

DELIBERATE METAPHORS IN POLITICAL DISCOURSE

EVIDENCE FROM THE CITIZENS' PERCEPTION OF THE BELGIAN POLITICAL CRISIS

JULIEN PERREZ (UNIVERSITÉ DE LIÈGE, ULG)
MIN REUCHAMPS (UNIVERSITE CATHOLIQUE DE LOUVAIN, UCL)

AFLiCo

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Context

- Part of a interdisciplinary project
 - Circulation of metaphors across different discourse types
 - Political impact of metaphors

Structure

- Introduction
 - Metaphors
 - Political discourse
- Study 1: Citizens' understanding of Belgian federalism
 - Data & method
 - Quantitative analysis
- Discussion

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Metaphors

- Lakoff & Johnson (1980)
 - Conceptual metaphor theory
- Impact on social sciences
 - how do conceptual metaphors structure our understanding of society? (Rigney 2001)
 - how do conceptual metaphors determine our construction of identity?
 - **social** identity (Wilson & Hay 2012)
 - **national** identity (Baruh & Popescu 2008, De Cillia et al 1999, Fitzgerald 1991, Flowerdew & Leong 2007)
 - **supra-national** identity (Hülsse 2006)
 - how can metaphors contribute to the construction of ideology? (Billig & MacMillan 2005, Goatly 2007)

Metaphors

- Politics is a complex domain of experience in which conceptual metaphors play a prominent role (Lakoff 2002, De Landstheer 2009, Koller 2009, L'Hôte 2011, L'Hôte & Lemmens 2009, Musolff 2004, Semino 2008)

“it is often claimed that the use of metaphor is particularly necessary in politics, since politics is an abstract and complex domain of experience, and metaphors can provide ways of simplifying complexities and making abstractions accessible” (Semino 2008: 90)

Metaphors

- Various political domains
 - Lakoff: moral politics (1996)
 - strict father vs. nurturant parents models
 - how do we talk about Europe? (Musolff 1996, 2000, 2004)
 - analysis of speeches by British and American politicians
(Charteris-Black 2009, L'Hôte 2012, L'Hôte & Lemmens 2009)
 - ...

Metaphors

- Status of metaphors
 - « Mais, ce que je voudrais, si on doit encore aménager cette fois ci le fédéralisme tel qu'il a été **construit** progressivement, c'est qu'à un moment donné, on se dise que ça s'arrête, c'est fini. »
 - « ... federalism as it has progressively been **constructed** »
 - => conceptual mapping between two domains « ORGANIZATION IS PHYSICAL STRUCTURE » ? (Lakoff, Kovecses, Gibbs)
 - => conventional lexicalized metaphors based on linguistic categorization ? (Steen 2008, Steen et al. 2010, Steen 2012)
- Role of metaphors in communication?

Metaphors

- Role of metaphors in communication?
 - ▣ 3-dimensional model of metaphor (Steen 2008, 2012)
 - direct vs. indirect (linguistic level)
 - explicit cross-domain mapping (*A is like B*)
 - conventional vs. new (conceptual level)
 - lexicalized in the language system (metaphorical extensions)
 - processed by categorization >< conceptual mapping
 - deliberate vs. non-deliberate (communicative level)

Metaphors

- Role of metaphors in communication?
 - ▣ 3-dimensional model of metaphor (Steen 2008, 2012)
 - direct vs. indirect (linguistic level)
 - old vs. new (conceptual level)
 - deliberate vs. non-deliberate (communicative level)

Deliberate metaphors are “meant to change the addressee’s perspective on the referent or topic that is the target of the metaphor, by making the addressee look at it from a different conceptual domain or space, which functions as a conceptual source (Steen 2008: 222)

Metaphors

- *n j'ai mis discussions, entre parenthèses « de famille », parce que pour moi la Belgique reste une espèce de grande famille, malgré tout* (PBF, D1, 2289-2290)
- « ...a kind of big family, after all »
 - ▣ => direct, novel, deliberate
- *als je vergelijkt met een bedrijf, een bedrijf laat je ook niet leiden door de werkman of de huisvrouw bij wijze van spreken* (PBN, L3, 2327-2328)
- « if you compare it to a company... »
 - ▣ => direct, novel, deliberate
- *Mais, ce que je voudrais, si on doit encore aménager cette fois ci le fédéralisme tel qu'il a été construit progressivement, c'est qu'à un moment donné, on se dise que ça s'arrête, c'est fini.* (PBF, D8, 3897-3898)
- « ...federalism as it has been constructed »
 - ▣ => indirect, old, non-deliberate

Metaphors

- Deliberate metaphors
 - ▣ advantage in political analysis
 - focus on the communicative function of metaphors

Metaphors

Statut unique: «C'est le BHV du dialogue social», estime Magnette

Patricia Labar

Mis en ligne il y a 1 heure

Pour le PS Paul Magnette, « la distinction des statuts entre ouvriers et employés n'a plus lieu d'être mais c'est une réforme difficile ».

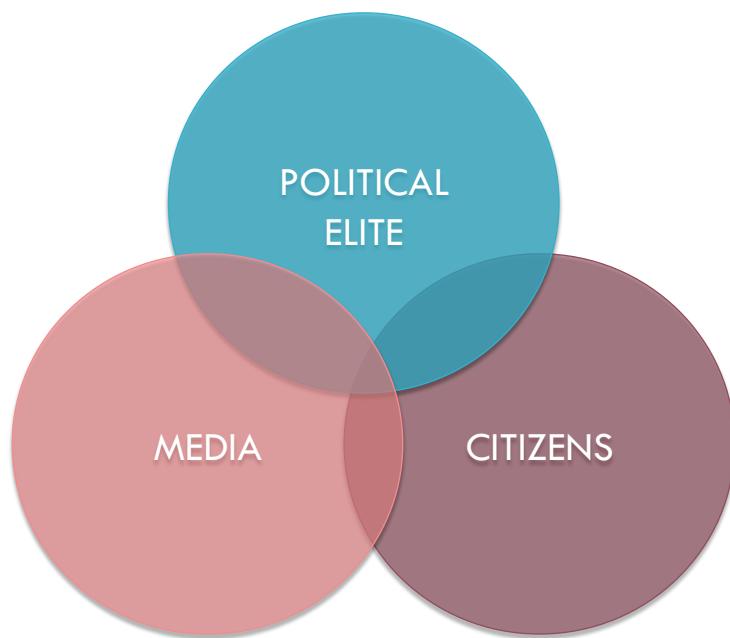
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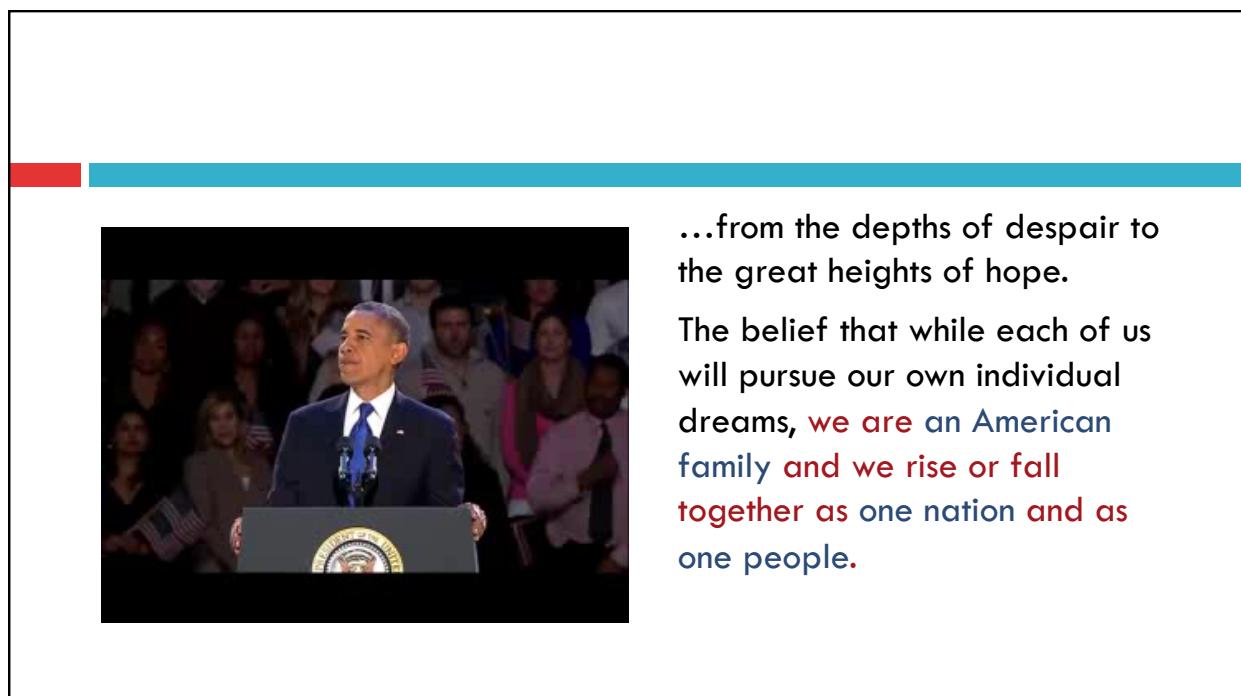
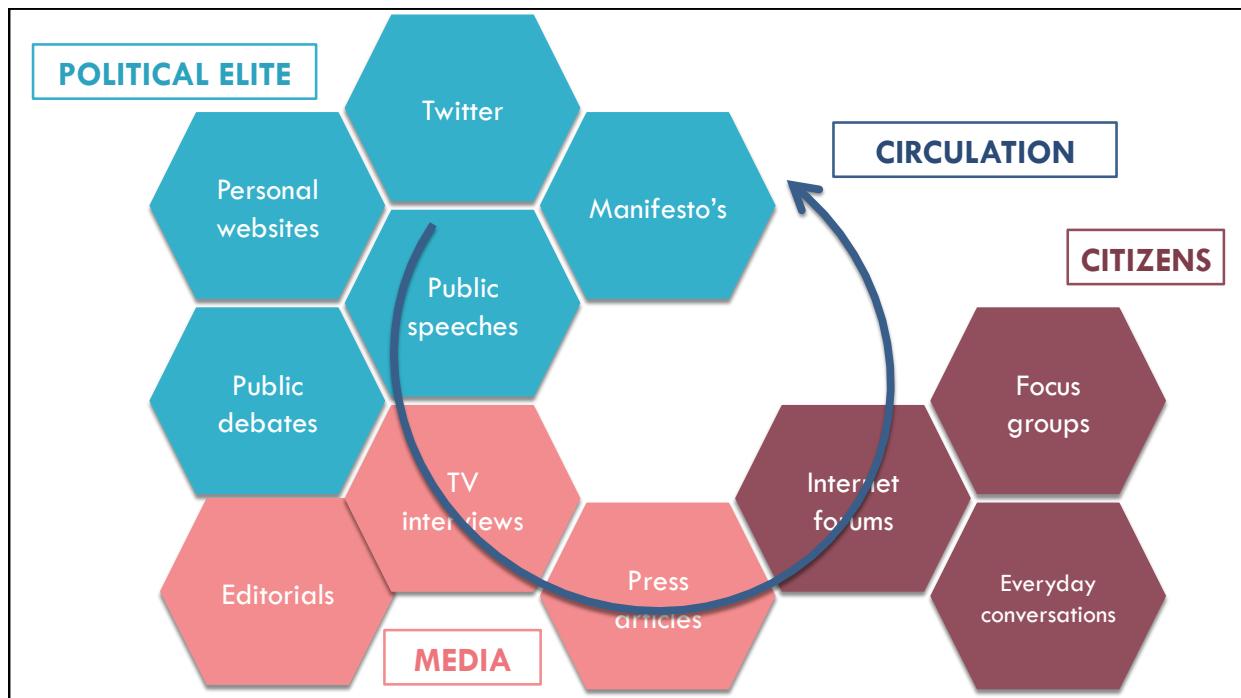
Metaphors

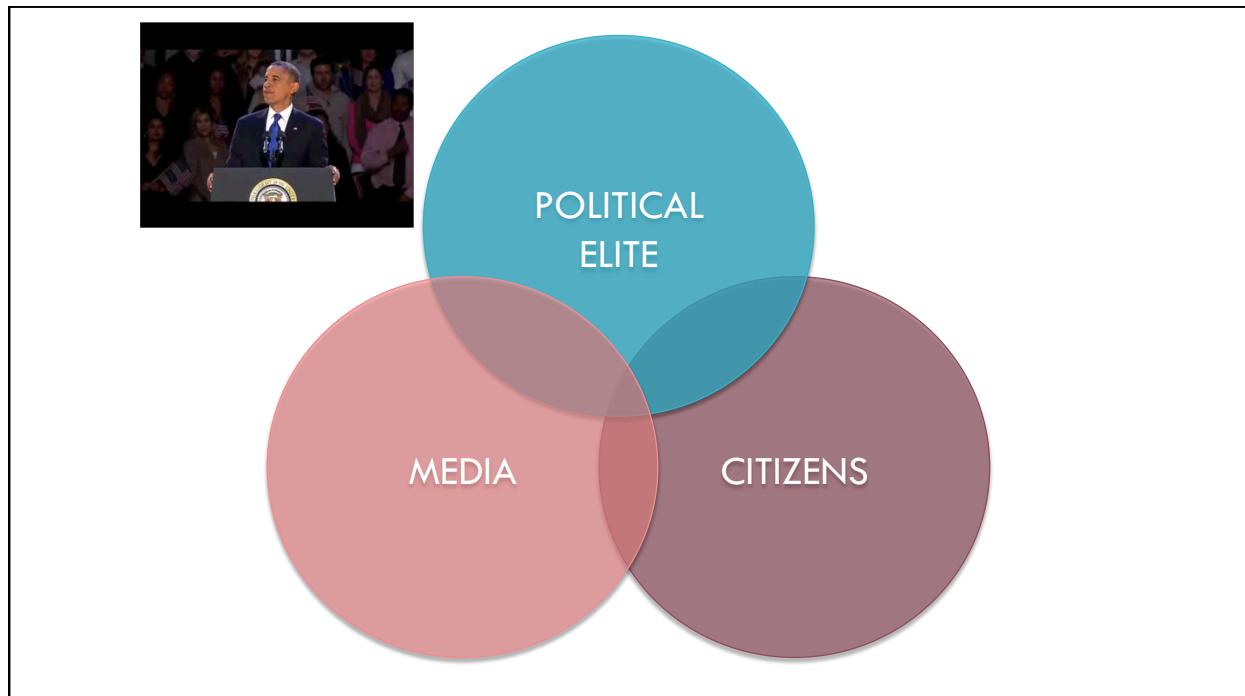
- Deliberate metaphors
 - ▣ advantage in political analysis
 - focus on the communicative function of metaphors
 - ▣ problem: identification
 - 2 assumptions
 - direct, novel -> deliberate
 - indirect, conventional X non-deliberate

Structure

- Introduction
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 - Political discourse?
- Study 1: Citizens' understanding of Belgian federalism
 - Data & method
 - Quantitative analysis
 - Qualitative analysis
- Study 2: Political parties' manifestos (2007 federal elections)
 - Preliminary results
- Discussion







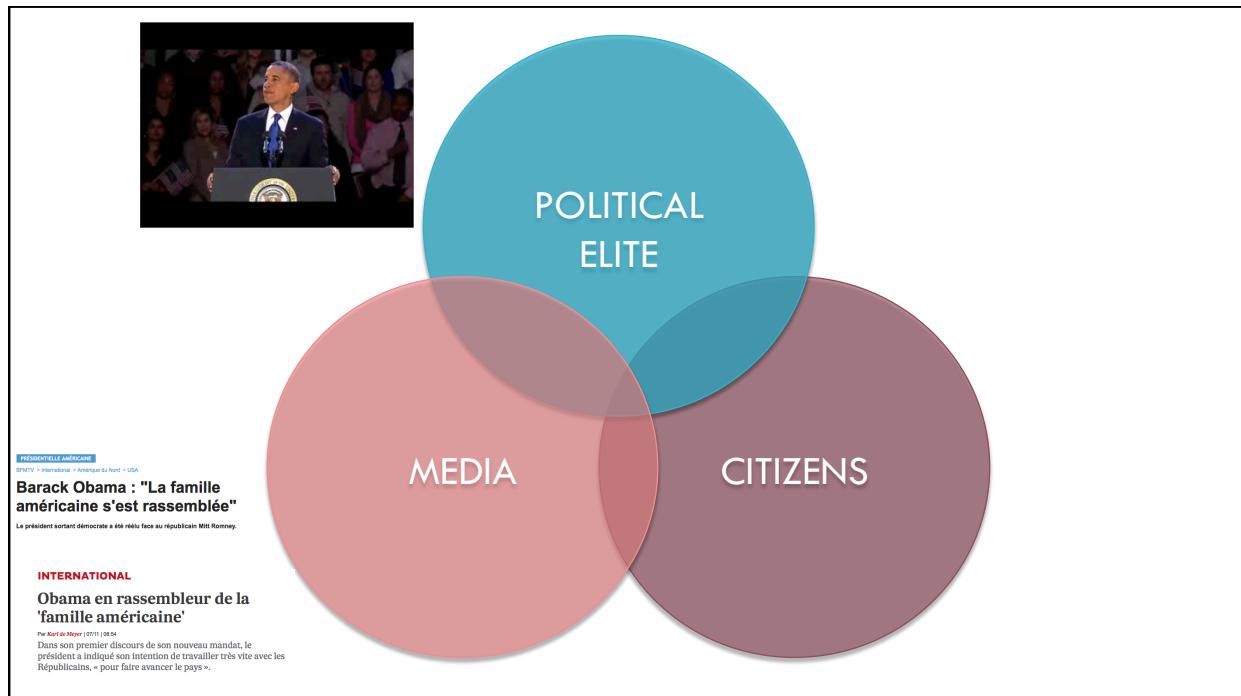
PRÉSIDENTIELLE AMÉRICAINE
BFMTV > International > Amérique du Nord > USA

Barack Obama : "La famille américaine s'est rassemblée"
Le président sortant démocrate a été réélu face au républicain Mitt Romney.

INTERNATIONAL
Obama en rassembleur de la 'famille américaine'
Par *Karl de Meyer* | 07/11 | 08:54
Dans son premier discours de son nouveau mandat, le président a indiqué son intention de travailler très vite avec les Républicains, « pour faire avancer le pays ».

Obama speecht: "We zijn één gezin, we falen of slagen samen"
Door: Elke De Pourcq
7/11/12 - 09h41

A photograph of Barack Obama in a dark suit, standing on a stage and waving his right hand. He is positioned behind a large American flag. The flag's stars are visible in the upper left corner, and its stripes are prominent. The background is dark, suggesting an indoor event.

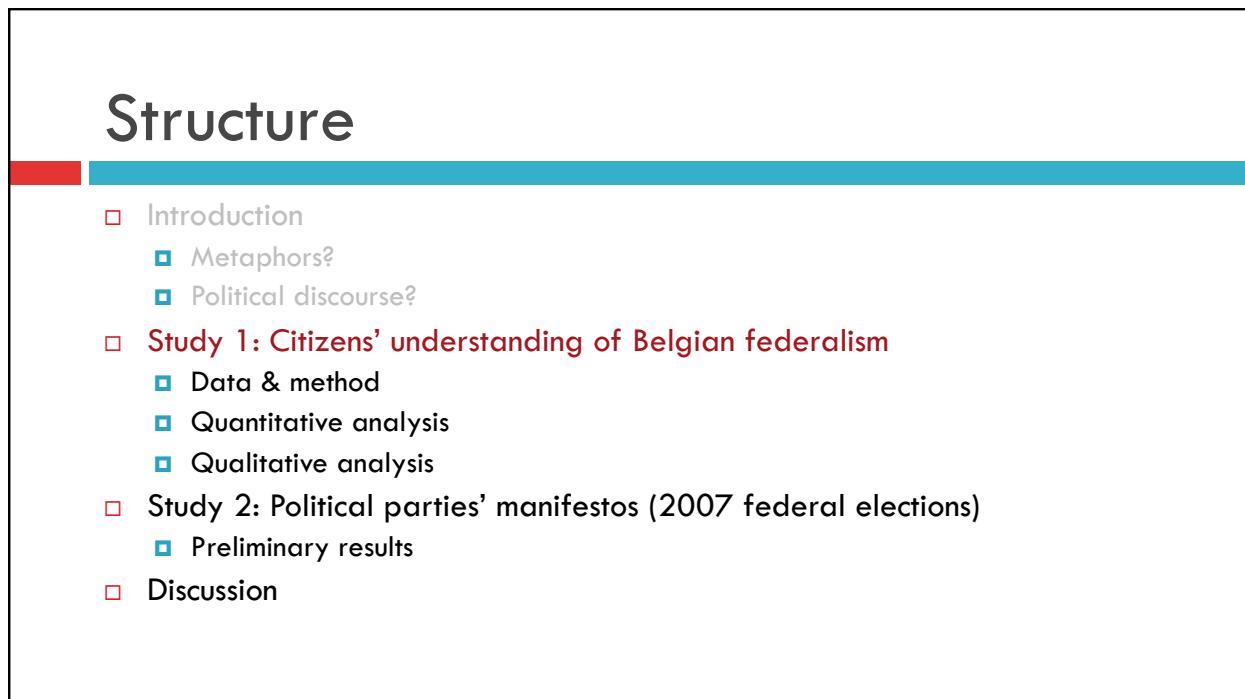
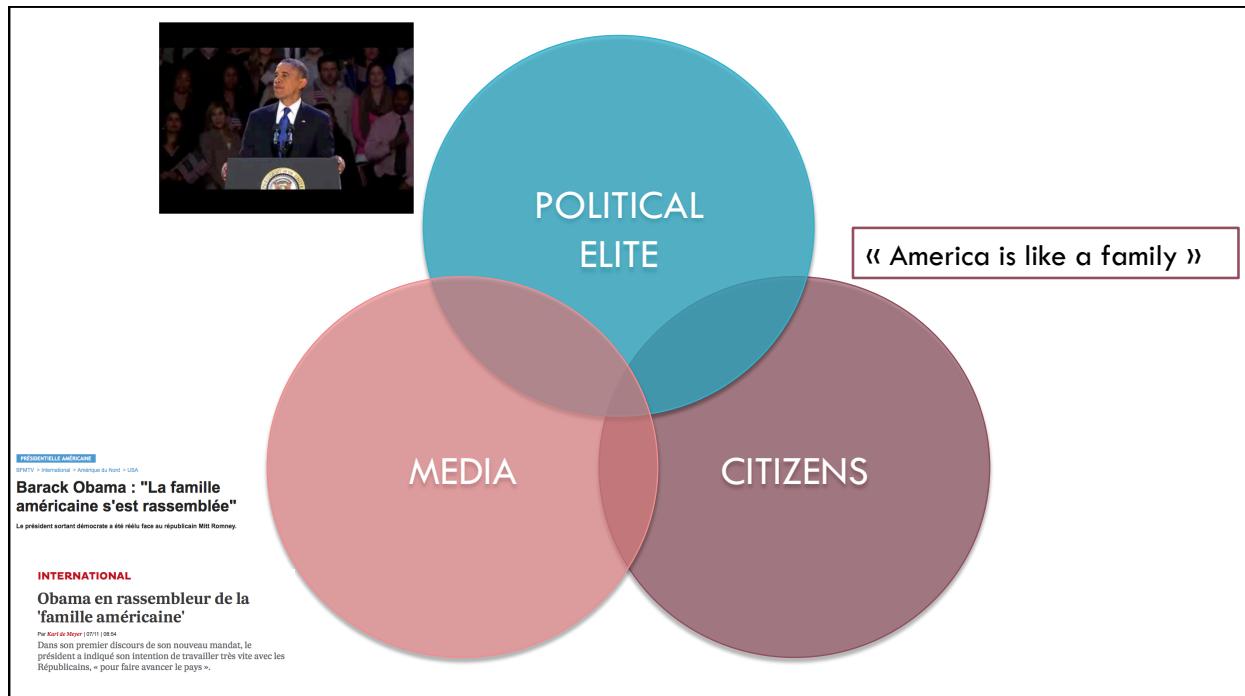


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Topic: Is It Better To Be A Divided Nation?
[Google for and judge debates on this topic](#)

<p>opinionatedpromqueen america divided get real.....right?</p> <p>america literally wouldn't be able to stand a nation divided is a nation conquered look at korea or germany or any other divided country america is like a hand individually the fingers can't do anything but if you put them all together and you can deliver a might blow division is a sign of weakness if we can't control ourselves at home how are we going to show the world that we are a great nation if we can't keep our affairs in order. america is like a family it has to stay strong and even though there will be disagreements we must work through them together we must stand as a family as one so should america be divided no it shouldn't i say let's not get a divorce let's stay together let's work out our problems together as a family</p>	<p>The Wild Goose Why on Earth must we be a "strong nation"?</p> <p>The preceding argument seems mostly concerned with showing the world our "strength". It is often argued that demonstrating our "strength" doesn't do much good for the rest of the world, but let me propose something else: our "strength" doesn't do any good for the American people. In addition to sucking us into "police actions" around the world over, our "national strength" is just a euphemism for <i>government strength</i>. Soviet Russia was a "strong nation", but that certainly didn't benefit the Russian people. Let me also state that America is not like a family. It is a nation. Our families are all "like a family". What we need is a government that recognizes the institutions that precede it and, ultimately, are more important than it- institutions like families, states, counties, businesses, churches, and charities. These are the real "strength" of our nation, and it is through secession and nullification that they gain their voices.</p>
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Aims

- How do citizens' talk about Belgian federalism?
 - ▣ use of metaphors?
 - ▣ to what extent do these metaphors determine their perception of Belgian federalism

Belgian politics in 2 slides

- 1993: Belgium becomes a federal state
 - ▣ 3 regions
 - Flemish region, Walloon region, Brussels-Capital Region
 - ▣ 3 language communities
 - Flemish community (Flanders + Dutch-speaking community in Brussels)
 - French-speaking community (Wallonia + French-speaking community in Brussels)
 - German-speaking community
 - ▣ 1 federal government & parliament
- Belgian political dynamics => relations between
 - ▣ Dutch-speaking majority (Flanders)
 - ▣ French-speaking minority (Wallonia)

Belgian politics in 2 slides

- 2007-2011: unprecedented political crisis
 - 06/2010 – 12/2011: 541 days to form a federal government
- Diverging views on the future of the country
 - Flanders wants more autonomy for its further development
 - Wallonia => reluctance
 - Breaking solidarity mechanisms
 - Dislocation of the country

Eric Van Rompuy : « De Wever veut faire exploser la Belgique »

MAILYS CHARLIER

mardi 03 juillet 2012, 21:27

Le député CD&V avait déjà attaqué Bart De Wever ce week-end, se disant « dégoûté » de « son arrogance et de sa prétention ». Aujourd'hui, il accuse le président de la N-VA de vouloir faire exploser le pays.



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Study 1: citizen's discourse

- Focus group discussions
 - Qualitative participatory tools
 - Participants are prompted to discuss a given (political) topic
 - Promising tool for critical discourse analysis (Bruck & Stocker 1996, Lamnek 1989, Friedrichs 1990)

Study 1: citizen's discourse

“It enables one partially to study the recontextualization and transformation of specific political concepts and identity narratives which are expressed by politicians, taught in educational systems (e.g. by teachers and in schoolbooks), promoted in the mass-media, etc., and which are expressed in everyday situations and interactions”
(De Cillia, Reisigl, and Wodak 1999, 152-153).

Study 1: data & method

- 2 citizens' panels (Liege & Antwerp in 2008)
 - 4 focus groups
 - Each including 6 to 9 people
 - Discussion about topics related to Belgian federalism
- Discussions were recorded and transcribed
- 2 corpora
 - Dutch-speaking citizens (47,579 words)
 - French-speaking citizens (52,003 words)

Study 1: data & method

- Target domain: Belgium and Belgian federalism
- Automatic extraction of the relevant contexts
 - ▣ terms referring to the target domain
 - *Belgium, Belgian + noun, federalism, nation, country,...*
 - ▣ potential metaphor signals
 - *such as, to compare, to symbolize, to be like,...*
- 988 relevant contexts
 - ▣ FL-corpus: 496
 - ▣ FR-corpus: 492

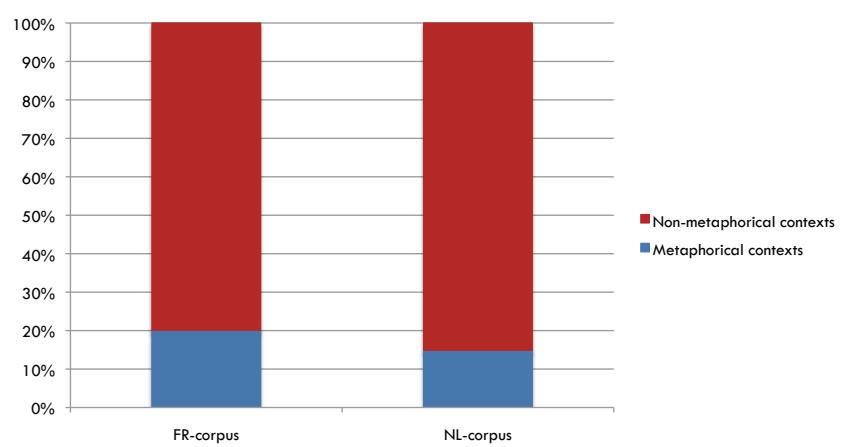
Study 1: data & method

- Metaphors in the direct context of the target word
 - ▣ MIP-procedure (Pragglejazz 2007)
 - read the entire text
 - identify the lexical units
 - for each lexical unit
 - contextual meaning
 - basic meaning (sensory perception, bodily action, more concrete)
 - difference CM >< BM
 - ▣ Steen's 3-dimensional model
 - direct - indirect
 - new – conventional
 - deliberate – non-deliberate
 - ▣ source domain

Quantitative analysis

	FR-corpus		NL-corpus	
	N	%	N	%
Metaphorical contexts	99	20,1%	75	15 %
Non-metaphorical contexts	393	79,9%	422	85 %
Total	492	100%	496	100%

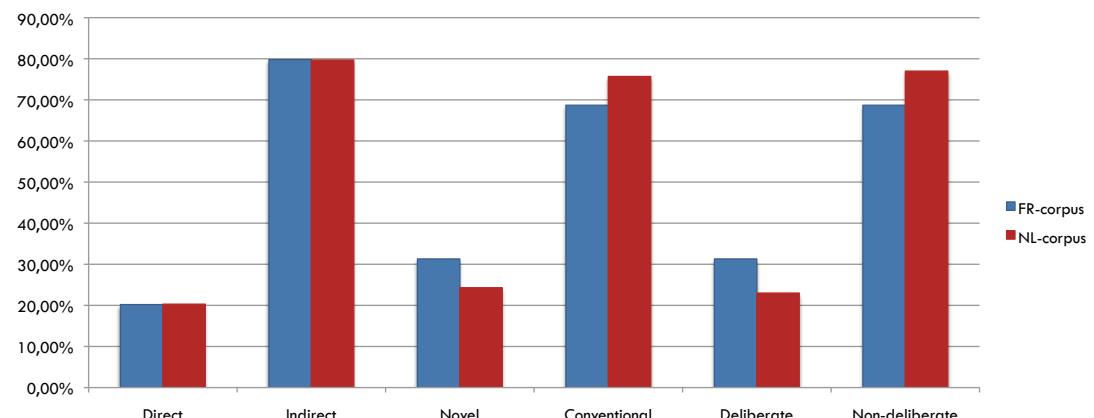
Quantitative analysis



Quantitative analysis > metaphor types

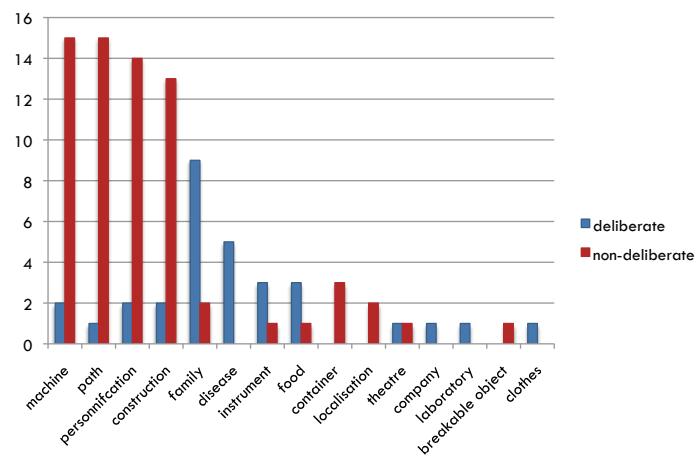
	FR-corpus		NL-corpus	
	N	%	N	%
Direct metaphors	20	20,2%	16	20 %
Indirect metaphors	79	79,8%	59	80 %
Novel metaphors	31	31,3%	19	24,5%
Conventional metaphors	68	68,7%	56	75,5%
Deliberate metaphors	31	31,3%	18	23%
Non-deliberate metaphors	68	68,7%	57	77%

Quantitative analysis > metaphor types



Quantitative analysis > source domains (FR)

source domain	deliberate	non-deliberate	total
machine	2	15	17
path	1	15	16
personification	2	14	16
construction	2	13	15
family	9	2	11
disease	5	0	5
instrument	3	1	4
food	3	1	4
container	0	3	3
localisation	0	2	2
theatre	1	1	2
company	1	0	1
laboratory	1	0	1
breakable object	0	1	1
clothes	1	0	1



Study 1: results

□ BELGIAN FEDERALISM IS A MACHINE

- « On a coupé le citoyen du fonctionnement d'une espèce de mécanisme, de machine folle lancée sur elle-même. » (PBF, B8, 839-840)
- “The citizen has been cut from a sort of *mechanism*, of *cranky machine spinning around*”
- « Plus il y a de *rouages*, plus un *grain de sable* peut s'y mettre » (PBF, B1, 849)
- The more *wheels*, the greater the chance a *grain of sand* (*lit.*) is slipping in it (=> causing the machine not to work anymore)
- « cette part d'irrationnel qui fait que ce fédéralisme ne fonctionne pas» (PBF, D1, 2954-2955)
- « ...that federalism is not working »

Study 1: results

□ Path-metaphors

- « moins de compétences donc on refédéralise des compétences, on reprend aux régions et communautés ou bien on arrête l'aventure Belgique ? » (PBF, B8, 1745-1746)
- « ... or shall we *stop the Belgian adventure?* »
- « (...) on va continuer à monter une usine à gaz et on ne saura pas en fait pas très bien où on veut aller. » (PBF, B8, 249-250)
- “... and in fact we don't really know *where we're going to*”
- FEDERALISM IS A STOP-OVER ON A PATH
 - « Il dit que la Belgique n'a plus de, c'est une étape qui est devenue non nécessaire parce que il va y avoir l'Europe au dessus, les régions en dessous » (PBF, O, 780-781)
 - « ... it's an *unnecessary stop-over* »
- FEDERALISM IS A DESTINATION
 - {S}Alors est-ce qu'ils vont vers le fédéralisme, le confédéralisme ou le séparatisme ? (PBF, D1, 3502-3503)
 - So, *do they go towards federalism, confederalism or separation*

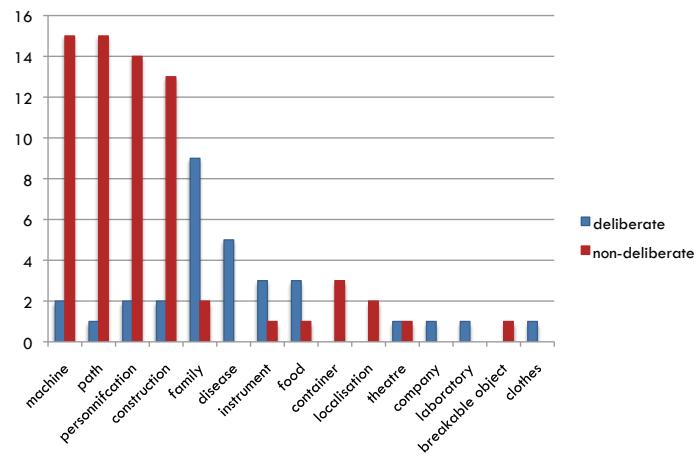
Study 1: results

□ BELGIAN FEDERALISM IS A CONSTRUCTION

- Qu'est-ce qui a disparu depuis et qui fait qu'on est obligés de détricoter et de monter une façade qu'on a appelé fédéralisme ?{S} (PBF, B8, 301)
- « *to build a frontage called federalism* »
- Mais, ce que je voudrais, si on doit encore aménager cette fois ci le fédéralisme tel qu'il a été construit progressivement, c'est qu'à un moment donné, on se dise que ça s'arrête, c'est fini (PBF, D8, 3897-3898)
- « *if we have to rearrange federalism as it has progressively been built up,*
... »

Quantitative analysis > source domains (FR)

source domain	deliberate	non-deliberate	total
machine	2	15	17
path	1	15	16
personification	2	14	16
construction	2	13	15
family	9	2	11
disease	5	0	5
instrument	3	1	4
food	3	1	4
container	0	3	3
localisation	0	2	2
theatre	1	1	2
company	1	0	1
laboratory	1	0	1
breakable object	0	1	1
clothes	1	0	1



Study 1: results

- BELGIAN FEDERALISM IS A MARRIAGE
 - ▣ “Si l'on compare avec un ménage, certains ménages se marient avec contrat de mariage, d'autres pas,» (PBF, B1, 188-190)
 - ▣ If we compare this to a **couple**, some **couples get married under a wedding contract**, others don't...
 - ▣ “parce que je ne sais pas comment cohabitent la région wallonne et la région flamande avec le fédéralisme etc. » (PBF, B6, 145-148)
 - ▣ “because I don't know how the Flemish region and the Walloon region **are living together** under federalism”
 - ▣ “c'est comme dans un ménage, on ne règle jamais les solutions une fois pour toutes. On se marie, ou en vit ensemble, peut importe, à 20 ans, puis on a des enfants, puis les enfants deviennent grands, puis le bonhomme fait sa crise de la quarantaine, puis on se dit que tout compte fait, on se dit que c'était quand même pas si mal et puis rien, et puis entre, temps, madame est ménopausée et puis... » (PBF, B8, 1630-1636)
 - ▣ “it's like in a **couple**, you can't get all problems solved once and for all. **You get married, or you're living together**, whatever, at twenty, then you get kids, then the kids grow old, the husband goes through his midlife crisis, but then you realize it wasn't that bad after all, and then nothing, and then in the meantime, his wife gets menopause and then...”

Study 1: results

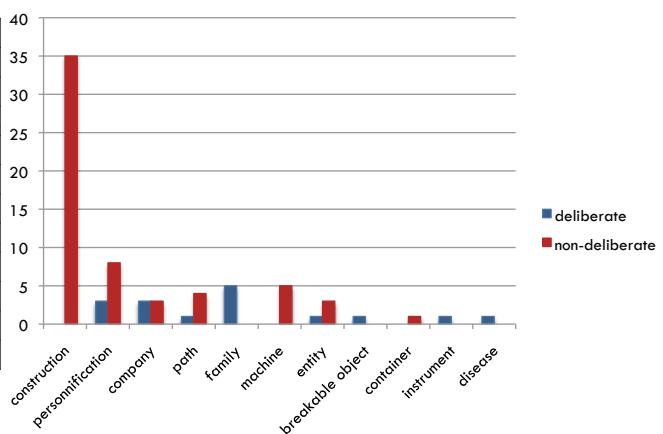
□ Some other deliberate metaphors

■ BELGIAN FEDERALISM IS A DISEASE

- « on a été créer un espèce de furoncle qui s'appelait Belgique et puis on a dit, il faut quand même trouvé quelqu'un à mettre à la tête de cela » (PBF, B8, 1097-1098)
- « they created some kind of furuncle called Belgium »
- « Est-ce que le fédéralisme alors affecte le bien-être de la population ? » (PBF, A, 1126-1127)
- Is federalism affecting the population's well-being?
- « le fédéralisme est au départ le résultat d'un égocentrisme et d'une maladie de riches. » (PBF, B8, 134-136)
- « federalism is the result of egocentrism and *a rich people disease* »

Quantitative analysis > source domains (NL)

source domain	deliberate	non-deliberate	total
construction	0	35	35
personification	3	8	11
company	3	3	6
path	1	4	5
family	5	0	5
machine	0	5	5
entity	1	3	4
breakable object	1	0	1
container	0	1	1
instrument	1	0	1
disease	1	0	1



Study 1: results

- Family domain
 - « Normale partijen die een staatshervorming willen enzovoort die willen eigenlijke hetzelfde als we zo zeggen een ernstige LAT relatie in dit land. » (PBN, M5, 3130-3131)
 - « ...they want the same thing as let's say a serious LAT relation in this country »
 - BELGIAN FEDERALISM IS A FORCED MARRIAGE
 - « het is vergelijken met dat huwelijk he. De Belgische staat is een gearrangeerd en geforceerd huwelijk geweest. (PBN, L2, 2263-2266)
 - 'it's comparing to that marriage, right? The Belgian state has been an arranged and forced marriage
 - « het is inderdaad een gearrangeerd huwelijk en het is gearrangeerd door de internationale gemeenschap (PBN, L6, 2268-2269)
 - "It is indeed an arranged marriage and it has been arranged by the international community."

Study 1: results

- « L6 : een gearrangeerd huwelijk kan ook ontbonden worden, zo moeilijk is dat allemaal niet. Het moet gewoon erkend worden door de internationale gemeenschap. »
- “an arranged marriage can also be abrogated”
- « L2 : ja maar dat is getrouw'd voor goede en kwade dagen en wij zijn nu in kwade dagen. »
- “yes, but it has been married for better or for worse en we are now in bad (miserable) days”
- « L6 : maar bij een gearrangeerd huwelijk is het niet in goede en kwade dagen vrijwillig, maar is het verplicht in kwade dagen. « L6 : ik hoop toch dat we zover zijn dat huwelijken niet meer verplicht zijn ofwel? »
- “but in an arranged marriage, it's not voluntarily for better or for worse, but it's forced in bad (miserable) days. I hope we have come to a situation where marriages are no longer forced”
- « L1 : Neen, maar je kan dan toch karakter tonen, karakter tonen. »
- “No, but you can still show character”
- « L6 : Als ons dat ieder jaar 10 miljard euro kost, vind ik dat toch... » (PBN, 2279-2289)
- “If it costs us 10 billion euro a year, I find that...”

Study 1: results

- BELGIAN FEDERALISM IS A MACHINE
 - « Blijft een *kunstmatige situatie* natuurlijk. Het is nog niet zo heel oud, het blijft een *kunstmatige zaak.* » (PBN, K5, 274-275)
 - “it remains an *artificial situation* of course. It is not very old, it remains an *artificial issue*”
 - High degree of complexity
 - Ik heb het gevoel dat dat een sterke vereenvoudiging van heel dat systeem met zich zou kunnen meebrengen. » (PBN, K6, 402-404)
 - “I have the feeling that this could lead to a strong *simplification* of that system »

Study 1: results

- BELGIAN FEDERALISM IS A MACHINE
 - not working properly
 - Maar ik denk dat je kunt concluderen dat het federalisme zoals het nu is dat het niet werkt. (...) working. Euhm omdat het geen zuiver federalisme is omdat we met [...] confederalisme, utilitarisme en federalisme zitten. Dat zorgt dus voor tegenstellingen, dat werkt niet. » (PBN, N4, 3317-3321)
 - But I think you can conclude that federalism as it is now *is not working*. Euh because it's no pure federalism, because we're facing confederalism, utilarism en federalism. This leads to contradictions, that's *not working*.

Study 1: results

□ path-metaphors

- Je geraakt niet meer uit die modder. Er moet eens iemand komen die durft. (PBN, N1, 4128-4129)
- You can't **get out of this mud**. There should be someone who dares »
- Waar moet volgens jullie eigenlijk in heel die discussie over de toekomst van het Belgisch federalisme, waar we naar toe moeten, wat moet eigenlijk de rol zijn van burgers, PBN, M, 1219-1220)
- ... **where we have to get to...**

Study 1: results

□ BELGIAN FEDERALISM IS A COMPANY

- « hoe werkt een staat, een beetje zoals een bedrijfsleider over zijn bedrijf ». (PBN, K4, 1232-1233)
- **how does a state work, a bit like a ceo...**
- « als je vergelijkt met een bedrijf, een bedrijf laat je ook niet leiden door de werkman of de kuisvrouw bij wijze van spreken » (PBN, L3, 2327-2329)
- « **if you compare it to a company,...** »

Study 1: results

- BELGIAN FEDERALISM IS A DISEASE
 - ▣ « Welke bevoegdheden op het nationale niveau, welke bevoegdheden op het regionale niveau? Het wordt helemaal een pest bij wijze van spreken. » (PBN, M, 2533-2534)
 - ▣ « which responsibilities at the national level? Which responsibilities at the regional level? It is becoming a **plague** so to speak »
 - ▣ « ...en dat dat is de ziekte van het federalisme. Ik heb dat niet voor niks daarstraks een noodzakelijk kwaad genoemd. » (PBN, M1, 3069-3070)
 - ▣ « and that's the **disease of federalism**. It's not for nothing if I just named it a **necessary evil** »
 - ▣ « le fédéralisme est au départ le résultat d'un égocentrisme et d'une maladie de riches. » (PBF, B8, 134-136)
 - ▣ « federalism is the result of egocentrism and **a rich people disease** »

Study 1: results

- Two main source domains
 - ▣ BELGIAN FEDERALISM IS A MACHINE
 - ▣ BELGIAN FEDERALISM IS A MARRIAGE
- Two secondary source domains
 - ▣ Path-metaphors
 - ▣ BELGIAN FEDERALISM IS A DISEASE

Study 1: results

- No clear destination (purpose)
 - ▣ « (...) on va continuer à monter une usine à gaz et on ne saura pas en faire pas très bien où on veut aller. » (PBF, B8, 249-250)
 - ▣ “... and in fact we don't really know **where we're going to**”
- INSTITUTIONAL CRISIS IS AN OBSTACLE ON A ROAD
 - ▣ D'autant plus en fonction des circonstances que l'on traverse au niveau national
 - ▣ « all the more considering **the circumstances we're going through** at the national level »
 - ▣ Je suis passablement irrité par tout ce, par toutes ces revendications à droite et à gauche, je pense qu'il y a des problèmes de société plus importants mais bon, il faut bien passer par là.
 - ▣ I'm irritated by all these claims, I think there are more important societal problems that should be dealt with, but ok, we have to **go through** it.

Study 1: results

- Summary
 - ▣ Symmetry between FR & NL corpora
 - N metaphors
 - Types of metaphors
 - source domains
 - ▣ non-deliberate metaphors
 - Construction domain
 - Machine domain

Study 1: results

□ Summary

■ Deliberate metaphors

■ Family domain

■ ‘Marriage’

- reference point in terms of which citizens make sense of Belgian federalism
- makes it possible to express different views on Belgium's future



Further work

- Explore different kinds of political discourse
 - ▣ political parties' manifesto's
 - ▣ media discourse
 - ▣ other types of citizen discourse (Web-forums,...)
- Assess the political impact of metaphors
 - ▣ top-down