Chapter 3

Constructing Quebec and Wallonia: How Political Parties Speak about their Region

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Political parties are key political actors in both Quebec and Wallonia. As their foremost ambition is to govern their region, these parties clearly contribute to shaping its identity and image. This chapter aims at exploring how political parties in Quebec and in Wallonia speak about their region by focussing on an analysis of their electoral manifestos for the period 1994-2014. Using a quantitative and qualitative approach combining insights from lexicometry, cognitive linguistics and political science, the aims of this contribution are (i) to unravel how the parties perceive their region and its future development, (ii) to identify relevant evolutions in their perception of their respective region and (iii) to assess to what extent parallels can be drawn between the two regions.

Accordingly, this chapter is structured as follows: section 1 is devoted to a brief introduction to linguistic approaches to the study of political discourses. In section 2, we present the political

parties in Quebec and Wallonia before turning in section 3 to a description of our data and methods. In sections 4 and 5, we present the respective results of our analysis for Quebec and Wallonia, before discussing in section 6 the main issues raised by the study.

1. Linguistic Approaches to the Study of Political Discourses

Political discourse plays a central role in the construction of political meaning and can be regarded as the meeting point *par excellence* between language and society (Mayaffre 2005). This particular use of language to create political meaning may explain why political discourse has frequently been an object of linguistic analysis (Perrez and Reuchamps 2012). There are two well-established traditions that offer – complementary – linguistic approaches to the study of political discourses. Both rely on the performative nature of words, which have the ability to create conceptual categories; in other words, both approaches focus on the analysis of specific forms conveying political meaning.

On the one hand, lexicometric approaches build on tools that automatically analyse large corpora in order to capture the frequency and collocational patterns of words in a given discourse. Such a perspective enables the researcher to identify the word forms framing particular political issues at a given point in time, thereby extracting the political essence of the discourses under study (Mayaffre 2007). In this approach, the analyst's task is to integrate the discourses under study within their broader epistemic and ideological contexts, after a thorough lexicometric analysis in order to understand which words frame a given political debate.

On the other hand, with the development of cognitive linguistics, and more specifically of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff and Johnson 1980), the linguistic analysis of political discourse has been enhanced by the insight that metaphors play a major role in our perception of abstract entities and our understanding of complex processes. There is currently a widespread

scientific endeavour to use conceptual metaphors as analytic tools to explore political discourse from a new perspective (Chilton 1996). As Semino puts it (2008, 90): "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". The importance of metaphors in politics has also been stressed by Charteris-Black, who highlights their contribution to the construction of more accessible "mental representations of political issues" and suggests their power resides in their ability to "activate unconscious emotional associations", which "contributes to myth creation" (Charteris-Black 2011, 28). Wilson and Hay have also stressed the importance of conceptual metaphors in the discursive construction of collective identities (2013, 49):

> a focus on the use of conceptual metaphors within discourses of ethnicity provides a valuable insight into ethnic self-understanding at a given point in time, and that, consequently, this approach is a valuable addition to the analytic repertoire for researchers concerned with issues of emergent ethnicity and the construction ethnic identities in general.

The aim of the present study is to examine the political discourse in general, and political party manifestos in particular for Quebec and Wallonia, from the combined perspective of lexicometry and metaphor analysis. This approach will help us understand how the political parties concerned try to frame the electoral debate. At a more detailed level, this approach should also reveal specific political visions for the two regions under study. This perspective is an original way of looking at these data, departing from more traditional content analyses of political manifestos, as used in the Comparative Manifesto Project, which attempt to classify the content of manifestos into different categories in order to measure the political stance of each party (for examples on Quebec political parties and on Walloon political parties, see respectively Pétry 2006, Collette and Pétry 2012, Dandoy 2012a).

2. Political Parties in Quebec and Wallonia

Over the last twenty years in Quebec, three main opponents have competed for seats in the provincial parliament: the liberal PLQ (*Parti libéral du Québec*) and the sovereignist PQ (*Parti Québécois*) as well as, more recently, the autonomist and conservative ADQ (*Action démocratique du Québec*)[1]. In 2012, the ADQ merged with the CAQ (*Coalition pour l'avenir du Québec*). In Wallonia, four political parties have been continuously represented in the Walloon parliament since its first direct elections in 1995. The first of these is the Christian democratic cdH (*Centre démocrate humaniste* – known until 2002 as the PSC, *Parti social chrétien*). The second party is the ecologist ECOLO (*Écologistes confédérés pour l'organisation de luttes originales*). The third is the liberal MR (*Mouvement réformateur*). This party initially consisted of an alliance beginning in 1993 between the liberal PRL (*Parti réformateur libéral*) and the Francophone regionalist FDF (*Front démocratique des Francophones* – known since 2010 as the *Fédéralistes démocrates francophones*), which was joined in 1998 by the MCC (*Mouvement citoyen pour le changement*). In 2002, the PRL, FDF and MCC together became known as the current MR, but the FDF left the party in 2011. Last but not least, the fourth political party represented in the Walloon parliament is the socialist PS (*Parti socialiste*).

Historically, the ongoing opposition between the federalists (PLQ) and the sovereignists (PQ), since the party's creation in 1968, has shaped the political dynamics in Quebec. Since then, these two parties have alternatingly led the provincial government. As suggested by Table 3.1, this competition between the two main political parties has continued over the last two decades: the PQ being in power from 1994 until 2003, the PLQ between 2003 and 2012 (although with a minority government between 2007 and 2008 for the first time since 1878) and the PQ returning to power in 2012 for only two years before ceding victory to the PLQ in the 2014 elections. This government-opposition dynamics, fostered by the majoritarian electoral system, is key to

understanding Quebec politics, as it has been shown that holding the reins of government influences the form and content of a party's political manifesto (Pétry 2006, Collette and Pétry 2012).

Alongside these strong bipartisan dynamics, however, third party dynamics are not to be ignored in the recent history of Quebec politics. The ADQ was created in 1994 and fielded candidates at the elections immediately after its creation. What is more, in 2007, the ADQ became for the first time the official opposition, leaving the PQ as a second opposition party, in such a way that some authors have argued that the traditional bipartisan politics was disappearing (Bélanger and Nadeau, 2008). However, the emerging third party dynamics evolved quickly with the swift rise of the ADQ in the 2008 elections (where it gained 16.37% of the vote) and finally with its merger in February 2012 with the CAQ (the merged party gained 27.05% of the vote in the 2012 elections). In 2014, the PQ chose to trigger an election in an attempt to secure the chance to form a majority government. The PLQ ultimately won the elections (with 41.5% of the vote), while the PQ clearly lost support (their share of the vote was down from 31.95% to 25.38%). Third party dynamics seemed to be back at the forefront of Quebec politics, with the results of the CAQ (23.06%) coming close to those of the PQ.

<Table 3.1 HERE>

In Wallonia, by contrast, one party – the PS – has been the dominant political actor in the region for the whole of the 20th century and into the 21st century, gaining for each – national – election a handful of seats, even within a proportional system (Bouhon and Reuchamps 2012). The creation of the Regions in the 1980's and more specifically the direct election of the Walloon parliament have not changed these dynamics. Since 1995, the socialists have uninterruptedly held power, but given the proportional system, this has always been within a coalition. In 1995, the PS governed

with the Christian democrats and then in a rainbow coalition made up of socialists, liberals and greens from 1999 until 2004. That year, the PS and the MR retained power but left ECOLO in opposition. Then in 2009, ECOLO was brought back into the coalition along with the Christian democrats, this time leaving the liberals in opposition.

<Table 3.2 HERE>

In these two polities, two main cleavages have shaped the competition between the parties. On the one hand, the *identity cleavage* is a key driver of both Quebec and Wallonia (Reuchamps 2011). In Quebec, the very question of the future of the province has shaped the political debate since the Quiet Revolution in the 1960's. The so-called sovereignism-federalism cleavage places the federalists who want a strong Quebec inside Canada against the sovereignists who want a strong Quebec outside Canada (Pelletier 2008). This basic opposition led to two referendums on the sovereignty of Quebec in 1980 and in 1995. Nonetheless, the choice taken to remain within the Canadian federation has not pacified the tensions, and the debate about the future of Quebec is still ongoing today (see the chapters by Turgeon and by Caron in this volume).

In Wallonia, too, the identity cleavage goes to the core of Belgian federalism and to the organization of lines of solidarity. One difficult question relates to the nature of the link between the French-speakers of Wallonia and the French-speakers of Brussels. That is the question of the existence of the so-called French-speaking Community, in addition the Walloon Region and the Brussels-Capital Region (Deschouwer and Reuchamps 2013). On this specific question, there are different competing views both between and within the political parties: one view favours the existence of two Regions only, another remains in favour of the current encompassing Community, while a third view combines both visions with the proposed renaming of the French-speaking Community

as the Federation Wallonia-Brussels (Reuchamps, Kavadias, and Deschouwer 2014). So, in Wallonia, too, the debate about the future is still ongoing.

On the other hand, the *socio-economic cleavage* is far from being unimportant. In Quebec, while the sovereignism-federalism cleavage has overshadowed the socio-economic cleavage, and this was particularly the case in the 1980's and 1990's (Pelletier 2012), a left-right opposition has also shaped the competition between parties, as was especially evident in the 2000's. Indeed, an expert survey carried out in 2007 showed the ADQ to be on the right, the PLQ in the centre-right and the PQ in the centre-left (Collette and Pétry 2012, 115-116), with the PQ being more in favour of welfare state oriented policies and the PLQ more prone to neoliberal policies. In Wallonia, the socio-economic cleavage is also important, even more so than the identity cleavage. In favour of large-scale state intervention, the main political actor – the PS – is a social democratic party, positioned on the left of the political Walloon landscape, along with smaller extreme-left parties such as the PTB (*Parti des travailleurs de Belgique*). The liberal MR is located on the right, with a programme in favour of entrepreneurs and business and above all less state intervention. Between these two main parties, the cdH and ECOLO are usually seen to be in the centre – centre-right for the Christian democrats and centre-left for the ecologists. On the far right, there are several parties such as the FN (*Front national*) and the FNB (*Front nouveau de Belgique*) with an anti-immigration and anti-system platform.

Above all, both in Quebec and in Wallonia, it can be observed that these two cleavages interact with each other and are in fact quite intertwined, especially on the question at the core of this chapter: the future of their region. It is for this reason that the position of each party regarding these two important cleavages needs to be understood – because each party engenders a specific vision of their region. Moreover, the potential prominence of one cleavage over the other also

asserts a particular perception of each region. It is for this reason that attention needs to be paid to how political parties view their region, as demonstrated through their political manifestos.

3. Data and Methods

Political parties have a chief role in structuring politics because they hold a quasi-monopoly of representation in Parliament. In fact, in Quebec and in Wallonia, there are very few independents, except for those who leave their party during a legislative session (Pelletier 2012). A political party's manifesto is the masterpiece of the party's structuring role. In this study, we focus on political party manifestos for several reasons. First of all, the manifesto is the document *par excellence* that states the official position of any party at each election. It has therefore both an external function – to inform the electorate as well as the other political actors of the position of a given party – and an internal function – to ensure that the candidates and also the rank and file of a given party rally around the same position. Indeed, it is quite usual for the majority of party members to be required to formally approve the political manifesto of their party (Dandoy 2012b, 12). Electoral programmes are often considered as a valid indicator of a political party's position at a given moment (Volkens 2002) and above all as the most comprehensive expression of salience, policy preference and reasoning of a party (Budge et al. 2001, Morsink and Sinardet 2011, 3).

Of course, one should be aware that political manifestos do not reflect the entire nature of a given political party and its members, not even at election time, considering that political campaigning demands a constant adaptation to events and thus to interactions with other political actors. This might thus force a political party to adapt or to adopt a stance different from the one stated in its political manifesto. Furthermore, as Morsink and Sinardet state, "it wouldn't come as a surprise to see parties or candidates take more extreme positions in electoral propaganda or televised debates

than those written in their electoral manifesto, as these [the political manifestos] are compromises of different factions within a party" (2011, 3).

Nonetheless, this 'mean' position of a party given by its political manifesto is of interest for our study, which seeks to compare the position of political parties regarding their region. In fact, when one aims at comparing the views of political parties, it is rather difficult to do so using 'hot' political discourses, for instance on the political discourses given in political debates or in the media, because the issues may be addressed in a very different linguistic manner (timing, framing) by the actors to be compared. By contrast, political manifestos, which are 'cold' political discourses, are more easily comparable because each political party undertakes the same exercise (they may well do it differently, but then it is also possible and interesting to study these differences). What is more, in Quebec, studies have demonstrated that political parties in government tend to keep their electoral promises: 75% for the PQ and 70% for the PLQ (Pétry 2002, Pétry and Collette 2006, Pétry 2012). This is much more difficult to verify in Wallonia where the presence of coalitions in government blurs the responsibilities of each partner.

In this study, we analyse the political manifestos of the main parties in Quebec and in Wallonia, namely the ADQ, the PLQ, the PQ and the CAQ for Quebec, and the cdH, ECOLO, the MR and the PS for Wallonia. We analyse the manifestos of these parties for each election since 1994 in Quebec and since 1995 in Wallonia, which amounts to an overall corpus of more than two million words; in this chapter, we focus mainly on the first and the last elections in both regions. The manifestos were all initially written in French, which makes the comparison easier; some of them also exist in another language such as English. These manifestos are compared synchronically and diachronically. All analyses are performed with the software Wordsmith tools 6.0, which allows quantitative and qualitative analysis. This software helps to systematize and control the identification of representations in the texts through wordlists and analysis of concordance. It

therefore enables a more systematic and transparent reading of the texts, instead of a mere interpretation. The analysis is performed in three steps.

First, the most employed lemmas – that is the canonical form or dictionary form of various forms of the same word – are identified and counted in absolute terms (i.e. their frequency) and in relative terms (i.e. their percentage within the manifesto, so as to enable the comparison between manifestos). In this initial step, lemmas relating to the identity cleavage are highlighted. From this preliminary analysis, both the nature of the words and their frequency can already provide insights into a political party's stance. The second step builds on this analysis and looks for the concordance between the most frequently used terms, especially those that characterize the vision of the region, in order to identify the domains used to conceptualize Quebec and Wallonia. The third and final step takes a qualitative approach to these conceptualizations – what we refer to as conceptual metaphors – in order to offer a comprehensive appraisal of how each political party views its own region and its future.

4. Analysis of Political Manifestos in Quebec

Table 3.3 and Table 3.4 present the top 20 most frequently used lemmas in the manifestos of the ADQ, PLQ and PQ in 1994 and of the CAQ, PLQ and PQ in 2014.[2] A first look at the political manifestos in Quebec reveals that "*Québec/Québécois**" are the most frequently used lemmas across parties and across elections. These occur in various forms, such as a place of power ("*le gouvernement québécois*", "*le Québec*"), a location ("*au Québec*"), a proper noun or an adjective ("*Université du Québec*", "*Hydro-Québec*") or as part of the name of a party (*Action démocratique du Québec*, *Parti libéral du Québec*, *Parti Québécois*, *Coalition pour l'avenir du Québec*)[3].

<Table 3.3 HERE>

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Three main findings come out of our analysis of the political manifestos in Quebec. First, there is confirmation of the shift from the identity cleavage to the socio-economic cleavage. Second, the identity cleavage is shown not to have disappeared from the political debate, but to have evolved in several ways. Third, competing political metaphors concerning Quebec politics can be seen to derive from the political manifestos depending on the party's position, i.e. whether in government or in opposition.

4.1. The Socio-economic Shift

As already mentioned, two main cleavages have shaped politics in Quebec: the identity cleavage (federalism versus sovereignty) and the socio-economic cleavage (support for welfare state policies versus neoliberal policies). Over the last twenty years, the political dynamics have experienced a socio-economic shift. In 1994, in the wake of the failure of the Lake Meech and Charlottetown accords, the debate over the sovereignty of Quebec was very heated. The prominence of the lemmas "*souveraineté/souverain**" (sovereignty/sovereign) in the PQ manifesto (1994) clearly demonstrates the party's position in favour of independence, a stance that would lead to the organization of the 1995 referendum. In contrast, these word forms appear only once in the PLQ (1994) manifesto, and here they have a negative sense. One can observe that the liberals were adopting a strategy of *évitement* (avoidance) rather than direct confrontation. Furthermore, the occurrence of "*langue*" (language) in the top 20 lemmas used in the PQ manifesto (1994) reveals the importance of this issue. The analysis of the political manifestos clearly shows that this cleavage discriminates the positions of the three main political parties at the time.

Yet, by the 2000's, the socio-economic cleavage has increasingly gained in importance and has become the most significant concern of the political agenda (Bélanger and Nadeau 2008). The identity cleavage, meanwhile, has not disappeared but rather has evolved, as we will discuss below. What is striking is the links that can be found between the two cleavages. As Changfoot and Cullen (2011) have shown, the neoliberal orientation of the federation has forced parties to strengthen their position on the socio-economic axis. It is for this reason that Quebec separatism, as it is often called in English Canada, is now off the agenda. Moreover, the elections of 2003 and above all of 2007 marked a socio-economic shift (Dufour 2007, Changfoot and Cullen 2011), with the liberal PLQ regaining power and, in 2007, the rightist ADQ becoming the official opposition, i.e. the second largest party, at the national assembly in Quebec city. As in 1994, the PLQ in 2012 promoted a policy of continuity by using words relating to specific policies that it implemented as the "*Plan Nord*". In the PQ manifesto (2012), the Quebec question is still mentioned, but it is framed from a different perspective, as we will discuss below. The question of whether the election of the PQ in 2012 reflected a collective will to bring the sovereignty debate back onto the agenda (Bélanger and Chhim 2012) was answered in 2014 with the victory of the PLQ. In the CAQ and the PLQ manifestos, the sovereignty debate is clearly off the agenda and socio-economic topics come first; yet the Quebec question still remains.

4.2. The Quebec Question

Even though the socio-economic cleavage has become more predominant nowadays, the identity cleavage, or in other words, the Quebec question, has historically been central to Quebec politics and it is therefore key to understanding the evolution of the representations of Quebec in the political party manifestos. As a result, we chose to analyse in more detail the uses over time of the lemmas "*nation/national-aux**" (nation/national), *"autonomie/autonom**" (autonomy/autonomous) and "*souveraineté/souverain**" (sovereignty/sovereign).

A general overview reveals that, in the PQ manifestos, the lemmas "*souveraineté/souverain**" are significantly present in 1994 (0.22%) while their number decreases in the 2000's. "*Nation/national-aux**" becomes more frequent in 2008 (0.20%). In the ADQ manifestos, the lemmas "*autonomie/autonomy*" are almost never employed in 1994 (0.01%) but with the so-called autonomist shift of the party in 2007 and 2008 (Boily 2012), these become the third most used lemmas in their manifestos (0.26% in 2008). In 2012, a new shift occurs: the CAQ officially declares that the constitutional debate should be put aside. This trend is confirmed in 2014. The PLQ has always been reluctant to engage directly in this "word fight"; these lemmas rarely appear in their manifestos. But, the absence of words can also reveal a specific political vision. In 2014, the PLQ clearly implies that the PQ's referendum proposal is totally impractical, while emphasizing that the PLQ itself focuses on "vraies affaires" (En. 'real concerns'). In order to explore this complex political and linguistic reality, the concordance of these lemmas with other linguistic expressions may uncover the broader picture behind these words.

4.2.1. Sovereignty and Nation(hood)

In 1994, the qualification of Quebec as a "*nation*" is relatively scarce in the three manifestos; rather, it is used in the plural form to refer to the autochthonous nations. By contrast, the words "*souveraineté/souverain**" occur significantly frequently, especially in the PQ manifesto. As we will discuss below, the conceptual metaphors used to frame this debate underline its strong position. As far as the PLQ is concerned, it makes only one reference to "sovereignty" and from a negative perspective (1). This is not a surprise as this party is clearly opposed to the idea of sovereignty-partnership and is in favour of Canadian unity (Lemieux 2012, 251). The position of the ADQ (1994) regarding sovereignty is ambiguous; it does not really define what kind of relationship it proposes with the Canadian federation (2). On the one hand, like the PQ, the ADQ promises to

hold a referendum on sovereignty, but on the other hand, it proposes a new (undefined) union with the Rest of Canada. Indeed, it is only after the elections that the ADQ really clarifies its position and its desire to create a confederation between Quebec and the Rest of Canada (Boily 2012).

(1) Fr. "*Dans ce nouveau contexte, le projet de* ***souveraineté,*** *qui entraîne le démantèlement de l'union économique canadienne, va à* ***contre-courant*** *de notre époque.*" (PLQ 1994)
En. In this new context, the **sovereignty** project, which leads to the dismantling of the Canadian economic union, goes **against the tide** of our time.

(2) Fr. "[...] *un gouvernement de l'Action démocratique tiendra un référendum sur la* ***souveraineté,*** *en proposant* ***une nouvelle union au reste du Canada****, dans un esprit d'ouverture et de cooperation.*" (ADQ 1994)
En. "[...] a ADQ government will hold a referendum on the **sovereignty** issue and propose a new union with the rest of Canada, in a spirit of openness and cooperation."

By the 2000's, the situation has evolved: use of the word "*nation*" in relation to Quebec becomes more common than "*souveraineté/souverain**", especially in the PQ manifesto (2008) and to a certain extent in the ADQ manifesto (2008). This prominence seems to reflect the adoption two years earlier by the Canadian House of Commons of the motion recognizing that "The Québécois form a nation within a united Canada", in the wake of the "*fédéralisme d'ouverture*" promised by the conservative Prime Minister Stephen Harper (Montpetit 2007). The position of the PQ in relation to the Quebec question is especially worth investigating over time.

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In 2008, the PQ modifies its strategy: it focuses on the defence of the interests of the *nation* of Quebec rather than on *sovereignty*. It has learned from the events of 2007, and it has adapted its discourse to the expectations of its electorate (Bélanger, 2007, 2008). Thus, the electoral resurgence

of the PQ in 2008 (and then again in 2012) does not reflect the party's renewed support of sovereignty, as the PQ moderates its position on this very topic (Boily 2012, 307). What is striking in both 2012 and 2014 is the overall decrease in the use of the lemmas relating to the identity cleavage in the party's manifestos. At the same time, these lemmas also become associated with different topics. For instance, until that time, all occurrences of "*souveraineté/souverain**" are associated with the Quebec question, but in 2012 and 2014 they begin to be used to refer to other issues, especially regarding food sovereignty (three occurrences out of six in 2012 and three out of seven in 2014). As Pétry and Birch (2014) demonstrate, the part of the PQ manifestos relating to the question of identity cleavage has remained stable since 1976. However, as shown in Table 3.5, fewer words are used directly in relation to this question. Above all, in 2012 and with the use of the same words in 2014, the PQ has not abandoned the sovereignty question. More than ever before, it is addressing sovereignty in an indirect way and with a long-term perspective (3).

(3) Fr. "*Réaliser la* ***souveraineté*** *du Québec à la suite d'une consultation de la population par référendum tenu* ***au moment qu'il jugera approprié***". (PQ 2012 & PQ 2014)

En. "Realizing the **sovereignty** of Quebec as the result of the consultation of the population by referendum, **at the time the party deems appropriate**.

4.2.2. Autonomy

The lemmas "*autonomie/autonome**" are also worth mentioning, especially for the 2007 and 2008 elections. Indeed, they are largely absent from the manifestos in the 1990's. In 1994, there are very few occurrences in the PLQ manifestos relating to the autonomy of Quebec. In other cases, they are used to refer to the autonomy of First nations or to public policy inside Quebec. By contrast, these lemmas occur more significantly ten years later, especially in the political manifestos of the ADQ (2008).

<Table 3.6 HERE>

The topic of autonomy appears in 2007 when the ADQ proposes an alternative to the sovereignty project of the PQ. This trend is confirmed in 2008. A qualitative exploration shows that these lemmas refer not only to the identity cleavage but also – and even more so – to the socio-economic cleavage (for instance, in relation to the autonomy of schools, municipalities, regions, hospitals, workers, etc.). In fact, the ADQ considers autonomy as the basis not only for managing its relationship with the federal state but also for organizing all the relationships inside Quebec itself (4). This is called "*le nouveau modèle autonomiste québécois*", the new autonomist Quebec model.

(4) Fr. "*Contrairement à l'option fédéraliste, qui consiste à accepter le statu quo, et à l'option souverainiste, qui prône l'indépendance du Québec à tout prix, l'ADQ suggère que le Québec adopte une vision* ***autonomiste*** [...]" (ADQ 2008).

En. Contrary to the federalist option, which consists of accepting the status quo, and to the sovereignist option, advocating the independence of Quebec at all costs, the ADQ proposes that Quebec should adopt an **autonomist** vision.

In 2012, the socio-economic shift has been clearly confirmed as the CAQ considers the debate on sovereignty to be a disease paralysing Quebec (5). In 2014, the party's constitutional position follows this statement by stating that Quebec should always come first ("*Le Québec d'abord*").

(5) Fr. "*La division entre fédéralistes et souverainistes nous* [= les Québécois] ***paralyse****. Pour que le Québec se remette véritablement à avancer, il nous faut* ***mettre le débat constitutionnel de côté****.*" (CAQ, 2012)

En. "The division between federalists and sovereignists is **paralysing** us [= the Quebec people]. In order for Quebec to really move forward again, we have to **put the constitutional debate aside**."

In conclusion, our analyses of the use of the words relating to the identity cleavage have highlighted the evolution of perceptions of the status of Quebec. The PQ strongly defended sovereignty in

1994, while in 2008 it turned the focus of its discourse to the nation of Quebec. After an ambiguous position in the 1990's, the ADQ took its position in this debate with an alternative centred on autonomy as a way to defend the interest of Quebec's economy and identity. In the case of the PLQ, the quasi absence or the negative use of these lemmas confirmed the party's stance on the Quebec question; that is its support for a strong Quebec within a united Canada. More recently, the 2012 elections showed that the Quebec question has clearly been reshaped. The PLQ has continued to avoid this issue in its manifestos, stating that this debate would represent a pathway to division; the CAQ has officially excluded the issue from its manifesto, while the PQ has framed it in a more indirect way. This trend was confirmed in 2014. The lexicometric approach taken here has enabled us to detect relevant shifts in the position of the political parties vis-à-vis their region.

4.3. Quebec in Metaphors

The final step of our analysis is to go beyond the words and try to capture the conceptual representations that they bring about. In other words, we seek to capture Quebec – the target domain – through the dominant source domains of the conceptual metaphors. The most prominent domain in the political manifestos is the conceptual metaphor: QUEBEC IS A BUILDING. The instantiation of this conceptual metaphor can be identified through the presence of specific words, for instance "*bâtir*" (to build). Different aspects of the Quebec BUILDING – its strength, its foundations, its design – also emerge. In 1994, the PLQ – in power since 1985 – states that QUEBEC IS A SOLID BUILDING on which one can continue to build. Such a conceptual metaphor conveys two political meanings: on the one hand, it emphasizes the achievements of the liberal governments since 1985 (6) and, on the other hand, it stresses the decisive role of the Canadian federation for Quebec and of Quebec for the Canadian federation (7). This conceptual metaphor

is used by the PLQ to convey an optimistic scenario of the lasting and well-structured foundations of the Quebec BUILDING.

(6) Fr. "*Le Parti libéral du Québec s'engage à* ***bâtir*** *sur ces* ***acquis***." (PLQ 1994)

En. "The Quebec Liberal Party promises to **build** on these **achievements**".

(7) Fr. "*Notre conviction profonde est que l'orientation libérale sur la place du Québec au sein de l'ensemble canadien, inspirée d'une philosophie d'ouverture et de coopération, constitue* ***une assise*** [...]" (PLQ 1994)

En. "Our profound conviction is that the liberal orientation on the question of Quebec's place within the Canadian whole, inspired by a philosophy of openness and cooperation, constitutes a **foundation** [...]"

For the same elections, the ADQ (1994) also employs this source domain but from a negative perspective; it states that QUEBEC IS NOT YET A SOLID BUILDING. Quebec is rather seen as a PROBLEMATIC BUILDING; the FOUNDATIONS that should support the entire STRUCTURE do not yet exist (8). The ADQ proposes to BUILD them.

(8) Fr. "[...] ***redonner*** *un nouvel élan au Québec sur* ***des bases solides****, qui soient nécessaires de redonner le goût de* ***bâtir*** *à la population.*" (ADQ 1994)

En. "[...] to **give** Quebec a fresh impetus **based on a solid foundation**, which is necessary to restore the population's taste for **building**"

By comparison, the PQ (1994) – the official opposition at that time – describes the Quebec situation in terms of WAR rather than in terms of BUILDING. As we have already noted, the issue of sovereignty is fundamental in the PQ manifesto. The manifesto frames change in this domain by referring to "*l'acte de naissance du Québec*" (En. 'birth certificate of Quebec') (9), while the existing status quo is seen as representing "*reddition*" (En. 'surrender') (10). The use of this assertive metaphor is a way to give a valid justification for the PQ's strong opposition to the current

situation. This metaphor contributes to the creation of the cognitive foundations necessary to legitimate the party's position regarding the Quebec question.

(9) Fr. "*Le Parti Québécois entend procéder à la réalisation de la* ***souveraineté*** *de la façon suivante: le référendum sera l'****acte de naissance*** *du Québec* ***souverain***." (PQ 1994)

En. "The Quebec Party intends to proceed towards the achievement of **sovereignty** in the following way: the referendum will be the **birth certificate** of **sovereign** Quebec.

(10) Fr. "*Le* ***statu quo*** *est non seulement dénoncé par l'ensemble du Québec, mais c'est aussi une illusion qui cache des* ***reculs*** *qui consacreraient* ***une reddition*** *totale et sans condition du Québec*." (PQ 1994)

En. "**The status quo** has not only been denounced by the whole of Quebec, but it is also an illusion hiding a **step backwards**, which would sanction the total and conditionless **surrender** of Quebec."

In the early 2000's, the political context seems less conflict-ridden than in the 1990's around the question of Quebec's future. However, political manifestos, and thus political competition, return to politics as usual where the majority-opposition dynamics shape policy. The PLQ, which governed Quebec between 2003 and 2012, has a discourse of continuity, while the PQ and the ADQ – harshly – criticize the record of the incumbent government in relation to the Quebec question. In 2014, the PQ has been governing Quebec for two years, while the PLQ and CAQ have been in opposition. The conceptual metaphor QUEBEC IS A BUILDING is still frequently being used by the political parties. As in 1994, the PLQ (2008) is using the metaphor to defend its results and its political project (11). Similarly, in the PLQ manifesto of 2012, Quebec's future is framed as a PATH/JOURNEY (12). Through this metaphor, progress is seen as a movement forward. The PLQ states its ability to remove all the obstacles on the path to full employment, i.e. the final DESTINATION of the JOURNEY it proposes. It should also be mentioned that metaphors are less numerous in the manifestos of the incumbent government than in those of the other parties. In 2014, the PLQ forms the official opposition. It uses metaphorical expressions only when it refers to the target domain of Quebec's economy. It frames the economy as A MEANS OF TRANSPORT that

has BROKEN DOWN (13). The use of this source domain contributes to the creation of the cognitive foundations necessary for placing emphasis on the significance of the economic situation and on the ability of the PLQ to "*redémarrer*" (En. 'restart') the economy.

(11) Fr. "*Le Parti libéral* [...] *a contribué à* ***bâtir*** *le Québec que nous connaissons aujourd'hui."* (PLQ 2008)

En. "The Liberal Party [...] has contributed to **building** the Quebec we know today"

(12) Fr. "[...] *notre formation politique a toujours su ouvrir de* ***nouvelles voies*** *d'avenir pour incarner l'ambition des Québécois et assurer le développement économique de notre nation*." (PLQ 2012).

En. "[...] our political party has always been able to open up **new avenues** for the future in order to embody the ambition of the Quebec people and to ensure the economic development of our nation."

(13) Fr. *"L'économie du Québec est* ***maintenant en panne***" (PLQ, 2014)

En. "Quebec's economy has broken down".

Meanwhile, the ADQ and then the CAQ use similar metaphors but in order to stress the need for change. The Quebec BUILDING is still considered as being FRAGILE and in need of reconstruction (14). In 2012 and also in 2014, the CAQ frames Quebec as A MEANS OF TRANSPORT that has almost BROKEN DOWN (15). The party therefore offers major modifications to its JOURNEY MAP (16). In addition, it frequently uses verbs relating to the domain of WAR, such as "*abolir*" (to abolish)/"*attaquer*" (to attack)/"*éliminer*" (to eliminate) to frame the importance and the necessity of these changes. Through all these conceptual metaphors, the CAQ frames the situation of Quebec in such a way as to justify the need for deep changes. It attempts to demonstrate that other parties are not able to play such a role; the CAQ is the only party that is able to embody change in Quebec.

(14) Fr. "***Reconstruire*** [le Québec]*, c'est la mission même de la voix autonomiste.*" (ADQ 2008)

En. "**Rebuilding** [Quebec], this is the very mission of the autonomist voice."

(15) Fr. "***Plusieurs voyants rouges sont allumés sur le tableau de bord*** [du Québec]***:*** *manque d'investissements privés, décrochage élevé,* [...]" (CAQ 2012)

En. "**Several** [of Quebec's] **dashboard warning lights are on**: lack of private investment, high levels of disengagement, [...]"

(16) Fr. "*Un **coup de barre** s'impose*" (CAQ 2014)

En. "A **change of direction** is absolutely necessary"

The PQ frames Quebec in terms of change but the BUILDING domain is hardly ever used, except once in 2014 when the party is the incumbent government (17). Thus, as we can see, the conceptual metaphor QUEBEC IS A BUILDING has recently been used more by governing parties, while the JOURNEY metaphor can be traced back to the parties in opposition. In 2008, the PQ has been in opposition for five years. For them, Quebec is in a TURBULENT MARITIME JOURNEY, Quebec is a BOAT IN A STORM, and a change of direction is needed (18). In 2012, in the same way as the CAQ, the PQ states that the JOURNEY towards a better destination has been blocked by the actions of the PLQ government during the last nine years (19). It is also the metaphor of a JOURNEY that is used to frame the issue of sovereignty. As already mentioned, while this question was initially framed in terms of WAR, the issue is now mostly addressed indirectly even though the PQ's position in favour of sovereignty is still strong. The sovereignty project remains the FINAL DESTINATION of the JOURNEY proposed by the PQ, but it appears to be a DISTANT DESTINATION, as illustrated in example (3) above.

(17) Fr *"Nous mettons tout en place pour **bâtir** un Québec plus fort"* (PQ 2014)

En. "We are putting everything in place to **build** a stronger Quebec"

(18) Fr; "*Il faut **protéger l'équipage et le navire*** [=le Québec] ***durant la tempête***. [...] *Il faut comprendre que le temps est venu de **donner un coup de barre*** [...]." (PQ 2008)

En. **The crew and the ship** [= Quebec] **must be protected during the storm**. It has to be understood that the time has come to **change course**.

(19) Fr. "*Le Québec fait du **surplace** depuis neuf ans.*" (PQ 2012)

En. "Quebec has been **stuck** for nine years"

Political parties speak about Quebec in several different ways. Yet our empirical analysis confirms insights gained from other studies that STATES are generally conceptualized through four main source domains: BUILDING, MACHINES, PLANTS or THE HUMAN BODY (Kovecses 2010). Secondly, conceptual metaphors are present in all the Quebec manifestos. As stated by Charteris-Black, "[m]etaphors are very effective in the communication of policy because they provide cognitively accessible ways of communicating political policy" (2009, 109). Nonetheless, the political situation of each party, especially according to whether they are in government or in opposition, clearly induces the presence of particular conceptual metaphors in their manifestos. While the BUILDING and the PATH/JOURNEY domains are used by both sides in a positive or a negative way, the WAR/MACHINE/MEANS OF TRANSPORT domains are mainly identified in the manifestos of the opposition from 1994 to 2012 (ADQ/CAQ and PQ) and in 2014 (PLQ and CAQ). Overall, it is worth mentioning that metaphors are less numerous in the manifestos of the incumbent government than in those of the other parties. The incumbent party relies more on its own achievements, whereas the opposition parties feel the need to capture the attention of the voters with metaphors that negatively depict the actions of the government.

5. Analysis of Political Manifestos in Wallonia

A first look at the political manifestos of Wallonia for the period 1995-2009 shows an interesting contrast with the ones of Quebec (Tables 3.7 and 3.8 give the top 20 most frequently used lemmas in the Walloon manifestos for the 1995 elections and the 2014 elections, respectively). Whereas in the 2014 elections in Quebec, the lemma "*Québec**" is the one most frequently used across parties and across time, in the Walloon 1995 elections, the lemma "*Wallon**" scores very differently across parties and across time. One of the reasons for this relates to the names of the parties in competition: in Quebec, all the parties use Quebec in their name, whereas in Wallonia, the parties never use the word Wallon in this way. But besides this linguistic difference, there is a political

difference in the representation of their respective region by the political parties. This is what we aim to examine in this section on Wallonia. How do Walloon political parties perceive Wallonia? In order to disentangle this key question, we first search for the lemma "*Wallon**" within the political party manifestos. We then analyse the manifestos in order to capture the political dynamics before attempting to outline the conceptual metaphors used to describe Wallonia.

<Table 3.7 HERE>

<Table 3.8 HERE>

5.1. In Search of Wallonia

In 1995, at the time of the first direct elections of the Walloon Parliament, the lemma "*Wallon**" can scarcely be found in the manifestos of the political parties in Wallonia. Only the liberal MR uses the word, and in fact uses it often, as it is the most frequently used lemma (1.68%) in its political manifesto. The other three main parties show a different use of the lemma "*Wallon**". The socialist PS mentions it 129 times. However, as a percentage of the total, this frequency of usage by the PS amounts to only 0.26%, which is much less than its use of the lemmas "politique*", "social*", "socialist*", "service*", "public*" or "emploi*". The Christian-democrat cdH uses the lemma "*Wallon**" 27 times (0.13%), which is less than its use of the lemma "Belg*" (0.15%) and even less than the lemma "Europ*" (0.23%). The green party ECOLO, on the other hand, simply never refers to the lemma "*Wallon**".

However, this widespread absence of the lemma "*Wallon**" in the political manifestos is not so surprising given the recent history of Wallonia. The Walloon Region, as it is officially known, was created in the 1970's but came into existence in 1980 (Reuchamps and Onclin 2009). In this initial

stage, the Walloon Parliament – which at the time was known as the Walloon Regional Council – was composed of French-speaking representatives elected to the national Parliament, so no elections were held at the regional level until the first direct elections in 1995. Thus, the political manifestos of 1995 herald a new political era and the relative absence of references to Wallonia may find an explanation within this new political context. In fact, twenty years later, in the elections of 2014, the lemma "*Wallon**" is much more frequently used by the political parties.

It comes in first place in the manifesto of the MR (0.47%) and in the top 20 in the manifesto of the PS (0.19%). In the manifestos of the cdH and of ECOLO it reaches 0.15%, with several hundreds occurrences. The use of lemma "*Wallon**" has thus definitely increased across the political manifestos.

The lemma "*Wallon**", is often – but not exclusively – associated with the word "*region*" so as to form the "*Région wallonne"* (Walloon region). This term has taken a significant place in the political manifestos of the Walloon parties. This reflects an increased interest in and attention to Wallonia as a region in its own right, different from Belgium and from the other Belgian regions (Brussels-Capital and Flanders). There is now a real intra-Walloon political competition to govern the Walloon region, with accordingly different views on Wallonia and its future. By contrast with the political dynamics in Quebec, in Wallonia, the socio-economic cleavage, rather than the identity cleavage seems to shape the dynamics of the political debate. It would thus seem appropriate to examine the nature of the political manifestos of the Walloon parties where the notion of change plays a major role.

5.2. To Change or not to Change?

What is striking from the Walloon 1995 manifestos is the chief opposition between two projects for Wallonia: on the one hand, there is a discourse of continuity, especially by the socialists, who

were in power at the time along with the Christian-democrats, and on the other hand, there is a discourse of change, especially from the liberals, who were then in opposition. As the leading incumbent party, the PS defends its results and stresses its desire to continue its work within the Walloon government. Its project for Wallonia is based on continuity. The verbs used to emphasize this continuity are unambiguous: "*conserver*" (En. 'keep'), "*poursuivre*" (En. 'continue') (20) or "*consolider*" (En. 'consolidate') (21).

(20) Fr. "[...] *que peut présenter le PS pour inviter les Wallons à* ***lui conserver leur confiance*** *afin de* ***poursuivre les politiques*** *différentes qui préparent la Wallonie du 3eme millénaire.*" (PS 1995)

En. "[...] that the PS can put forward to invite the Walloon people to **maintain their confidence in it** [= the party] in order to **pursue the different policies** that will prepare Wallonia for the third millennium.

(21) Fr. "[...] *Socialistes wallons entendent* ***consolider*** *les acquis substantiels* [...]" (PS 1995)

En. "[...] The Walloon socialists intend to **consolidate** their significant achievements [...]"

This is in sharp contrast with the liberals' view of Wallonia: they call for a deep political change there. They claim to offer a "true Walloon project", stating their aim to change most of what has been done in the past. This critical stance regarding the actions of previous governments explains why the liberals use the lemma "*Wallon**" much more frequently than the other parties: they want to highlight the fact that Wallonia is not destined to follow the political direction set by the socialists. From this perspective, the liberals do not so much use verbs to emphasize their goal, but instead use adjectives such as "*nouveau*" (En. 'new') (22) and "*vrai*" (En. 'true', 'real') (23).

(22) Fr. "*un* ***nouveau souffle*** *pour l'Assemblée wallonne.*" (PRL-FDF 1995)

En. "**breathing new life** into the Walloon Assembly"

(23) Fr. "*propositions pour un* ***vrai*** *projet wallon.*" (PRL-FDF 1995)

En. "propositions for a **true** Walloon project"

Of course, it should be no great surprise that the dynamics of government-opposition are directly reflected in the manifestos of the two main political parties, in a similar way as was observed in the mainly bipartisan Quebec. Yet, in Wallonia, this raises the question of the position of the smaller political parties within such dynamics. In this hot debate between socialists and liberals, it is rather difficult for the smaller political parties to find their way. On the one hand, the Christian-democrats were previously part of the governing coalition so they are obliged, at least to some extent, to defend the results of the government. However they also need to maintain some distance, since the leading governing party during their time in office was the PS. Therefore, unsurprisingly, the cdH defends a fairly neutral discourse which favours continuity over change and which is focused on the core values of Christian-democracy – family, religion, education – as can be seen in Table 3.7. On the other hand, the ecologists seem reluctant to enter into the continuity-change debate, preferring instead to defend their traditional position. Indeed, the analysis of their manifesto shows that words relating to topics such as the environment, development, waste or nuclear energy are very often used. By contrast, the larger debate about the identity cleavage is not part of their discourse. Almost no identity-loaded terms can be found in the ECOLO manifesto (Table 3.7).

Above all, the features of this first series of manifestos can also be found in the manifestos that follow (1999 and 2004). The main dynamics remain the opposition between continuity and change. And, again, given the fact that the PS has been in power during this whole period, but with different partners, these political dynamics look very much like a game of table tennis between the governing parties, on the one hand, and the opposition parties, on the other. In 2009, the liberal MR has been in opposition for five years but the political context has changed. Following the 2007 federal elections, the liberals became, for the first time ever, the leading political party in Wallonia, with 31.2% of the vote versus 29.5% for the PS. Nonetheless, the strategy of the liberals has remained the same but with an even greater emphasis: a very negative vision of Wallonia and therefore a

discourse of change. Their manifesto focuses on the very bad results of the incumbent PS-cdH government, especially on economic but also on political grounds. The incumbent government is described in negative terms such as "*incroyable lourdeur*" (En. 'incredible complexity') (24) and as a consequence, the general image of Wallonia, as depicted by the MR, is negative. Against this background, the only solution is a deep change, a "*revolution en profondeur*" (En. 'a profound revolution'), in numerous sectors in order to rescue Wallonia (25). In 2014, after five new years in opposition, the discourse of the MR keeps the same negative tone but with an emphasis on possible change: there is no such thing as destiny (26).

(24) Fr. "*le Gouvernement actuel est devenu un outil d'une* ***incroyable lourdeur***." (MR 2009)

En. "Today's government has become an **incredibly complex** instrument"

(25) Fr. "*Il faut une* ***révolution en profondeur dans quantité de secteurs***." (MR 2009)

En. "A **profound revolution** is needed **in a huge number of areas**"

(26) Fr. "*Nous ne pouvons plus nous contenter de* ***végéter en queue de peloton*** *[...]. La fatalité n'existe pas.*" (MR 2014)

En. "We cannot content ourselves with **languishing at the back of the pack** [...]. There is no such thing as destiny."

By contrast, both in 2009 and in 2014, the discourse of the PS is much more positive and calls for a continuation of the development of the region. The party wants to build on the strengths of Wallonia, whose further development they claim to have assisted. However, in this discourse emphasizing continuity, there is also room for change. And these changes should build upon what has been done previously, with an emphasis on existing achievements, as suggested by the frequent use of keywords such as "*poursuivre*" (En. 'continue') or "*approfondir*" (En. 'deepen'), or by references to what has been achieved to date (27) (28). The cdH, the junior partner of the coalition, is also advocating change from a stance of continuity. It wants to build on the past in order to improve the future (29).

(27) Fr. "*Le PS prône* ***une poursuite et un approfondissement*** [...] *par la recherche de partenariats à* ***gains réciproques*** *et par l'****approfondissement*** *des synergies* ***actuelles***." (PS 2009)

En. "The PS is advocating **a pursuit** and **a deepening** [...] by seeking '**win-win'** partnerships and by **improving current** synergies"

(28) Fr. "*Le PS entend par ailleurs* ***poursuivre*** *les efforts entrepris* ***ces dernières années*** [...]" (PS 2014)

En. "The PS also intends to **pursue** the efforts already undertaken during **recent years** [...]"

(29) Fr. "*Le cdH propose de* ***changer*** *l'image de la Wallonie* ***en poursuivant*** *les investissements* [...]" (cdH 2009)

En. "The cdH proposes to **change** the image of Wallonia by **continuing** the investments [...]"

ECOLO, as in its previous manifestos, stands out to some extent, in comparison with the other parties. It offers a fairly positive vision of Wallonia, but portrays it as a place where changes are still much needed. A lot of emphasis is still given to their traditional areas of interest: sustainable development (30), rural areas, mobility and participation, to name but a few. What can also be observed is the fact that ECOLO is no longer the sole party to defend an environmental agenda, as was the case twenty years ago. These topics are also directly addressed in the manifestos of all the other three parties. In 2014, as an incumbent government partner, ECOLO has also to defend the results of its actions while in government. As a consequence, there is a strong emphasis on the will to "*poursuivre*" (En. 'continue') what has been achieved (31).

(30) Fr. "*Nous pouvons aussi noter la création d'un nouveau cluster wallon orienté* ***développement durable*** [...]" (ECOLO 2009)

En. "We can also note the creation of a new Walloon cluster oriented towards **sustainable development** [...]"

(31) Fr. "*Il est donc indispensable de* ***poursuivre*** *et amplifier les mesures prises* [...]" (ECOLO 2014)

En. "It is therefore essential to **continue** and to develop further the measures undertaken so far [...]"

In sum, one striking element of our analysis is that the image of Wallonia is not really a very positive one. Even for the main political party, the PS, which has been in power throughout the period of study (1994-2014), Wallonia is still in need of improvement, but this should be in line with actions that have been taken in the past. For the other three political parties, which have all been in government at one time or another, the image they portray of Wallonia is even worse, especially in the case of the MR, which criticizes harshly the economic and political situation of the Region. Furthermore, there is also a strong division between the socialists and the liberals, which is not so much in terms of an opposition between left and right but rather in terms of the opposition between continuity and change.

5.3. Wallonia in Metaphors

This polarization between continuity and change has led to two main competing conceptual metaphors. On the one hand, the PS in particular uses the conceptual metaphor WALLONIA IS A LIVING ENVIRONMENT (Fr. "*cadre de vie*") that needs to be taken care of (32) (33). This vision is not as strong as the image of a HOUSE, which can often be found in political discourses (Kovecses 2010), but the flexibility of the concept of the living environment is interesting because it implies that something is already good but it could even be better. All policies aim at improving this comprehensive living environment. What is interesting is that the MR uses this image negatively, as a way to criticize the work of the incumbent government (34).

(32) Fr. "*Des politiques d'amélioration durable du* ***cadre de vie*** *des Wallons*." (PS 1995)

En. "Policies aiming at the long-term improvement of the Walloon people's **living environment**"

(33) Fr. "[...] *et l'amélioration de l'attractivité et de la qualité du* ***cadre de vie*** *wallon. Des avancées importantes ont été enregistrées ces dernières années.*" (PS 2009)

En. "[...] and the improvement of the attractiveness and the quality of the Walloon **living environment**. Major advances have been made in recent years."

(34) Fr. "*Le* ***cadre de vie*** *des Wallons n'a pas été amélioré.*" (PRL-FDF 1995)

En. "The **living environment** of the Walloon people has not been improved"

Moreover, according to the socialists, this living environment should be based on solidarity. Indeed, the PS places great emphasis on the importance of solidarity both between individuals and between the substate entities; that is, between the Walloon Region and the French-speaking Community, but also between Wallonia and Brussels and between the Walloon Region and the German-speaking Community as well as within Europe. Of course, the PS does not have the monopoly on the promotion of solidarity. All the political parties argue for some form of solidarity, but they do so in different ways. For instance, in 2009, ECOLO also argues for solidarity between Brussels and its hinterland, but with both the Flemish and the Walloon Brabant, and thus not only with the French-speaking part of the country. This represents a different stance from the one adopted by the PS. Above all, it is clear from the manifestos that the socialists see themselves as the leading force in Wallonia. As such, they aim at "*piloter la Wallonie*" (En. 'steering Wallonia'), a region understood as a living environment that should be shaped by their party.

On the other hand, the liberals, who over the last twenty years have been the main opponent to the socialists (they governed together for only five years), use the conceptual metaphor of illness, namely WALLONIA IS ILL (35) (36). This metaphor, which is deliberate and direct, is widely used in the liberal manifestos. It relies on a personification of Wallonia, following the basic conceptual metaphor the STATE IS A PERSON (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). In this case, the metaphor is used to criticize the work of the governing parties, and in particular the PS.

(35) Fr. "*La Wallonie* ***va-t-elle mieux?***" (PRL-FDF 1995 & MR 2014)

En. "Is Wallonia **getting better**?"

(36) Fr. "*la Wallonie* ***pâtit structurellement*** [...]" (MR 2009)

En. "Wallonia is **suffering structurally** [...]"

Finally, while the identity dimension is not as present in Wallonia as it is in Quebec, it is interesting to observe that it is still being used, albeit indirectly; not so much in defining the characteristics of the in-group but rather in contrasting it to the Flemish. Research on political identity has shown that in the construction of a collective identity, the definition of the out-group matters as much as the definition of the in-group; linguistically, this process of identity construction can be seen in deictic tools such as the references to the "them" in discourses (Sinardet 2012). This is not a metaphor *per se*, but it is interesting to observe the use of this linguistic tool in the construction of political discourses. More specifically, the liberals use this deictic comparison in order to criticize the work of the socialists; that is, to contend that in comparison with Flanders, Wallonia is faring worse and that the governing parties are responsible for this poor state of affairs (37). By contrast, ECOLO avoids such a deictic posture and prefers to put the Walloons and the Flemings on an equal footing (38).

(37) Fr. "*La richesse produite par habitant en Wallonie représente 84% de la moyenne européenne,* ***alors qu'en*** *Flandre elle en représente 106%.*" (MR 2009)

En. "In Wallonia, the wealth produced per inhabitant represents 84% of the European average, **whereas** in Flanders it represents 106%."

(38) Fr. "*Nous connaissons le dynamisme, l'enthousiasme et l'optimisme des entrepreneurs ou travailleurs(euses) wallon(ne)s, flamand(e)s et bruxellois(es), lorsque ils peuvent s'exprimer et nous voulons* ***libérer*** *cette expression.*" (ECOLO 2009)

En. "We witness he dynamism, the enthusiasm and optimism of the Walloon, Flemish and Brussels entrepreneurs and workers when they have the opportunity of expressing themselves, and we want to **liberate** this expression."

The socialists also use this indirect comparison with Flanders, not to criticize Wallonia, but rather to show their collaboration with Flanders (39) and above all, especially in the 1990's, to depict an identity that is more open than the Flemish identity (40). Indeed, the socialists imply that the Walloons seem to be afraid to develop their own identity, because of the tensions between them and the Flemish people, which the party explains in terms of a strong identity building process, i.e. nationalism, in Flanders. So while the socialists would like the Walloons to develop a stronger Walloon identity, they do not want this identity building process to be nationalist, as that would be close-minded and exclusive. They want the Walloon identity to be open-minded and based on a strong cooperation with Brussels.

(39) Fr. "*Avec la Flandre, via une mobilisation des entreprises flamandes, la sensibilisation de 50 000 demandeurs d'emploi wallons, la constitution d'équipes mixtes FOREM-VDAB (son équivalent flamand).*" (PS 2009)

En. "With Flanders, through a mobilization of Flemish firms, the consciousness raising of 50,000 Walloon job-seekers, the creation of combined teams from the FOREM-VDAB (its Flemish equivalent).

(40) Fr. "*Une Wallonie plus affirmée* ***mais toujours ouverte***." (PS 1995)

En. "A more assertive but **still open-minded** Wallonia"

The Walloon political parties offer quite different visions of their region. There is no consensus on what Wallonia currently is and even less so on what Wallonia should be. Yet all the parties agree that there is still work to be done in order to improve the LIVING ENVIRONMENT in Wallonia. To this end, the main dynamics in the political manifestos revolve around the change versus continuity debate. These dynamics can be explained by the political system of the Region, which is built on coalition government. Therefore, each of the four main political parties has been part of the governing coalition for at least a few of the last twenty years. The MR is the Walloon political party that has been in power the least during this period and its political manifestos feature a stronger emphasis on change than on continuity. By contrast the discourse of the PS, the political party that

has been continually in power, frames change from the perspective of continuity, as a means to emphasize both its past and future achievements.

6. Discussion: How Political Parties Speak about their Region

Party politics in Quebec and in Wallonia are quite different. In Quebec, a bipartisan situation with a majority government has often been the norm but with a rotation of the party in power. In Wallonia, four main parties have shaped the political dynamics but with one dominant actor, the PS, which has been in power uninterruptedly since 1988, albeit as part of successive coalition governments. Nonetheless, both the identity question (between sovereignty and federalism in Quebec and regarding the nature of Walloon identity in Wallonia) and the socio-economic dimension evidently shape the nature of politics in these two Regions. And these dual dynamics are reflected in the political manifestos the parties have drafted for recent elections.

Our quantitative and qualitative analysis of these electoral manifestos demonstrates the predominance of the identity dynamics in Quebec in the 1990's, while socio-economic issues can be seen to return to the forefront there in the 2000's. In Wallonia, throughout the last twenty years, the political dynamics have been built around the change versus continuity discourses that are fed by both the identity and socio-economic issues. In these political discourses, conceptual metaphors are very present and offer a more concrete grasp of abstract and complex issues. In Quebec, two types of metaphor predominate: on the one hand, Quebec as a BUILDING, a MEANS OF TRANSPORT or a MACHINE and on the other hand, the political process in Quebec as a WAR or a PATH/JOURNEY. In Wallonia, we find a fairly negative image of the region with the metaphor of the LIVING ENVIRONMENT and an even more negative image with the metaphor of DISEASE. What remains to be studied, however, and thus to be understood, is whether such metaphors have an impact or not on the representations and the preferences of the citizens of Quebec and of Wallonia.

As the length of political manifestos keeps on growing, especially in Wallonia where their size has grown from a few dozen pages to the current minimum of a couple of hundred pages, it is more crucial than ever for a party to get its main message across to the voters. To this end, metaphors can be useful shortcuts as they have the potential to deliver an argument within a complex domain through a more familiar domain. What is more, our study shows that the choice of this domain is not random but rather is led by strategic choices. Yet the choice to use metaphors should not be over-emphasized as political competition is not only made of party politics, which we have tried to unravel in this chapter, but also of the individual men and women in politics, a subject to which we turn in the next chapter.

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[1] Another left-wing party, namely Québec Solidaire (QS), was created in 2006 but given its marginal role in Quebec politics, we do not analyse its manifestos as part of the present study.

[2] Tables 3.3 and 3.4 take into account nouns and adjectives while prepositions, verbs and pronouns have been left out. The * at the end of a word means that its various inflectional forms have been taken into account (for instance, plural/singular or/and maculine/feminine gender).

[3] It should be noted that even when the party name is excluded, these lemmas are still the ones most frequently used in the manifestos.