Metaphorical Representation of Europe and European Integration in Ukrainian Press

ABSTRACT

The idea of European integration became one of the crucial elements in theoretical reflection on politics in Ukraine as well as an important component of the Ukrainian political discourse. The present research will focus on the topic how the concept of European integration and the idea of Europe are conceptualized in Ukrainian press. We will portray the metaphorical representations of Europe and the European integration in the Ukrainian public imaginary.

Keywords: Europe, European integration, metaphors, Ukraine, political discourse, Ukrainian media

Theoretical and Methodological Background

Periods of substantial social and political changes are always accompanied by transformations in the public discourses and political language. Political communication and the language used by symbolical elites appeared to have direct practical and political significance, particularly in the case of post-communist countries.

People’s interpretation of the events depends highly on how the information is presented to them by the media. Metaphors are crucial framing devices in texts, in maintaining and shifting political ideas and meanings. According to Beer and De Landtsheer, the analysis of political metaphor can account for how power is represented in language, how language has power, and how the powerful is language. “Metaphors are part of the political struggle for collective meaning, the interpretation of the forms or patterns of human political life. Metaphorical politics are about the meaning of power, how power is interpreted. They are also about the power of meaning, the persuasive consequences of such interpretation.”

Metaphors as an emotional device introduce a certain link towards a social phenomenon, with negative or positive evaluations. Metaphors play a significant role in the construction of political and social reality on the micro level and help to introduce certain frames of events on the macro level in discourses.

Metaphors are one of the powerful tools for creating new meanings and for influencing public discourse.² “In political discourse metaphors are often not just embellishments of literal propositions, but modes of reasoning about, for example, the future and about policies”, - claims Paul Chilton.³

In order to analyze different discursive practices and their influence on public perceptions and actions it is necessary to reconstruct the dominant frames and metaphors which are dominated in the public discourse. As reminded by Huelsse, every discourse “has a particular stock of metaphors that is commonly used when referring to the discourse topic. If we participate in that discourse we have to use the metaphors associated with it.”⁴

The classical cognitive view on metaphor, proposed by Lakoff and Johnson, holds that a metaphor is a conceptual phenomenon that is realized on the surface level of language.⁵ Metaphors provide the cognitive framework of speakers’ view of the world. Cognitive metaphor analysis claims to look behind explicit utterances to find conceptual structures that the users themselves may not be aware of. According to Lakoff and Johnson the “essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another.”⁶ Metaphors constitute the mechanisms of conceptualization for understanding and expressing complex concepts or situations. This conceptual view also implies that metaphors are pervasive in both everyday life and political discourses. Lakoff & Johnson have argued that our conceptual system is metaphorically structured: in their view, frequently used metaphorical expressions are evidence of concepts underlying our everyday understanding of events and experience.

The aim of metaphor use is to influence the audience, which is also the goal of political actions. Influence is shaped by appealing to emotions, thus metaphors have emotional power. De Landtsheer and De Vrij⁷ stressed that metaphors are a primary rhetorical tool for provoking

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emotions and have a manipulative potential which help persuade audiences. Metaphors, accordingly, direct attention to what seems to be important and meaningful for politicians. We argue that the use of particular metaphors leads to raising the affiliated meanings in discourses.

Metaphors are able to modify the public’s attitudes towards certain issues and could eventually lead to a change in perceptions and behavior. Charteris-Black argues that metaphors should not only be analyzed cognitively, but also pragmatically, because metaphor selection is governed by the rhetorical aim of persuasion: “in many cases, therefore, metaphor choice is motivated by ideology”. Thus, metaphors can influence political and social opinion as well as develop new ideologies by shaping new ways of communicating.

Metaphor analysis, according to Charteris-Black, consists of three stages: identification, interpretation and explanation of metaphors. Metaphor identification deals with determining which metaphors are present in a text, and “whether they show semantic tension between a literal source domain and a metaphorical target domain”. Metaphor interpretation is concerned with interpersonal meaning – aims “to determine the type of social relations that are constructed through the metaphors identified”. Metaphor explanation is concerned with a textual meaning - with the way metaphors interact within the context in which they occur.

The main sources for conceptual metaphor analysis in our case study were press material from three Ukrainian newspapers: Zerkalo nedeli, Segodnia and Fakty i Kommentarii.

The Zerkalo nedeli, was selected as an example of quality press because it is well-known among Ukrainian politicians, experts, and policy and opinion makers. Fakty i Kommentarii and Segodnia were selected as the biggest popular daily newspapers in Ukraine, which represent the popular press and which are widely circulating among different groups of Ukrainian society. According to Telekritika, in 2011 the top two titles, relative to circulation and popularity, were the daily Segodnya and the newspaper Fakty i Kommentarii. Among the socio-political weeklies, high position was held by Zerkalo nedeli.

For the search, the internet version of each newspaper was used. At the beginning, we took all of the articles from 01.01.2005 till 31.12.2005 and from 01.01.2010 till 31.12.2010 from all three newspapers, which include any kind of relation to the word combinations: Europe and

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10 http://gazeta.zn.ua/
11 http://www.segodnya.ua/
12 http://fakty.ua/
European Union or EU and European integration or Eurointegration, or Ukraine-EU, Ukraine-European integration.

The following search strategy was employed: the above mentioned terms – Europe etc. – had to be present in an article to be selected. We started with reading through all of the automatically retrieved data, and then manually analyzed the texts for the analysis of used metaphors.

This search strategy resulted in 895 hits, but the majority of articles (nearly 70%) had no relevance to the research question and was disregarded from further analysis. The largest number of articles (625) was not selected for the analysis because they did not have a significant link between the research topics and the contents of the articles. This reduction strategy left us with 270 articles (30%) which were subjected to detailed analysis.

Table 1 - Number of selected articles for analysis by the edition/year:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Edition/Year</th>
<th>2005</th>
<th>2010</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Segodnia</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fakty I Kommentarii</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zerkalo Nedeli</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The time-frame for the selection of press material for an analysis was limited to the period from 2005 till 2010. This period was taken because it provide the full range of the discussion on the topic of European integration and Ukrainian relations to it, and during that time the main positions and discourses were formed and presented by the different political camps.

Metaphorical Representation of Europe and European Integration in Ukrainian Press

By describing metaphorical representations of Europe and European integration, we’ll try to show pair metaphors, representing both positive and negative characteristics. Accordingly, for example, if the metaphor of Europe as a house represents positive connotations related with the image of Europe, then the metaphor of a fortress or closed club will come out as its opposition.
One of the popular metaphors in the European integration discourse is the *house* metaphor. For instance, Chilton and Ilyin\(^{14}\) studied the metaphor of the ‘common European house’ brought into European public discourses by M. Gorbachev at the end of the Cold War. Musolff has identified several source domains, the following four being the main ones to conceptualize the European integration: *path*-movement-journey, *love*-marriage-family, *body*-life-health and *building*-housing source domains.\(^{15}\)

Rainer Huelsse analyzed the 1990’s discourse on EU Eastern enlargement in Germany to decide whether European identity is constructed according to the national model or in a post-national way. According to him, there are a few metaphors which seem to dominate political thinking about European integration and the Enlargement process. He distinguished Enlargement as a *family reunion*, as a *homecoming* (returning to home), as *growing together*, as a *path* and as *entry into a house*.\(^{16}\)

Drlak and Konigova define three models of the metaphorical expressions used in the theoretical discourse about the EU: *container, equilibrium and motion*, which is in line with the distinction between national, supranational and functional identities.\(^{17}\)

Zbierska-Sawala has investigated metaphorical expressions in the Polish political discourse concerning the EU and Poland’s integration. She found that Polish political discourse is prevalent with *path, up-down, link* and *part-whole* conceptual domains.\(^{18}\) Grzegorz Żuk attempted to reconstruct the idea of Europe and European integration represented in the Polish public discourse based on semantic analysis of linguistic data.\(^{19}\)

**European integration as entry into a house/home or a fortress**

One of the key metaphors in the discourses concerning European integration is the metaphor of the *home or house*. The EU nations are united by the common perception of building the common European house. The house metaphor constructs a civic European identity as Huelsse

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\(^{17}\) Drlak, Petr, Lucie Konigova. 'Figuring Out Europe: EU Metaphors in the Minds of Czech Civil Servants', Perspectives 28 (Summer), 2007:8.


reminds us\textsuperscript{20}. The states in the EU live in the same house. They follow certain rules and over time develop common social practices and habits. This metaphor places a clear difference between ‘us’ and ‘them’ — ‘we’ are inside, but ‘they’ are outside the house. The house’s external walls mark the boundary that keeps the self and others apart, leaving no ambivalence. Houses have doors and it is exactly the purpose of doors to enable entry and exit. By stepping through the door, candidates enter the house and at this moment become part of the self.

According to Erik Ringmar, modern politics began when naturalistic metaphors were replaced by constructivist ones. As he pointed out: “instead of seeing society as a natural organism – a body, family or garden – or as an impersonal mechanical device, it came to be regarded as something man-made, something constructed, most commonly as some kind of a building”\textsuperscript{21} The idea that if society is created by people, we should be able to fully understand it, including the most obscure of its technical elements - comes along. The construction plans are drawn up by people, not by God or by tradition, and there is no limit to the kinds of projects we can create. And the better we understand society, the better we will be at reconstructing it in accordance to our plans and visions. “Politics, governed by this metaphor, will be a question of drawing up ever more appealing blueprints which can be presented to our fellow citizens.”\textsuperscript{22}

It is necessary to divide the metaphor of the house into two groups: the "building" and "construction". If the first group refers to a certain state of affairs, where there are already existing structures of relations (structure of the home – has a permanent character), then the second group refers to the process. Construction involves active participation; the ability to influence on the process and its outcomes. In the Ukrainian political discourse a frame of the house as a "structure of the building" is widely used. This indicates that Ukrainians do not perceive themselves as participants in the construction of a ‘common European home’.

\textit{Where is the key to the European Union? Ukraine will not stand and whine near the door of the EU}\textsuperscript{23}

In the domain of Europe as house, the words: door, key, windows and other constructive parts of a building are very commonly used. The house is very often used as a metaphor for the state system. From the mid of 90’s, the EU’s enlargement to the East was seen as a settlement of the "European home" by new residents. The metaphorical presentation of the country as a house, itself implies an existence of hosts and guests.


\textsuperscript{22} Ibid: Ringmar, 2007:132

\textsuperscript{23} Zerkalo nedeli, 15.04.2005, \url{http://gazeta.zn.ua/POLITICS/yuschenko__tak_polskiy_variant.html}
For a pro-European discourse in Ukraine, the EU appears as a house where Ukraine only tries to enter. Those who are inside the house have to decide that they wish or do not want to open the door. But for Ukrainian public discourse typical perception is that the door of this house is not open and there is no readiness to accept Ukrainians.

*Meanwhile, the European Union, perfectly hearing "the knocking at the door" from the Ukrainian side, had not responded to the external stimuli.*

*EU: for Ukraine the entrance is closed*

*Before knocking to the door of the EU, it is necessary to know what is waiting you there. [Rybachuk] promised to break down the door of EU’s, if Brussels would not open it.*

Doors may separate, but also may connect. Basically, any entrance or doors suggest the transitions, changes, or at least possibilities for a change. In this context the metaphor of doors - widely used in different frames - also has the potential to be positive (if opened) and negative (if closed). Some entrances represent boundaries, or limits, to be overcome, so in this sense the door metaphor can be a challenge for Ukraine to overcome its imperfections.

The images of doors being closed and safeguarded evoked an interpretation of the European house in terms of a fortress. In the dominant Ukrainian perception – European doors are rarely closed to admit newcomers, thus requiring them to constantly knock at the door while standing outside. In sum, the metaphor of closed door shows that Ukraine is located outside of the European Union.

Similar to the family metaphor, the house metaphor emotionalizes the EU. “No longer is it just a political organization, but as a home (or family), it is something people have strong feelings about. If we understand identity as a sense of belonging, emotionalizing is an important part of the creation of identity.” The house metaphor (and especially, the metaphor of home) indicates a clear difference and border between those who are originally part of Europe and those who are not inhabitants of the house.

Europe is very often represented as a synonym of success and harmony in the pro-European Ukrainian discourse. But also as an unreachable ideal, to which Ukrainians were aspiring for

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25 Segodnya, №127 (2069) 08.06.2005, [http://www.segodnya.ua/oldarchive/c2256713004f33f5c2257019004fc182.html](http://www.segodnya.ua/oldarchive/c2256713004f33f5c2257019004fc182.html)
26 Zerkalo nedeli, 17.06.2005, [http://gazeta.zn.ua/POLITICS/ukrainachehiya_druzhim_vne_es.html](http://gazeta.zn.ua/POLITICS/ukrainachehiya_druzhim_vne_es.html)
centuries. For many in Ukraine, the European Union is still a dream. It means that EU occupies the symbolic point of reference and attracts Ukrainians, but there is no clear vision of how to reach it. Such a vision of Europe, as of a dream, is typical for the romantic Ukrainian discourse. Using metaphors of European integration as a *returning home* characterizes this frame. Herewith, it is supposed that Ukraine belonged from the very beginning to the European civilization, and only historical unfairness tore it off from the European community.

*European idea or, if you wish, a dream turned to be that forbidden fruit, after having tried which, a Ukrainians won’t be able to dream about anything less.*

Europe is very often represented as a synonym of success and harmony in the pro-European Ukrainian discourse. But also as an unreachable ideal, to which Ukrainians were aspiring for centuries. Such a vision of Europe, as of a dream, is typical for the romantic Ukrainian discourse. Using metaphors of European integration as a *returning home* characterizes this frame. Herewith, it is supposed that Ukraine belonged from the very beginning to the European civilization, and only historical unfairness tore it off from the European community.

Images of the *home* are typically connected with images of a warm and welcoming space. In the romantic versions of the Ukrainian imaginary about Europe (often described as naïve by the opponents of the European choice of Ukraine) integration of the country into the EU is presented also as a return to the European *family*. But mostly Ukrainians do not feel themselves as *members of a family* who are *returning home*. And Europe frequently appears as a *fortress* or *closed club*.

The European Union is often represented in the Ukrainian public discourse as a kind of *closed elite’s club*, consisting of a few countries and closed for others who are not members of the EU. The image of the EU as an entity closed to outsiders, inward-oriented, and separated from the outside world by the Shengen wall was reinforced by the frequent description of EU as a *rich closed club* of ‘privileged countries’. It connected with an image of Europe as a *paradise*, *dreamland* etc. So, EU appears as an attractive entity, but only for those who are inside.

While the notion of family represents the unconditional acceptance of all members, the metaphor of a *club* represents an alliance of people based on selective membership and common interests. Exclusivity means separating and suggests an existence of privileges for the members of this *club* with firmly guarded doors.

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28 *Zerkalo nedeli*, [http://zn.ua/articles/60177](http://zn.ua/articles/60177)
By declaring the European Neighborhood Countries as ‘friends’ and ‘neighbors’, the EU made quite clear that it did not consider them as “members of the club” that is, after all, based on the very values, norms and principles enshrined in the ENP. This somewhat hypocritical approach undermines the legitimacy of the EU’s demands for domestic change.²⁹

As we mentioned above, the typical negative metaphor in the domain house is a metaphor of Europe as a fortress. Important metaphors closely connected to this metaphor are the bastion, or closed door. In the dominant public perception the doors of Europe are closed for Ukrainians. Such metaphor separates Europe into ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders’. Ukrainians are, according to these metaphorical representations, no doubt, outside of the house. The dominance of the above mentioned metaphors reflects the perception in Ukraine that the EU does not see Ukraine as a part of ‘Europe’ or even as a potential future member.

The image of the fortress Europe is in sharp contrast with the principles underlying the creation and development of the Union itself. For EU citizens, the free movement in the Schengen zone becomes one of the most valued benefits of the European integration. The experience of the EU neighbours is entirely different. The EU enlargement united many countries in Europe, but “it also built a visa wall higher than at any time in European history”.³⁰ In this sense, the visa restrictions and complications for Ukrainians are perceived by them as an instrument to keep the door of Europe closed.

European integration as a family reunion

The family is an obvious metaphor widely used in descriptions of social life.³¹ The nation as a family – this type of metaphor belonged to the domain of metaphors regarding kin. Conceptualizing Europe through family metaphors is also quite common. Families are characterized by the fact that membership is given by birth and ends only with death. As Huelsse claims, “families, as natural entities, have clear boundaries”,³² indeed we can easily distinguish the ‘different’ family, but we should disagree with Huelsse in his point that families are not so much natural, but rather social entities. The source of identification here can be not only the shared and natural origin, but also it is possible to become a member of the family by marriage or joining.

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As it is argued by Lakoff and Johnson, anthropocentric metaphors are common in most languages, because they allow us to express the new experience in terms of human relations, motives and actions. Personifying metaphors can be used to give meaning to the phenomena of the world in a human, anthropomorphic form. Relations between Ukraine and Europe are often interpreted in terms of human relations. Very often Europe was described as weak or old. The typical expression is an old woman.

In the family metaphor domain, the ruler is a pater and the state is depicted as a family, which should follow the order established by pater. Consequently the people are children, so the relations between state and people are necessarily paternalistic. “The paternalistic state thinks, plans and acts on behalf of the people; it disciplines and regulates people in order to protect them from the unexpected and the disastrous as well as from themselves. In the paternalistic state, just as in the family, care is inseparable from control.”33

For many people in Ukraine who claim the European roots of country – Ukraine is an inseparable part of the European family. Viktor Yushchenko: “Europe without Ukraine is defective. We are not neighbors of Europe, we are part of Europe”.34

Ukraine – is a member of the European family of nations.35

These kinds of metaphors are built on the feeling of belonging and they are directly connected with distinctions of ‘we’ and ‘they’. As stressed by van Dijk, the principles of their use follow the overall goals of the positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation we have found in the ideological square, “we, our people and our actions and properties will tend to be described in metaphorical meanings that derive from conceptual fields with positive associations, whereas the opposite is true for the description of our political opponents or enemies.”36

The opponents of European choice of Ukraine the relations between Ukraine and Russia are commonly depicted as family relations. To describe the close relations of those countries, another commonly used expression is the brother relationship (where Russia of course is the elder brother and Ukraine, the younger). The idea of hierarchy is important here. For a post-imperial

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35 Zerkalo nedeli, №9, 06.03.2010, http://zn.ua/articles/59453
discourse in both Russia and Ukraine, this typical depiction of Russia as the elder brother naturally leads to the idea of the subordination of Ukraine to Russia. To highlight the good relations, mainly both countries are represented as partners and even as brothers, engaged in relationships and having experienced different emotional and physical conditions.

**Teacher – student relations**

In the Ukrainian political discourse, relations between Ukraine and Europe are also represented in the model: teacher – student (or pupil). “The EU’s neighbor becomes the one who needs teaching, who does not know what it wants and, consequently, how to reach it. Neighborhood becomes the space which is dependent without being invaded.”

Ukrainian state is on the long and thorny path of hard work and study.

Very often access to the EU or even signing the Association’s agreement is depicted as entrance exams.

**EU-Ukraine Summit: what grade will Yanukovych get?**

[The EU] for us is not ready to open the road to membership today, offering a variety of alternatives - from the Eastern Partnership to honorary status of the best pupil in the classroom for losers.

**European integration as a path**

Path, journey and movement metaphors are very common in the discourses of the European integration. The metaphor of a path occupies one of the key places in describing the European integration of Ukraine. Accordingly, the European integration is perceived as a path, journey, and travel. The typical expression is: “Ukraine is going the way of European integration.”

What are the specific characteristics of this metaphor? There are direction and quality of the path, the presence of the subject of moving, which uses certain means and ways of transport,

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38 Zerkalo nedeli, 05.10.2005, [http://gazeta.zn.ua/Politics/mid_ukrajini_privetstvuet_nachalo_peregovorov_es_o_chlenstve_s_turtsiey_i_horvatiei.html](http://gazeta.zn.ua/Politics/mid_ukrajini_privetstvuet_nachalo_peregovorov_es_o_chlenstve_s_turtsiey_i_horvatiei.html)
40 Zerkalo nedeli, №8, 27.02.2010, [http://zn.ua/articles/59375](http://zn.ua/articles/59375)
the presence (or absence) of the aim of movement, and different path attributes. The concept of the path in the Ukrainian public sphere was analyzed in detail in the work of T. V. Radzievska\textsuperscript{42}.

In which way exactly does this metaphor represent and structure the reality? First of all, this is a movement in the space. It means that for the European integration Ukraine has \textit{to move} from one place or \textit{condition} to another one.

The concept of the path is related with a number of surrounding circumstances which are following this movement – so called metaphoric consequences. Let’s say, moving the road, it is impossible to calculate the time necessary for its overcoming.

\textit{Viktor Yanukovich}: “\textit{We'll choose by our own temps and methods of the Euro-integration according to the national interests}”\textsuperscript{43}.

According to observations of Galina Yavorska\textsuperscript{44}, the concept of the path is related with a number of surrounding circumstances; in particular, it’s impossible to calculate precisely how much time for its overcoming is needed. The path should surely be long and difficult, while only the road can be easy.

The word \textit{road} foresees the participation of a person in its creation, so it contains not only distance between points, but also the need for active participation in the process of travelling, and of joining efforts for achievement of the goal.

Diverse types of roads point to different types of development and their perception by political activists. For example, \textit{the main road} means the main line of society and the economy’s development. There are \textit{dangers} on the road. Dangerous or unpopular decisions are presented as a \textit{dangerous road}.

Metaphoric names of points and parts of the road are often used in the modern Ukrainian political discourse. \textit{Traversing} the path, you can unavoidably find yourself on the \textit{crossroad}, that is to say, before the choice. The \textit{path}, in contrast to the \textit{road}, is surely \textit{long}. You can \textit{lose} the way; that’s why you can find indicators there. It’s better to walk on the \textit{path} with \textit{friends}.

If the \textit{journey} can be pleasant, joyful, and interesting, then the \textit{path} is difficult. It is \textit{hard work}, with many \textit{obstacles}. Very often images of \textit{heaviness}, the \textit{difficulty} of such a travel, \textit{barriers},

\textsuperscript{42} Radzievska T.V. Concept of the path in the Ukrainian language: combining of ideas of space and movement. \textit{Movoznavstvo}, № 4 – 5, 1997
\textsuperscript{43} Fakty, 08.10.2010, \url{http://fakty.ua/120283-viktor-yanukovich-processy-evrointegracii-ukrainy-otvechayut-stremleniya-evropy-preodolet-posledstviya-krizisa-i-postroit-dejstvitelno-edinoe-ekonomichesko-prostranstvo}
\textsuperscript{44} Yavorska G. Political rhetoric and reality of European integration. \textit{Viche}, № 7, 2002: 66 - 71.
and obstacles emerging on the way, are connected to the metaphor of path. So, in such case, the path of Ukraine to Europe – is undertaken not because of wish, but because of needs.

We are devoted to the matter of building a strong, independent Ukraine in the structure of prosperous Europe. This path is not easy, but we’ve chosen it and we are following it – Viktor Yanukovych.  

On the path you have to be careful; it isn’t worthwhile being in a hurry here, in contrast to the sport distance. You should consider every step. It constantly refers to the inadmissibility of rash decisions, fear of moving too fast and so on.

_Ukraine stands on the crossroad, it can go forward or come back._

Completed political process is represented as a _traversed path._

_But it’s impossible to reach immediate results in the European direction. Only those who clearly know what they want, are ready to invest far-sighted efforts and sincerely aspire to declared goals, will gain success._

The success of the journey (reaching a posed goal) supposes the presence of favorable conditions.

_Ukraine is so obviously “unlucky” on the European path. There is a number of measures, which Ukraine has to undertake in order to make the journey as safe as possible._

The possibility of membership of Ukraine in the EU depends not only on Ukraine, but on the EU itself.

_It’s not enough to get to the railway station, the train should arrive as well._

The majority of Ukrainian euro-pessimists are what they are, because they don’t believe in the sincere interest of the EU “to welcome Ukraine on board”\(^{50}\). Following a certain direction means the presence of guiding lines and key tasks, which influence political decisions.

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\(^{47}\) Zerkalo nedeli, №23, 19 of June 2010, [http://zn.ua/articles/60485](http://zn.ua/articles/60485)


\(^{49}\) Zerkalo nedeli, №19, 22 of May 2010, [http://zn.ua/articles/60177](http://zn.ua/articles/60177)

\(^{50}\) Zerkalo nedeli, №19, 22 of May 2010, [http://zn.ua/articles/60177](http://zn.ua/articles/60177)
Will it gain success following the way beaten by the Eastern-European countries, or will it choose its own mean of transport, due to which it will finally get to the united Europe in spite of the unfavorable geopolitical current situation?\textsuperscript{51}

**Eurointegration – as means of transport**

An accent here is made on the instrumental role of the European integration for Ukraine to achieve its goals. Words from the domain *traveling* and *transport* are used very often (*train to Europe, ticket, suitcase, railway station, train, ship, sharp turn, etc.*)

Transport metaphors are very important characteristics for the political reality in the Ukrainian media discourse. Vehicular metaphors, resulting from personal experience of driving or being in vehicles moving along the road, are a complement to this kind of spatial imagery. As any other metaphors, they contain additional information about the subject of the speech’s attitude to political events. In particular, they give a certain meaning to political processes by means of characteristics such as *dynamic of traffic, means of transport, overcoming of distances and obstacles* for the realization of political programs, etc.

But vehicular metaphors also bring mechanical elements in depictions of Europe as it means impersonal authority without a name – “Eurocrats from Brussels”. If the state is a machine, then the various parts of society become the elements from which the machine is constructed. Machines are cold and heartless; it is impossible to engage them in conversation. Machines have to operate according to some definite and quite impersonal rules. “This means that the ruler becomes a clockmaker or an engineer whose main job is to oversee the operations of the machine, as the machine comes to work quite independently of the ruler’s personal will and whims”\textsuperscript{52}. The state-as-machine seems to have more repressive implications than the state-as a body or organism.

Very often Ukraine is represented as a *ship* which follows the *course*. Wherein, Ukraine can *follow the course on Europe* as well as *distance, drift, find itself outboard etc.*, depending on the situation and the goals of the subjects of speech.

Thus, for example, by means of transport metaphors *Zerkalo nedeli* describe difficulties emerging on the way to Europe for Yanukovych’s team.

\textsuperscript{51} *Zerkalo nedeli*, №19, 22 of May 2010, [http://zn.ua/articles/60177](http://zn.ua/articles/60177)

Quick changes of geopolitical landscape, hard pressure with the aim to make us drift to any direction, not necessarily to one, favorable for us, - these are elements of external policy surrounding while V. Yanukovych stands at the helm of the foreign policy.\textsuperscript{53}

To \textit{drift} here means to move according to the will of external circumstances, not to own interests and preferences. The parts of the means of transport often become synonyms for metaphoric names of political processes. For example, an often used word like “wheel” has a meaning of “power” in the political context.

Ukraine is compared with a \textit{broken car}:

\begin{quote}
A car, which Yanukovych has to drive, is not just broken and disordered, spit and written over by swear-words. Its motor is stolen, its wheels are punched. It almost ran out of fuel. Will President Yanukovych be able to make such a car move forward and if so, how far will he get?\textsuperscript{54}
\end{quote}

Thus, a metaphor of the \textit{path} to Europe reflects a certain image of the Eurointegrational process and, at the same time, is somehow programming further actions in this direction. A certain vision of the world and a corresponding scenario of actions are standing behind it. Those politicians, who use this scenario, are rarely able to overstep its limits.

From another side, the \textit{path} metaphor reconstitutes the dependent relations, i.e. it implies the possibilities of EU’s control over the process of integration and the relations with its neighbors. “It allows the EU to set the conditions the applicants have to fulfill if they want to continue on the path towards the EU”.\textsuperscript{55}

\textbf{Ukraine as a bridge and Ukraine as a buffer}

Perception and conceptualization of the European integration is tied directly with the positioning of Ukraine towards Europe. There are typical metaphors of Ukraine here as a \textit{bridge} and Ukraine as a \textit{buffer}. Both complexes of metaphors are used in the frame of the geopolitical opposition of the West and Russia. The representation of Ukraine as a \textit{bridge} between Europe and Asia (Russia) is typical\textsuperscript{56}. Ukraine – is a \textit{crossroad} between the East and the West.

\textsuperscript{53} Zerkalo nedeli, №8, 27 of February 2010, \url{http://zn.ua/articles/59375}
\textsuperscript{54} Zerkalo nedeli, №8, 27 of February 2010, \url{http://zn.ua/articles/59375}
\textsuperscript{55} Huelsse, Rainer. Imagine the EU: the metaphorical construction of a supra-nationalist identity. \textit{Journal of International Relations and Development}, Nr 9, 2006: 412
Ukraine is situated on the border between Europe and Asia. Ukraine has to maneuver between its relations with the West and Russia.57

“Ukraine is ready to come out as a certain bridge in this question for rapprochement of the EU and Belarus.” - Yanukovych said58.

In the post-colonial discourse, Ukraine is represented not even as a buffer, but as an East-European outpost, or bastion. In this case Ukraine is a defender of the European civilization from despotic, wild, barbaric Asia, which is associated, first of all, with Russia.

It is often criticized by many pro-Ukrainian politicians that Ukraine as a neutral buffer between east and west will sacrifice in the name of European security.

Ukraine – as a buffer is a neutralizer between two worlds; a mediator, it used to have and will have a stabilizing role in this “in-between”. For example, Ukraine is ready to become a bridge between the EU and other former Soviet republics59.

Hungary – is a way to Europe for Ukraine. Ukraine – is a way to Russia and other post-soviet countries for Hungary.60

Stable Ukraine is often presented as a condition of Europe’s security in this context. The bridge fulfills a connecting function, drawing together cultures, nations and countries. Politicians are “raising bridges”, helping to consolidate economic and political ties between countries.

Followers of strengthening ties with Russia are using this frame as well (using metaphor - Ukraine as a bridge between Europe and Russia), explaining that Europe itself is interested in the partnership of Ukraine and Russia. This thesis has become especially popular after Yanukovych’s return to power in 2010. Moreover, the Yanukovych team often places Ukraine’s success in European affairs as a dependent of good relations with Russia.

The normalization of our relations with the RF not only doesn’t prevent Euro-integrational processes, but even helps them. United Europe needs an economically strong, democratic Ukraine, which, together with Russia, contributes to the consolidation of stability, - President Yanukovich claimed.61

Conclusions

Europe is a powerful point of reference in Ukrainian public discussions. In terms of Laclau and Mouffe\(^\text{62}\), the different visions of Europe, and the geopolitical choice of Ukraine, according to it, are *nodal points* for nowadays Ukrainian political discourses.

Ukrainian media reflect the diversity of opinions and visions of the future direction of developing country. The Ukrainian media also reflect a range of changes and ongoing conflicts on the topic of European future of Ukraine. Ukraine is uncertain about its future in Europe. Visions of Europe in the Ukrainian political discourse are heterogeneous and ambivalent.

The Ukrainian media widely employed a limited number of underlying conceptual metaphors formed by previous experience, history and specifics of post-Soviet culture. We distinguished a few typical ways of metaphorical representation of the European integration in Ukrainian public discourse.

Firstly, the main role is played by metaphors of movement, where *Eurointegration* is mostly depicted as a *path* (with different organic and mechanical attributes).

So we can conclude that in Ukrainian public discourse spatial metaphors play a dominant role, among which an important place is occupied by the metaphor of European integration as a *path* and Ukraine as a *bridge*. Ukraine often appears as a *bridge* between Russia and the rest of Europe, or as a *bridge* between Europe and Asia. For the post-colonial discourse, it’s typical to present Ukraine not as a *bridge*, but as a *buffer*, or even *outpost*. In this case Ukraine became a *defender* of the European civilization from *despotic, wild, barbaric Asia*, which is associated, first of all, with Russia.

Secondly, the metaphor of Europe/European Union as a *house/structure* plays an important role. Here the EU was often presented as an *exclusive space to enter – closed rich club* or even *fortress*. Europe as an organism is not very typical for Ukrainian media discourse. The more widespread vision of the EU is as a *construction (building)*, which was created with some purpose. The European Union is regularly depicted in Ukrainian public discourse as a heavily guarded *fortress* looking for any opportunities to ‘limit’ or ‘deny’ access to other countries who do not already belong to the union. The EU was also presented in the Ukrainian imagery by using the conceptual metaphor of the *closed elite’s club*.

Thirdly, metaphors of personification represent the relations with the EU and the Eurointegration process as persons involved in different kind of relations and have emotions, human characteristics, etc. To this group we can probably also relate the metaphor – European integration as a study process. The relations of EU-Ukraine are presented here in the frame of teacher-student.

In this frame Europe is clearly in the dominant position, where the EU occupies the role of a teacher who has the right to demand, evaluate and even dictate. These kinds of relations are widely criticized by the opponents of European integration. Such asymmetrical relations have the following consequence: the responsibility on the results and outcomes of European aspirations of Ukraine lies on the side of the teachers, the European Union. Thus, this frame allows some kind of passivity and mistakes for the Ukrainian side.

Perhaps the most visible tendency observed when we analyzed the metaphorical representations of relations of Ukraine with European Union was that within each identified frame, for every positive consideration there was a negative counterpart.

One of the characteristics of the Ukrainian public sphere and the way of presenting politics in the media is a very high level of ‘personalization’ and ‘psychologization’ of events and the actions of political actors. The personalized perception of political events, turned Ukrainian politics into an endless "soap serial" of personal relationships between "actors". Personal-psychological interpretation of what is happening in Ukrainian politics triumphed in public discussion. It is also related to the representation of European affairs by Ukrainian media.

Very often the Ukrainian media do not reflect the institutional and procedural issues of decision-making and the implementation of public and foreign policies. The personification of understanding the events in the public sphere has the effect of the denial of the critical and rational discussion of the contents of public policy in favor of emotive relationship to the events. A consequence of it is a total ‘psychologization’ and ‘personalization’ of political discourse in general, and foreign policy issues and relations between Ukraine and the EU in particular.

The most visible consequence of the "personalized" logic of perception of politics is the understanding of a state as a family. It demonstrates some specifics of Ukrainian media. Although the personalization, psychologization etc. is part of modernization/Americanization of mass media, as argued, for instance by Christ’l De Landtsheer63, and in this sense Ukrainian media follow this way of development.

The EU’s positive image, which is largely based upon stereotypes of the high living standards and welfare in European countries, is the dominant factor in the Ukrainian public opinion. “Sometimes the ‘European choice’ has tried to fill up the targeted vacuum that had been created after the USSR’s collapse…”

The mythological or even a romantic image of Europe prevails in the public discourse among the pro-European parts of the society. Ukrainians know so little about contemporary Europe, that they are ready to accept any of the myths and stereotypes depending on circumstances and dominant narratives.

Compared with 2005, in 2010 there was a visible and significant reduction in the frequency of using the metaphor *path* to Europe in official discourse. We can agree with Yavorska, that the idea of Ukraine’s *path* to Europe reflects a lack of awareness of European identity for Ukrainians. In comparison - the relationship with Russia is conceptualized quite differently: to build a relationship with Russia, it is necessary to just "do not turn your back on Russia"; there is no need for a *path* to Russia because both countries are already close enough. Relations with Russia are often conceptualized by using metaphors of the *family* or family relations (even if there are stressed negative moments in relations).

Konstantin Hryshchenko: *What is Europe for us if Russia is our family? You know, we're all in the European family, just different children, parents are the same.*

Although the opponents of rapprochement with Russia often characterize the relationship between Russia and Ukraine only as a relationship of *neighbors*.

“*Russia is our neighbor. Such geography - is our destiny*,” said Grigoriy Nemyria.

Despite the rhetoric that remains similar, the change from the presidency of Yushchenko to the presidency of Yanukovych shifted the vectors of Ukrainian foreign policy. ‘European choice’ of Ukraine, together with the rhetoric of national revival, was crucial during the period of Yushchenko presidency. And as the pragmatic framing of the European integration was dominating the Ukrainian foreign policy narratives of the Yanukovych government, it also affected

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64 Sushko Oleksandr, Parkhomenko Natalia (eds.) *European Integration of Ukraine: As Viewed by Top Ukrainian Politicians, Businessmen and Society Leaders*, Stefan Batory Foundation, Warsaw, 2003:7
65 Yavors’ka G. Political rhetoric and reality of European integration, *Viche*, № 7, 2002:66 - 71
the decisions and actions taken by the Ukrainian government after 2010. President Yanukovich did not mention any more that Ukraine is an “undivided part of Europe”, as Yushchenko claimed, but declared that Ukraine would be a partner of Europe and act as a bridge “between the West and Russia”. At the same time, European integration has remained a key object of political discourse.

After the return of Viktor Yanukovych to power, an economical frame in the European integration issue was actualized. Ukraine's relations with the EU were described mainly in official discourses as a "business partnership". This is quite a logical consequence of the declared "pragmatic" approach to foreign policy proclaimed by the team of President Yanukovych.

The European Neighborhood Policy was created as a “road map” for the Ukrainian way towards the EU. Despite that, it was created for an opening of the door for Ukraine to Europe; for the majority of Ukrainians it is still a ‘map’ without connection with the ‘real territory’. The images of doors being closed and safeguarded evoked an interpretation of the European house in terms of a fortress. In this context the metaphor of doors - widely used in different frames- also has the potential to be positive (if opened) and negative (if closed). In the dominant Ukrainian perception – European doors are rarely closed to admit newcomers, thus requiring them to constantly knock at the door while standing outside. In sum, the metaphor of closed door shows that Ukraine is located outside of the European Union.

References

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