

## LEGITIMIZATION AND DELEGITIMIZATION STRATEGIES ON TERRORISM: A CORPUS-BASED ANALYSIS OF BUILDING METAPHORS

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### Abstract

This article examines the role of Building Metaphors in the political discourse of the former Spanish president<sup>1</sup> José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero. More specific, it analyzes how Building Metaphors serve as legitimization and delegitimization strategies used by the Government and its anti-terrorist plight. The corpus of investigation comprises all political speeches on terrorism during Zapatero's two terms in office (from April 2004 to December 2011). I argue that the use of Building Metaphors is a strategy of Zapatero's whereby the solid ground of the Government's anti-terrorist initiative is juxtaposed with terrorism's lack of foundation. Findings suggest that the following conceptual metaphors are used as framing devices: POLITICS IS BUILDING, POLITICAL ENTITIES ARE BUILDINGS, THE GOVERNMENT IS THE BUILDER, TERRORISM IS THE DESTROYER, DEMOCRACY IS A STANDING BUILDING WITH SOLID FOUNDATIONS, TERRORISM IS A BUILDING WITH NO FOUNDATIONS, DEMOCRATIC VALUES ARE CONNECTORS, and TERRORIST VALUES ARE OBSTRUCTORS.

**Keywords:** Conceptual Metaphor; Building Metaphor; Terrorism; José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero; Political Discourse.

### 1. Introduction

Terrorism has been a major problem in Spain over the past four decades. Most of the terrorist attacks have been carried out by ETA<sup>2</sup>, a designated terrorist organization. The deadliest attack happened on March 11, 2004 (11-M) and was carried out by Al-Qaeda. This attack had a lasting effect on Spain's political landscape and took terrorism from a

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<sup>1</sup> I should note that the Head of the Government in Spain is officially a 'Prime Minister' since Spain is a constitutional monarchy. However, in Spain and in Spanish politics, the Head of the Government is addressed as 'President'. Therefore, I have employed the usage of 'president' as such in this article.

<sup>2</sup> ETA stands for 'Euskadi Ta Askatasuna' (Basque Homeland and Freedom).

national level to an international one. José María Aznar<sup>3</sup>, the president at that time, supported the US-led invasion of Iraq for strategic foreign policy reasons. This went against popular sentiment, and there were multiple protests against Spain's involvement in the war. In the March 14 general election, the presiding Popular Party (right wing) was unexpectedly defeated by the Socialist Party (left wing). It is believed that the public attributed the 11-M attack to the policies of the Popular Party and that José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero's anti-war and anti-terrorism ideology was the decisive factor in his electoral victory.

Zapatero's two term presidency (2004-2011) included many terrorism-related initiatives, decisions, and policies. One of the main objectives of his presidency was to find a lasting solution to the problem of terrorism in Spain. Zapatero had to build his position as an effective political negotiator and leader. This study aims to examine how Building Metaphors are used by Zapatero to achieve a specific strategic purpose. I argue that Zapatero adopts metaphors from the source domain of building to promulgate his anti-terrorist initiatives and to marginalize the negative propaganda of terrorists. This study builds on the notion of legitimization and delegitimization strategies (Koteyko and Ryazanova-Clarke 2009). Building Metaphors allow for the legitimization of democracy while delegitimizing terrorism. The research questions addressed are the following: 1. What Building Metaphors are used?; 2. What specific aspects of building are activated in the conceptualization of terrorism in the Government's anti-terrorist plight?; 3. What is the role of Building Metaphors?; and 4. How do they contribute to present Zapatero's anti-terrorist ideology?

This article is structured as follows: In section 2, I briefly review the relevant historical and political backgrounds. In section 3, I briefly present related research work on metaphor and politics, specifically how the metaphorical notion of building has been used in political discourse. Section 4 presents the methodological approach used in this study. Section 5 contains the analysis and results of the investigation. This section examines first the legitimization strategies used by Zapatero (Section 5.1). I analyze what aspects of buildings (5.1.1; 5.1.2) as well as constructions (5.1.3) are used to frame his anti-terrorist campaign. Then, I present the delegitimization strategies used to fight terrorism (5.2), including aspects of buildings (5.2.1; 5.2.2) and constructions (5.2.3). The final section presents the conclusions.

## **2. Political background**

Rodríguez Zapatero assumed office in April, 2004, almost one month after the most tragic terrorist attack in Spain's history, the bombing of Madrid's Atocha train station (11-M). This attack not only killed a large number of people, but also it was perpetrated by a new terrorist group, an Islamic cell related to the international terrorist organization Al-Qaeda. Unfortunately, Spain has lived with different types of terrorism since the late sixties: The

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<sup>3</sup> José María Aznar was the president of Spain from 1996 to 2004. He is affiliated to the Popular Party (which is a conservative party).

nationalist terrorism articulated by ETA; the extreme left led by GRAPO<sup>4</sup> and FRAP<sup>5</sup>; and GAL<sup>6</sup> (Avilés 2010). ETA is the terrorist group that still remains active since the last 40 years. Basque nationalism emerged in Franco's era and has evolved into what is known as 'ethnic nationalism', which produced exclusion, violence, and intolerance (Reinares 2011: 14). Many Basques favored independence from Spain and self-determination, defending the annexation of 'Euskal Herria'. This includes the regions of Alava, Guipúzcoa, Vizcaya, Navarra, Lapurdi, Babe Nafarroa and Zuberroa (Fisas 2010: 9).

A political priority of Zapatero since the beginning of his presidency has been to end terrorism in Spain. He started negotiations with ETA in order to reach a peace settlement. In May 2005, all political parties in Spain's Congress supported this initiative, except the Popular Party. Zapatero's Government continued negotiations with ETA at different levels. On March 22, 2006, ETA declared a permanent ceasefire. Zapatero's attempt to initiate democratic dialogue with Batasuna<sup>7</sup> and ETA was not successful. Batasuna did not want to respect the Law on Parties<sup>8</sup>; therefore, it remained illegal. Furthermore, the Government did not accept ETA's desire to make the Basque Country self-governing and to incorporate Navarra into its territory (Avilés 2010). ETA's disagreement and discontent with the Government eventually resulted in a terrorist attack on December 30, 2006, in Madrid's Barajas International Airport. Deep anger and distrust grew in the general public, leading to many protests and demonstrations condemning ETA's perpetration of violence. This was unlike the situation with previous governments, such as those of José María Aznar and Felipe González<sup>9</sup>. This time, the victims did not remain silent (Mate 2008). During February and March of 2007, the AVT<sup>10</sup> led several demonstrations expressing their opposition to negotiation with ETA. At the same time, the Supreme Court declared some of the associations related to ETA such as Jarrai, Ekin, ANV<sup>11</sup>, and PCTV<sup>12</sup> (Avilés 2010) as illegal. On June 5, 2007, ETA unilaterally announced the end of the ceasefire and resumed armed activity by detonating bombs that led to more casualties.

Despite ETA's continuous attacks, the organization had been losing strength and support among many of its members. As Eguigurem and Aizpeolea indicate (2011: 256-7), ETA had conflicts with the left *abertzale* because of internal disagreements about the peace process. Between June 2007 and July 2008, five important ETA command centers were dismantled by the State Security Forces. Eguigurem and Aizpeolea (2011: 259-260) point

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<sup>4</sup> GRAPO stands for 'Grupo de Resistencia Antifascista Primero de Octubre' (First of October Anti-fascist Resistance Groups).

<sup>5</sup> FRAP stands for 'Frente Revolucionario Antifascista Patriota' (Revolutionary Anti-Fascist Patriotic Front).

<sup>6</sup> GAL stands for 'Grupos Antiterroristas de Liberación' (Anti-Terrorist Liberation Groups).

<sup>7</sup> Batasuna was considered the Basque political party that represented ETA.

<sup>8</sup> Law on Parties declares that parties failing to respect democratic or constitutional values are illegal.

<sup>9</sup> Felipe González was president of Spain from 1982 to 1996. He is affiliated to the Spanish Socialist Workers Party.

<sup>10</sup> AVT stands for the 'Asociación de las Víctimas del Terrorismo' (Association of Victims of Terrorism).

<sup>11</sup> ANV is the acronym for 'Acción Nacionalista Vasca' (Basque Nationalist Party).

<sup>12</sup> PCTV stands for 'Partido Comunista de Tierra Vasca' (Communist Party of the Basque Homeland).

out that the arrest of Juan Cruz Maiza, Javier López Peña, and Garikoitz Aspiazu, who represented the logistic, political, and military apparati of ETA respectively, showed ETA's enormous vulnerability.

On October 20, 2011, ETA declared a permanent cessation of its armed activity. As Batista remarks (2011: 286), ETA's statement showed that this compromise was serious and clear, one where the word 'definitive' was used. Zapatero declared that this was "a victory for democracy, law, and reason," and more than 40 years of ETA-sponsored terrorism in Spain came to an end. Although many citizens and politicians remain skeptical of ETA's declaration, the present situation remains stable.

### 3. Literature review

Metaphors have the power to impact politics because of their persuasive role in communication (Mussolf 2004; Goatly 2007). One of these roles is to serve as legitimization and delegitimization strategies. The notion of legitimization is related to a positive evaluation of self, whereas the delegitimization refers to the negative evaluation of the 'Other'. Chilton (2004: 47) indicates that:

Delegitimization can manifest itself in acts of negative other-representation, acts of blaming, scape-goating, marginalizing, excluding, attacking the moral character of some individual or group, attacking the communicative cooperation of the other, attacking the rationality and sanity of the other. The extreme is to deny the humanness of the other. At the other end of the spectrum legitimization, usually oriented to the self, includes positive self-presentation, manifesting itself in acts of self-praise, self-apology, self-explanation, self-justification as a source of authority, reason, vision and sanity.

The metaphorical notion of building has proved to be productive in political discourse for addressing a wide variety of social issues (Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Goatly 1997; Kövecses 2002; Charteris-Black 2004; Chilton 2004). Building allows one to structure concepts according to the notions of constructing and destroying. Lakoff and Johnson (1980), formulate ARGUMENT IS A BUILDING<sup>13</sup> and THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS to explain that an argument should be based on and supported by solid facts and ideas. A wide variety of conceptual metaphors have been produced since then: SOCIETY IS A BUILDING, COMPLEX SYSTEMS ARE BUILDINGS, RELATIONSHIPS ARE BUILDINGS (Goatly 1997: 48; Grady 1997; Charteris-Black 2004: 70).

Well-known international politicians such as Mikhail Gorbachov, Vladimir Putin, Tony Blair, Bill Clinton, Che Sui-Bian, and Hugo Chávez have used the metaphorical notion of building to address social problems (Charteris-Black 2005). In particular, buildings like houses, have been productive in political discourse. Chilton and Lakoff (1995) indicate that the state-as-house is based on the state-as-a-person metaphor. They

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<sup>13</sup> Following Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) convention, conceptual metaphors will be indicated in small capitals.

argue that when a state is perceived as a person, the sovereign territory is considered 'home.' Consequently, the concept of 'home' is a bounded territory that needs to be protected and secured (53). For instance, in Russian political discourse, the house metaphor played a key role during the Cold War era. Chilton and Ilyn (1993) report that Gorbachev's *common European house* metaphor was commonly used in the 1980s. The metaphorical use of the Russian word *dom* allowed him to portray the need for a common secure structure. They add that expressions such as 'building communism' and *perestroika* ('rebuilding') were employed to present a communal view of Europe and the Soviet Union. Putin also used Building Metaphors as discursive strategies for legitimization and delegitimization to frame his 'Neo-authoritarian militocracy' and to promote a strong security policy (Koteyko and Ryazanova-Clarke 2009: 124). The house and the door metaphor have been used in French discourse in the discursive construction of Turkey (Çağatay Tekin 2008). In this case, Turkey was metaphorically conceptualized as knocking on the door of a house (Europe), waiting outside for its integration into the European Community.

Building Metaphors have also been used in the British political manifestos by the Labor and Conservative parties (Charteris-Black 2004). He indicates that while some metaphors may convey a message of stability, foundation, and progress towards a long-term goal, others emphasize obstruction from reaching a goal.

Building Metaphors have also been reported in American discourse by politicians such as Garfield, Harding, Clinton, Truman, Nixon, Carter, Kennedy, and Wilson (Charteris-Black 2004). They are purposefully employed to construct social goals, social cohesion and social purpose (100).

Building imagery has also been employed in Taiwanese discourse by presidents from the Republic of China (Lu and Ahrens 2008). Two subsets of BUILDING metaphors, (retrospective BUILDING and RECONSTRUCTION metaphors) were used as political strategies to refer to A COUNTRY IS A BUILDING. Retrospective metaphors make references to the past history of China. They portray the country's past glory as cornerstones and its national founders as builders (PAST HISTORY IS FOUNDATION; FORERUNNERS ARE BUILDERS). RECONSTRUCTION metaphors, however, imply future references to emphasize the need to repair and build the country. In this regard, they portrayed the Taiwanese people as rebuilders of their damaged country, destroyed by Communists (COMMUNISTS ARE DESTROYERS; THE COMMUNIST TAKEOVER IS DESTRUCTION). While each subset communicated specific political messages, both served as political strategies to Kuomintang<sup>14</sup> presidents (Chiang Kai-shek, Chiang Ching-kuo, and LeeTeng-hui), especially to Chiang Kai-shek. By contrast, Chen Shui-bian's low percentage of BUILDING metaphors indicated his conscious evasion for using either subset, and employing JOURNEY, FARMLAND, and BUSINESS metaphors as an alternative to frame his political views.

Building Metaphors are pervasive in political discourse; however, little attention has been given to their usage in Spanish. While there exist studies that report on the use of

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<sup>14</sup> Kuomintang refers to the Chinese Nationalist Party, and it promotes the reunification of Mainland China. As opposed to this, the Democratic Progressive Party, led by president Chen Shui-bian defends a Taiwanese identity and therefore, an anti-Chinese ideology.

different types of metaphors in Spain's political discourse (Díaz Rojo 1994; Ruiz Gurillo 2000; González Ruiz 2008; Hellín 2008; Olza 2008; Hellín 2009; Järlehed, 2009; Molpeceres 2009; Sánchez García 2009; Hellín 2010), Building Metaphors are still relatively unexplored. The goal of this study is to make an original contribution to this research area.

#### 4. Methodology

This study analyzes all political speeches related to terrorism<sup>15</sup> by the former president of Spain, José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero during his two terms in office (from April 2004 to December 2011). Some speeches were devoted only to the subject of terrorism. However, others covered different topics such as the Alliance of Civilization, Spanish military intervention in Afghanistan, abolition of the death penalty, the European Constitution, and the Arab League Summit. Regarding speeches that included different topics, only the parts that referred to terrorism were examined. Speeches also covered different genres (parliamentary debates, the state of the Nation debate, press conferences, presidential declarations, international summit debates, etc). The audience addressed includes victims of terrorism attacks, the Army National Guard, the National Police Corps, and the general public among others. Speeches were delivered in Spain and abroad. The corpus consists of approximately 341,000 words. Originally in the Spanish language, it was retrieved from the official Government webpage, *La Moncloa*<sup>16</sup>.

In particular, only metaphorical expressions conceptualizing the Government's anti-terrorist campaign related to the lexical domain of building were examined. I will refer to these metaphors as Building Metaphors. The data shows that Building Metaphors refer to different aspects of building: 1. The actors, specifically the builder and the destroyer; 2. The process, or the types of actions that characterize the actors; 3. The means, or the artifacts that each actor uses to carry out a process of construction or destruction; 4. The product, or the types, subtypes, and parts of buildings, as well as the different constructions used by each actor.

The data analysis draws upon the combination of a pragmatic and a cognitive approach that complement each other. The cognitive perspective follows Lakoff and Johnson's *Conceptual Metaphor Theory* (Lakoff 1993; Lakoff and Johnson 1980). The pragmatic approach is based on Charteris-Black's *Critical Metaphor Analysis* (2004).

The Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) was mainly elaborated by Lakoff and Johnson in *Metaphors We Live By* (1980). This theory postulates that the human thought processes are mainly metaphorical (6). Therefore, CMT perceives metaphor as a thought. In Lakoff's view, a metaphor consists of a tightly structured mapping between a source domain and a target domain (206-207). Elements from the source domain are mapped into the target domain. In this regard, the structure of the image-schema in the source domain is maintained in the target domain. The cross-mapping involves the objects and its characteristics as well as the relations, events, and scenarios of the domain (Grady 2010:

<sup>15</sup> Appendix A includes all speeches related to terrorism.

<sup>16</sup> Official website: <http://www.lamoncloa.gob.es/home.htm>

191). In this study, aspects of building (source domain) frame Zapatero's vision on his anti-terrorist struggle (target domain). For instance, democracy is perceived as a construction process, where the builders (Government) construct solid and stable buildings (pacts, truces, etc). This semantic relation is depicted through the formulation of conceptual metaphors: THE GOVERNMENT IS THE BUILDER and TERRORISM IS THE DESTROYER. The notion of source domain has been reanalyzed by some cognitive scholars (Grady 1997; Kövecses 2002; Croft 2003; Heywood and Semino 2005). Croft (2004: 25) indicates that a concept may be formed by several domains, which he refers to as *domain matrix*. He adds that most of the concepts belong to abstract domains and these are structured into more complex domain matrices (26). He also suggests that "a far richer structure than simply compatible image-schemas is brought into the target domain from the source domain (203). Grady (1997) proposes a distinction between 'primary' and 'compound' conceptual metaphors. He suggests that primary metaphors combine to form more complex ones. He argues that ORGANIZATION IS PHYSICAL STRUCTURE and PERSISTING IS REMAINING ERECT are combine to be part of the complex metaphor THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS. He adds that source domains are part of one's personal experience (in Heywood and Semino, 2005: 6). However, Heywood and Semino (2005: 6) argue that some source scenes "are not straightforwardly recognizable as part of our experience." Kövecses (2002: 103) also indicates that one source domain is not sufficient to understand a target completely; therefore, several source domains are needed to provide a full understanding of the target. He points out that 'each source domain can only structure certain aspects of the target [...] the source domains jointly produce the structure and content of abstract concepts'. Therefore, the notion of source domain raises questions that need to be answered. As Kövecses (2002: 321) points out all theories and approaches help to account for a better understanding of metaphorical sentences. As he states: "no single theory explains everything about the process of meaning construction required for the sentence."

While CMT contributes to the cognitive understanding of metaphor, it does not account for its pragmatic function. As this study focuses on Zapatero's metaphor choice to frame his anti-terrorist struggle, a pragmatic analysis of metaphor is needed. For this aspect, I followed Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA). Charteris-Black (2004) uses the notion of *metaphor keywords* and *candidate metaphors* for the identification, interpretation, and explanation of metaphorical expressions. Metaphor keyword refers to the word whose tendency is to be used metaphorically. Candidate metaphor refers to the linguistic expression in which the metaphor keyword is used. This approach allows one to analyze a metaphorical meaning in context. Therefore, the social-historical meaning is crucial to understand its discursive function. In particular, Charteris-Black (2004, 2005) has proved CMA to be an important approach in metaphorical political discourse.

Following Charteris-Black's and Lakoff's terminology, I proceeded as follows: The first step was to identify manually the *candidate metaphor*. This involved the identification of the *metaphor keyword*. To determine if a word was used metaphorically, I considered its

basic meaning (for which I referred to the *Real Academia Española*<sup>17</sup>) and its contextual meaning in the corpus. If the contextual meaning contrasted with the literal meaning, then the word was considered metaphorical. For instance, let us consider the following expression: [...] *la democracia ha sido para nosotros una escuela de compromiso cívico* ‘democracy has been for us a school of civic compromise’<sup>18</sup> (3/1/2005). I identified the term *escuela* as a metaphor keyword since its contextual meaning revealed that democracy (a form of government) was defined as a school (an educational institution). The next step was the formulation of the *conceptual metaphor*, and consequently a *conceptual key*, which would be a more general conceptual metaphor. To determine the conceptual metaphor, I identified the concept that represented the mappings between target and the source domains. I proposed ‘DEMOCRACY’ as target domain and ‘EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION’ as source domain since the term *escuela* represents an institution whose aim is to educate and teach people. Thus, I proposed the following conceptual metaphor: DEMOCRACY IS AN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION. The last step is to formulate the conceptual key, which is a more general conceptual metaphor. I proposed as conceptual key: POLITICAL ENTITIES ARE BUILDINGS. The following example illustrates the procedure in order: 1. Identification of the *candidate metaphor*: [...] *la democracia ha sido para nosotros una escuela de compromiso cívico* ‘democracy has been for us a school of civic compromise’ (3/1/2005); 2. Identification of the *metaphor keyword*: *escuela* ‘school’; 3. Formulation of *Conceptual Metaphor*: DEMOCRACY IS AN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION; 4. Formulation of *Conceptual Key*: POLITICAL ENTITIES ARE BUILDINGS. This process allowed me to provide a closer qualitative analysis of the metaphorical expressions.

## 5. Analysis and results

In the analysis, 99 metaphorical instances, 34 metaphor keywords, 42 conceptual metaphors, and 8 conceptual keys were identified as part of the source domain of building. Findings indicate that Zapatero’s vision of the anti-terrorist plight can be summarized by the following conceptual keys: POLITICS IS BUILDING, POLITICAL ENTITIES ARE BUILDINGS, THE GOVERNMENT IS THE BUILDER, TERRORISM IS THE DESTROYER, DEMOCRACY IS A STANDING BUILDING WITH SOLID FOUNDATIONS, TERRORISM IS A BUILDING WITH NO FOUNDATIONS, DEMOCRATIC VALUES ARE CONNECTORS, and TERRORIST VALUES ARE OBSTRUCTORS.

Zapatero presents his view on terrorism through Building Metaphors. By doing so, he selects certain functional aspects from the semantic field of building. On the one hand, Building Metaphors allow Zapatero to make positive evaluations about the legitimate means he uses to carry out his anti-terrorist plight. On the other hand, they also contribute

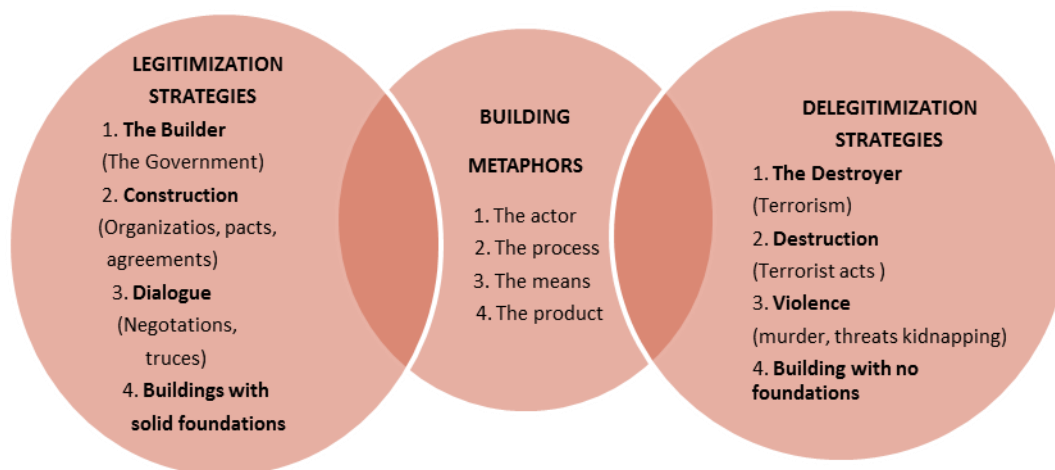
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<sup>17</sup> The Real Academia Española (Royal Spanish Academy) is the official institution that regulates the current state of the Spanish language. The website is: <http://www.rae.es/rae.html>

<sup>18</sup> I should mention that the original corpus is in Spanish, and the English translations provided in the examples are the author’s.



to negative evaluations of terrorism and reinforce its illegitimacy. This is done through two main angles, namely construction and destruction. In this regard, Building Metaphors are mainly employed to present the following aspects: 1. The actors, specifically the builder and the destroyer; 2. The process, or the types of actions that characterize the actors; 3. The means, or the artifacts that each actor uses to carry out a process of construction or destruction; 4. The product, or the types, subtypes, and parts of buildings, as well as the different constructions used by each actor.



Building Metaphors were mostly used as legitimization strategies (78.78%) rather than delegitimization strategies (21.21%). While 23 metaphor keywords were employed as part of legitimization strategies, only 11 were used as delegitimization strategies. This indicates that the usage of metaphor keywords as legitimization strategies was double. Legitimization strategies were employed to indicate a positive representation of the president, the government, and the majority of the citizens of Spain. These actors represent the construction and support of democratic policies as well as moral values. The self-positive representation is also envisioned in the peaceful processes and means to carry out their constructions and products. These processes are conceptualized primarily through verb metaphor keywords such as *asentarse* ‘to establish’, *construir* ‘to construct’, *recomponer* ‘to recompose’, *reconstruir* ‘to reconstruct’, *erigirse* ‘to reconstruct’, *reparar* ‘to repair’, *restaurar* ‘to restore’, *sostener* ‘to support’, and *sustentar* ‘to support’. Other legitimization strategies such as self-explanation and self-justification are employed to present the Government’s products. The products are characterized as solid and firm buildings or parts of it and constructions. These products are realized mainly through noun metaphor keywords such as *armazón* ‘framework’, *arquitectura* ‘architecture’, *casa* ‘house’, *cimientos* ‘foundations’, *escuela* ‘school’, *plataforma* ‘platform’, *pilar* ‘pillar’, *puente* ‘bridge’. Overall, noun metaphor keywords (13) were more frequently used than verb keywords (9).

On the other hand, Building Metaphors also serve as delegitimization strategies, although fewer in number. They are employed to indicate the negative representation of terrorism, and to attack their lack of moral character, rationale, and communicative cooperation. The actors (terrorists) are defined by the destructive processes of their actions through metaphor keywords like *derribar* ‘to demolish’, *derrumbe* ‘collapse’, *destrucción* ‘destruction’, *destruir* ‘to destroy’. Delegitimization strategies that indicate terrorists’ means are conceptualized through keywords that evoke destruction (*aldabonazo* ‘doorknocker hit’) and the global spreading of violence (*antesala* ‘anteroom’, *puerta* ‘door’). The resulting products of terrorism are realized through mainly noun metaphor keywords that indicate terrorism’s lack of communicative cooperation are conveyed through keywords such as *barrera* ‘barrier’, *foso* ‘ditch’, and *muro* ‘wall’. As in the case of legitimization strategies, noun metaphor keywords (9) were used more frequent than verb metaphor keywords (2).

Overall, results suggest that legitimization strategies are more prominent than delegitimization strategies in Zapatero’s discourse. Metaphor keywords that exploit a positive representation of the Government occur more frequently than those that characterize terrorism negatively. Also, noun metaphor keywords are used more frequently than verb metaphor keywords in both types of strategies. In particular, the most prominent noun metaphor keyword is *pilar*. *Pilar* tends to appear as part of a noun phrase structure: *Los pilares de la lucha del terrorismo* (12/13/2004); *los pilares básicos de nuestra política exterior* (9/21/2004); *los dos pilares de este proyecto* (9/6/2011). In addition to this, *construir* is the most salient verb metaphor keyword: [...] *la razón siempre se construye desde principios éticos* (06/ 09/ 2004); [...] *hay que construir convivencia, hay que construir el mantenimiento de la memoria* (11/7/2011). As mentioned previously, the occurrence of metaphor keywords and metaphorical expression that are employed as legitimization strategies are used more frequently than delegitimization strategies. This sharply contrasts to the lack of metaphor elements that define terrorist’s ideology and its actions. Next (5.1 and 5.2), a detailed account of the metaphorical motivation that underlies legitimizing the government’s anti-terrorist campaign or delegitimizing terrorism is presented.

### **5.1. Legitimizing the government’s anti-terrorist campaign**

Zapatero’s anti-terrorist initiative is based on legitimate, democratic, and constitutional grounds. Building allows Zapatero to present himself and his government implicitly as builders: THE GOVERNMENT IS THE BUILDER. The metaphor separates him from those who neither built nor helped to build, as well as from those who destroy (terrorists). Politics is perceived as a building process, which involves the formation and maintenance of specific buildings and constructions.

### 5.1.1. Buildings

The Government utilizes specific aspects of buildings when referring to its fight against terrorism. Thus, political entities are realized as buildings. This leads to the following conceptual metaphors: POLITICS IS BUILDING and POLITICAL ENTITIES ARE BUILDINGS. Only two buildings are mentioned: House and school. Both types of buildings are enclosed spaces. Their boundaries and structures are well-defined. Furthermore, each building represents a specific strategic function since each portrays a different aspect of Zapatero's policy on terrorism.

The house metaphor is mostly employed to frame political institutions like Parliament, creating the conceptual metaphor: PARLIAMENT IS A HOUSE. The house metaphor elicits some important concepts. First, the house<sup>19</sup>, which, in principle, constitutes a personal and private building, becomes a neutral, shared, and public space where people coexist and engage in open discussion. The house also represents protection and respect of one's ideas. The Parliament as a house serves as housing of other political entities such as democracy, the rule of law, and the political branches:

(1)

*[...] esta casa [...] es la casa de la democracia y del Estado de Derecho, y también de la división de poderes, el Ejecutivo siempre es respetuoso con el Poder Legislativo [...] esta gran casa de la libertad y de la democracia*  
 [...] 'this house [...] is the house of Democracy and the house of the Rule of Law, and the division of powers, the Executive power is always respectful to the Legislative Power [...] this is the great house of freedom and of democracy'  
 (4/24/2009)

The Parliament-House metaphor occurs less frequently than the Parliament-House metonymy. The members of Parliament who constitute the Congress of Deputies and the Senate are metonymically referred as 'Parliament' in the speeches. While this metonymic use refers to the members, the metaphorical one emphasizes the political values that coexist together and rule the house. Thus, the political concepts associated with this house become inhabitants: DEMOCRACY IS AN INHABITANT, THE RULE OF LAW IS AN INHABITANT, THE EXECUTIVE POWER IS AN INHABITANT, THE LEGISLATIVE POWER IS AN INHABITANT, and FREEDOM IS AN INHABITANT. Parliament is conceptualized as the coexistence of different political entities, metaphorical inhabitants sharing a house. This combination symbolizes a common unity and a cooperation to make the house a stronger entity.

The metaphorical house that the government constructs for itself to live in is a house of the word, ruled by reason and dialogue:

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<sup>19</sup> According to the *Real Academia Española*, the term 'house' in Spanish refers primarily to a building to be inhabited ('edificio para habitar') or to private family housing ('destinado a vivienda'). This confers *casa* the characteristic of a private and personal space versus other buildings such as library or school, which are of public use. I would also like to note that although in Spanish there is the distinction between 'casa' (house) and 'hogar' (home), the tendency is to use 'casa' to refer to 'home'.

(2)

*Allí donde reinan la razón y el diálogo, allí donde se produce la construcción de una casa de la palabra*

‘Where reason and dialogue rule, the construction of a house of the word takes place’ (6/9/2004)

This powerful metaphor has important attributes. First, there is still a need to construct the house, so that dialogue can ensue. This implies that such a house still does not exist altogether or its construction is not yet finished. Second, the inhabitants are conceptualized as the reason, dialogue, and word: REASON IS AN INHABITANT, DIALOGUE IS AN INHABITANT, and WORD IS AN INHABITANT. Zapatero is known not only for his efforts to establish a dialogue and a consensus among political parties but also for his effort to open up dialogue with ETA to stop the armed struggle.

The house reinforces the notion of unification and integration by placing all citizens under the same roof. Third, the house represents a common territory where parties from different political ideologies can openly discuss issues. The type of building defines one of Zapatero’s core beliefs about negotiation: Dialogue. Word based on reason serves as the foundation for dialogue and communication to reach a common solution, and it also enables a pluralistic approach to politics. His discourse on terrorism is characterized by a constant appeal to constructive dialogue.

The house metaphor depicts Spain as home: SPAIN IS HOME. It represents Spain as a shelter that provides protection and security. The 11-M terrorist attack in Madrid elevated terrorism in Spain to a new level. Suddenly, it became an international matter. Spanish troops fighting in Afghanistan were recalled to their home country:

(3)

*[...] la vuelta a casa de las tropas españolas*

[...] ‘the return home of the Spanish troops’ (7/6/2004)

Zapatero’s anti-terrorist struggle is envisioned by his pedagogical view of politics through *escuela*. School is a type of building where people give or receive instruction. The function associated with this type of building is primarily educational, with the concept of school entailing a continuous process of learning and teaching. Zapatero chooses this specific type of building to refer to democracy as “la escuela de la democracia.” He perceives democracy as an educational institution: DEMOCRACY IS AN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION. In the context of terrorism, this is important since the government and the general public respect and follow democratic values as opposed to those of the terrorists. School differs from house in that it represents a public institution where all citizens have access. School emphasizes not only the role of the individuals who receive instruction but also those of the providers. It also represents a group of people with common principles, and foundations. Hence, Zapatero specifies the types of schools that constitute his government: The school of democracy, the school of tolerance, and the school of civic compromise. The following conceptual metaphors now emerge: DEMOCRACY IS A SCHOOL, TOLERANCE IS A SCHOOL, and CIVIC

COMPROMISE IS A SCHOOL. Democracy is metaphorically depicted as a school of civic compromise:

(4)

*[...] la democracia ha sido para nosotros una escuela de compromiso cívico*  
*[...] 'democracy has been to us a school of civic compromise' (3/1/2005)*

By referring metaphorically to democracy as a school 'escuela de compromiso cívico', Zapatero depicts it as a pedagogical institution where members share and respect common democratic principles. School not only implies the teaching of democratic values but also the ways these values can be applied to the political arena. School allows Zapatero to portray himself as an educator and a leader. It also portrays other political leaders as educators:

(5)

*Patxi López está dirigiendo de manera acertada este nuevo tiempo que exige diálogo y una gran escuela democrática: convivencia, pedagogía, valores, para Euskadi*  
*'Patxi López is leading in the right way during this new time that demands dialogue and a great democratic school: coexistence, pedagogy, values for Euskadi' (11/7/2011)*

In example 5, Zapatero refers implicitly to López as an educator who is leading a democratic school, namely, the Basque Country. This gives rise to the following conceptual metaphors: A DEMOCRATIC POLITICIAN IS AN EDUCATOR, RULING A DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT IS RULING A SCHOOL. This analogy implies that as with a learning process, López's political task of brokering a peace agreement with ETA will require time and prudence along with thoughtful understanding and communication. Interestingly, the notions of construction and education coexist. Pedagogy emerges through other metaphor keywords: *pedagogía* (pedagogy), *tarea* (homework), *lección* (lesson), *aprender* (to learn), *aprendizaje* (learning), *enseñar* (to teach). Some of these keywords appear as part of specific expressions such as *tarea política*, *pedagogía democrática*, *pedagogía política*, *aprendizaje cívico*, etc. These keywords would not be categorized as prototypical examples of the semantic field of building since they do not constitute buildings in themselves. However, they all imply a process of construction. For instance, the process of ruling, the process of learning democratic values, and the experience of living with terrorism are all evoked. The conceptual metaphor here is POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS ARE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS. School indicates that the notion of construction is intimately related to education. It portrays politics as an ongoing constructive process of learning where democratic values are discussed and learned.

### 5.1.2. *Parts of buildings*

Building also references specific parts of the building. Interestingly, Zapatero chooses mostly those parts that provide support to a building, such as *pilar*, *cimientos*, and *armazón*. Findings show that these metaphor keywords are strategically employed to convey stability, foundation, determination, and firmness.

*Pilar* contributes to Zapatero's characterization of democratic foundations and stability. It reflects his firmness and determination to end terrorism. Policies take the form of pillars to represent solid and long-standing structures, with different pillars sustaining different policies. The pillar enables Zapatero to present PSOE's way of governing: DEMOCRATIC GOVERNING IS A PILLAR. The socialist view of governing is sustained by three main pillars: The importance of citizens, transparency, and dialogue:

(6)

*Nuestra forma de gobernar se sustenta en tres pilares: protagonismo ciudadano, transparencia y diálogo*

'Our way of governing is sustained by three pillars: the prominent role of the citizen, transparency, and dialogue' (9/30/2004)

By doing this, Zapatero emphasizes the central role that the citizen has in his government. Government is characterized as being transparent, capable of transmitting the truth and refusing to deal in hidden facts. Finally, the third pillar of dialogue shows that Zapatero's government supports and strengthens dialogue as a way of achieving democracy. This is evidence of the conceptual metaphor GOOD GOVERNING IS BUILDING<sup>20</sup> as seen in the following examples:

(7)

*[...] los pilares de la democracia*

[...] 'the pillars of democracy' (1/10/2006)

(8)

*[...] los pilares de la lucha contra el terrorismo*

[...] 'the pillars of the fight against terrorism' (12/13/2004)

The pillar figures prominently in Zapatero's anti-terrorist political strategy:

(9)

*[...] Lo ha hecho sobre tres pilares: la eficaz actuación de las Fuerzas y Cuerpos de Seguridad del Estado, una muy fluida y consolidada colaboración internacional, y la adopción de una reforma legal*

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<sup>20</sup> Charteris-Black (2005)

[...] ‘The strategy rests on three pillars: the efficient action of the Security Forces of the State, a fluent and consolidated international collaboration, and the adoption of legal reform’ (6/28/2011)

Zapatero’s political strategy for fighting terrorism also uses the pillar as a metaphor: ANTI-TERRORIST STRATEGIES ARE PILLARS. His anti-terrorist strategy consists mainly of three entities: The improvement of the Security Forces and Corps, international collaboration, and legal reform. The verticality and the solid structure of the pillar correspond to the firmness that constitutes each of these entities, which represents both Zapatero’s policies as well as his attitude toward terrorism. This firmness also represents the continuous determination not to surrender to terrorism. Therefore, pillar sends a message to the general public that implicitly reinforces the value of stability and security while also assuming a firm stance against terrorism.

The solid and firm nature of the pillar is also found in other metaphor keywords such as *cimientos*. *Cimientos* represents the foundations and the base on which the policies stand. It establishes a common ground where different cultures and civilizations can deepen relationships:

(10)

[...] *Nuestros cimientos son sólidos*  
[...] ‘Our foundations are solid’ (5/11/2005)

This gives rise to the following conceptual metaphor: POLITICAL FOUNDATIONS ARE BUILDING FOUNDATIONS. Other parts of the building include the frame or the skeleton. *Armazón* constitutes the rigid structure that serves as a major support of a building:

(11)

*La lucha contra el terrorismo nos exige desarrollar un armazón moral, intelectual, jurídico y policial que fortalezca la legitimidad de nuestros esfuerzos*  
‘The fight against terrorism demands us to develop a moral, intellectual, legal, and Police-secured framework that strengthens the legitimacy of our efforts’  
(3/10/2005)

*Armazón* as a supporting structure emphasizes the strength and solidity of what constitutes a well-defined infrastructure: THE FIGHT AGAINST TERRORISM IS A SOLID STRUCTURE. At the same time, the foundation of the anti-terrorist struggle is based on democratic values. Thus, democracy is metaphorically perceived as building with solid grounds: DEMOCRACY IS A STANDING BUILDING WITH SOLID FOUNDATIONS.

### 5.1.3. Constructions

Along with different types, subtypes, and parts of buildings, constructions are also used in Zapatero's rhetoric. Constructions used metaphorically portray democratic values and attitudes as connectors: DEMOCRATIC VALUES ARE CONNECTORS. Examples of constructions are *galería*, *punte*, and *plataforma*. These keywords present the democratic values and attitudes of the citizens of Spain towards terrorism. *Galería* has a specific function in Zapatero's discourse; it depicts the reaction of the general public towards terrorism:

(12)

*La reacción de nuestros compatriotas desde el momento mismo del atentado del 11 de marzo ha formado una galería de escenas heroicas inolvidables*

'From the moment the terrorist attack of March 11 took place, the reactions of our countrymen have formed a gallery of unforgettable scenes of heroism'  
(12/13/2004)

Gallery is a type of construction whose function is to exhibit publically a specific motive. Zapatero chooses gallery to present the citizens' reaction to terrorism. The purpose, as in a gallery, is to display openly their fearlessness and discontent with respect to terrorism. Therefore, gallery, as a construction, has a distinctive function as it depicts the collective attitude of the public against terrorism. The following conceptual metaphor can be realized: ATTITUDE IS A GALLERY. This attitude can be seen in the numerous efforts of the Spanish citizens to denounce the terrorist attacks. *Punte* alludes to the connection and transition between two entities. Zapatero uses *punte* to convey the need for understanding other political views and cultures:

(13)

*[...] la necesidad de tender puentes de entendimiento entre las diversas culturas*  
*[...] 'the need to build bridges of understanding between the diverse cultures'*  
(3/22/2005)

*Punte* presents his visionary perspective on his Alliance of Civilizations<sup>21</sup>. It also provides the path to unity and a common goal among different civilizations. As a result, the following conceptual metaphors can be formulated: BRIDGE IS UNDERSTANDING and BRIDGE IS A PATH TO A COMMON GOAL. Another interesting type of construction is *plataforma*. A platform is a horizontal surface construction whose function is to provide support on which something may be built. Platform is generally employed to conceptualize metaphorically peace programs or agreements such as the Alliance of Civilization. It represents a well-balanced construction where different ideologies share a common ground. The conceptual metaphor here is ANTI-TERRORIST PROGRAMS ARE PLATFORMS:

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<sup>21</sup> Alliance of Civilizations is a United Nations program proposed by J.L.R. Zapatero in 2004. The program proposed to establish an alliance between the Occident and the Arab worlds so to end terrorism.



(14)

[...] *la Alianza de Civilizaciones como una plataforma para el encuentro, para la cercanía, para aislar a los fanáticos, al fanatismo, desde posiciones desde las cuales nunca se construye nada*

[...] ‘the Alliance of Civilizations as a platform for a meeting, the bringing together of different groups so to isolate fanatics and fanaticism, where nothing is constructed’ (3/6/2007)

Building also allows for the presentation of the results of the construction process, what has been constructed, in other words. Some of his well-recognized achievements are enshrined in The Pact of Liberties and Anti-terrorism<sup>22</sup>; The National Centre of Anti-terrorist Coordination<sup>23</sup>; The Executive Committee for the Unified Command<sup>24</sup>; and The High Commissionate for the Support of Victims<sup>25</sup>. This rhetorical device ultimately casts Zapatero as a reliable and effective president. Furthermore, construction emphasizes other aspects of his political view on terrorism. He often uses the term *constructivo* to define his style and beliefs (i.e. *estilo constructivo, diálogo constructivo, ideas constructivas, voluntad constructiva, actitud constructiva*).

## 5.2. Delegitimizing terrorism

Building Metaphors are not only employed by Zapatero to reinforce the legitimacy of his anti-terrorist campaign, but also they are used to delegitimize terrorism itself, specifically by presenting terrorism as destruction and obstruction. Destruction allows Zapatero to identify explicitly the destroyer of democracy in addition to making a claim about the destroyer’s type, whose actions have massive and global consequences. Destruction is presented through metaphor keywords such as *aldabonazo, derribar, derrumbe, destruir, and destrucción*. Obstruction to democratic values is mainly expressed through three types of constructions: *barrera, foso, and muro*. Terrorism is characterized as destruction and more specific, terrorism often becomes the destructive force, thus leading to the metaphor **TERRORISM IS THE DESTROYER**. What causes destruction and collapse of an entity is not due to the weak structure of the building itself, but rather to the effect of a deliberate action performed by others upon it. The violence of terrorism is conceptualized in structural terms, where **VIOLENCE IS THE DESTRUCTOR**:

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<sup>22</sup> The Pact of Liberties and Anti-terrorism was signed in December 8, 2000 by the socialist party (PSOE) and the popular party (PP).

<sup>23</sup> The National Centre of Anti-terrorist Coordination was created in 2004 to improve anti-terrorist strategies at a national and international level.

<sup>24</sup> The Executive Committee for the Unified Command was created in 2004 to achieve a better unification between the Police and the Civil Guard to solve terrorism, organized crime, etc.

<sup>25</sup> The High Commissionate for the Support of Victims was created in December 2004 to support the victims of terrorist attacks.

(15)

*[...] la violencia irracional demostró una capacidad de destrucción sobre cogedora,  
sus cicatrices permanecen y permanecerán vivas en nuestra memoria*  
[...] ‘The irrational violence showed a shocking capacity for destruction, its scars remain and will remain alive in our memory’ (3/10/2005)

It is interesting to note that the source domain of BUILDING not only coexists with EDUCATION but also with BODY. Violence in terrorist attacks has caused physical and psychological destruction. Violence is portrayed metaphorically as a destroyer whose scars remain alive. Zapatero asserts, through the scar metaphor, that the healing process of the wound repair is never finished. Skin tissue never goes back to its original state, since a degree of scarring is always left. Therefore, people and victims remain changed on a permanent level.

### 5.2.1. *Buildings*

Zapatero never mentions a specific building when referring to terrorism. Also, it is interesting to observe that the only part of the building mentioned when referring to terrorism is room. The structural elements (*pilar, armazón, cimientos*) that characterize Zapatero’s discourse are absent in the definition of terrorism. This absence of structural elements should be understood as a conscious attempt to represent terrorist ideology as lacking both a firm foundation and social support. As a result, it is a structure that will eventually collapse: TERRORISM IS A BUILDING WITH NO FOUNDATION.

### 5.2.2. *Parts of buildings*

Specific parts of the building (room and door) are employed metaphorically to depict the terrorist ideology, its values and its consequences. Terrorist ideologies like extremism and fundamentalism are portrayed as doors that lead to violence and terror: *[...] el extremismo y el fundamentalismo, que son la puerta que conduce a la violencia y al terror [...]–[...]* ‘extremism and fundamentalism, that are the door that leads to violence and terror (7/22/2005). The door emphasizes the fact that the access to these types of ideologies leads to harmful consequences. In connection with the door, the room metaphor is used to indicate the interconnection of values that make up the terrorist ideology:

(16)

*[...] la incomprensión es la antesala de la separación, la separación abre la tentación al odio y el odio es la puerta de la violencia [...]*  
[...] ‘incomprehension is the anteroom of separation, separation leads to hatred, and hatred is the door of violence [...]’ (3/10/2005)

The values that terrorism propagates (incomprehension, separation, hatred, and violence) are portrayed as rooms interconnected consecutively by doors. Incomprehension is portrayed as the anteroom. The anteroom in a house refers to the entrance that opens into a larger room. In this case, incomprehension is the anteroom of separation. Separation consecutively provides access to hatred. This access is expressed metaphorically with the verb 'abrir' (to open/to give access). Hatred is conceptualized as the door that opens to violence. This interconnection of rooms and doors allow to present terrorism as a chain reaction of negative values that all lead to a serious consequence: Violence. Terrorism is an ideology that ends in violence. Conceptual metaphors can be realized as INCOMPREHENSION IS A ROOM, SEPARATION IS ROOM, HATRED IS A ROOM, and VIOLENCE IS A ROOM.

The destruction of terrorism takes the form of the loud bang of a doorknocker. *Aldabonazo* characterizes the collective and global menace of terrorism:

(17)

*[el 11 de septiembre en Nueva York] supuso un aldabonazo colectivo*  
[September 11 in New York] 'was a collective bang on a door' (7/16/ 2004)

Zapatero describes the terrorist attack on New York as the thunderous bang of a doorknocker. This leads to the conceptual metaphor TERRORIST ACTIONS ARE A BANG ON A DOOR. The doorknocker characterizes two important aspects of terrorism, its collective dimension and its global dimension. Terrorism not only targets a specific politician or government officer, but also it affects all citizens in a country. At the same time, terrorism becomes not just a national problem in Spain, but an international one:

(18)

*[...] la amenaza de un terrorismo que se ha extendido y llama prácticamente a cualquier puerta, a cualquier país, a cualquier cultura, a cualquier tipo de régimen y a cualquier democracia [...]*  
[...] 'the threat of terrorism that has spread and knocks on any door, of any country, of any culture, of any type of regime and democracy' [...] (7/16/2004)

Through personification, terrorism becomes someone who suddenly and loudly knocks on a door. The metaphor operates by claiming that terrorism (the knocker) can affect (knock) any country (house), just as a person is capable of calling upon any residence for a specific purpose.

5.2.3. *Constructions*

Zapatero uses specific types of constructions such *barrera*, *muro*, and *foso*. These constructions are mostly used to provide a negative evaluation of terrorism. They function as delegitimization strategies to portray terrorist values as obstructions to democracy: **TERRORIST VALUES ARE OBSTRUCTORS.**

In Zapatero's ideology, there are different types of barriers and walls. *Barrera* is a type of physical construction that is built to block passage. *Barrera* is used to create a negative conception of the past:

(19)

[...] *tenemos que movilizar a nuestros ciudadanos para superar las barreras mentales del pasado*

[...] 'we need to mobilize our citizens to overcome the mental barriers of the past' (3/22/2005)

Although *barrera* and *muro* often imply a negative connotation, they do not always behave in this fashion, interestingly enough. For instance, *barrier* is also used positively to conceptualize freedom as the barrier that protects civilization from intolerance and fanaticism:

(20)

[...] *la libertad es la mejor barrera contra la intolerancia y el fanatismo*

[...] 'freedom is the best barrier against intolerance and fanaticism' (3/22/2005)

The resulting conceptual metaphors are: **PAST IS A BARRIER** and **FREEDOM IS A BARRIER AGAINST INTOLERANCE** and **FANATICISM**. *Muro* is mostly employed negatively to present the lack of understanding and trust in terrorism: **INCOMPREHENSION IS A WALL** and **DISTRUST IS A WALL**. However, *muro* also used positively to portray the citizens' continuous and firm desire to end terrorism:

(21)

[...] *los ciudadanos han construido un muro de esperanza*

[...] 'the citizens have built a wall of hope' (1/15/2007)

This leads to the conceptual metaphors: **HOPE IS A WALL** and **TRUTH IS A WALL**. Finally, *foso* is always used in a negative way to suggest that terrorism induces separation: **SEPARATION IS A DITCH**.

In Zapatero's discourse there is a major emphasis on solid and firm structures, while a total absence of constructions define terrorism. Such terrorism shall eventually disappear and fall apart due to lack to social support. Overall, results show that metaphors used to conceptualize terrorism emphasize two aspects. One aspect is the notion of destruction. The second is the attitudes and emotions involved in the participation in and the spread of terrorism. Also of note is the fact that metaphors directly related to terrorism are less

frequent than those related to Zapatero's anti-terrorist political ideology, thus causing the conceptualization of construction to overshadow that of destruction. This showcases Zapatero's strategy of promoting a positive attitude to the general public rather than dwelling on the negativity of terrorism itself.

## **6. Conclusion**

This article provides evidence that Building Metaphors play a key role in Spain's presidential discourse. Some interesting findings have emerged from the analysis of the data. First, there is evidence of Zapatero's bias toward employing Building Metaphors more often as legitimization strategies than as delegitimization ones. More specific, Building Metaphors as legitimization strategies mainly characterize a positive representation of Zapatero's government. In addition, they seem to be used as self-explanation and self-justification to persuade the public of Zapatero's solid and firm anti-terrorist stance.

Regarding legitimization strategies, evidence suggests that Zapatero shows a metaphorical preference for specific structural elements (*pilar, armazón, cimientos*). The strong pragmatic force of these metaphor keywords serves to shape what constitutes the solid democratic infrastructure of Zapatero's anti-terrorist stance. The pragmatic force also serves to emphasize the firm and continuous resistance to terrorism that has been prevalent in Spain for over 40 years. Furthermore, evidence also indicates that Zapatero has a predilection for specific Building Metaphors (*casa, escuela*) when presently two important views. First, terrorism can be defeated only through the support and common consensus of all political parties and through the construction of dialogue. Second, the process of ending terrorism implies an ongoing constructive learning process that requires prudence, thoughtful understanding, and communication. Evidence also reveals that Zapatero has a preference for particular constructions (*puentes, galería, plataforma*) to emphasize the need for understanding other cultures as well as the need of collective and fearless support to end terrorism.

In contrast to the high frequency of legitimization strategies, delegitimization strategies occur relatively infrequently. The most common delegitimization strategies employed are the negative representation of the Other (terrorism) and the attack to their lack of moral character, rationale, and communicative cooperation. This is metaphorically envisioned through the actions, consequences, anti-democratic values that underpin terrorism. It is also worthwhile to notice the absence of building actions, building types as well as structural parts of buildings that characterize terrorism. On the one hand, one could claim that Zapatero implicitly shows that terrorism has no democratic rational foundation and no social support, and, consequently, it cannot sustain by itself and will eventually collapse and disappear in a democratic society. ETA communicated the definite abandonment of weapons and ended its armed struggle on October 20<sup>th</sup>, 2011, lending credence to the claim that Zapatero achieved his main goal of stopping national terrorism in Spain. On the other hand, results suggest that in Zapatero's discourse on terrorism, terrorism in itself is not the central focus. What is central, however, is the actions and firm and collective constructions led by the Government, political parties, and the citizens of

Spain against terrorism, that is, how to act upon the problem and how to solve it comprehensively.

Findings also indicate that different source domains merge together to frame a single concept more effectively. This became especially clear in the interconnectedness between the source domains of building and education. Zapatero presents himself as an educator who defends different democratic values and rules in addition to different types of schools. Education also allows Zapatero to present his politics as a process of ongoing common learning and teaching. It is a constructive approach, where one acquires knowledge and exchanges ideas to reach a better understanding and make better judgments in certain situations.

Finally, it is interesting to observe that although both national and international terrorism have plagued Spain, Building Metaphors do not show a difference in the conceptualization of these two varieties. What Building Metaphors emphasize is a lack of foundation, structure, and social support in terrorism, regardless of whether it is of the national or international variety.

## **Appendix A**

1. Discurso de investidura (4/16/2004)
2. Declaración del Presidente del Gobierno en relación con las tropas españolas en Iraq (4/18/2004)
3. Intervención del Presidente del Gobierno ante el Pleno del Congreso para informar en relación con el regreso de las tropas españolas destacadas en Iraq (4/27/2004)
4. Intervención del Presidente del Gobierno en el acto de presentación del Gobierno en el Pleno del Senado (5/11/2004)
5. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en la sesión celebrada en el Senado de México (5/27/2004)
6. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en la Cumbre América Latina-Caribe-Unión Europea de Jefes de Estado y de Gobierno (5/28/2004)
7. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en la Asamblea Plenaria de la Organización Internacional del Trabajo (6/9/2004)
8. Intervención del Presidente del Gobierno en el Pleno del Congreso de los Diputados para informar del Consejo Europeo de los días 17 y 18 de junio (6/15/2004)
9. Intervención del Presidente del Gobierno en el Pleno del Congreso de los Diputados para informar sobre el desarrollo y conclusiones del Consejo Europeo de Bruselas (6/23/2004)
10. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en un encuentro con profesores de Educación Infantil, Primaria y Secundaria (6/24/2004)

11. Intervención del Presidente del Gobierno en el Pleno del Congreso sobre la participación de un contingente militar español en Afganistán y Haití (7/6/2004)
12. Intervención del Presidente del Gobierno en un curso de verano sobre "La lucha contra el terrorismo y sus límites", de la Universidad Complutense (7/16/2004)
13. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en el acto de entrega de las Medallas de Oro al Mérito en el Trabajo a los familiares de las víctimas de los atentados del 11 de marzo (7/27/2004)
14. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno ante la III Conferencia de Embajadores de España en el extranjero (9/7/2004)
15. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en la Conferencia Internacional de ABC sobre Europa y América (9/17/2004)
16. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno ante la Asamblea General de la ONU (9/21/2004)
17. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en el acto de toma de posesión de la XVIII-B promoción de la Escala Básica del Cuerpo Nacional de Policía (9/24/2004)
18. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en el Foro ABC (9/30/2004)
19. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno ante la Comisión de Investigación Parlamentaria de los atentados del 11 de marzo de 2004 (12/13/2004)
20. Intervención del Presidente del Gobierno en el Pleno del Congreso para informar de los Consejos Europeos de los días 4 y 5 de noviembre, y 16 y 17 de diciembre de 2005, en Bruselas (12/21/2004)
21. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en la toma de posesión del Alto Comisionado de Apoyo a las Víctimas del Terrorismo (12/21/2004)
22. Intervención del Presidente del Gobierno en el Pleno extraordinario del Congreso de los Diputados con motivo de la convocatoria del referéndum sobre la Constitución Europea (1/11/2005)
23. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno después de su reunión con el Presidente de la República Argentina (1/25/2005)
24. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en la cena ofrecida en su honor por el Presidente de Chile (1/26/2005)
25. Intervenciones del Presidente de la República Francesa y del Presidente del Gobierno en un acto cívico en Barcelona sobre la Constitución Europea (2/11/2005)
26. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en la Asamblea Nacional francesa (3/1/ 2005)
27. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en la clausura de la Conferencia Internacional sobre Democracia, Terrorismo y Seguridad (3/10/2005)
28. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en la Cumbre de la Liga de los Estados Árabes (3/22/2005)
29. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en Bogotá después de recibir la Orden del Congreso (3/31/2005)

30. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en el Debate sobre el Estado de la Nación (5/11/2005)
31. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en el Pleno del Senado para presentar el Proyecto de Ley que autoriza la ratificación del Tratado de la Constitución Europea (5/18/2005)
32. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en la entrega de despachos a guardias civiles (6/4/2005)
33. Intervención del Presidente del Gobierno en el Pleno del Congreso para informar sobre las Conclusiones del Consejo Europeo de Bruselas (6/22/2005)
34. Declaración del Presidente del Gobierno sobre los atentados en Londres (7/7/2005)
35. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en su encuentro con la colectividad española en China (7/23/2005)
36. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en el "Council on Foreign Relations" de Nueva York (9/15/2005)
37. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en el Pleno del Congreso sobre la Asamblea General de la ONU y la participación española en misiones de mantenimiento de la paz (9/21/2005)
38. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en la inauguración de las Jornadas de Jueces Decanos (10/2/2005)
39. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en el Foro Europa Press Madrid (10/6/2005)
40. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en el Pleno del Congreso de los Diputados para informar sobre las Conclusiones del Consejo Europeo de Bruselas (12/21/2005)
41. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en la presentación del Plan Asia-Pacífico (12/22/2005)
42. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en el Fórum Europa (1/10/2006)
43. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en el homenaje a Francisco Tomás y Valiente en el Tribunal Constitucional (2/14/2006)
44. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en el Pleno del Congreso de los Diputados para informar sobre las Conclusiones del Consejo Europeo de Bruselas (3/29/2006)
45. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en el Debate sobre el Estado de la Nación (5/30/2006)
46. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en el debate de las Resoluciones del Debate del Estado de la Nación (6/6/2006)
47. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en el Pleno del Congreso para informar sobre las Conclusiones del Consejo Europeo de Bruselas (6/21/2006)
48. Declaración institucional del Presidente del Gobierno (6/29/2006)
49. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en el acto de presentación del balance de un año del Programa Ingenio 2010 (7/11/2006)



50. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en la primera sesión de trabajo de la Cumbre Iberoamericana (11/4/2006)
51. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en la clausura de los trabajos del Grupo de Alto Nivel para la Alianza de Civilizaciones (11/13/2006)
52. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en Tribuna de Barcelona (11/20/2006)
53. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en la presentación del Informe del Grupo de Alto Nivel de la Alianza de Civilizaciones en la sede de las Naciones Unidas (12/18/2006)
54. Declaración del Presidente del Gobierno después de su visita a la Terminal 4 del Aeropuerto de Barajas (1/4/2007)
55. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en su reunión con asociaciones de inmigrantes ecuatorianos en España (1/9/2007)
56. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno ante el Pleno del Congreso de los Diputados para informar sobre la política antiterrorista (1/15/2007)
57. Discurso y coloquio del Presidente del Gobierno en el desayuno organizado por Nueva Economía Fórum (1/17/2007)
58. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en el acto de presentación del número cien de la revista "La Aventura de la Historia" (2/1/2007)
59. Declaración institucional del Presidente del Gobierno (6/5/2007)
60. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en un acto solemne en el Senado de México con los miembros de la Comisión Permanente del Congreso de la Unión (7/17/2007)
61. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en la reunión con los Grupos Parlamentarios Socialistas del Congreso, Senado y Parlamento Europeo (9/11/2007)
62. Declaración del Presidente del Gobierno después de la lectura de la sentencia sobre los atentados del 11 de marzo de 2004 (10/31/2007)
63. Discurso y coloquio del Presidente del Gobierno en el Foro ABC (10/15/2007)
64. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en la inauguración del Consejo Ministerial de la Organización para la Seguridad y Cooperación en Europa (11/29/2007)
65. Declaración del Presidente del Gobierno con motivo del atentado contra dos guardias civiles en el sur de Francia (12/1/2007)
66. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en su visita al contingente militar español desplegado en El Líbano (1/5/2008)
67. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en el acto de homenaje a los miembros de las Fuerzas y Cuerpos de Seguridad del Estado fallecidos en acto de servicio (1/8/2008)
68. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en la inauguración del I Foro de la Alianza de Civilizaciones (1/15/2008)

69. Declaración del Presidente del Gobierno con motivo del atentado terrorista contra un ex concejal socialista en Mondragón (3/7/2008)
70. Discurso y posterior coloquio del Presidente del Gobierno en la clausura de las Jornadas del aniversario del Círculo de Economía (5/31/2008)
71. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en la primera sesión de la XVIII Cumbre Iberoamericana (10/30/2008)
72. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en la entrega de los Premios Internacionales de Periodismo del diario "El Mundo" (11/19/2008)
73. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en la inauguración de la exposición "Solidaridad, Seguridad, Bienestar. Cien años de protección social en España" (12/9/2008)
74. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno sobre el XXX aniversario de la Constitución en un acto organizado por el Centro de Estudios Constitucionales (12/10/2008)
75. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en la inauguración de la Conferencia Anual de la CEOE (12/11/2008)
76. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en la inauguración de la nueva sede de la Comisaría General de Policía Científica del Cuerpo Nacional de Policía (2/3/2009)
77. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en la inauguración del Foro de la Alianza de Civilizaciones (5/4/2009)
78. Discurso y posterior coloquio del Presidente del Gobierno en la Asamblea Parlamentaria del Consejo de Europa (5/29/2009)
79. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en la sesión inaugural de la Reunión de Alto Nivel España-Comunidad Económica de Estados de África Occidental (6/22/2009)
80. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en la sesión de la Asamblea Nacional de la República Togolesa en la que se aprobó la abolición de la pena de muerte (6/23/2009)
81. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en la inauguración de la Conferencia Internacional "Estado Moderno y Seguridad Global" (9/14/2009)
82. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno ante la Asamblea General de Naciones Unidas (9/24/2009)
83. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en la inauguración del Coloquio Internacional sobre la abolición universal de la pena de muerte (12/9/2009)
84. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en el acto de homenaje a los miembros de las Fuerzas y Cuerpos de Seguridad del Estado fallecidos en acto de servicio (1/12/2010)
85. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en la Cumbre de la Unión Africana (1/31/2010)
86. Discurso y posterior coloquio del Presidente del Gobierno en el Consejo Atlántico (2/4/2010)

87. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en el Desayuno Nacional de Oración (2/4/2010)
88. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en la inauguración de las nuevas dependencias del Grupo de Reserva y Seguridad de la Guardia Civil (3/29/2010)
89. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en los actos del XXV aniversario de la firma del Tratado de Adhesión de Portugal a la Comunidad Económica Europea (6/12/2010)
90. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en el Pleno del Parlamento Europeo para presentar el balance de la Presidencia española de la Unión Europea Parlamento Europeo (7/6/2010)
91. Discurso del Presidente del Gobierno en el Debate sobre el Estado de la Nación Congreso de los Diputados (7/14/2010)
92. Discurso del presidente del Gobierno en el Pleno del Congreso de los Diputados para informar sobre la situación en Afganistán (9/15/2010)
93. Discurso del presidente del Gobierno en el acto de homenaje a los miembros de las Fuerzas y Cuerpos de Seguridad del Estado fallecidos en acto de servicio (1/12/2011)
94. Conferencia de prensa del presidente del Gobierno después de la reunión del Consejo Europeo (3/25/2011)
95. Conferencia de prensa del presidente del Gobierno y del presidente de Colombia (4/11/2011)
96. Conferencia de prensa del presidente del Gobierno durante su visita oficial a China Pekín (4/13/2011)
97. Respuestas del presidente del Gobierno en la sesión de control parlamentario (5/4/2011)
98. Respuestas del presidente del Gobierno en la sesión de control parlamentario (5/11/2011)
99. Entrevista al presidente del Gobierno en el programa "Hoy por hoy", de la Cadena SER (5/20/2011)
100. Conferencia de prensa del presidente del Gobierno después de la reunión del Consejo Europeo (6/24/2011)
101. Discurso del presidente del Gobierno en el Debate sobre el Estado de la Nación (6/28/2011)
102. Conferencia de prensa del presidente del Gobierno después de la reunión del Consejo de Ministros (7/29/2011)
103. Conferencia de prensa del presidente del Gobierno y del presidente del Consejo Europeo (7/12/2011)
104. Conferencia de prensa del presidente del Gobierno para anunciar la remodelación del Gobierno (7/11/2011)
105. Conferencia de prensa del presidente del Gobierno para anunciar la disolución de las Cortes y la convocatoria de elecciones generales (9/26/2011)
106. Declaración del presidente del Gobierno después del comunicado de ETA en el que anuncia el cese definitivo de su actividad armada (10/20/2011)

107. Conferencia de prensa del presidente del Gobierno durante la Cumbre Iberoamericana (10/29/2011)
108. Conferencia de prensa del Lehendakari y del presidente del Gobierno después de su reunión en Ajuria Enea (11/7/2011)
109. Entrevista al presidente del Gobierno en el programa "Cada día sale al sol", de la Cadena ABC-Punto Radio (12/12/2011)
110. Palabras del presidente del Gobierno en el acto de entrega de la Medalla del Mérito Constitucional, a título póstumo, a Javier Pradera (12/16 /2011)

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