

The Belgian Tetris 3.0

How metaphors can differently influence the Flemish and Francophone political minds

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Belgium: The State of the Federation

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Introduction

- What political impact(s) could this metaphor have on the people to which it is addressed.
- Crucial question in CL
 - CMT (Lakoff & Johnson 1980)
 - Metaphors have the ability of highlighting and hiding specific aspects of a target concept
 - “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)
- **Framing**
 - “[...] select[ing] some aspects of a perceived reality and mak[ing] it more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the described item” (Entman, 1993: 52)
 - “Metaphor helps construct particular aspects of reality and reproduce (or subvert) dominant schemas (Koller 2009: 121)

Du. “Normale partijen die een staatshervorming willen enzovoort die willen eigenlijk hetzelfde als we zo zeggen een ernstige *LAT relatie* in dit land.” (PBN, M5, 3130-3131)’

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... (...) puis.... Puis elle a perdu son job, puis les enfants se sont mariés, voilà que la maison est trop grande... les situations évoluent et je ne pense pas qu’on va rêver d’avoir une situation immuable. (PBF, B8, 1968-1977).

L2: “het is vergelijken met dat *huwelijk* he. De Belgische staat is een *gearrangeerd en geforceerd huwelijk* geweest.” (2263-2266) (...)

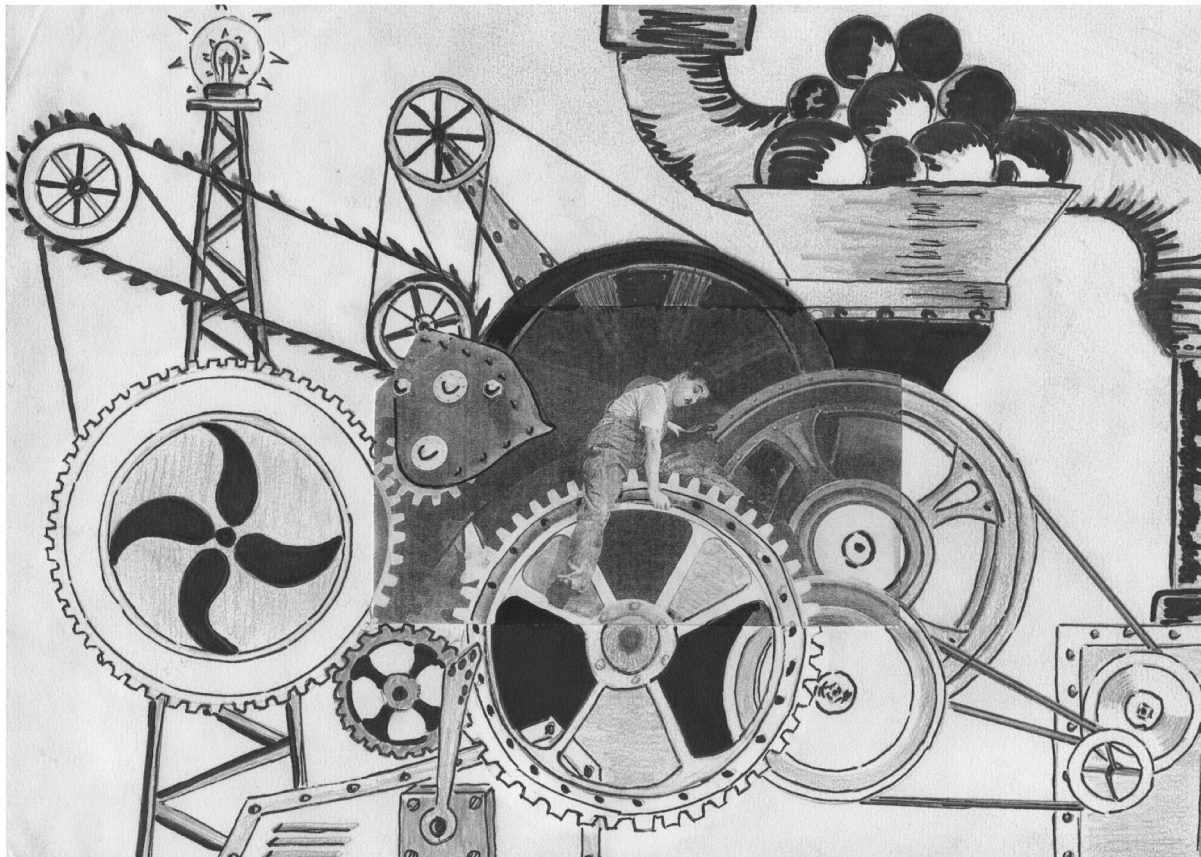
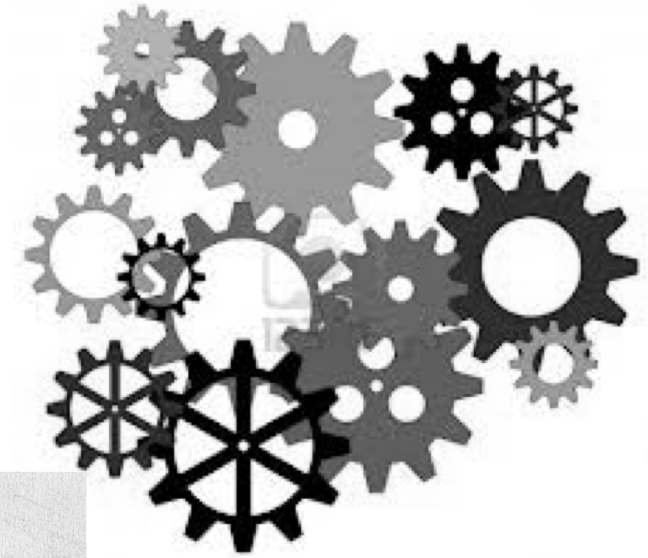
L6: “het is inderdaad een *gearrangeerd huwelijk* en het is *gearrangeerd* door de internationale gemeenschap” (2268-2269) (...)

L6 : “een *gearrangeerd huwelijk* kan ook ontbonden worden, zo moeilijk is dat allemaal niet. Het moet gewoon erkend worden door de internationale gemeenschap.” (2279-2280)

L2 : “ja maar dat *is getrouwd voor goede en kwade dagen* en wij zijn nu in kwade dagen.” (2281-2282)

L6 : “maar bij een *gearrangeerd huwelijk* is het niet *in goede en kwade dagen* vrijwillig, maar is het verplicht in *kwade dagen*. (...) ik hoop toch dat we zover zijn *dat huwelijken niet meer verplicht* zijn ofwel?” (2283-2287)

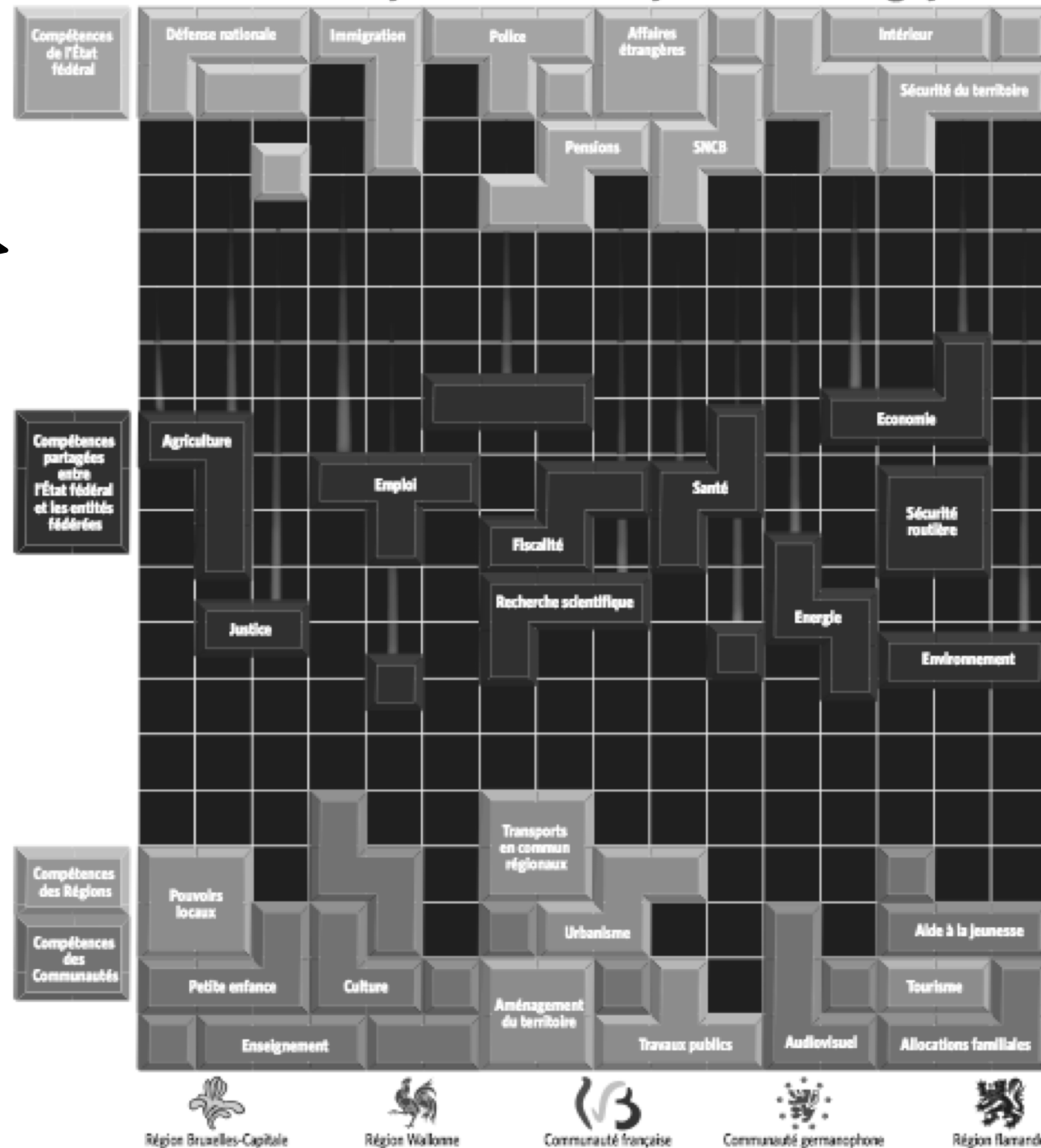
Fr. *On a coupé le citoyen du fonctionnement d'une espèce de mécanisme, de machine folle lancée sur elle-même.* (PBF, B8, 839-840)



Du. “Maar ik denk dat je kunt concluderen dat het federalisme zoals het nu is dat het niet *werkt*” (PBN, N4, 3318-3319)

La nouvelle répartition des compétences en Belgique

Representation
of the last State
reform
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Le Tétris belge
De 1831 à 1970, le Royaume politique se réduisait à l'État central, les provinces et les communes. Seul les prérogatives attribuées aux pouvoirs locaux, l'État s'occupait de tout. En 1970, le Constituant a créé de nouvelles institutions: les Communautés et les Régions. Et chaque réforme de l'État a été l'occasion de prélever des compétences à l'État (appelé désormais l'État fédéral) pour les attribuer aux pouvoirs fédérés. C'est le grand Tétris belge, où l'on voit l'étagage du dévouer qui se décompose peu à peu, morcelée par morceaux, au profit des autres pouvoirs. Dans certains cas, le législateur transfère des blocs homogènes (comme l'Enseignement, attribué aux Communautés en 1980). Dans d'autres, il ne transfère que des éléments d'une compétence (c'est le cas de la fiscalité: la Région reste compétente mais accorde aux pouvoirs fédérés certaines prérogatives). Désormais, on distingue ainsi trois types de compétences. Celles exclusivement exercées par l'État (la Défense, par exemple). Celles exclusivement exercées par les Régions et les Communautés (Enseignement, Urbanisme, Travaux publics, etc.) Et celles où chaque pouvoir a une possibilité d'intervention. Dans le domaine de l'Emploi, par exemple, l'État est compétent dans certains domaines législatif sur le chômage, par exemple) et les Régions sont compétentes pour d'autres (placement et formation des chômeurs). (7.3d)

Research design: Tetris Metaphor

2 experiments (Online, limeSurvey protocol)

- Experiment 1 (2013): 4 conditions
- Experiment 2 (2014): 3 conditions

Participants

- 1 y. Bachelor students at the UCL and ULg

Research design: Tetris Metaphor

Main results

- Effect of the **text** on the citizens' **representations** of Belgian federalism (Perrez & Reuchamps 2015; Dodeigne, Perrez & Reuchamps submitted)
 - Institutional descriptive schemes prevail over identarian ones
- Impact of the **metaphor** on the citizens' **preferences** (Dodeigne, Perrez & Reuchamps submitted)
 - The Tetris metaphor does matter and boosts participants' autonomist preferences
- **Mediating effect of political knowledge** (Dodeigne, Perrez & Reuchamps submitted)
 - Autonomist effect greater for participants with lower political knowledge

Research design: Tetris Metaphor

Experiment 3 (Online, limeSurvey protocol) | 2017

- 4 conditions

Participants

- Representative sample (region, sex, education level) of Belgian citizens
 - 500 French-speaking citizens
 - 500 Flemish citizens

Research design: Tetris Metaphor

Research questions

- Framing effect
 - Does the presence of an explicit metaphorical mapping influence the citizens' preferences towards more autonomy or more union?
- Aptness effect
 - Is there a difference between different metaphorical mappings (Tetris vs. Divorce)?
- Cultural effect?
 - Do the citizens' preferences vary according to their region?

Experiment 3: 4 Conditions

TETRIS CONDITION

DIVORCE CONDITION

NEUTRAL
TEXT

CONTROL CONDITION

[illegible][illegible]

The foreign sector

From 1980 to 1990, foreign donors drove the rise in public health in the Philippines and the United Republic of Tanzania. For the Philippines, the shift to the health sector, like the shift in housing and education, is attributed to the health sector's relative lack of political support and the donors' desire to make sure that their aid was going to the most needy. In the United Republic of Tanzania, the donors' desire to make sure that their aid was going to the most needy was also a factor, but a leading factor in the development of the health sector was the donors' desire to make sure that their aid was going to the most needy. In the United Republic of Tanzania, the donors' desire to make sure that their aid was going to the most needy was also a factor, but a leading factor in the development of the health sector was the donors' desire to make sure that their aid was going to the most needy.

*This is the big
Belgian Tetris...*

*This is the big
Belgian divorce...*

 $\emptyset \dots$

INPUT

FREE DESCRIPTION TASK : REPRESENTATIONS OF BELGIAN FEDERALISM

PREFERENCES REGIONAL AUTONOMY

PERSONAL SOCIO-DEMO INFO

The Belgian tetris

From 1831 to 1970, Belgium came down to the central state, the provinces and the municipalities. Except for the prerogatives attributed to the local authorities, the State was taking care of everything. In 1970, the constituent power created new institutions: communities and regions. And every state reform has been the occasion to take competences from the state (from there on called the federal state) to attribute them to federal authorities. **This is the big Belgian Tetris, where we see the upper floor that is falling apart (decomposing) , block by block**, at the benefit of other authorities. In certain cases, the legislator is transferring homogeneous **blocks** (like education, attributed to the communities in 1989). In other cases, it is only transferring some elements of a competence (it's the case of the tax system: the federal state remains competent but assigned certain prerogatives to the federal entities). From now on, we therefore make a distinction between three types of competences. The ones that are exclusively exercised by the federal state (like Defense, for example). The ones that are exclusively exercised by the Regions and Communities (Education, Town planning, Public works, and so on). An the ones for which each power has a possibility of intervention. In the domain of employment, for instance, the (federal) State is competent for certain domains (unemployment legislation, for instance) and the Regions are competent for other ones (training courses of unemployed people).

The Belgian divorce

From 1831 to 1970, Belgium came down to the central state, the provinces and the municipalities. Except for the prerogatives attributed to the local authorities, the State was taking care of everything. In 1970, the constituent power created new institutions: communities and regions. And every state reform has been the occasion to take competences from the state (from there on called the federal state) to attribute them to federal authorities. **This is the big Belgian divorce**, where we see the federal state that is decomposing , piece by piece, at the benefit of other authorities. In certain cases, the legislator is transferring homogeneous competences (like education, attributed to the communities in 1989). In other cases, it is only transferring some elements of a competence (it's the case of the tax system: the federal state remains competent but assigned certain prerogatives to the federal entities). From now on, we therefore make a distinction between three types of competences. The ones that are exclusively exercised by the federal state (like Defense, for example). The ones that are exclusively exercised by the Regions and Communities (Education, Town planning, Public works, and so on). An the ones for which each power has a possibility of intervention. In the domain of employment, for instance, the (federal) State is competent for certain domains (unemployment legislation, for instance) and the Regions are competent for other ones (training courses of unemployed people).

Neutral version: The Belgian ~~tetris~~ federalism

From 1831 to 1970, Belgium came down to the central state, the provinces and the municipalities. Except for the prerogatives attributed to the local authorities, the State was taking care of everything. In 1970, the constituent power created new institutions: communities and regions. And every state reform has been the occasion to take competences from the state (from there on called the federal state) to attribute them to federal authorities. ~~This is the big Belgian Tetris, where we see the upper floor that is falling apart (decomposing), block by block, at the benefit of other authorities. In certain cases, the legislator is transferring homogeneous blocks (like education, attributed to the communities in 1989).~~ In other cases, it is only transferring some elements of a competence (it's the case of the tax system: the federal state remains competent but assigned certain prerogatives to the federal entities). From now on, we therefore make a distinction between three types of competences. The ones that are exclusively exercised by the federal state (like Defense, for example). The ones that are exclusively exercised by the Regions and Communities (Education, Town planning, Public works, and so on). And the ones for which each power has a possibility of intervention. In the domain of employment, for instance, the (federal) State is competent for certain domains (unemployment legislation, for instance) and the Regions are competent for other ones (training courses of unemployed people).

Tetris 3.0: Groups' composition

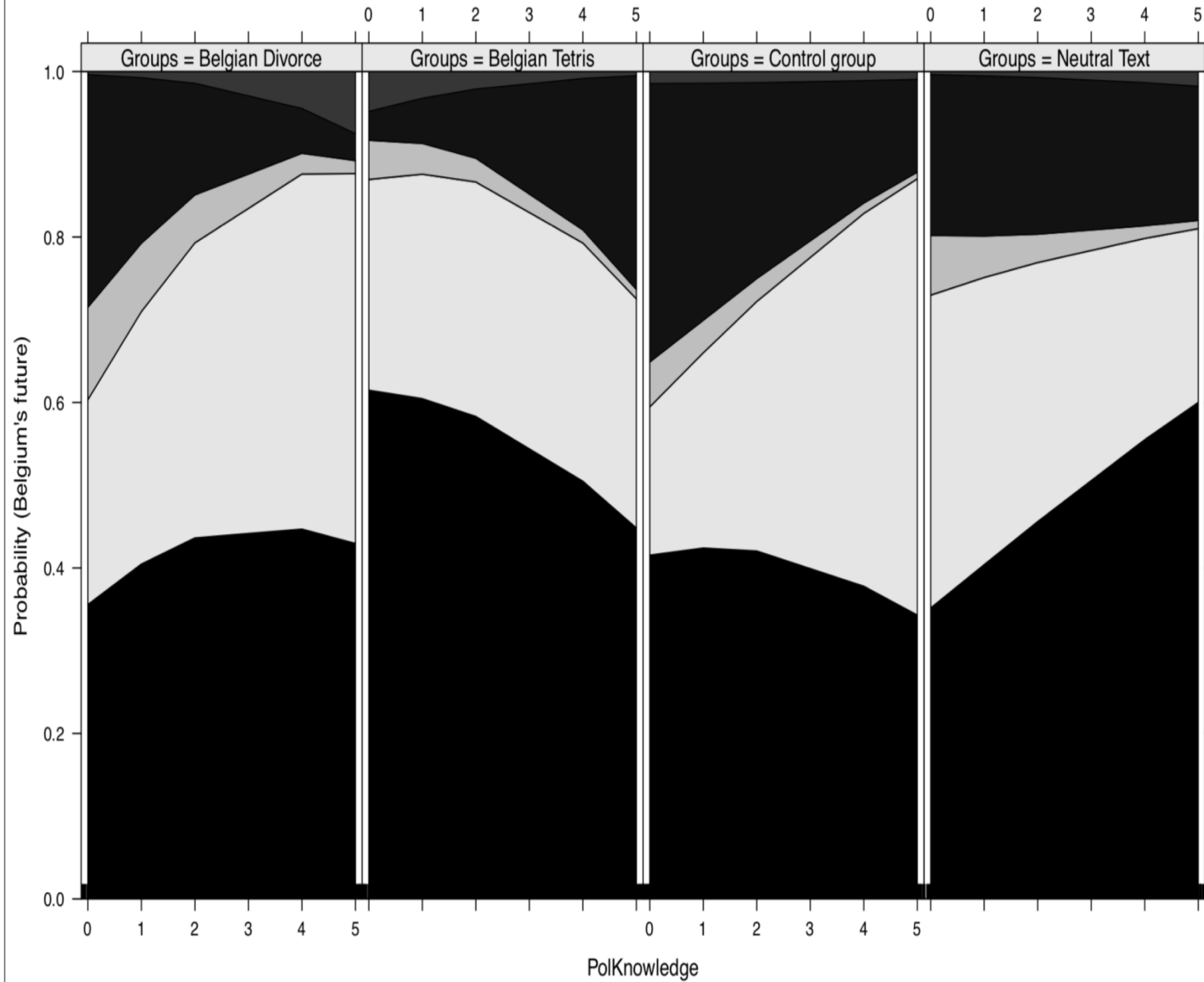
			Scenario 1 – Control	Scenario 2 – Neutral	Scenario 3 - Tetris	Scenario 4 - Tetris
N	FL	500	125	125	125	125
	WA	500	125	125	125	125
	Total	1000	500	500	500	500
Gender (% Male)		50,6%	50%	50,8%	50,8%	50,9%
<i>Education</i>			In all scenarios, there is an equal repartition regarding Education (70,8 % - 17,8 % - 11,4 %)			
<i>Age</i>			In all scenarios, there is an equal repartition regarding diplomas (23,6 – 39,5 - 36, 9)			

Representative for the different scenario according to Walloon/Flemish, Gender, Region, Diploma and Age

French-speaking voters	Unitary vs. More federal	Unitary vs. Status quo	Unitary vs. More regional	Unitary vs. Splitting
<i>Reference category= control group</i>				
Neutral Text	0.91 (0.80)	0.45 (1.12)	-0.38 (0.80)	-1.18 (1.56)
Belgian Tetris	-0.04 (0.82)	-0.53 (1.09)	-2.66*** (1.01)	0.80 (1.22)
Belgian Divorce	0.48 (0.79)	0.88 (1.01)	-0.02 (0.76)	-1.18 (1.41)
Political Knowledge	0.25 (0.18)	-0.34 (0.29)	-0.18 (0.20)	-0.05 (0.32)
Neutral Text Political Knowledge	-0.48** (0.24)	-0.16 (0.37)	0.04 (0.26)	0.25 (0.46)
Belgian Tetris Political Knowledge	-0.17 (0.24)	0.12 (0.37)	0.65** (0.31)	-0.34 (0.40)
Belgian Divorce Political Knowledge	-0.17 (0.24)	-0.09 (0.36)	-0.29 (0.30)	0.60 (0.42)
Constant	-1.84** (0.73)	-1.91* (1.01)	-0.98 (0.75)	-2.62** (1.25)
Identities		√ (***)		
Political Interest		√ (*)		
Income		√		
Age		√		
Education		√ (**)		
Gender		√		
Observations	500	500	500	500
Akaike Inf. Crit.	1,179.59	1,179.59	1,179.59	1,179.59
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01			

Belgium's future (French-speaking participants)

Splitting Belgium
More regional powers
Status Quo
More federal powers
Unitary Belgium

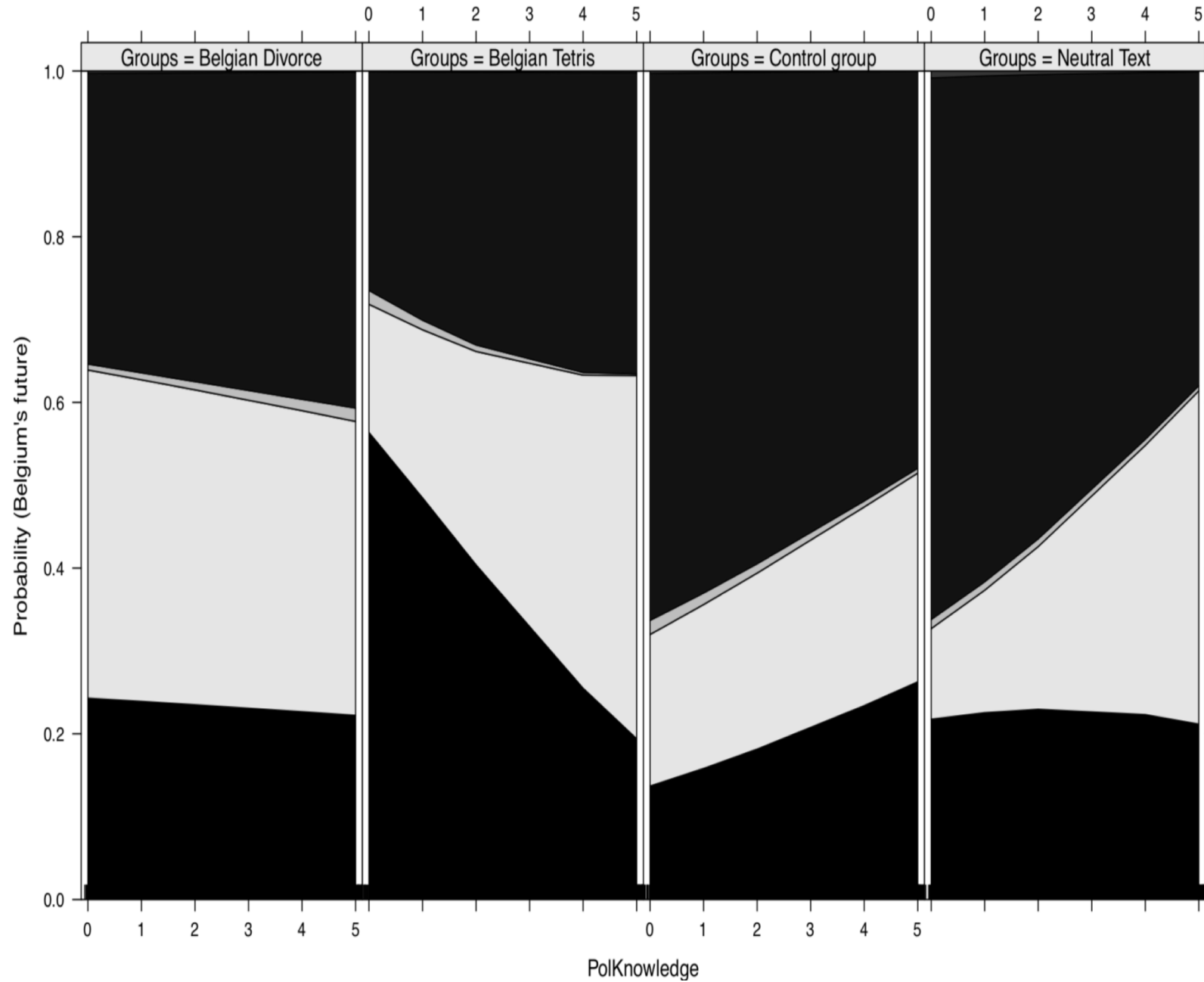


Dutch-speaking voters	Unitary vs. More federal	Unitary vs. Status quo	Unitary vs. More regional	Unitary vs. Splitting
Reference category= control group				
Neutral Text	-0.98 (1.43)	-0.90 (1.33)	-0.47 (1.28)	0.56 (1.52)
Belgian Tetris	-1.58 (1.45)	-1.43 (1.29)	-2.33* (1.31)	-2.29 (1.60)
Belgian Divorce	0.20 (1.34)	-1.43 (1.40)	-1.21 (1.24)	-0.57 (1.58)
Political Knowledge	-0.07 (0.26)	-0.35 (0.27)	-0.19 (0.23)	-0.42 (0.32)
Neutral Text Political Knowledge	0.33 (0.37)	0.24 (0.38)	0.09 (0.34)	0.06 (0.43)
Belgian Tetris Political Knowledge	0.49 (0.37)	0.13 (0.39)	0.47 (0.34)	0.75* (0.43)
Belgian Divorce Political Knowledge	0.06 (0.35)	0.52 (0.38)	0.24 (0.33)	0.30 (0.43)
Constant	-0.18 (1.08)	0.93 (1.07)	0.48 (1.00)	-1.06 (1.37)
Identities		✓ (***)		
Political Interest		✓		
Income		✓		
Age		✓		
Education		✓(*)		
Gender		✓(*)		
Observations	500	500	500	500
Akaike Inf. Crit.	1,044.35	1,044.35	1,044.35	1,044.35

*p<0.1. **p<0.05. ***p<0.01

Belgium's future (Dutch-speaking participants)

Splitting Belgium
More regional powers
Status Quo
More federal powers
Unitary Belgium



THANK YOU FOR YOUR ATTENTION

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References

- Perrez & Reuchamps (2015), The “Belgian Tetris” Assessing the political impact of metaphors on citizens’ representations of Belgian federalism. *Metaphor and the Social World*, 5 (2), 223-244.
- Dodeigne, Perrez & Reuchamps (under review), Changing your political mind: The impact of a metaphor on citizens' representations and preferences for federalism. *Regional and Federal Studies*.