, the political leadership models should be analysed from a behaviourist point of view. The actors who are becoming the leaders in the international negotiations should not be seen as hegemons, but rather as agents of the state/international organization that empowered them. From this perspective, the three types of political leadership are: structural leadership, in terms of the material resources available to the negotiating actor and through which it can influence the results in its own interest (the power in leadership); entrepreneurial leadership, understood as the ability of an actor to build consensus in discussions through brokerage and negotiation; intellectual leadership which represents the ability of an actor to produce intellectual capital through which it can shape the prospects of negotiating participants, thus leading to the success or failure of negotiations (Young 1991: 289-296). Oran Young (1991) also draws attention to certain small details over these concepts. The structural leadership aims to transform the power resources in bargaining leverage in order to shape the negotiation outcomes, while the

intellectual leadership relies on the power of ideas that could impact the outcomes. Regarding the entrepreneurial political leadership, Young claims this type is able to set the political agenda (Young 1991: 298).

The structural leaders are those individuals who possess sufficient material resources, turning them in to a „negotiation currency" used for specific issues or in various circumstances in order to get the best possible results for them. The structural leaders act like the main brokers in the bargaining process and tend to involve only in those institutional arrangements that they can better satisfy their interests. A key feature of these leaders is that they are able to turn structural power into bargaining levers as a means of influencing the institutional arrangements in their advantage. The structural leadership also imply a certain ability of the leader to put pressure on the other participants or to make credible commitments. In addition, a structural leader uses its power to form coalitions with other actors involved in the negotiation process, in order to affect the outcomes or to thwart another coalition (Young 1991: 289-292).

As a matter of facts, the Spanish Presidency of the Council does not meet these conditions. During the Spanish term, Spain has acted in accordance with the Council Regulation, in line with the agenda, and with the conditions imposed by the Treaty. Spain has become a mediator of the supranational interests and a broker that strikes a balance between member states' wishes. Under the legislative auspices introduced by the Treaty of Lisbon, Spain has not been able to influence institutional arrangements in favour of its own interests, nor to create coalitions with other States, in order to steer the political path of the Union beyond the national path. Therefore, the style of structural political leadership cannot be associated with the rotating Spanish Presidency in 2010.

Entrepreneurial leadership is understood as the way in which an individual identified as leader has the ability to influence institutional arrangements through negotiation, diplomacy and persuasions. The actor influences institutional arrangements in an inclusive manner, pursuing to incorporate the interests of all participants. Entrepreneurial leaders are individuals, rather than states, that hold a dominant position in a social environment. They may act on behalf of a state, intergovernmental or non-governmental organization. When they act as leader of an organization, they will direct their efforts on meeting the interests of the organization rather than their own interests. If the entrepreneurial leader neglects the common interests, this leads to the removal of the individual from his position (Young 1991:293-296).

For an actor to be considered part of the entrepreneurial leadership typology, it must meet four conditions: the formulation and the setting of the agenda should be in line with all the preferences of the participants; the focus on the important issues; the creation of innovative policies to overcome the

issues that could lead to the failure of the bargaining process; brokerage and finding win-win options for the collective (Young 1991: 293-296). From this point of view, we can assert that the Spanish presidency it is closest to what the Presidency of The Council of the EU means- the agenda setting, brokerage, mediation and, of course, external representation of the Union (Batory and Puetter 2013:99). This style will therefore be used to achieve the framing of the Spanish Presidency in a leadership model.

The last type of political leadership identified by Young (1991) is the intellectual leadership. This type of leadership is characterised by the existence of an individual who produces intellectual capital or generative thinking systems. The intellectual leader can shape the prospects of the parties involved in international negotiations through certain intellectual frameworks. This leader could play an essential role regarding the outcomes of a negotiation that could be successful or could fail in determining a consensus among the participants. The intellectual leaders usually can act on their own or could be associated to the states, organizations or corporative entities (Young 1991: 298-299).

Intellectual leadership can overlap with the structural or the entrepreneurial leadership. Compared to the other two styles, this type of political leadership operates for different periods in institutional negotiation, given that it is a reflective and deliberative process. Entrepreneurial leadership operates with thinking schemes that cannot be designed in a short time in order to be effective (Young 1991:298-299). By linking these features to the rotating Spanish Presidency in 2010, it can be seen that it does not fit into the typology of intellectual leadership, precisely because of the six-month time limit of the rotating presidency.

According to Golding (Goldring et. al 2003), the literature in the field focused predominantly on transactional and transformational leadership styles in the context of change within an organization, and less on transitional leadership. Changing and implementing new policies within an organization implies a transition phase and an adaptation period. Thereafter, the transition has become one of the most discussed topics in literature in political sciences, in terms of changing political regimes, and also in the field of economic sciences. The concept of transition is understood as advancing or reverting between the existential stages.

Transition is one of the first steps toward change and it focuses on the idea that the loss is necessary in order to produce transformation. It is a process in which the emphasis relies on standardization, support and intermediation. Transitional leadership mostly focuses on procedural adaptation, accommodation and activities geared toward social reconstruction of structures and relationships in a context of major external change (Goldring et. al, 2003:474-475).

By bringing together the European context of 2010 with the rotating Spanish Presidency of the Council, the typology of transitional leadership can be considered a model applicable to Spain. The effects produced by the Treaty of Lisbon have not led to a change of regime within the Union but have led to changes in some political-legislative rules and procedures that have been implemented and strengthened over time.

Methodology

As I have mentioned in the introduction, the hypothesis from which this paper starts is that The Spanish Presidency of the Council of the EU in 2010 meets the particularities of a transitional presidency, but can also be considered a model of political leadership. In order to be able to demonstrate the validity of the assumption, I have decided that the research methodology should be qualitative, based on political discourse analysis, more precisely on the rhetoric of the Spanish Prime Minister. The primary sources selected are José Luis Rodriguez Zapatero's speeches transcripts, delivered on various occasions during the Spanish Presidency of the European Union in 2010.

According to Carreon and Svetanant (2017) the speech is a form of social practice that can be expressed orally or in writing. This is a communicative act by which thoughts, feelings or messages can be transmitted through communication channels. The speeches help to maintain certain social identities, human relations and the transmission of knowledge and belief systems. From this point of view, the political discourse is one of the main means of influencing the audience through rhetoric and can be built in such a way as to convince, to excel or to claim power (Carreon and Svetanant 2017: 638-639). The political speech comprises three major elements: the speaker/transmitter- who carries out the discursive act; the audience-who receive the speech; and the content itself. Besides these features, one of the most important particularity of a speech is semantics. By semantics, a political discourse reflects the way in which political ideas or beliefs are instrumentalized and transmitted to a particular target group, formulated in such a way that the receptors are convinced to support the speaker's point of view. These ideas and beliefs are forwarded by different techniques, such as explanation or analysis. (Carreon and Svetanant 2017: 638-639).

Christina Schäffner (1996) states that the language is a key-feature within the political discourse that influences the delivery of a message and the political action itself. The political language represents the main way to communicate a message, in a certain context, through a specific lexicon, in order to achieve a specific function that is politically motivated (Schäffner 1996: 201-202). This

communication could be internal (related to the functioning of politics within a political body, institution, or organization); as well as it could be external, directed to the broader public.

In addition, Cornelia Ilie (2018) argues that the growing interest for the use of language within the political speeches led to a growing interest on political rhetoric. This turn could be partially explained by the rise of deliberative democracy that emphasizes on communication and discourse (Ilie 2018: 87). The political discursive communication represents the fundament of political power and decision-making, through which a political actor legitimizes his position and actions (*Ibid.* 85). In this respect, the study of the political rhetoric is essential in order to understand how political thinking and interactions could change, or how a certain political actor uses various discursive strategies to validate its actions, related to a certain situation or context (*Ibid.* 87).

Through rhetoric, the speaker tries to convince the audience to accept the message transmitted within the speech. Sloane (2019) argues that a discourse that attempts to persuade a target group is well organized on a logical structure of argumentation. The structure reflects the purpose of the speech, the use of language within the argumentation and the order of arguments (Sloane 2019). Furthermore, the purpose of the speech, according to Schreiber and Hartranft (2011), allows a general classification of the speeches in types and sub-types, depending on the occasion of delivery.

If the purpose of a speech is to inform the audience, then it can be classed as informative speech that share a particular range of data related to a context, person or issue. If the main purpose of a speech is to persuade, then the speech can be classified as a persuasive speech aimed to change the receptors' believes or to convince the audience to accept the speaker's view. And, if the purpose of a speech is to commemorate/entertain, the discourse is classed as commemorative/ entertaining, aiming to strengthen the bond between the speaker and audience (Schreiber and Hartranft 2011:6). In this respect, Zeman (1990) argues that in terms of speech typologies could be observed a slight departure from the classical Aristotelian typology (deliberative, forensic, epideictical) in favour of a more convenient system of classification, mostly related to the purpose or the occasion of the delivery of speech.

For this study, I have selected eight speeches, based on the time criterion, that I have looked at: December 2009-January 2010, March 2010, and June-July 2010. The selection followed the identification of three relevant moments for the Spanish Presidency: before and immediately after Spain assumed the rotating presidency, in the middle of the semester after the Spring European Council, and at the end of the term of office. The methodology of this paper focuses on identifying and analysing the political rhetoric in Prime Minister Zapatero's

speeches transcripts (statements and interventions during the Spanish semester). The analysis was carried out on the basis of two aspects: the identification and classification of the type of speeches proposed by Schreiber and Hartranft (2011) and the identification of the keywords in the speeches in order to shape the rhetoric within the discourses.

Data collection

In this chapter I will present the data collected. The chapter is divided into two sections. I will start by presenting the data overview process, then in the second sub-chapter I will present the results obtained as well as some comments on these results.

Data overview

The primary sources used in this paper are the speeches of the Spanish Prime Minister José Luis Rodriguez Zapatero during the fourth Spanish Presidency of the Council. The selection of the speeches was made on the basis of the time criterion. The first three speeches correspond to the beginning of the presidency. The following two speeches correspond to the middle of the term of office, more precisely to the Spring European Council. And the last three speeches correspond to the end of the term of office. These aspects are further detailed in the table below (Table 1). In this section I will also present the technical and semantic characteristics specific to the political discourse analysis identified following the study of primary sources. The tables below (Table 1, Table 2) were designed to expose the typology of the selected speeches and the rhetoric of Prime Minister Zapatero by using a varied lexis, formed on the basis of multiple fields.

Table 1: *Primary sources used within the research*

	No.	Title	Date	Location	Event	Type of speech
a)	1.	*Zapatero's intervention to expose the priorities of the Spanish Presidency of the European Union*	December, 16th, 2009	Madrid, Spain, Spanish Parliament's plenary, Chamber of Deputies	*Presentation of the review of the Swedish rotating presidency. *Spanish assuming office under the rotating presidency. *Presentation of Spain's priorities for	Informative speech

					the January-June 2010 semester.	
b)	2.	*Speech of the Prime Minister, José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, upon taking the European Union's Rotating Presidency*	January, 8th, 2010	Madrid, Spain	Official ceremony for Spain taking the term of office in 2010.	Mixed speech (informative+persuasive)
c)	3.	*Speech of the Prime Minister, José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, to the plenary of the European Parliament to present the priorities of the Spanish Presidency of the European Union*	January, 20th, 2010	Strasbourg, France, European Parliament's plenary	Presentation of the priorities of the Spanish Rotating Presidency to the European Parliament plenary.	Mixed speech (informative+persuasive)
d)	4.	*Intervention of the Prime Minister, José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, in the Press Conference after the Tripartite Social Summit of the European Union*	March, 25th, 2010	Brussels, Belgium	The EU's Tripartite Social Summit in March 2010, prior to the Spring European Council.	Informative speech
e)	5.	*Press Conference of the President of the European Council, Herman Van Rompuy, of the President of the European Commission, José Manuel Durao Barroso, and of the Prime Minister, José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, after the European Council Meeting*	March, 26th, 2010	Brussels, Belgium	Spring European Council.	Mixed speech (informative+persuasive)
f)	6.	*Press Conference of the President of the European Council, Herman Van Rompuy, of the President of the European Commission, José Manuel Durao Barroso, and of*	June, 17th, 2010	Brussels, Belgium	Preliminary review of the Spanish Rotating Presidency of the Council of the EU.	Informative speech

		the Prime Minister José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, after the European Council Meeting				
g)	7.	*Speech of the Prime Minister, José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, at the plenary session of the Congress of Deputies, to report on the Brussels European Council and on the assessment of the Spanish Presidency of the European Union*	June, 23rd, 2010	Madrid, Spain, Spanish Parliament's plenary, Chamber of Deputies	Presentation of the final assesment of the six-month period of the Spanish Presidency of the Council of the EU.	Mixed speech (informative+persuasive)
h)	8.	*Speech of the Prime Minister, José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, to the plenary of the European Parliament to present the assessment of the Spanish Presidency of the European Union*	July, 6th, 2010	Strasbourg, France, European Parliament's plenary	Presentation of the final review of the six-month period of the Spanish Presidency of the Council of the EU	Mixed speech (informative+persuasive)

Regarding the rhetoric and the lexicon used by Prime Minister Zapatero is concentrated on several recurring topics in his speeches. In the table below (**Table 2**), I presented a selection of the lexicon identified in his speeches, which allowed me to shape a semantic analysis, exposed in the following chapter of this paper.

Table 2: the lexicon used by the Spanish Prime Minister within the speeches

SPEECH	Sa)	Sb)	Sc)	Sd)	Se)	Sf)	Sg)	Sh)	TOTAL
Lexicon	The frequency of terms								
European Union/ The Union/ Union, (Unión Europea/La Unión, Unión)	44	8	35	1	9	8	25	14	144
Spanish presidency (Presidencia española)	11	-	-	-	-	1	3	-	15
Rotating Presidency (presidencia rotatoria)	1	-	3	-	-	2	1	4	11
The Spanish Rotating Presidency (Presidencia rotatoria española/ de España)	-	1	6	-	-	-	2	4	13
Spain (España)	13	2	3	1	3	13	6	2	43
The Treaty of Lisbon (Tratado de Lisboa)	6	2	5	-	-	3	3	11	30

The exit from the crisis (salida de la crisis)	2	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	4
Stability (estabilidad)	5	-	1	-	-	8	3	3	20
Recovery (recuperación)	8	-	2	-	1	-	4	-	15
Economic growth (crecimiento economico)	4	-	2	1	-	1	1	-	9
Cooperation (cooperación)	7	1	4	-	-	-	3	3	18
Coordination (coordinación)	4	1	1	-	2	-	5	1	14
Compromise (compromiso)	1	2	3	-	-	-	-	-	6
Co-responsibility (corresponsabilidad)	1	-	3	3	-	-	-	2	9
Competitiveness (competitividad)	2	-	4	1	9	2	3	4	25
Our presidency (nuestra presidencia)	13	-	-	-	-	-	17	2	32
Crisis (crisis)	7	3	5	2	-	3	15	5	40
Citizens (ciudadanos)	7	1	4	-	3	3	5	1	24
European citizenship (ciudadania europea)	2	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	5
Rights and freedoms (derechos, libertades)	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Workers/employees (trabajadores)	1	-	2	-	-	2	-	-	5
European Institutions (instituciones europeas)	1	-	1	1	-	-	1	1	5
The Commission/ European Commission (Comisión, La Comisión,Comisión Europea)	5	1	12	1	6	2	8	8	43
President of the Commision (Presidente de la Comisión	1	-	1	2	-	4	-	-	8
The Council/ Council/ European Council (El Consejo, Consejo, Consejo Europeo)	21	2	2	3	14	6	31	9	88
European Parliament/ The Parliament (Parlamento Europeo/ Parlamento)	1	1	7	-	-	-	5	9	23
President of the Parliament (Presidente del Parlamento)	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	1	3
Permanent President of the Council/ President of The Council/ Permanent President/ Permanent Presidency Of The Council (Presidente Permanente del Consejo,Presidente del Consejo, Presidente Permanente, Presidencia Permanente del Consejo)	4	-	3	1	1	4	3	2	18
High Representative of the Union, High Representative, High Representative for Foreign Affairs (Alto Representante de la Unión, Alto Representante, Alto Representante para Asuntos Exteriores)	4	1	4	-	-	-	2	3	14
European External Action Service (Servicio Europeo de Acción Exterior, Servicio Exterior de la Unión)	3	-	1	-	-	-	2	2	8
Welfare (bienestar)	3	-	4	-	-	-	2	1	10
Solidarity (solidaridad)	2	1	2	1	-	-	1	1	8
The Trio Programme (el programa del trio)	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	3
Belgium (Belgica)	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	3
Hungary (Hungria)	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	3
Area of Freedom, Security and Justice (Espacio Europeo de Libertad, Seguridad y Justicia)	3	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	4
The Action Plan (El Plan de Acción)	2	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	5
Democracy (democracia)	-	3	4	1	-	-	-	-	8
Social model (modelo social)	2	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	5
Stability Pact (Pacto de Estabilidad)	1	-	1	1	-	1	2	3	9
The 2020 Strategy (Estrategia 2020)	-	-	4	-	6	1	-	1	12
European economy (economia europea)	3	-	2	2	2	1	-	-	10
External Action (acción exterior)	2	-	-	-	-	-		-	2

Foreign affairs (relaciones exteriores)	1	-	2	-	-		1	-	4
Europe (Europa)	17	4	20	1	2	4	13	7	68
Rusia	3	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	7
Iran	2	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	4
Latin America (America Latina)	6	-	-	-	-	-	3	3	12
United States of America (Estados Unidos)	3	-	2	-	-	-	4	4	13
Mediterranean Region (Mediterraneo)	2	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	5
Japan	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	4

Legend

☐ Most frequent   ☐ Less frequent

☐ Frequent   ☐ Low-frequency

Observations

One first observation I want to make is related to the typology of the Prime Minister Zapatero's speeches. The identified speeches have been framed in three typologies: informative, persuasive, and mixed. Given this fact, three out of eight speeches are informative, and five out of eight are mixed. Thus, a predominance of mixed typology can be observed. The predominance of the mixed typology in Zapatero's discursive act makes it understandable that despite the difficulties encountered by Europe in 2010, Spain will respect its commitment.

A second observation relates to the rhetoric used, which is a pro-European, with strong supranational nuances. Terms such as the European Union, the Treaty of Lisbon or Europe are very frequent. For example, in all eight speeches, the prevalence of the word European Union or The Union (144 times) is evident, inducing the idea of unity and cooperation. It appears most frequently in Prime Minister Zapatero's speeches addressed to the Spanish Parliament (2009), and in the one to the European Parliament (2010), both focusing on the priorities of the Spanish Presidency. With these two speeches, Zapatero made it understandable to the representatives of Spanish and European citizens that the European Union is at the service of its citizens. In this respect, the Prime Minister has assumed that the Spanish Presidency will do everything in its power to bring the Union closer to the citizens.

The Treaty of Lisbon is frequently used by the Spanish Prime Minister in his speeches. It appears mostly in the first phase of the presidency (S1, S2) and in the third phase of the presidency (S8). The frequency of the term indicates

that Spain has understood the importance of moving from an old European or-
der to a new political and legislative context, characterized by new rules, proce-
dures or instruments. The Spanish Cabinet was concerned that the implementa-
tion of the new provisions should become the main priorities of their fourth term
of office. The implementation of the Treaty of Lisbon has become both a priority
on the Spanish agenda and a leitmotif of the rotating Spanish Presidency in 2010.

Another interesting fact observed from the data collection is the fre-
quency of the term Spanish Presidency (15 times) in three out of eight speeches
(S1, S7, S8), as well as the Rotating Presidency (11 times) in five out of eight
speeches (S1, S3, S6, S7, S8). The prevalence of the use of these terms may sug-
gest that Prime Minister Zapatero assumed a discursive leadership. Spain fre-
quently appears (43 times), among other terms (in particular S1-thirteen times,
S6- thirteen times, S7-six times), prevailing in the speeches addressed to the
Spanish Parliament and the European Parliament. From this point of view, it can
be understood that Spain, from the very beginning, has set itself a leader during
the term of the Presidency.

A fourth point made here relates to the frequency of mentioning the other
European institutions. During the eight speeches, the Spanish Prime Minister
mentions very often the partner institutions in the European governance pro-
cess. Therefore, The European Commission (The Commission) is mentioned
forty-three times, The European Council (The Council) is mentioned eighty-eight
times, The European Parliament (The Parliament) is mentioned twenty-three
times and the High Representative of the Union (High Representative, High Rep-
resentative for Foreign Affairs) is mentioned fourteen times. We can understand
by this that the Spanish Cabinet is willing to cooperate and coordinate as effec-
tively as possible with the other European institutions, especially under the new
context introduced by Lisbon. Together with the references to the European Un-
ion and the Treaty of Lisbon appear very often and could be considered as key-
words

The term crisis is used by forty times during the eight speeches. The fre-
quency of this word has a fairly simple explanation, given the fact the whole
Europe was recovering from the financial crisis of 2008. In the same year, the
Eurozone crisis erupted, with Greece no longer able to pay its external debt. The
Eurozone crisis has become a second priority for the Spanish Presidency which,
in addition to the effective implementation of the Treaty of Lisbon, had to find
a viable solution through which to rescue the whole EU's economy.

The term 'citizens' appears quite often in the eight speeches, being men-
tioned twenty-four times. The presence of this term in Zapatero's speeches can
be interpreted from the perspective of bringing Europeans closer to the Euro-
pean Union through various mechanisms and policies. Another reason

explaining the frequency of the term could be related to the Zapatero's political orientation, himself affiliated to the Spanish Socialist Party.

Among other terms, The Stability Pact and The 2020 Strategy appear quite often. Both are important to mention, because through them, the European policymakers have found certain solutions to the Union's problems at the time. The 2020 Strategy is mentioned twelve times during the eight speeches. It should be added that this strategy has become immensely popular after the Spring European Council in March 2010. It was most frequently mentioned in Prime Minister Zapatero's speech of March 26th, 2010, when it was adopted (six times).

The low frequency of the other terms does not mean that they were less important. On the contrary, it is the subject of a rather broad lexical spectrum. To conclude, I would like to add that the rhetoric used by Prime Minister Zapatero is not only a European one, but also a strong one anchored in the socio-economic lexical field. This could be explained, as I mentioned, by the fragile situation in which the European Union was at the time when Spain took over its supranational responsibilities.

Data analysis

This section is dedicated to the analysis of the eight speeches presented in the previous chapter. It aims to highlight the change in the rhetoric of the Spanish Prime Minister, during the fourth Spanish Rotating Presidency. The speeches were selected on the basis of the time criterion, namely: December 2009-January 2010, March 2010 and June-July 2010. The selection was made following the identification of three relevant moments for Spanish Cabinet i.e.: before and immediately after the beginning of the term of office, after the Spring European Council, and at the end of the Presidency. This chapter is thus structured on the basis of the time criterion and aims to analyse the speeches made during the periods mentioned above.

The Spanish Rotating Presidency- an ambitious presidency

In this sub-chapter the first three speeches of the Spanish Prime Minister (Rodriguez Zapatero 2009a, Rodriguez Zapatero 2010b, Rodriguez Zapatero 2010c) will be analysed. The first speech (2009a) was held by the Spanish Prime Minister on December 16th, 2009, in Madrid. It was addressed to the Spanish Parliament before the launch of the Spanish Rotating Presidency. A first feature observed here the speech has a phased structure, focused around three main themes: the achievements of the Swedish Presidency and the conclusions of the last Council summit in December 2009, the objectives of the Spanish

Presidency, and the role of the rotating Spanish Presidency in the new European context. The Prime Minister relates positively to the past, recognizing the contributions of Sweden, and optimistically to the future of the Union under the Spanish Presidency. He draws attention to the fact that the upcoming semester is not an easy one, because a new order is being made. Spain must, therefore, adapt to the new realities and respond effectively to the expectations of the member states, practically to become an entrepreneurial leader, in a delicate context.

A second comment here focuses on the lexicon used in the speech. It is a pro-European, focused on cooperation and continuity in solving problems. The recurrent elements identified here are: full implementation of the Treaty of Lisbon, transition, the economic and financial crisis, the economic recovery of the Union, reform, cooperation, foreign policy, EU citizens, the European Union as a global player (Rodriguez Zapatero 2009a). The Spanish Prime Minister gives an understanding of what will be the main political directions that Spain will follow during the semester, which will focus on the entire organization. This may suggest that Spain wants to be a leader and will take responsibility for the European compromise. What we can conclude is that, in the context of the transition, Spain's ambitions and expectations have been quite high, with Zapatero trying to place himself in the position of the leader who will try to manage the fragile situation of the Union as effectively as possible.

The second speech analysed in this section (2010b) was delivered by Zapatero, in Madrid on January 8th, 2010, at the official ceremony of the launch of Spanish Presidency. It is a, significantly smaller speech, structured around the main objectives of the Spanish Presidency in 2010 (implementation of the Treaty of Lisbon, the economic and financial crisis, the Union's importance on the international stage, institutional coordination).

In this speech, Prime Minister Zapatero begins by thanking to the Swedish Cabinet, then continues by reminding to the audience about the importance of the moment when Spain is taking over the term of office. Then Zapatero continues by calling for confidence in Spain's capacities, despite the economic problems it has experienced, which shows a little uncertainty. In addition, Zapatero uses certain emotional elements, characterizing the European Union as the largest integration space in the world, the largest single market, the leader in the fight against climate change, an area of democracy and cooperation, but facing several serious problems (Rodriguez Zapatero 2010b). The insertion of these elements in the speech could be translated into awareness raising, but above all by making the audience aware that the next semester will not be easy, with some considerable pressure and expectations from the presidency.

In terms of lexicon and rhetoric, Zapatero has kept the same pro-European pattern, but regarding the thesis of the speech, the arguments are built more specifically. A first thesis refers to the economic crisis and introduces the idea of "more competitive and innovative Europe" as an alternative to economic instability. This can only be achieved "together", suggesting that it is an issue of common interest already on the agenda, having as solution the cooperation between all member states (Rodriguez Zapatero, 2010b). The second thesis focuses on the idea of Europe as a global player. Zapatero outlines that it is time for the Union to assert itself in international politics because of the possibilities created by the Treaty of Lisbon (*Ibidem*). The matter may be linked to the establishment of the European External Action Service, whose activation was achieved during the Spanish Presidency.

The last thesis reiterates Spain's commitment to the implementation of the Treaty, as well as its cooperation and coordination with the partners states-Belgium and Hungary, the Permanent President of the Council, the High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security, and its ongoing collaboration with the European Parliament in achieving the objectives. It is understandable that Spain intends to adapt to the new political and legislative environment. Zapatero's message is a persuasive one, convincing the audience that Spain can become the leader able to create a new model of coordination and continuity for the states that will take over the rotating presidency in the future.

The third speech analysed in this section (2010c) was delivered by Zapatero on January 20th, 2010, at the European Parliament, in order to present the priorities and the political agenda of the Spanish Presidency. The speech has also a phased structure. Through this, the Prime Minister legitimizes the political agenda of the presidency to the European Parliament. His arguments are set out around three themes and what can be seen from the beginning of the speech is a slight change in rhetoric.

From the point of view of rhetoric and lexicon, Zapatero keeps the same pro-European pattern. At the beginning of the argument, the Prime Minister is easily detached from the usual narrative line, calling for the mobilization and solidarity of Member States toward the tragedy in Haiti (Rodriguez Zapatero 2010c). The insertion of these elements is aimed at raising public awareness and suggests, in an indirect manner, that the European Union under the Spanish Presidency may be seen as a relevant international actor, as solidarity is one of the principles underpinning the European construction.

He further strengthens his argument by highlighting the promptness with which the Spanish leadership is trying to respond to certain problems. Then Zapatero makes the shift to traditional rhetoric found in other speeches, more specifically to the economic problems of the Union and the effective application of

the Treaty of Lisbon. Unlike in the other speeches, Zapatero deepens the eco-nomic problem of the EU area, but also offers solutions. Thus, among the tradi-tional recurrent elements (economic and financial crisis, Treaty of Lisbon, coor-dination, continuity), he introduces the Europe 2020 Strategy as a first long-term alternative (Rodriguez Zapatero 2010c).

In order to convince the audience of the effectiveness of this solution, the Spanish Prime Minister points to several problems that the single market is fac-ing - energy dependence, information systems and telecommunications, climate change and education. In order to strengthen the European Parliament's confi-dence in the Spanish Presidency, Zapatero (2010c) also presents the solutions to these problems - the European energy market, the development of the digital market, the development of sustainable industries and the completion of the Bologna system (the idea of a European University).

The argument is then built around the idea of trust in the European insti-tutions and their policies created for the well-being of citizens and the Union. He insinuates that the Spanish Presidency will help to strengthen this trust. Za-patero maintains the classical rhetoric. It has become one of the leitmotifs in Zapatero's speeches. Toward the end of his speech, he recalls the foreign policy objective of improving relations with the United States or Latin America, as well as with the neighbours of the EU (Rodriguez Zapatero 2010c).

The Spanish Rotating Presidency and the Eurozone cri-sis- new priorities in the European politics

The Eurozone crisis began in 2009 and affected several of the European Union's Member States, including Spain. The crisis escalated in 2010, severely affecting the Greece's economy. Spain was put in a circumstance where it had to find a viable solution to this situation. The Eurozone crisis has caught the at-tention of EU Member States which have had to deal with it as soon as possible. Therefore, between March 25th and March 26th, 2010, the Spring European Council Summit and the Tripartite Social Summit were held in Brussels.

In this context, the Spanish Government's duty was to cooperate with the European institutions and to reach an agreement regarding the Greece's case. This also led to a change of leadership or, at least, a change in rhetoric at a dis-cursive level. Given this fact, the aim of this sub-chapter is to analyse the next two speeches of Prime Minister Zapatero (Rodriguez Zapatero 2010d, Rodri-guez Zapatero 2010e) from March 25th and March 26th, 2010, in order to identify the changes in Zapatero's rhetoric and in the Spanish' political path starting with the second half of the term of office.

The former is concentrated around a single thesis, the Eurozone crisis. It is intended not only to inform the audience about the escalation of the monetary crisis, but also to make the audience aware that there is an impasse that requires at least a temporary and functional solution. Regarding the rhetoric, it appears to be the same pro-European pattern, but the arguments are much more specific, built around two issues: social and economic, linked to the crisis and economic recovery (job creation, unemployment decreasing, competitiveness); and the Eurozone stability through identifying and implementing an European alternative (Rodriguez Zapatero 2010d).

Another matter that should be highlighted here is "co-responsibility". The Prime Minister further argues that identifying the European solution is linked to the idea of co-responsibility toward the common currency. He calls for the involvement of all the governments of the Eurozone countries in this matter, giving the impression that Spain (which was otherwise affected by the euro area crisis) cannot find a solution on its own (Rodriguez Zapatero 2010d). The resumption of co-responsibility several times during the speech makes it understandable that Spain, as a leading EU member state, does not know how to respond to this problem. It does not only point to the need for immediate action by Spain, but it also shows some uncertainty in managing the problem. The term appears several times in the speech and it gives the impression that getting out of this situation is imperative, as it affects the stability of the European Union.

As a last observation, at the end of the speech can be seen an absence of other recurrent topics from Zapatero's discursive line. This absence can be understood as a change of priorities, but within the limits of the agenda (economic issues being included in both the joint and the individual programs). That change, however, did not happen anyhow, and was prompted by an independent driver – Greece's inability to pay its debt. While the situation was somehow anticipated, probably no Member State expected to have such a strong impact on the Union's economy.

The second speech analysed in this section (Rodriguez Zapatero 2010e) was delivered at the conference after the Spring Council Summit in March 26th, 2010. It is a formal and persuasive speech. Through this, the Spanish Prime Minister suggests to the audience that Spain, together with the European partners, has managed to find a solution for the crisis that affected the European Union (2010e). In this case too, the Spanish Prime Minister has maintained the same rhetoric, in the same pro-European lexical field, with strong accents on the economic realm. Then, in order to support his thesis, Zapatero emphasizes on the Europe 2020 Strategy.

As Prime Minister Zapatero himself suggests, drawing up the main lines of this strategy is a great achievement for the Spanish Presidency (2010e). This

strategy comes to compensate the Spanish leadership shortcomings. What can be seen from the point of view of lexicon is the narrowing to a single field, the socio-economic one. The variety of recurrent topics in the Spanish prime minister's statements has been reduced to the economic sphere this time, the most frequently repeated terms being: the 2020 Strategy, economic policies, competitiveness and economic growth (2010e).

The Spanish Rotating Presidency- between entrepreneurial leadership and transition leadership

In the last sub-chapter, the analysis will be focused on the last three speeches of the Prime Minister Zapatero (Rodriguez Zapatero 2010f, Rodriguez Zapatero 2010g, Rodriguez Zapatero 2010h). Two out of three are formal and informative speeches, and one is mixed. They show the assessment on the semester of the Spanish Presidency and the objectives achieved by the Spanish Cabinet during the six months term. They were held on different occasions: on June 17th, 2010 after the last European Council Summit under the Spanish Presidency; on June 23rd, 2010, addressed to the Spanish Parliament and on July 6th, 2010 addressed to the European Parliament.

The thesis is focused on the achievements of Spanish Presidency: the Europe 2020 Strategy, economic recovery, the application of the Lisbon Treaty, the foreign policy accomplishments (such as the conclusion of treaties with the MERCOSUR States). The Prime Minister does not hesitate to outline a review of the last six months, which he characterized as difficult for both states and the Union. In order to strengthen Spain's European vision, but also to distract attention from its shortcomings, Prime Minister Zapatero reminds his colleagues that during this Presidency, the government was committed to solving supranational problems.

Regarding the rhetoric of the speeches, Zapatero follows the same pro-European template. Once again, he highlights the fact that Spain reiterated its commitment to the European compromise. The lexicon used in these speeches is again diversified, where semantic elements such as the economic and financial crisis, economic growth, the application of the Lisbon Treaty, The 2020 Strategy, coordination and continuity prevail (Rodriguez Zapatero 2010f, Rodriguez Zapatero 2010g, Rodriguez Zapatero 2010h).

What can be seen here is their recurrence in the speeches. On the one hand, this fact could be explained by the typology of the speech, which provides an assessment. On the other hand, their recurrence in content is linked to the objectives achieved during the presidency. During the last speech (2010h), the Prime Minister Zapatero refers both to the Spanish term of office and to the next

phase of the Belgian Presidency, and to the future of the Union. This fact could be translated as a suggestion to Spain as a pathfinder, given the starting point of the Spanish semester under the new legislative circumstance. In this respect, the Spanish Rotating Presidency was rather a transitional one that, through the implementation of the Treaty of Lisbon, paved the way for the other presidencies, setting, at the same time, a model of cooperation and coordination.

Final Remarks

Spain's political agenda was ambitious for the international circumstance in which it has exercised its rotating presidency. The post-2008 context was sensitive and put under the sign of crises. A first impediment was the global economic crisis that has affected the whole world and had lasting effects. As Heywood argues, Spain itself felt the effects of the crisis on its own economy, with unemployment rates above 20% in 2010, the collapse of the real-estate market, and a divided labour market with protected or undeclared employment (Heywood 2011:77). A second impediment was the Eurozone crisis that required a swift and effective response, as Prime Minister Zapatero emphasized in his speeches. Prioritizing the Union's problems beyond Spain's ambitions has put the Spanish Government in difficulty in terms of full implementation of the political agenda, but Zapatero could not break its commitment to Europe.

Another issue was the transition from the old European order to the post-Lisbon conjuncture. As Esther Barbé (2010) argues, the Spanish Presidency was unique, Spain being the first member state to experience the new legislative changes. Spain had to adapt to a different political-institutional context and to adapt its political program to a new legislative framework, given the fact it was issued in line with the past requirements before Lisbon (Barbé Izuel 2010: 15). However, it has achieved several considerable accomplishments like launching the Europe 2020 Strategy, activating the European External Action Service, concluding treaties with the MERCOSUR States, implementing new financial mechanisms to overcome economic impediments. Through these achievements, Spain set a model for future presidencies, paving the way for new European projects and initiatives.

From the above it can be noted that the Spanish Presidency at the Council of the European Union was a transitional one, but it can also be included in the typology of entrepreneurial leadership of Oran Young (1991). Spain had to implement the changes brought by Lisbon. The rotating presidency took place in a new three-way formula, sharing supranational responsibilities with Belgium and Hungary. The innovations brought by Lisbon have considerably reduced the

political influence of the states on the rotating presidency, calling for institutional coordination and cooperation with the Permanent President of the Council, the High Representative, or other European institutions. In almost all his speeches, Prime Minister Zapatero mentioned the cooperation between the Presidents of the Council, with the High Representative, the Commission or the Parliament.

At the same time, it can be stated that the Spanish Presidency also fits into the typology of entrepreneurial leadership. Although Spain was no longer enjoying strong political influence, it had the opportunity to stand out on the basis of certain factors. One of them was influenced by the Treaty of Lisbon, by defining the rotating presidency, giving the presidency administrative prerogatives like: agenda setting- Spain has outlined the Union's future political directions; brokerage- giving it the opportunity to mediate inter-institutional interests, but also those of the member states; representation of institutions-in relation to the other institutions, but also at international level. Oran Young notes that the entrepreneurial leader has the capacity to set the political agenda. In the same time, the entrepreneurial leader plays an essential role in harmonizing interests and preferences in international negotiations.

We can therefore say that the Spanish Rotating Presidency of the Council of the European Union in 2010 was both a transitional presidency and an entrepreneurial leadership model. Spain experienced some difficulties during the six month term of office, but it prompted the transition from the old European order to a new political, institutional and legislative framework. As the first state in the trio since the Treaty of Lisbon was activated, Spain had to adapt to the new realities, always taking care not to exceed the limits imposed by the new treaty.

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