“Holland is full”
Identifying temporal and spatial reference frames:
discursive ground for ideologically motivated political agendas

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From Text To Political Positions
From Sentiments and Opinions in Texts to Political-Party Positions

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T2PP – 3 approaches
1. Political content analysis: What, Who, How?
   - Focus on salience: consistency-ambiguity in party positions (Annemarie)
2. Critical Discourse Analysis:
   Cognitive- and Corpus Linguistics (CCC): Why?
   - Discursive markers of argument coherence: Worldviews (Bertie)
3. Computational lexical-semantic analysis:How?
   - A deontic lexicon for (automated) sentiment analysis (Isa)

Voting Advice Applications (VAAs) provide a 2-D political landscape
LEFT ↔ RIGHT
Social priorities — Economic priorities

CONSERVATIVE ↔ PROGRESSIVE
Traditional, Authoritarian, Nationalistic – Green, Alternative, Libertarian

http://www.euprofiler.eu/

A framework for finding ground rationales of political agendas

Critical Discourse Approach
- Finding distinctive markers of argument coherence: What is presupposed?

Cognitive affordances of texts
- Spatial cognition in thought and language: a structure to make sense of the world.
  Discovering “worldviews” on which political agendas are based?

Corpus-linguistic evidence
- Annotation of time and space expressions, modified by Modality markers
- Inventory of discourse markers of subjective stance for automated text analysis

Vote Compass NL 2010

Progressive

Left

Right

Conservative

www.kieskompas.nl
The story of politics

Political discourse constructs causality:

a) Problem identified (now)
b) Political action to solve the problem (near future)
c) Problem solved ... (future)

The catch is that solving a problem for some may create problems for others.

Worldview

Is seated in a selective political space.
Is a coordinating system that warrants political action towards a ‘better’ future.

a) A perspective on the existing order
b) A vision of the ‘good society’
c) Political action to get from (a) to (b)

(cf. Heywood 2007: 11-12)

Critical Discourse Premises

Text constructs meaning over and above its linguistic and conceptual parts: it establishes possible dynamics in actor-issue relations.

Text worlds are subjective reconstructions of an imagined world that is in/exclusive: “world-to-word-to-world ‘fit’” (Searle & Vanderveken 1985; Werth 1999).

Communicatively, text worlds must have intrinsic coherence to make sense.

Cohesive rhetorical features

World to word to word ‘fit’ (Searle & Vanderveken 1985)

• Narrative structure (Herman 2008)
• Coordinate system: a schematic mental map (Levinson 2003)
• Point of view from which a story unfolds: Deictic centre
• Relative to what? (Levinson 1996: egocentric – allocentric)
• Frames foreground, omit and in/exclude (Entman 1993)
• Logical relation: worldview—action (Heywood 2007)
• Metaphor: Time and Space as source domain of evaluative thought: the mind map (Grady 1997, Levinson 2003)

Navigating a (mental) map

Spatial Cognition in language and thought

• The imagined is anchored in the physical (Searle 2011).

• Primacy of spatial cognition (Levinson 2003) to make sense of non-spatial problems (e.g. social dynamics)
Metaphorical Space and Time

- Affect is mapped onto an objective spatial map, e.g., in the experiential metaphor category COMFORT IS CLOSENESS.
- In the relation TIME IS MOTION ALONG A PATH time projects motion on to space (PATH) to express the dual experience of duration and direction.

[Q: If the time-space schema is a primary neurological pathway of the human brain, is it a metaphor?]

Narrative and spatial cognition

- Understanding narrative ‘myth’ (Lyotard 1979).
- Spatial location frames the narrative domain, projecting objective space onto subjective thought.
- Explicit spatial cues give a rationale to causal entailments, and
- They suggest emergent relations between agents, objects, actions and places (scripts) relative to ‘point of view’

Time and Space

- Time is often represented as spatial: “the days are nearing”, “we leave that behind us”.
- Function: temporalises spatial dynamics.
- Space: The nation is a geographic space and central to political action.
- Function: inclusive/exclusive: “Holland is full”
- Time & Space are markers of subjective attitude, based in a point of view.

Modality

Involves attribution of deontic and epistemic attitude expressing certainty, necessity and desirability.

Establishes a deictic time-space – point of view relation

A syntax-semantic phenomenon expressed in adjectives, superlatives, verbs, etc.

Corpus Linguistic approach

- Data selection and selection of a sub-corpus
- A flexible annotation format for linguistic, discursive and content analysis (KAF)
- A code book for TSM annotation
- Cluster scales of TS and M expressions
- Relative instances/Visual graphics/
Data: Manifestos

Manifestos are the substantive focal point for political communication during election time (Lamond 2010):
- Produced simultaneously at regular intervals (Budge 1994)
- Authoritative: they are composed by an epistemic community and reflect party identity (Van Dijk 2006)
- Communicate a social agenda to a broad audience (Benoit 2006) to gain votes
- Strategic documents in coalition formations
- Parties can be held accountable after elections (media, opposition parties, interest groups)

Data selection for worldview

Dutch manifestos have narrative structure:
1. The scene is set (normative worldview)
2. Action is proposed to solve issue-related problems
3. Goals are not always explicit

Worldviews are made explicit in introductory paragraphs of Dutch manifestos. The scene is set in claims about the present.

A TSM Codebook

- **Time**: historic events, recent developments, past, present, future (e.g. WWII, now, always)
- **Space**: geographic scope of relevant political space (NL, EU, Western World).
- **Modality**: modifier of epistemic/deontic ‘distance’ from the deictic here/now (e.g. *must* has stronger urgency than *want*).

Coding Modality

Deontic and epistemic words (Chilton 2005; Werth 1999), plus expressions of desirability. (Translation equivalents to Dutch original.) (Kaal and Maks 2011)

Clusters of relative distance
**Time-Space scope**

“Holland is full.” (PVV 2010)

“Globalization is putting our economic position under pressure. To prevent decline we will continue to invest in the infrastructure.” (CDA 2010)

“We are a world country. Our economy runs on energy from abroad. ... Our future depends on good neighbours and far friends.” (GL 2010)

**Time-Space location**

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**KYOTO Annotation Format**

**KAF for TSM**

**Space in EM 2010 Introductions**

**Time in EM 2010 Introductions**
Modality in EM 2010 Introductions

Examples of 2D-worldviews

- Modality was applied to modify time and space locations on the axes.
- Christian Democrats and Green Left relevant space/time

Hypotheses:
Worldview & Political positions
- Worldviews are the ground for political rationale
- They are indicative of political ideology
- Worldviews are subjective discursive frames that prioritise (foreground/background) and exclude (omit)

TSM and Political dimensions
Time, Space and Modality positions are related to Progressive-Conservative, but not to the Left-Right dimension

LEFT ↔ RIGHT
Social priorities — Economic priorities
L-R is the domain of issue-related policies.

CONSERVATIVE ↔ PROGRESSIVE
Traditional, Authoritarian, Nationalistic — Green, Alternative, Libertarian
Domain of Worldviews: a cultural dimension relating to affect

Progressive-Conservative-Religious
- Progressive attitude has a broader intrinsic “worldview” (Green/Alternative/Libertarian) than Conservative attitude (Traditional/Authoritarian/Nationalistic)
This gives space to ‘fit’ more complex solutions.
- Religious parties have an extrinsic temporal and spatial worldview (God’s realm)
These findings would have influenced KiesKompas party positioning on progressive-Conservative.
References