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Contextualizing Mediated Public Diplomacy: A Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis of Chinese and U.S. TV News Coverage of Trump's State Visit to China

Liang PAN*

Abstract. U.S. President Donald Trump paid his first state visit to China in November 2017. Despite the two countries' rugged relations, political elites from both sides had to reach expedient political congeniality for this high-stake diplomatic event. The state visit represented the best-case scenario in which the two adversarial countries could mutually conduct mediated public diplomacy. This article critically examines and compares Chinese and U.S. TV news discourse on the state visit in the supra-textual, verbal-textual, and visual modes. Conventional research suggests that external-relational factors, such as power hierarchy, cultural and political difference between countries affect mediated public diplomacy most. However, this article finds that China and the U.S.' domestic political-economic and societal-intuitional logics behind news production have a more definitive influence on the actualization of mediated public diplomacy. These distinct domestic logics defy the governments' foreign policy and lead to asymmetrical and futile public diplomacy results even in the best-case scenario.

Keywords. public diplomacy, U.S.-China relations, critical discourse analysis, international communication, multimodal discourse analysis, comparative media study

Introduction

PUBLIC DIPLOMACY IS 'AN INTERNATIONAL ACTOR'S ATTEMPT to manage the international environment through engagement with a foreign public,' (Cull 2009: 12) and its long-term aim is to cultivate favourable public opinion in target countries in order to facilitate the execution of a country's foreign policy. Due to mass media's influence on public opinion (Semetko *et al.* 1992;

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Wanta *et al.* 2004), international broadcasting is seen as one of the core components of public diplomacy (Cull 2008). Although international broadcasting is used as a public diplomacy tool, its effect is hardly substantiated. For instance, international broadcasting originating in the U.S. is censored and blocked in China. Foreign-derived international news broadcasting such as Al Jazeera America often suffers from low viewership in the U.S. due to the lack of access, relevance and credibility (Youmans 2017). A more advanced way for a country to influence foreign public opinion is to sway domestic news coverage in foreign countries.

The organized attempts by a head of state and his/her foreign policy apparatus to exert as much control as possible over the framing of his or her country's policy in foreign media is defined as 'mediated public diplomacy' by Entman (2008). Research from an agenda-setting perspective suggests that to enter the domestic news cycle, a foreign news story must fulfil a set of newsworthiness determinants, which include normative deviance between the two countries on an issue, the relevance of the issue to the country, the cultural affinity between the two countries, and the countries' relative positions in the global power hierarchy (Hester 1973; Chang *et al.* 1987; Chang, 1998). From the framing perspective, Entman's cascade activation model (2008) posits that once a foreign news story is picked up by domestic news media, whether the news will be framed in line with the stance of a foreign government further depends on two major factors: the degree of cultural congruence between the two countries such that a foreign frame can fit into the habitual schemata of domestic political elites and of the public; the degree of political elite and state control over the media system in each country such that the frame agreed upon by the two countries' elite can be disseminated with little contestation. (2008: 95)

Although it is informative, the previous literature has not fully explained the challenges of mediated public diplomacy. The determinants of newsworthiness in international news coverage proposed by agenda-setting scholars concern mainly external-relational heterogeneity between countries. These determinants only have a certain explanatory and predictive power on the incommunicability and miscommunication among countries. The external-relational perspective tends to address the international communication conundrum in its current state instead of taking issue with the inherent societal-institutional problems within a country that complicate external relations. The cultural congruence concept proposed by Entman (2008) is ambiguous. It can sometimes mean civilizational and ideological similarity; at other times, it can mean conditional policy agreement. (2008: 94) This concept becomes even more blurry when two countries with distinct political cultures reach expedient alliance on certain issues. Focus on cultural affinity and congruence also lacks practical meaning. Understandably, value and political proximity lead to perspective

homophily and framing parity regarding major international issues (Sheafer *et al.* 2014). However, mediated public diplomacy is needed most between culturally and ideologically different countries. Cultural incongruence is more important to research.

To further the study of mediated diplomacy, this article uses multimodal critical discourse analysis to examine the U.S. and Chinese domestic news media coverage of U.S. President Donald Trump's state visit to China and to contextualize the operationalization of mediated public diplomacy with each country's societal-institutional and political-economic logics. Trump's state visit to China is an ideal case to study mediated public diplomacy in action because the meeting of two countries' top leaders has a cross-cutting effect that threads normative deviance, relevance, cultural affinity, and hierarchical relations between the countries and achieves newsworthiness for both countries' media; therefore, external-relational factors are naturally controlled, and internal factors can be more clearly observed. China and the U.S. share little cultural congruence and media system similarity, but a state visit is an important diplomatic event in which the two countries share a common interest in ensuring its success. Both countries' political leaders want to use the opportunity to project favourable images to each other's publics. The mediated public diplomacy effort is simultaneous and mutual. Therefore, the state visit provides a unique opportunity to examine how mediated public diplomacy works contingently under cultural incongruence and media system disparity.

Background

From November 8 to 10, 2017, U.S. President Donald Trump paid a state visit to China. His Chinese counterpart, President Xi Jinping, received him with exceptional courtesy. This diplomatic exchange between the U.S. and China at the highest level had great symbolic and substantive importance for both administrations. On the U.S. side, the trip marked the anniversary of Trump's presidential election victory and his first official visit to China. Positive reviews of his foreign affairs performance would serve to showcase his diplomatic skills and to balance the sliding public support for Trump due to contentious partisan politics and cabinet intrigue. On the Chinese side, 20 days before the visit, Xi Jinping had been re-elected to the highest position in China's ruling party in the 19th Chinese Communist Party Congress. Trump's visit was Xi's first diplomatic event since his re-election. Respectful and congratulatory recognition by the leader of a powerful foreign country would strengthen Xi's legitimacy among domestic political elites and citizens.

Trump's state visit to China also had substantive ramifications for U.S-China bilateral relations and regional security. Trump's presidency added new uncertainties to U.S.-China relations. One of the earmarks of Trump's foreign policy rhetoric was to accuse China of 'raping' and 'ripping off' the U.S. on trade and of stalling U.S. efforts to neutralize North Korea's nuclear threat. Despite this bumpy start, the Chinese government has managed its relations with the Trump administration with prudent rhetoric and refrained from retaliatory actions that would fundamentally upset bilateral relations. Therefore, Trump's state visit could have served as an indicator of the future development of the U.S.-China relations. Both sides had great interest in ensuring the success of the visit and garnering public support for cooperative bilateral relations.

Mediated Public Diplomacy and News Discourse

A state visit is, first of all, a form of elite diplomacy through which heads of state and their aides and staff can establish working relations and personal rapport through face-to-face contact. However, another important function of a state visit is public diplomacy. A state visit is a bilateral political event of the highest diplomatic protocol and is characterized by official public ceremonies. Every aspect of a state visit is choreographed by technocrats from both the visiting and host countries. The aim is not only to demonstrate goodwill between the heads of states in person but also, more importantly, to symbolically mediate bilateral relations in the eyes of the public through these leaders' personal contact. Therefore, a state visit often becomes a political spectacle and constitutes top-down and elite-to-public diplomatic signalling.

During a state visit, diplomatic efforts aimed at the general public are seldom conducted through direct public engagement by the heads of states; instead, they are conducted mostly through the mediation of the news media of the visiting and host countries. The news media's presentation and interpretation of a high-level diplomatic event between two countries have dual functions: domestically, they lead the public's perception of the bilateral relations; internationally, a country's news coverage is closely monitored and frequently cited by foreign politicians and journalists as representative public or official opinions upon which reaction can be based. To some extent, international relations are mediated and understood through this intertextual production and symbolic dialogue through the news media (Frederick 1993; Oehlkers 2000).

News can be seen as 'a discursive composition of received and collected pieces of information which consist primarily of actors' discourse' (Pietilä 1992: 45). A news event and newsmakers' behaviour and words in response to the

event are often evaluated, interpreted, and presented according to certain so-
cial, cultural, political, and economic logics through news production. This dis-
cursive composition and encoding-decoding process is actually institution-soci-
etal relations at play through the mode of language (Hall 1973). In this sense,
mediated public diplomacy can be considered a political-elite-initiated competi-
tion of discursive composition in which two countries' political actors and media
systems negotiate with each other internally and externally in the production of
foreign affairs news. Previous research on mediated diplomacy has focused
mostly on agenda setting, framing and media effects rather than news discourse
(Sheafer and Gabay 2009; Fahmy *et al.* 2012). However, media agenda
building is a discursive composition process, and news frames are ideative pat-
terns constructed and understood through a society's conventional discourse.
News discourse has an irreplaceable place in our understanding of mediated
public diplomacy.

To understand how mediated public diplomacy works through news dis-
course, research must take a critical approach. Fairclough (1995) defines criti-
cal discourse analysis as

> discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque rela-
> tionships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices,
> events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and
> processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of
> and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over
> power. (1995: 132-133)

Analysing international news through comparative and critical lenses can
reveal not only the power relations between the countries but also the societal-
institutional and political-economic logics behind news production. Research on
mediated public diplomacy focuses mostly on print media or the verbal text
mode of news broadcasting (Wang and Chang 2004; Grincheva and Lu
2016). As mentioned previously, a high-level diplomatic event such as a state
visit is often a political spectacle of which visuals are an inherent component.
Therefore, television is an optimal medium in which to fully observe the diplo-
matic signalling. To analyse TV news discourse, the multimodality of TV news'
discursive composition must be examined. Scholars in the field of social semiot-
ics have increasingly stressed the multimodality of media discourse because a
set of semiotic resources, options and choices is created to articulate and inter-
pret meanings with language, images and sound (Kress and van Leeuwen
2001). To evaluate TV news discourse, research must consider not only the ver-
bal text mode but also the supra-textual mode, such as airtime and rundown
placement, and the visual mode, such as video footage and sound bites. In each
mode, discursive composition uses different means to manage information
value, salience and framing (Van Leeuwen 2003). TV news discourse is

conveyed and understood as a composite of the discourses composed in each mode. A multimodal critical discourse analysis can offer a comprehensive and in-depth view of how certain ideologies, political interests and social relations permeate each mode and are presented coherently to the audience in a package (Machin and Mayr 2012).

Data and Analysis

During Trump's state visit to China on November 8 and 9, 2017, prime-time evening news broadcasts – the U.S.'s ABC's *World News Tonight* and China Central Television (CCTV)'s *News Simulcast* or *Xin Wen Lian Bo* – were recorded and transcribed. The transcription of CCTV's *News Simulcast* was also translated from Chinese into English by the author. These two programs were chosen because ABC's *World News Tonight* is the highest-rated evening public news broadcasting program in the U.S. (Battaglio 2017). And CCTV's *News Simulcast* is the most watched and widely syndicated evening news broadcasting program in China.

This article takes an approach largely informed by multimodal critical discourse analysis (Machin and Mayr 2012). Williams (2003) highlights four points that differentiate TV news from news in print media: sequence, priorities, presentation, and visualization. The discursive composition and practice of TV news operate in at least three modes: 1) the supra-textual mode, which manages the prominence of news items about Trump's state visit through newscast rundown placement and airtime length, among other means; 2) the verbal-textual mode, including the narrative structure and rhetorical devices used to compose the story of the state visit; and 3) the visual mode, which refers to the symbolic and functional meaning of the choice and editing of video footage and the relation between visual and textual modes. This study analysed coverage of Trump's visit within these three modes. Special attention was paid to societal-institutional and political-economic logics that contribute to the discourse formation in each mode and how these logics concertedly produce a coherent message to the audience.

News Discourse in the Supra-Textual Mode

The supra-textual mode creates meaning by managing the sequence and priority of news items. In print media such as newspapers, the sequence and priority of news are loosely managed by linear and mosaic presentations in terms of page number order, page layout and column inches. Readers have high autonomy to break the sequence and priority of the news according to their own

interests. The sequence and priority of news on real-time TV viewing is totally linear, and the audience does not have the autonomy to rearrange stories. An important news item is placed at the top of the newscast rundown and is given a longer airtime to allow more detailed coverage. Although the meaning-making of this mode is not literal, it gives priority and weight to a news item and is the first mode of TV media discourse that the audience encounters.

In ABC's *World News Tonight*, Trump's visit is not included in the headline overview at the beginning of the news program, so its importance is not emphasized. For instance, on November 8th, the program's first story is about a new sexual assault allegation against actor Kevin Spacey, followed by a story on a prison break in Tennessee and a mass shooting incident at a church in Texas. Trump's visit is placed fourth in the program, which features eight news items in total. In terms of airtime length, on November 8th, the news item about Trump's China visit runs for two minutes and seven seconds. In *World News Tonight*'s 30-minute running time, the actual airtime for news content is only about 18 minutes, excluding commercial breaks. Therefore, stories on Trump's China visit account for approximately 10 percent of the airtime for news content and approximately six percent of the entire program.

In contrast, CCTV's *News Simulcast* gives Trump's state visit story the utmost prominence. In the November 8th program, the first item in the headline overview features President Xi receiving President Trump at the Forbidden City; this item is also the first story on the newscast rundown, which contains 17 news items in total. On November 8th, *News Simulcast* carries four different news items related to Trump's visit. The first and most important item, which runs for seven minutes and 13 seconds, is Xi and Trump's meeting at the Forbidden City. The other related news items include an on-air announcement about the live broadcast of the welcome ceremony for President Trump at the Great Hall of the People on November 9th, the official talk between Chinese Vice Premier Wang Yang and U.S. Secretary of Commerce Wilbur Ross, and a synthesis of interviews with U.S.-China relations experts. These segments run for three minutes and 14 seconds. The total airtime for the coverage of Trump's visit amounts to 10 minutes and 27 seconds. Given that this program is 30 minutes long and has no commercial break, the news about Trump's visit occupies over 30 percent of the airtime.

From the perspective of the sociology of news production and critical discourse analysis, the sequence and priority of a news story in a program can be seen as the product of an aggregated force of different social, economic, and political logics. First, media ownership dictates the logic of news production. ABC is an American commercial news broadcaster, and viewership ratings orient ABC toward the domestic audience's interests. ABC's programming has America-centric and sensationalistic trends that prioritize domestic social and political issues,

including crimes, political disputes, and celebrity scandals. Although the U.S. President is often the focus of U.S. news media, his prominence on the media agenda often appears in the context of partisan politics and national crises. The president's diplomatic activities that have no direct impact on domestic politics are considered to be of little interest to the U.S. audience. Furthermore, the commercial news media's programming format dedicates a substantial portion of airtime to commercials, limiting the time for in-depth news reports on prime-time television news. For this reason, the short airtime of stories on Trump's China visit has an economic logic. Additionally, the treatment of the story of Trump's China visit also has political and institutional logics. The independent relations between the government and the media that are secured by the U.S. Constitution allow a commercial media to pursue its own agenda, free from government control. Even though Trump's activities in China were at the top of the administration's agenda from November 8th to November 10th, the U.S. media did not have to follow suit. In U.S. commercial news media, economic and social factors exert a major influence on the supra-textual mode of TV news discourse.

In contrast, the logic of politics dominates news production in China. CCTV is a state-run national public television broadcaster. To some extent, CCTV can be seen as an extension of the government organ for political and ideological campaigning. Government funding allows CCTV to mind less about viewership than U.S. commercial news media do. *News Simulcast,* the prime-time news program broadcasts what the government wants to say rather than what the audience wants to know. Government funding also makes profit-making less a concern and affords a 30-minute news program without commercial breaks. This makes more airtime for in-depth, long reports and more news items possible.

In China's state-run media, not only does the government agenda dictate the media agenda, but news programming also reflects the domestic political hierarchy. For example, as mentioned above, November 8th's *News Simulcast* runs four news items about Trump's visit. The first two items are related to President Xi's presence. The other two, despite having the same topic, are dispersed throughout the program. The meeting between Vice Premier Wang Yang and U.S. Secretary of Commerce Wilbur Ross was a part of the working meeting of Trump's delegation. The news items presented before this item focus on a journalist conference supervised by Wang Huning, Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party's Secretariat, and a national economy briefing hosted by Chinese Premier Li Keqiang. Both Wang Huning and Li Keqiang are ranked higher than Wang Yang in the Chinese government leadership. The other news item about Trump's visit includes a synthesis of remarks by U.S. political and business leaders and is placed 14th on the newscast rundown, close to the end of the program. The domestic political relevance of the interviewees featured in this news item is tenuous. It is safe to say that the supra-textual discourse composition in

CCTV's *News Simulcast* is aligned with China's domestic political power hierarchy structure and represents a part of the social reproduction process. Political logic overrules the norm of news programming that clusters news stories according to topical proximity.

News Discourse in the Verbal-Textual Mode

News discourse in the verbal-textual mode is related to how a news story is composed and presented to the audience textually and verbally. The overarching discourse element in the verbal-textual mode is the narrative form. The two most common narrative forms in news are chronological presentation and an 'inverted pyramid.' The former uses a developmental narrative structure in which pieces of information are presented chronologically or logically in a cause-event-consequence order (Lewis 1985: 228); the latter truncates the time sequence of information and arranges pieces of information according to an order of perceived relevance and importance according to journalistic discretion. An 'inverted pyramid' begins with a lead containing the most important questions of who, when, where, what, and why and then elaborates on the lead with supporting information, a detailed background and key quotes. The least important information is included at the end of the news story. The use of different news narrative forms is not a matter of mere journalistic technical choice but instead reflects journalists' role in social and political systems. Schudson (1982) finds that from the 18th century to the 20th century, U.S. political news experienced a gradual transition of narrative form from chronological presentation to the inverted pyramid. This transition reflects that a journalist is 'no longer merely the relayer of documents and messages,' but 'has become the interpreter of the news,' who sees himself or herself as an expert analyst of the political world. (1982: 99, 104).

In ABC's *World News Tonight,* the story of Trump's state visit is organized in an 'inverted pyramid' form. For instance, the lead narrated by the news anchor David Muir summarizes the story as such:

> President Trump in China tonight. He's there to talk trade and the North Korean nuclear threat. He needs China's help. The president said to North Korea, 'do not underestimate us and do not try us.' But in a major address overnight, he also plugged one of his golf courses. (*ABC World News Tonight* Nov. 8, 2017)

The first sentence introduces the newsmaker, President Trump, and his whereabouts – China. The second and third sentences depict the agenda of Trump's visit – trade talk with China and courting China for help in dealing with the North Korea nuclear issue; the fourth sentence reiterates President Trump's stance on North Korea. The last sentence describes a vignette in which Trump

inappropriately uses a diplomatic event to promote his private business. The lead basically outlines the structure of the following TV news package. The voice-over of ABC News Chief White House Correspondent Jonathan Karl continues.

> In China, a lavish red-carpet welcome for President Trump complete with the honor guards; on the motorcade route, excited schoolchildren waving American and Chinese flags. With President Xi and his wife as their guides, the first couple toured the Forbidden City looking almost like old friends. [A sound bite of Trump reminding Xi not to trip on stairs.] Of course, Donald Trump hasn't always been so friendly towards China. [A sound bite of Trump criticizing China] (*ABC World News Tonight* Nov. 8, 2017)

This part corresponds to the first sentence of the lead, providing more details about the warm welcome extended to Trump by China and Trump's amiable personal interaction with his Chinese counterpart, which is set as a foundation to highlight the change in Trump's attitude towards China. The next part of the voiceover corresponds to the second and third sentences of the lead:

> Beyond today's smiles, though, challenges on trade, of course, and North Korea. The president demanding that China cut off Kim Jong Un unless he gives up his nuclear program. Earlier in Seoul, no talk of fire and fury, no taunting of Little Rocket Man; instead, a sober warning. [A sound bite of Trump speaking to the South Korea Parliament and warning North Korea] (*ABC World News Tonight* Nov. 8, 2017)

This verbal-textual passage provides more details about the visit's political agenda, especially regarding the issue of the North Korean nuclear threat. Again, the report highlights Trump's change in tone with regard to North Korea, from belittling humiliation to solemn exhortation. In addition, the voiceover continues with a vignette of the previous leg of Trump's visit in South Korea. When Trump addressed the South Korean Parliament, he took the opportunity to congratulate the South Korea women's golf team for winning a tournament on one of his properties.

> And Trump being Trump. Amid the talk of a nuclear nightmare, a plug for one of the president's favorite golf courses. [A sound bite of Trump praising the South Korean women's golf team for winning a prize on his golf course in New Jersey] (*ABC World News Tonight* Nov. 8, 2017)

This vignette is least relevant to the trip's official agenda and is therefore placed at the end of the news package. In addition, this part also establishes a sharp contrast between Trump's odd behaviour of promoting his private business and the seriousness of 'talk of a nuclear nightmare.'

ABC World News Tonight's 'inverted pyramid' narrative form disrupts the chronological order of the event for the purposes of interpretation. The news is less about the proceedings of the event and more about how the event fits into

the journalist's interpretative framework. The Trump administration has had bitter relations with U.S. mainstream media. The media's critical tone against Trump is pervasive. The 'inverted pyramid' narrative form is used to present the news in an argumentative way to criticize Trump's policy inconsistency and the instability of his personality. When introducing the detailed itinerary, the reporter brushes aside China's reception of Trump with one word, 'lavish', which has an undertone of unnecessary extravaganza. In depicting Trump reminding Xi not to trip on the stairs in the Forbidden City, the reporter emphasizes the irony of the seeming friendship with the phrase, 'looking almost like old friends.' These innuendos hint at the hypocrisy of the sharp contrast between the performativity of the state visit to China and Trump's vicious previous remarks on China. The news also sheds light on Trump's change in attitude toward North Korea and how he unprofessionally brags about his private business in front of the South Korean Parliament.

Although ABC's news questions Trump's leadership, it does not scorn the U.S. government's foreign policy agenda entirely. Bennett *et al* (2007) suggest that U.S. news coverage is 'indexed' with the division or unison of domestic partisan politics. On foreign and military affairs, there is little partisan disparity, and the media becomes a state apparatus that conducts mass persuasion and policy advocacy. In the White House Press Briefing for November 2, the then-National Security Advisor, H.R. McMaster, defined three goals of Trump's trip:

> First, strengthening international resolve to denuclearize North Korea. Second, promote a free and open Indo-Pacific region. Third, advance American prosperity through fair and reciprocal trade and economic practices. (White House 2017)

ABC's *World News Tonight* follows this cue and lists the North Korea nuclear crisis and trade as the top issues to be addressed on Trump's visit. This action demonstrates a selective state-media 'indexing' dynamic in the Trump era. On one hand, the media still rely on government sources to set the news agenda on foreign affairs; on the other hand, partisan disagreement on Trump's suitability for presidency encourages the news coverage to focus on pessimistic evaluation of Trump's diplomatic performance. China's mediated public diplomacy toward the U.S. is collaterally compromised by the U.S. domestic political dynamic. China's effort to court Trump and its friendly diplomatic signalling through exceptional diplomatic protocol is not only unappreciated by U.S. media but also presented to the U.S. domestic audience as an odd form of flattery.

CCTV's *News Simulcast* uses the narrative form of chronological presentation to tell the story of Trump' state visit. On November 8th, the news anchor begins the news segment by narrating the lead:

On the 8th, President Xi Jinping and Madame Peng Liyuan accompanied U.S. President Donald Trump and Madame Melania Trump, who are paying a state visit to China, touring the Forbidden City. The two heads of states and their spouses had a tea break in the Treasure Charm Pavilion, visited the three front palaces of the Forbidden City, observed cultural relics restoration and an exhibition of rare collections. They also watched a Peking Opera performance. (*CCTV News Simulcast* Nov. 8, 2017)

The lead summarizes the story only by highlighting the activities of the heads of state and their spouses in the Forbidden City. The political agenda of the visit is not mentioned. The news script is constructed according to the spatial and temporal changes during the Forbidden City tour:

Excerpt 1

In the Autumn season, the red wall and yellow roof tiles of the Forbidden City reflect hue and glamor. Xi Jinping and Madame Peng Liyuan received Donald Trump and Madame Melania Trump at Treasure Charm Pavilion of the Forbidden Palace. They cordially greeted each other and stepped into the pavilion for a tea break talk. (CCTV *News Simulcast* Nov. 8, 2017)

Excerpt 2

When the sun set in the west and streetlights were lit, the two heads of states and their spouses stepped into Flowing Melody Pavilion. They observed the making of cloisonné pieces and gave final touches to the artifacts. They watched a Peking Opera performance, including scenes from *Peking Opera's Young Force, The Monkey King and The Drunken Royal Beauty.* The distinguished guests appreciated the performance with continuous applause. (CCTV *News Simulcast* Nov. 8, 2017)

The excerpts from the news script show that on CCTV, the news has the meticulousness and formality of an official chronicle. Each change of location and time proceeds with a scene-setting passage, followed by a detailed account of activities and dialogue. Instead of showing dialogue verbatim in sound bites, the words of the heads of state are summarized in the script and narrated by the news anchor. The leaders' personalities, which can usually be observed in verbal communication, are obscured by the formality of the news anchor's narration. Hence, little room is left for the evaluation of the political leaders.

The chronological form is coherent with China's political and media system. CCTV is a state-run news outlet, and its top journalists and producers hold government official titles and are on the government payroll. CCTV's *News Simulcast* is seen as an official conduit of the government's political signalling to the public. Official journalists are similar to historiographers; therefore, the function of the news about the head of state is to record and register, not to evaluate and interpret. In the U.S., the news media is not only a watchdog for the

government but also an important channel for democratic deliberation. Because of this designated function, U.S. political news is issue-oriented and focuses on government agendas and policy evaluation. In contrast, in China, the public media system is formulated to disseminate government-sanctioned information. Therefore, the chronological narrative form fits the Chinese media's function of notifying the public but does not invite public deliberation. CCTV's November 8th news program only vaguely hints at the political agenda of Trump's state visit in the last sentence of the news script:

> During the Forbidden City tour, the two heads of state also exchanged views on issues of common concern, such as statecraft and China-U.S. bilateral relations. (Excerpt, CCTV *News Simulcast* Nov. 8, 2017)

News Discourse in the Visual Mode

The visual mode of news discourse is produced by video editing that selects scenes of a political event and reconstructs the spectacle to fit a certain narrative. Visual elements in TV news do not stand alone; they exist only in relation to the verbal text of the news. The textual mode's narrative form dictates the composition of visual discourse. One way to observe and compare how visual elements are utilized to support different styles of news scripts is to note how a sound bite (sound-on-tape) is selected and used. A sound bite is 'a portion of recorded human speech that is presented as part of a broadcast news report' (Vos, 2008) and is also referred to as sound-on-tape, as a newsmaker's impromptu remarks are often recorded live on the scene and used for video-audio editing. A sound bite is a standout visual/audio unit to accentuate the actuality of an event, vivify the personality of a newsmaker and demonstrate the views of persons concerned. Due to the sound bite's duality in verbal-text meaning and visual meaning, its usage speaks volumes about news discourse styles.

As the previous section's analysis shows, the 'inverted pyramid' narrative form in the verbal-textual mode used by *ABC World News Tonight* emphasizes argument and interpretation. This imperative also bleeds into the discourse composition in the visual mode. Sound bites are chosen to serve as evidence to substantiate arguments. The main argument of ABC's report is that Trump's lack of consistency forebodes the failure of this diplomatic mission. On November 9th, ABC's news package on Trump's visit begins with the reporter's voiceover:

> It is the very country that he repeatedly slammed as a threat to America. But today, President Trump had nothing but love for China and its leader. (*ABC World News Tonight* Nov. 9, 2017)

Then, a sound bite of Trump praising his friendship with his Chinese counterpart is quoted to support this opening commentary:

It's a very good chemistry between the two of us. Believe me. (*ABC World News Tonight* Nov. 9, 2017)

The voiceover continues to articulate Trump's inconsistencies:

It's a far cry from candidate Trump. (*ABC World News Tonight* Nov. 9, 2017)

To prove this point, an archival sound bite from Trump's presidential election campaign is used:

We can't continue to allow China to rape our country, and that's what they're doing. (*ABC World News Tonight* Nov. 9, 2017)

However, the voiceover makes another contrasting twist:

But today… (*ABC World News Tonight* Nov. 9, 2017)

A sound bite of Trump vindicating China on the bilateral trade imbalance follows:

I don't blame China. After all, who can blame a country for being able to take advantage of another country for the benefit of its citizens? I give China great credit. (*ABC World News Tonight* Nov. 9, 2017)

Clearly, in ABC's news segment, sound bites are an integral component of the news script composition and the logic flow. If the sound bites were removed, the news script would be incomplete. These components are intertwined in a claim-evidence relation to demonstrate Trump's reversal in attitudes. Here, the primary function of a sound bite is to provide evidence for an argument. The function of visual illustration becomes secondary. A sound bite is chosen because of the meaningfulness of the verbal text within it, not because of the visual. To the audience, there is no open interpretation of the meaning of a sound bite; the meaning is explicit and strictly controlled by the reporter. To serve the argument centred on Trump's character, however, excessive video editing depletes the richness of the visual. The diplomatic signalling woven into the design of the symbolic performance and political spectacle has largely been filtered. For example, the 16-minute official welcome ceremony is abridged to an 8-second visual sketch, with a voiceover commentary:

For the president who loves a military parade, a lavish welcome. (*ABC World News Tonight* Nov. 9, 2017)

The diplomatic signalling of the spectacle has been minimalized, and China's hospitality is again interpreted as flattery catered to Trump, who particularly likes vanity.

The report on CCTV's *News Simulcast* uses chronological narrative form in the verbal-textual mode; therefore, in the visual mode a large amount of scene-

depicting video footage is needed to support the chronological narrative. The visual information's relationship with the verbal text is highly parallel and complementary. The footage is edited as a visual illustration of the script, and the script, in turn, is narrated like a live description of the footage. This textual-video relation generates a strong sense of presence and invites the audience to eyewitness and experience the diplomatic event.

Although long, unedited footage of the event is plentiful in CCTV's news segment, sound bites are seldom used. When sound bites are used, they are complementary, not integral, to the news script. For example, in one part of the news segment, the voiceover reads:

> Along the axis of the Forbidden City, the two heads of state and their spouses visited the Palace of Supreme Peace, Palace of Central Peace and Palace of Preserving Peace, savoring the concept of peace and harmony in Chinese traditional culture. (CCTV *News Simulcast* Nov. 8, 2017)

The voiceover stops, followed by a 25-second distant shot and natural sound on tape showing the leaders and the entourage ascending the marble stairs of the Palace of Supreme Peace, with the continuous clicking of the press corps' camera shutters in the background. Then, the visual sequence shifts to a close-up shot and a sound bite of Xi pointing in the direction of the palace and speaking to Trump:

> We are going to tour this palace. This is where emperors once held court and met the ministers to discuss national issues. (CCTV *News Simulcast* Nov. 8, 2017)

If this sound bite were removed, it would not affect the wholeness of the news script. The sound bite is chosen less because of the meaningfulness of its verbal content and more because it is part of a larger visual presentation. The visuals are used as complementary materials to convey additional details that are not communicable in the verbal-textual mode. It intentionally invites the audience to observe the spectacle. However, it takes different lengths of time for verbal text and video to describe a scene. Textual description requires summarization and logic organization, creating briefness, while visual presentation is more linear and intuitive and emphasizes the exhibition of details, thus creating prolongation. This discrepancy in time length to achieve effective scene depiction in the verbal-textual and visual modes leads to the extensive use of visuals and natural sound on tape in CCTV's news segment, even after the script narration stops.

This special verbal text-video relation can also be observed in other segments. For example, in one part of the news item on November 8, the voiceover reads:

> After touring the three front palaces, the two heads of state and their spouses visited the Relics Hospital of the Forbidden City. They observed

the cultural relics restoration technique for clocks; wooden, metal, ceramic and textile artifacts; and painting and calligraphic works. Together, they had a hands-on experience of painting and calligraphic works restoration… (CCTV *News Simulcast* Nov. 8, 2017)

The voiceover pauses, and a sound bite follows, showing the heads of state and their spouses copying recovered ancient paintings through a rubbing technique and holding the copies they made for display. Trump flips the copy to examine it and looks excited. He extends a hand to Xi for a handshake to express gratitude. After the handshake, Xi smiles and says:

We made this successfully! (CCTV *News Simulcast* Nov. 8, 2017)

The paused voiceover continues:

…and toured an exhibition of rare collections. (CCTV *News Simulcast* Nov. 8, 2017)

Then, the voiceover pauses again, and another sound bite emerges. The first couples stand in front of a set of ancient gold chimes. The Curator of the Palace Museum says in the background that the thinner the layer of the cast, the lower the chime's sound, and that Trump can try to lift the chime to get a sense of the weight of it. Xi points to one of the chimes and reiterates to Trump:

You can have a try. It is made of pure gold. (CCTV *News Simulcast* Nov. 8, 2017)

Upon hearing the invitation from the interpreter, Trump is not sure if he understands it correctly. He makes a gesture to Xi as if he were holding a basketball in front of him, moving his hands up and down. Xi nods. Trump steps up and tries to lift a gold chime from the stand, but in vain. He grins in frustration and surprise.

Here, again, the voiceover pauses in the middle of the passage to allow for sound bites. The sound bites are separate from the news script, unlike the role of sound bites in relation to the news script on ABC. In the sound bites used by CCTV, the verbal text seems haphazard and only loosely connected to the adjacent verbal text of the news script. However, these sound bites' visual meaning is much richer and open to interpretation. The visuals of the leaders' collaboration in restoring ancient art pieces symbolically signify the cooperation between the two countries in preserving civilization. The special access granted to Trump to lift rare collections of ancient gold chimes symbolically signifies the exceptional courtesy and trust that the Chinese have extended to Trump. The engaging reactions of Trump during the tour signify the charm of the Chinese culture, Trump's lively personality and the optimistic atmosphere of this meeting.

Clearly, the visuals of the state visit are much more important for CCTV's news production than for ABC's coverage. The scene footage and sound bites

not only correspond to the chronological narrative form but also make up an essential part of the symbolic construction of the political spectacle. This is the first time that a Chinese president has received a foreign head of state in the Forbidden City. This intricate itinerary design aimed to launch a charm offensive to another country's top leader and to demonstrate China's sophistication in addressing hard politics with soft power. However, much of the subtlety of this arrangement can only be communicated through visuals, not though text. Treasure Charm Pavilion is the only Western-style architecture in the Forbidden City. This architectural contrast is demonstrated through the aerial shot and panoramic view of the Forbidden City at the very beginning of the news segment. It visually connotes the peaceful coexistence between the East and the West. The Forbidden City is an ancient royal palace and now a history and culture museum. By panning through the palaces and plazas of the Forbidden City alongside with the two heads of states, the visuals invoke an historical imperial image of a Chinese emperor receiving foreign envoys at his palace. To the domestic audience, this historical imperial imagination and myth of prosperous ancient China are in line with Xi's political campaign to centralize his power and rejuvenate the Chinese nation. Given the supreme significance of the Forbidden City to Chinese culture and history, it is an ideal place to flaunt China's soft power in a diplomatic setting. All these meanings are subtly imbedded in the detailed visual presentation accompanying the chronological narrative. These meanings have not been stated explicitly in the news script, but they are implicitly open to the audience for further interpretation. The visuals on CCTV's news program amplify a sense of ritual and historical importance of this high-level diplomatic event; hence, they have a positive effect on mediated public diplomacy.

The nuanced difference between ABC's and CCTV's uses of visuals and these visuals' relations to the news scripts reflect the different roles of the news media in two different polities: in the U.S., the integral and evidential verbal text-video relation fits the news media's role in political critique and evaluation; in China, the parallel and complementary verbal text-video relation suits the news media's role as official chronicler. The difference in the discourse of the visual mode also demonstrates the cultural difference between the explicit argumentation preferred in the West and the active reading of subtext preferred in China.

Conclusions

Trump's state visit is a unique case to study mediated public diplomacy between China and the U.S. – two culturally and politically different countries. The governments and political elites of the U.S. and China achieved ad hoc political proximity and cultural congruence for diplomatic purposes. The external-

relational factors that impact mediated public diplomacy is, therefore, controlled and minimalized; and each country's societal-institutional factors that affect news production can be observed more clearly. This article examined Chinese and U.S. TV news discourse about Trump's state visit to China in terms of supra-textual, verbal-textual, and visual modes and provides a perspective to assess mediated public diplomacy through the lenses of news discourse. The analysis shows although the mediated public diplomacy around the state visit is mutual and simultaneous, the outcome is not equal or reciprocal. In U.S. news media, news discourse focuses on articulating the inconsistency of Trump as a political leader. China's diplomatic courtesy is portrayed as a gesture of over-flattery targeting Trump's personality flaws. In contrast, in Chinese media, news discourse emphasizes the display of the exceptional political spectacle and ceremonial ritual of the state visit to highlight the event's strategic and historical significance. China's cultural charm is used as the backdrop against which the two heads of state show their amiable characters and friendly exchanges.

The critical examination of the news discourse shows that the root cause of this difference in communication – which makes mediated public diplomacy nonreciprocal – is not the international relations or relative cultural distance between the countries; rather, it is each country's specific political-economic and societal-institutional logics behind news production. The economic logic of the U.S. commercial news media limits the prominence of foreign affairs news, even when this news involves the president. Journalists' critical role in politics allows the media to contest the government's framing of an event. The specific bitter relations between Trump and U.S. media heightens media's critical tone questioning Trump's capability and degrades the significance of Trump's state visit to China. China's public diplomacy signalling toward U.S. public through Trump's activities in China is deflected. In this sense, the operationalization of mediated public diplomacy is also contingent on the specific relations between a politician and the media.

In China, official news media are funded and controlled by the government. There is a set of aligned political-economic and societal-institutional relations under the auspices of the government. If a foreign government and political elites can reach agreements with their Chinese counterparts expediently, China's domestic media can facilitate this country's mediated public diplomacy toward the Chinese public. On CCTV's news program, Trump appears to be a personable and courteous leader who is interested in Chinese culture and who is willing to work with Xi to cooperatively manage strategic bilateral relations and global issues. The news projects to the Chinese audience a positive image of the U.S. and an optimistic outlook of U.S.-China relations and is beneficial to U.S. public diplomacy toward China. The caveat of operationalizing mediated public diplomacy through the media in China, however, is that foreign-initiated diplomatic signalling is unlikely to match the Chinese government's self-serving and self-congratulatory political purposes. The mediated public diplomacy of

Trump's state visit was able to be conveyed to the Chinese public because the visit coincided with Xi's political agenda to exhibit his diplomatic grace and to strengthen his legitimacy in his new tenure. In this sense, the operationalization of mediated public diplomacy is contingent on the target country's domestic political condition and government policy strategy.

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

Maria-Valentina NISTE *

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 economic problem of the EU area, but also offers solutions. Thus, among the traditional recurrent elements (economic and financial crisis, Treaty of Lisbon, coordination, 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 facing - energy dependence, information systems and telecommunications, climate change and education. In order to strengthen the European Parliament's confidence 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 institutions 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. Zapatero 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 crisis- 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 attention 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 discursive level. Given this fact, the aim of this sub-chapter is to analyse the next two speeches of Prime Minister Zapatero (Rodriguez Zapatero 2010d, Rodriguez 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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Political Changes in Egyptian State Formation and Its Effect on the State-Civil Society Relations

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Abstract. From the Mamluk Empire to British rule, Egypt had gone through political changes in its pursuit of state formation; even after independence, the process didn't stop. Independent Egypt has always been a military-dominated state. When this authoritative domination came in touch with globalization, people started to cherish their dream of Democratization. This also led Egypt to witness its own 'Arab Spring'. For a little time, Egypt has enjoyed its democracy but again with the coming of Sisi in power, military domination again became visible. At the same time, Civil society always struggled for its place and function in Egypt under authoritarian rulers, and the ruler's tendency to keep his citizens in check created very rigid relations with the civil society. This paper aims to understand the political changes in state formation in Egypt, the inception of Civil society in Egypt, and the relation between state and civil society. This paper will also try to explain this 'state-civil society' relation from the theoretical point of view and would like to understand the reason behind such relations through analysing the political changes Egypt experience from the past century till today.

Keywords: State formation; State-Civil Society Relations; Egypt, political Changes; Arab Spring

Introduction

EGYPT IS AN AFRICAN STATE THAT HAS A VERY LONG HISTORY of culture and civilization. It is worlds one of the ancient civilizations. Throughout the time, Egypt has gone through political changes that brought remarkable change

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to itself. From Mamluk Empire to British rule, Egypt had gone through   phases of state formation. With the coming of Nasser and later Sadat and his successors, Egypt has always been a military dominated state. This authoritative domination came in touch with globalization and people started to cherish their dream of Democratization. Thus, came Arab spring and later the dream turned into a nightmare when the expected outcomes were not met through it. Coming of Sisi regime was the end of the dream for proud Egyptians. At the same time, throughout the time, Civil society always struggled for its place and function in Egypt under authoritarian rulers and ruler's tendency to keep his citizens in check created very rigid relations with the civil society. As people struggled for their democracy and ruler practiced their authoritarian rules, Egypt also witnessed severe human rights issues in past few decades especially during Mubarak regime and current Sisi regime. Civil Society, Globalization, Human rights condition are now three Buzz words alongside with military state in Egyptian politics right now. This paper aims to understand the state formation in Egypt through its political changes and the state-civil society relations according to these political changes especially after the 'second inception' of civil society in Egypt, which gave birth to the modern and current civil society trend in Egypt. This paper is an attempt to understand the Egyptian politics and state-civil society relations both epistemologically and ontologically. Therefore, this paper will seek the answers of both what is the present political condition of Egypt and how it came into such phase and what is the relation between state and civil society in Egypt and how it came into such being. To do so, this paper will present historical analysis of Egyptian politics and theoretical analysis of state-civil society relations in Egypt from Mubarak era to current Sisi regime.

Methodology

This research is a qualitative research based on secondary data retrieved from newspapers, journals and websites. This research also uses collected data and reports from different scholarly articles on civil society organizations in Egypt and relevant information from different websites.

Political Changes in Formation and Transformation of Egypt

"For most of their history, Egypt has been a state, but only in recent years has it been truly a nation-state, with a government claiming the allegiance of its subjects on the basis of a common identity." (Goldschmidt Jr. 2004)

Egypt became be an administrative division of the Ottoman Empire, following the empire's victory in the Ottoman–Mamluk War 1517. It used to be a neglected, isolated and poor province of the empire. Napoleon's army occupied Egypt in 1798 and ruled it since 1801. A joint Anglo-Ottoman campaign defeated the French and restored order. Right after the departure of the British army, an Ottoman general of Albanian origin named Muhammad Ali became Wali (viceroy) of Egypt after securing approval from the Ottoman sultan. From 1805 until his death in 1848 he ruled Egypt with virtual autonomy and is widely regarded as the founder of modern Egyptian state. Egypt under Muhammad Ali experienced rapid modernization project that included the development of a sophisticated bureaucracy and well-armed military. The Muhammad Ali dynasty ruled Egypt until the revolution of 1952 by the Free Officers Movement.

The British Occupation

A nationalist uprising led by a military commander named Ahmed 'Urabi threatened the rule of Khedive Tewfik and European interests in February 1882. The British army intervened and suppressed the revolt in June 1882. Although the British reinstalled the Khedive, the occupation army remained in Egypt and the British officials started to influence key administrative decisions since then. In 1914 the British declared war with the Ottoman Empire, declared a Protectorate over Egypt and deposed the Pro-Ottoman Khedive Abbas, replacing him with his uncle Husayn Kamil as Sultan of Egypt.

Independence

Following widespread nationalist resistance, on 28 February 1922, the British government issued a formal statement terminating its protectorate and declaring Egypt to be an independent sovereign state. However, four points were reserved for further negotiations between Britain and Egypt:

1. Security of British Empire communications in Egypt
2. Egypt's defence against foreign aggression or interference
3. Protection of foreign interests and minorities in Egypt
4. The status of Sudan

Significant number of British troops and officials still remained in Egypt to ensure control over the Suez Canal and the Mediterranean cost. Following the developments, the emerging structure in Egypt's politics was that of a power triangle made up of the king, the Wafd Party, and the British. In August 1936, the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty for a twenty-year of alliance was signed by the two

parties. The signing of the treaty can be considered as the final step toward Egypt's political independence. According to Goldschmidt Jr.,

> "Comparisons with other Middle Eastern states are difficult to make, but Egyptians have probably developed a clearer sense of nationality than any other Arabic-speaking people" (Goldschmidt Jr. 2004)

The Free Officers Movement and the 1952 Revolution

On 23 July 1952, the Free Officers Movement, a group of army officers led by Mohamed Naguib and Gamal Abdel Nasser carried out a military coup and formed the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC). Right after the revolution, King Farouk was deposed and sent into exile with his family. In June 1953, the RCC formally ended the monarchy and Egypt was declared as a republic. Mohamed Naguib became its first president, as well as Chairman of RCC. However, because of power struggle with Nasser, Naguib was eventually marginalized and put into house arrest. After 1954 there was no virtual opposition to Nasir's power in Egypt. In January1956 a new constitution was drafted resulting in the establishment of a single-party system under the National Union (NU). The 1956 constitution proclaimed openly that Egypt was an Arab country and a part of the wider Arab nation. Nasser was formally elected as the president of the republic in June 1956.

Arab Socialism

Although the 1952 revolution was mostly based on Egypt-centred nationalism, President Gamal Abdel Nasser introduced "Arab Socialism" as the state ideology involving secularism, pan-Arabism and socialism. Soon Arab socialism became as the most dominant political ideology in the Middle East. Syria and Egypt agreed for a political unification and on 1 February 1958 the United Arab Republic (UAR) was proclaimed. A loose federal union with Yemen—the United Arab States—was also declared subsequently. However, the idea of a unified Arab state did not materialize as Syria disintegrated from the union after the 1961 Syrian coup d'état. Nasser's political credibility hit rock bottom following Egypt's defeat in the Six-Day War of May 1967 which resulted in the Israeli occupation of Sinai Peninsula.

After Nasser

On 28 September 1970 President Nasser suddenly died of a heart attack. Vice President Muhammad Anwar al-Sadat succeeded him, as the new president. Egypt experienced significant transformation under Sadat's presidency.

President Sadat reserved some of the economic and political principles of Nasser by breaking with Soviet Union to make Egypt an ally of the United States, initiating the peace process with Israel, re-instituting the multi-party system and abandoning socialism by launching open market economic policies. On October 6, 1981, President Sadat was assassinated by Islamic fundamentalists during a military parade in Cairo. Following Sadat's death, Hosni Mubarak became the fourth president of Egypt. Mubarak remained in power for almost 30 years marking him as the longest serving head of state since Muhammad Ali in Egypt.

The Arab Spring, Transformation and Aftermath

Following the popular uprising for democracy across the Arab World in early 2011, President Hosni Mubarak resigned and the Egyptian military assumed power. A constitutional referendum was held on 19 March 2011. On 28 November 2011, Egypt held its first parliamentary election since the previous regime had been in power. Mohamed Morsi from Muslim Brotherhood was elected as the new president on 24 June 2012.

> Arab uprisings, according to the IFIs, occurred because of insufficient economic reforms, the rise of crony capitalism and weak governance structures. For these global institutions, the goal after the uprisings was to implement deeper reforms that would introduce qualitative shifts in the economies of the region under the banner of good governance (Ianchovichina et al. 2015)

The Morsi presidency became heavily unpopular and was short lived. Morsi in his presidency also failed to address the problems of governance and structures that Ianchovichina et al. pointed out in the previous paragraph. On 3 July 2013, the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF) removed the president from his office following a series of anti-government protests across the country. The former army chief who executed the removal of Morsi, Abdel Fattah el-Sisi was elected as the sixth president of the country and assumed formal power on 8 June 2014, bringing back Military as the governance establishment.

Rise of a Military-Elite Coalition in Egypt

Egypt's military establishment has been the real winner of the country's political transformation in the early 2010s. The military had been the power centre for several decades, beginning with the 1952 revolution and subsequent Nasser's rule. Under Anwar Sadat, the civilian leadership started to systematically keep the military way from direct involvement in politics (Stacher 2012:60). Under Mubarak, this trend took on a different dimension with the expansion of the internal security and intelligence apparatuses that tried to counterbalance

the army's remaining political influence (Kechichian & Nazimek 1997: 128). As a result, Egypt transformed gradually from a military state into a police state (Kandil 2012: 4). In addition, the Egyptian business elite were also making a dominant position within the power configuration (Roll 2013: 8). Therefore, the Arab Spring and its subsequent events gave the military leadership an opportunity to restore their former supremacy and emerge as the most politically relevant elite. Today Egypt's economy is largely dominated by the military controlled institutions (Reuters 2018). Thus, the parasitic military's corporate structure makes Egypt's political-economic structure unsustainable in the long run (Roll 2016). For Goldschimdt Jr. who shares an optimistic opinion on Egypt,

> "Egypt is a great and enduring country with a civilization that has lasted for nearly sixty centuries. It has one of the largest and most beneficent rivers in the world, heavily modified by the hand of humanity but capable of further improvement. Its people are diligent and resourceful. The storms of Middle East politics may rumble around and disturb their equanimity. But Egypt has weathered such storms before, and its people are determined to survive". (Goldschmidt Jr. 2004)

Inception and Function of Civil Society in Egypt

Egypt, the country linking northeast Africa with the Middle East, is the possessor of one of the longest and richest histories of the world and dates back to the time of the pharaohs. The fertile Nile River Valley is evidence to the rich Egyptian past. Like its history, Egyptians have witnessed major political, economic, social, ideological and geographical upheavals over the decades triggering public sentiments. Many reforms were inculcated in the society that was pertinent at the moment which could eventually lead to some palpable solutions. The inception of the civil society in Egypt took birth owing to these instances. The whole process can be understood by categorizing the history of civil society in Egypt into phases. Scholarly works of Hassan and Amin had immense impact on this study. This research will also follow the footsteps of them and would like to understand trends of the inception and development of civil society in Egypt through two inceptions and several phases.

The development and rise of civil society in Egypt, which extends over a period of almost two hundred years, is different from other Arab countries. According to Hassan, *The first inception* (1821-1881) of civil society in Egypt came with the modernization project at the beginning of the 19th century, under the rule of Mohammad Ali, with the emergence of a national elite but this did not confront the state. (Hassan,2011) There was a sort of complementarities in the functions of both parties as some of the founders of civil society organizations

were high functionaries or members of the Royal Family with European linkages. (Hassan 2011)

In the Colonial Egypt (1882-1922), civil society organizations in struggled with the colonizers for the rights of its nationals. Movements and awareness on issues such as labour rights, feminist movements, proliferation etc flourished and also gave birth to first labour rights movement in 1898.

After that, came phase Hassan coined as 'the Liberal Phase' (1922- 1952. (Hassan 2011) The era started with the creation of the Constitution of 1923, which according to Hassan, was one of the most liberal constitutions at that time, as it guaranteed a number of rights and basic freedoms, such as the right of association and expression which prompted the colonial power and the throne to strive to get rid of this constitution by suspending it completely. (Hassan 2011) In this time, Civil society is Egypt had its most favourable time and space which allowed it to flourish all over the country. And with the revolution, the phase ended and civil society in Egypt was on its verge to face its toughest time.

After the revolution, When Nasser was in power from 1952 to 1970; Nasser took policy of centralizing power by creating authority everywhere. As a result, soon, Civil Society also found itself under the authoritative administration from the government that marked the end of its liberal era. Nasser's successful consolidation of power by populist politics also earned him huge popularity in Judiciary and Parliament and as a result Nasser was in position to undermine the criticism and challenges he was facing from the civil society at that time. As a result, Nasser's initiating constitution of 1964 marked the end of the civil society as according which any association apart from judicial recourse was banned in Egypt. As a result, civil society in Nasser's era faced its doom due to authoritarian nature of the politics.

When Sadat came in power in 1971, he replaced the constitution of 1964 with a new one that saw '*the second Inception*' (1974 - Present) of Civil society in Egypt. The new constitution was relatively more open and freer than its predecessor. It ensured democratic representation which allowed the Civil Society to function again and gave the second inception according to Hassan.

By the end of 2008, there were some 30,000 civil society organizations in Egypt, or approximately one for every 2,800 Egyptian residents. (Hassan, 2011 But one must keep in mind that, the numbers are deceiving because there are trifling numbers of Civil Society organizations, who are actually active. And again, among the associations, religious and development associations together represent more than half of all associations. (Abdallah 2008)

State and Civil Society Relations in Egypt after Second Inception

Theoretically, State and civil society relations can be understood through western traditions mentioned by khan and non-western traditions pointed out by Chandoke.

In western Tradition, Khan tried to understand state-civil society relationship from three perspectives. (Khan 2015)

1. Liberal Perspectives
2. Marxists perspectives
3. Pluralist perspectives

Liberal perspective sees the relation by taking state as an arbiter between conflict of interest and ensures individual liberty and right. According to Khan, "state is a necessary evil that serves civil society and which is accountable to the citizens through political representation." (Khan 2015)

Marxists takes it as a tool for unequal distribution of resources and a process to create consent among the society on behalf of state and capitalists. (Khan 2015)

Pluralists are extremely critical of both the theories and see the relation as 'polyarchy' where state should have least interference. (Khan 2015)

In non-western tradition, exerted from historical evidences, according to Chandoke, the relations are various. (Chandoke 1995) Sometimes it is 'controlled' and suppressive and sometimes it is a battle between state and civil society as 'State vs. Civil Society'.

The first inception of Civil Society in Egypt can be easily understood by applying both the western tradition and non-western tradition where for a long time, Liberal perspective was truly relevant. But the second inception and the developments afterwards can be understood in a comprehensive way by applying the non-western traditions mostly.

State and civil society relation In Egypt after its second inception can be best understood through three phases.

1. Mubarak Era
2. Post Mubarak Era &
3. Sisi era

It is important to identify the periods because in this decade, Egypt has seen a lot of political change happening which also effected the relations between state and civil society.

Mubarak Era

Mubarak was the vice president of Nasser. The modern 'Authoritative' and 'state-dominating' trend in 'state-civil society relations' in Egypt is the development of his while he was in the authority as vice president till 1981 and after 1981, his ascension to the power.

In the Mubarak Era, Civil societies were governed by the states under the Law of non-governmental organizations, known as LAW 84 passed in 2002. (Harrold 2015) According to which, Organizations are strictly prohibited in activities deemed as political or threatens 'National Unity' or violates 'public orders or morals'. (Refworld 2002) This law virtually constrained the civil societies from its natural sphere of work.

But at the same time, organizations such as judges club, lawyers club, Journalists associations played a huge role in political bargaining on behalf of the citizens. (El Medni 2013) Judges club had history of strike and ensured freedom of judiciary from the executive. On the other hand, Journalists association was more politically engaged in public life which was a venue for public participations. (El Medni 2013) Interestingly, these organizations were dominated by oppositions, mostly Muslim Brotherhood and served as the hub of political activists under the Law No 84 still prevailing.

During Mubarak era, the relation between state and civil society was very much controlling and 'self-censored' by the organizations and in one sentence, very much rigid.

Post Mubarak era

Post Mubarak era roughly covers the Arab spring took place in Egypt and the later democratization phases. One specific organization started this process. According to El Medni, "Kifaya was born during a time of political stagnation when Egyptian people lost hope in the possibility of change". (El Medni 2013) At that time Kifaya was born and gave people a new meaning in Associational Life. (El Medni 2013) Thus with coming of Kifaya, Arab spring took place and Egypt was going through a transformation to democracy. Kifaya and other organizations played a huge role in ensuring public participation.

At this stage, the relation was more like, 'State vs. civil society' where civil society played the role of 'agent of change'.

Sisi Era

Sisi regime came in power in mid-2014, halting the democratization. With coming to the power, Sisi regime started to crackdown organizations that explicitly displayed the abuse of this law. Egypt joined 'War on Terror' Campaign to combat the Sinai based terrorism. Now they do not only combat with terrorism rather they abuse it to keep a leash on civil society. According to Chick, "Under the guise of fighting a 'war on terrorism', Cairo is cracking down on organizations that shed light on its abuses." (Chick 2017) Organizations like Al nadim centre that worked with torture victims or Center for Egyptian Women's Legal Assistance (CEWLA) that provided legal assistance to women faced illegal crackdown without prior notice or any warning or without any documents. Many organizations and activists were banned and activists were under surveillance. (Chick 2017)

Sisi regime passed a new law on governing the civil society in 2017. (Sadek 2017) Under this law; the regime handicapped the civil society in areas like funding, activities and by appointing overseer. Many activities are now seen as criminal activities and funding are monitored. There is government appointed overseers who keeps the organizations checked. New law has made organizations and their policies 'non-existent' as they have no one to engage with. (Chick, 2017)

Thus, Sisi regime has crippled the civil society in Egypt by creating 'strictly controlled relation' with them.

Relations in Different Era

From Mubarak era to Sisi regime, state and civil society is Egypt always had a relation that can be understood in non-western perspective as 'State vs. Civil society'. From Mubarak to Sisi, civil society was under the abuse due to law 84 and later law of 2017. But all the time, state tried to keep it as minimum as possible by imposing strict laws and by both legal and illegal coercion, where civil society struggled and also struggling to be the space for political activists and agents of change.

Final remarks

Egypt's politics always faced a very rocky path. In this rocky path, military always found itself in the centre of power especially after the revolution in 1952 which resulted in coming of Nasser. After that, Authoritarian governments and dictators ran the country till Arab spring hit them. But in the turmoil and after the turmoil, it was again the military that came out as the winner with Sisi in power. As a result of almost seven decades of military rule, Egypt became a

tough place for democracy to flourish. Political changes throughout the history has turned Egypt into a state struggling for democracy and human rights where 'military-elite' coalition suppresses anything that goes against their agenda. Such political changes also affected the relations between civil society and states where sometimes we saw civil society being censored by the states and sometimes civil society standing against the regime or state. And till today, civil society in Egypt under authoritarian military-elite hard and fast rule, is being suppressed by the regimes using coercive means both legal and illegal.

Acknowledgement

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