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Metaphors portraying right-wing politician Geert Wilders in Dutch political cartoons

Forceville, C.; van de Laar, N.

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POPULIST DISCOURSE

Critical Approaches to
Contemporary Politics

*Edited by Encarnación Hidalgo-Tenorio,
Miguel-Ángel Benítez-Castro
and Francesca De Cesare*

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METAPHORS PORTRAYING RIGHT-WING POLITICIAN GEERT WILDERS IN DUTCH POLITICAL CARTOONS

Charles Forceville and Nataša van de Laar

Introduction

For the past decade or so, Geert Wilders has undoubtedly been the most controversial politician in the Netherlands. The views of this extreme right-wing leader of the PVV (“Partij voor de Vrijheid”/“Party for Freedom”), founded in 2006 to oppose Islam, immigration, and refugees, as well as his fierce anti-EU sentiments, have caused serious concerns.

Many people in the Netherlands were worried that, in the 2017 national elections, Wilders’ populist PVV might become the largest party, qualifying its leader to become the country’s next Prime Minister. To the relief of many, and not just in the Netherlands, this did not happen. But by securing 13% of the votes, the PVV nonetheless ended as the second-largest party, after the liberal democrats of the VVD (“Volkspartij voor Vrede en Democratie”/“People’s Party for Peace and Democracy”) led by Mark Rutte

Unsurprisingly, numerous critical newspaper articles have been devoted to Wilders’ controversial political views, to the tactics in building his public image and to his popularity. Such textual analyses tend to show awareness of the complexity of most things political. By contrast, cartoons constitute the genre suitable *par excellence* for expressing perspectives on political issues in a simple, immediately obvious manner. As Duus (2001, p. 995) formulates it,

cartoons reveal a side of political culture not found in official memoranda, public speeches and newspaper editorials, theoretical tracts, and ideological pamphlets. They provide access to “everyday” reactions to politics that even public opinion polls cannot capture.

Very often, these cartoonistic “everyday reactions” are expressed via metaphors.

In this chapter, we analyse political cartoons that depict Geert Wilders metaphorically, expecting thereby to chart this politician’s image in a highly visible media genre. We aim to formulate answers to the following questions:

- How often is Geert Wilders represented in political cartoons?
- Which visual (and multimodal) metaphors are used in political cartoons to portray him?
- Can any pattern be detected in **this portrayal**?

Specifically, we will chart to which entities (things, animals, people – the source domains) the target domain “Geert Wilders” is metaphorically compared. Moreover, we will zoom in on which features/emotions/attitudes inhering in these source domains are mapped onto “Geert Wilders”, since this is where the interpretation of the metaphors becomes manifest. In this way, we hope to sketch the contours of Wilders’ image and reputation as transpiring from his portrayal in Dutch political cartoons.

The chapter’s structure is as follows. We first sketch Wilders’ position in Dutch politics. Then, we briefly explain the concept of visual and multimodal metaphor, with specific reference to political cartoons. Subsequently, we describe our corpus and method of analysis. Finally, we present our findings, ending with some concluding remarks.

Geert Wilders

In order to understand the cartoons, a short characterization of Wilders is called for.¹ In the late 1990s, after doing several jobs within the party, Wilders became an MP for the VVD. In 2004, he left the VVD to found his own “Vereniging Groep Wilders”, a forerunner of the PVV, attracting the attention of prospective voters by voicing his opinions in contributions to national newspapers. In October 2004, a Jihadist internet video urged followers to decapitate Wilders. After that, the state decided to officially protect Wilders, among other things by paying for bodyguards – a situation that, because of continual threats, is ongoing at the moment of writing.

In 2007, the PVV leader proposed to prohibit the Qur’ān, calling it “the Islamic *Mein Kampf*” and a “fascist book” (Wilders, 2007, p. 11), and made the much-decried short film *Fitna*, which “interlaces passages from the Qur’ān with graphic images of Islamist terrorist attacks”.² On the basis of this film, Wilders was charged with defaming Islam but, after two trials, he was found not guilty. In the 2010 election, in a political landscape with many (small) parties, the PVV won no less than 24 (out of 150) seats. The VVD and the CDA (Christian Democrats) decided to accept a situation in which the PVV, although not formally part of the government, committed itself to providing passive support (Dutch: “gedoogsteun”) to a VVD-CDA coalition, in return for adopting a number of Wilders’ standpoints in the policies of the new government. When

in 2012 Wilders withdrew his support, Prime Minister Mark Rutte saw no other option than to offer his government's resignation to the Queen. Later that year, a new government, this time without any dependence on the PVV, was formed ("Rutte II").

In 2014, Wilders was heavily criticized and ended up having to defend himself in court because of allegedly racist statements against the Moroccan community in the Netherlands. The court found Wilders guilty of offending a group (Dutch: "groepsbelediging") and of incitements to discrimination, but he was discharged from incitement to hatred. No punishment of any kind was imposed, however.

Wilders has often been condemned not only for his political views but also because the PVV, unusually, has no members except the leader himself, which results in a very authoritarian *modus operandi*. Another recurring issue is that Wilders has continually insisted that other parties' refusal to cooperate with him in a coalition government reveals the Netherlands' undemocratic nature, since excluding him, he maintains, would effectively mean ignoring the interests and views of a substantial percentage of Dutch voters ("Wilders argues that VVD and CDA cannot ignore him, since they thereby also ignore his voters" – translation by ChF & NvdL).³

Wilders' gimmick is his striking, heavily blond hairdo (not unlike Donald Trump's). In debates and writings, he regularly comes up with vivid, though offensive, phrases, attracting a lot of media attention. Examples include "kopvodentax" ("head rag tax" – a semi-serious proposal to impose a tax on the wearing of head scarfs),⁴ and "tuigdorp" ("hooligan hamlet" – a village where repeatedly convicted offenders supposedly should be deported, so as to make it easier to keep an eye on them).⁵

Visual and multimodal metaphor in cartoons: a brief introduction

Taking seriously Lakoff and Johnson's claim that "metaphor is primarily a matter of thought and action, and only derivatively a matter of language" (1980, p. 153), Forceville (1996) proposed a model for visual (or pictorial) metaphor that was based on Max Black's (1979) "interaction theory", but adopted the generally accepted terminology introduced by Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT). The founders of CMT stipulate that "*the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another*" (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, p. 5, emphasis in original). Any metaphor should be rephrasable in terms of an "A IS B", or rather "A-ING IS B-ING" form, as the interpretation of a metaphor boils down to the mapping of typical attributes, actions, and attitudes associated with B upon attributes, actions, and attitudes associated with A. In a purely visual metaphor, both the topic (A, the "target domain") and the phenomenon the target domain is compared to (B, the "source domain") are depicted (in the hybrid and simile subtypes), or visually suggested (in the contextual subtype).⁶ Multimodal metaphors, by contrast, are "metaphors whose target and source are each represented

exclusively or predominantly in different modes" (Forceville, 2009, p. 384). In cartoons, only two modes are pertinent: (static) visuals and written language; indeed, this is probably the most common combination of modes.⁷ In our corpus, by far most of the metaphors proved to be purely visual.

For something to be identifiable and interpretable as a visual or multimodal metaphor, the following criteria must be met:

- (i) An identity relation has been created between two phenomena (Lakoff and Johnson's "things") that, in the given context, belong to different categories.
- (ii) The phenomena are to be understood as target (domain) and source (domain), respectively.
- (iii) Target and source are not, in the given context, reversible; at least one characteristic/connotation/emotion/attitude associated with the source domain can be pertinently "mapped" onto the target domain; often a cluster of internally related connotations is to be so mapped. It is this mapping of (clusters of) features that constitutes the interpretation of the metaphor (adapted from Forceville, 2013, p. 59).

The genre of political cartoons is rich in visual metaphors. Over the past 15 years, a robust number of papers and chapters has appeared that focus specifically on metaphors in this genre, pioneered by El Refaie (2003). Other studies include El Refaie (2009), Schilperoord and Maes (2009), Teng (2009), Abdel-Raheem (2016), and Groarke (2017). Unsurprisingly, cartoons (like advertisements; see Forceville, 1996) often draw on metaphors, since metaphors are highly efficient means to quickly present a specific perspective, and the emotions, valuations, and attitudes inhering in that perspective, on a given topic (Charteris-Black, 2004; Musolff, 2016). One crucial difference between metaphors in advertising (PRODUCT IS X) and those in political cartoons (POLITICIAN IS X) is that the former typically map positive features, whereas the latter typically map negative features onto the target domain. The genre, after all, is humorously critical of politicians: "the cartoon subverts political authority by mocking its claims to superiority and/or legitimacy" (Duus, 2001, p. 965).

Bounegru and Forceville (2011) analyzed a (modestly sized) corpus of cartoons sharing the same target domain, namely the FINANCIAL CRISIS of 2008, in order to test Lakoff and Johnson's (1980, 1999) claim that human beings understand and experience abstract and complex issues *systematically* in terms of other, more concrete phenomena. "Concrete" in this case means pertaining to sensory perception and locomotion (Johnson, 1987; Kromhout and Forceville, 2013). In their examination of which structural metaphors were used to reveal how the financial crisis was depicted in cartoons, these authors found that certain source domains for the target domain FINANCIAL CRISIS recurred, such as NATURAL DISASTER and BEGGING FOR MONEY (see also Domínguez, 2015a, 2015b).

Expecting that metaphorical analysis would yield comparable patterns when applied to Wilders-cartoons, we here analyze a series of cartoons with metaphors of the underlying form GEERT WILDERS IS X.

Corpus and method of analysis

Initially, we considered comparing Wilders-cartoons that appeared in a right-wing newspaper versus Wilders-cartoons that appeared in a left-wing newspaper, as this would have enabled us to chart whether the political affiliation of cartoonists influenced (1) which metaphorical source domains they had chosen for Wilders; and (2) whether, even when they had chosen the same source domain, they had perhaps opted for different *mappings* from these source domains. However, since it turned out to be impossible to get access to digital archives of such cartoons, we had to abandon this option. We also dismissed using Google Images (choosing “Geert Wilders” and “political cartoons” as search terms) or the Cagle cartoons website (<http://www.caglecartoons.com/>) as a source. The former yielded cartoons ranging from professionally clear instances to amateurish, often incomprehensible ones, while the provenance of these cartoons could often not be established; the latter yielded too few instances of Wilders-cartoons to allow for any generalizations whatsoever.

We then found that the annual “Prent in Politiek” award shortlist for the best political cartoon in a Dutch newspaper or magazine was published in book form. It was first awarded in 1994, and in 2013–2014 it was renamed the “Inktspot” award – a Dutch pun on “ink (s)pot” and “ink mockery”. We analyzed the cartoons in the yearbooks from 2006, the year Wilders founded the PVV, until 2017 (Ijsselstein Mulder and De Ranitz 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, Ijsselstein Mulder and Kistemaker 2011, Beugeling *et al.* 2012, N. N. 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017).

In order to allow for comparison with the (metaphorical) depiction of other Dutch party leaders, we decided on the following procedure. After jointly analyzing the cartoons in the 2006 edition, we separately answered the following questions for each political cartoon in the yearbooks:

- (1) Does the cartoon name and/or depict one or more Dutch party leaders visually and/or verbally?
- (2) If (1) applies, are one or more of these party leaders presented via a visual or multimodal metaphor?
- (3) If (2) applies, what source domain is employed to portray the party leader(s)?

We subsequently analyzed any recurrent source domains in the portrayal of Geert Wilders. If we did not agree on the answers of questions (1) to (3) – an issue to which we come back in the conclusion section – we resolved this through discussion.

Case studies: findings

How often did party leaders feature in the cartoons?

We began by counting how often Geert Wilders and other Dutch party leaders were represented (i.e., verbally mentioned and/or visually featured) in our

corpus (the “R” columns in Table 17.1, see p. 298), and then counted how often such a representation could be considered to be a metaphorical one (the “M” columns; M is thus a subset of R). In order not to overcomplicate the analysis, we counted each party leader that appeared in six or more cartoons in at least one yearbook individually (i.e., Wilders, Verdonk, Balkenende, Rutte, Bos, Rouvoet, Verhagen, Samsom), and each party leader represented in fewer than six cartoons in any one year collectively (“other party leaders”). When, as happened a few times, a party leader was represented in terms of one, two or even three metaphorical source domains simultaneously, these were counted as separate metaphors. We did not take into account the cartoons (14 in all) in which more than three politicians were metaphorized, as in such cases all or most of them were depicted collectively with the same source domain (for instance, “athletes” in a race; “flies” in a spider’s web; or “exhibitionists” trying to win votes), and this would have had a misleading influence on the number of times party leaders were assessed to be metaphorically represented.

Table 17.1 shows that Wilders features in over 25% of the cartoons (107/407) representing Dutch party leaders. It is noteworthy that this is even more than Mark Rutte, who was active during the same period as Wilders; and who, as the country’s Prime Minister since 2010, could be expected to be very frequently portrayed. Not only is Wilders represented more often than Rutte; he is also more often *metaphorically* represented: Wilders is metaphorized in two-thirds of his appearances (72/107), and Rutte only in about half of them (42/87). Notably, Rita Verdonk, who preceded Wilders in founding a right-wing populist party (“Trots op Nederland”/“Proud of Holland”), is emphatically present in the cartoons of 2006 and 2007, trumping then-Prime Minister Balkenende in these years both in literal and metaphorical manifestations. We will come back to this issue later.

Which metaphorical source domains characterize Wilders?

Labelling source domains verbally is a thorny issue, as there are many different ways in which a source domain can be named. We opted for broad labels to enable discussion of any recurring patterns in Wilders’ portrayal, comparing them to source domains used to depict other party leaders.

WILDERS IS A FOULNESS-EXUDING CREATURE (5 occurrences). In this source domain, we incorporate excretion (shit, vomit) and improper language (the latter visualized via “pictorial runes” and “pictograms” – see Figure 17.1).⁸ “Excreting” and “improper language-use” exemplify bodily activities considered “not done” in professional politics. The metaphorical mappings can be phrased as “behaving improperly, being uncivilized, causing embarrassment, being childish ...” Another cartoon depicts Wilders metaphorically as a poisonous detergent, while in yet another one Wilders is seen sowing seeds from a bag with “hatred” written on it. In all of these cases, the crucial property that is mapped from the various source domains onto Wilders is that something “bad” emanates from him.

TABLE 17.1 Metaphorical and non-metaphorical occurrences of Dutch party leaders in the period 2006–2017, specifying the period of their leadership, in the cartoon yearbooks

Yearbooks + total no. of cartoons	Wilders (PVV) Feb 06–now		Verdonk (ToN) 3/4/08– 19/11/11		Balkenende (CDA) 1/10/01– 9/6/10		Rutte (VVD) 31/5/06– now		Bos (PVD)A 12/11/02– 5/4/10		Rouvoet (CU) 12/11/02– 8/04/11		Verhagen (CDA) 9/6/10– 30/6/12		Samsom (PvdA) 16/3/12– 10/12/16		Other party leaders		Total	
	R	M	R	M	R	M	R	M	R	M	R	M	R	M	R	M	R	M	R	M
2006 (191)	1		18	14	13	7	3	1	4	1							4	2	43	25
2007 (168)	11		13	9	7	3	6	3	11	4	5	2					5	3	58	33
2008 (162)	14		3	3	10	9			11	10	3	2	1	1			2	2	44	35
2009 (160)	9		4	2	12	10	1		3	2	2	2	1	1			1	0	31	21
2010 (167)	35		27		5	1	23	14					15	8			4	3	82	53
2011 (168)	16		10				13	5					6	3			6	3	41	21
2012 (154)	6		3				25	13					2				11	5	59	30
2013–14 (131)	6		5				7	4									4	4	20	13
2014–15 (131)	1						4	1									2	1	10	3
2015–16 (130)	3		2				2	1											5	3
2017 (100)	5		4				3										5	2	14	7
Total 1662	107		72		47	30	87	42	29	17	10	6	25	13		23	43	21	407	244

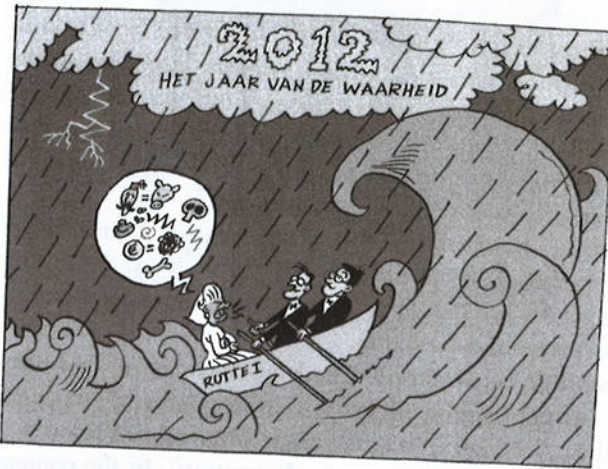


FIGURE 17.1 WILDERS IS A FOULNESS-EXUDING CREATURE and WILDERS IS A BRIDE. Text: “2012: The year of the truth”. Berend Vonk, *Trouw* 19-9-2011 (original in colour).



FIGURE 17.2 WILDERS IS A BOMB, Arend van Dam, *Tribune* March 2008 (original in colour).

The text in Figure 17.1 refers to the question whether the coalition (represented by “grooms” Prime Minister Rutte and Vice-Prime Minister Verhagen) will be able to navigate the government through various political crises while “bride” Wilders passively supports the coalition without doing any work himself.

WILDERS IS A BOMB (3 occurrences; see Figure 17.2). Wilders is here depicted as the fuse of a bomb that is part of a mosque. The mappable feature here is clearly

“capable of exploding and thereby making a lot of victims and causing a lot of damage”. This source domain may refer to Kurt Vestergaard’s controversial cartoon in the Danish *Jyllands-Posten* (2006), in which a Muslim (Muhammad?) was depicted with the metaphor **TURBAN IS BOMB** (or non-metaphorically with a turban *hiding* a bomb). This cartoon was subsequently used, without Vestergaard’s permission, by Wilders in his anti-Islam film *Fitna*, which made Vestergaard himself in turn respond with a cartoon showing Wilders with a bomb-hat. The three examples in Dutch cartoons (all from 2008) thus resonate intertextually on various levels.

WILDERS IS A DOG (3 occurrences). The features to be mapped from **DOG** to **WILDERS** differ from one cartoon to another. In one, Wilders howls against the moon (symbol of Islam); in another, he is an angry dog pursuing an Arabic-looking person; in the third, he is the obedient poodle of French Front National party leader Marie Le Pen (Figure 17.3), who heads one of the most successful extreme-right factions in the European political landscape.

WILDERS IS A BABY/CHILD (3 occurrences). The mapped feature is “immature, uncontrolled, irresponsible behaviour” (see Figure 17.4). It is not just the angrily red head that cues the target domain “Wilders”; giving the middle finger is typical of him (and not of prototypical babies), too.

WILDERS IS A HELMSMAN (2 occurrences). The label “helmsman” has been used in this chapter for any person who “steers/fails to steer/pretends to steer” some sort of vehicle (boat, car, bike, wagon, etc.). The mapped feature is “(supposedly) steering a vehicle toward a specific destination”. In the context of the cartoons in which this source domain is used, Wilders is at the helm in situations where he should not be. We will discuss this metaphor at greater length below.

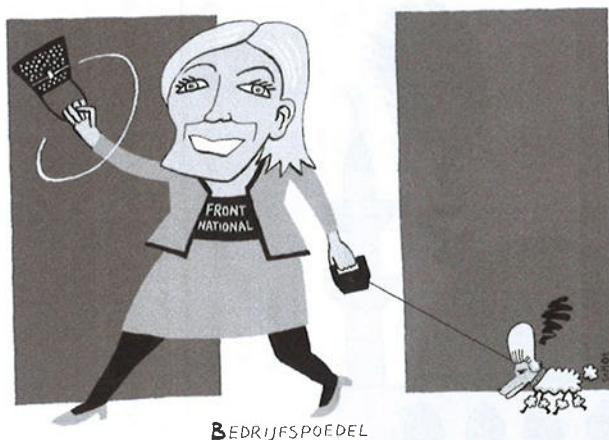


FIGURE 17.3 **WILDERS IS A DOG**. Text: “Company poodle”. Bas van der Schot, *De Volkskrant* 26-5-2014 (original in colour). The Wilders-poodle’s unhappiness transpires from the black “pictorial rune” above his head.



FIGURE 17.4 **WILDERS IS A BABY**. Siegfried Woldhek, *NRC Handelsblad*, 24-9-2011 (original in colour).

WILDERS IS A PUPPET PLAYER (2 occurrences). The mapped feature here is “making other people behave in the way the player desires”. In both cases, the cartoon pertains to the situation in which Wilders has inordinate influence on the policies of a government (“Rutte I”) of which the PVV is not formally a part. Of course, these cartoons criticize the government coalition and, in Figure 17.5, specifically Prime Minister Rutte, at least as much as – if not more than – Wilders.

WILDERS IS A SPOUSE (2 occurrences). The mapped features are something like “having an intimate, long-term relationship involving loyalty and commitment”. In one cartoon, the visually represented “bride”, Prime Minister Mark Rutte, runs with outstretched arms to off-screen groom “Geert”; in the second, Wilders is the bride in a boat rowed by grooms Rutte and Verhagen, leaders of the two coalition parties (Figure 17.1).

WILDERS IS A HORROR-FILM MONSTER (2 occurrences). Wilders is once depicted as Dracula, and once as a zombie, in both cases “frightening”, “potentially murderous”, and “unreal” being features that qualify for mapping.

WILDERS IS A CRUSADER (2 occurrences). The mediaeval Crusaders were soldiers fighting the Moors in defence of Christian values. This is the feature of the source domain that is mapped onto Wilders, who has similar motives to battle against Islam. One of them appeared in the paper *Spits*, distributed free of charge at train stations. Interestingly, depending on the reader/viewer’s political convictions, this mapped feature can be understood in a positive as well as in a negative light.



FIGURE 17.5 WILDERS IS A PUPPET PLAYER. Ruben Oppenheimer, *nrc.next*, 27-10-2010 (original in colour).

Discussion of the source domains used for Wilders

The domain occurring most frequently (but still only five times) is the one we labelled FOUL-EXUDING CREATURE. What makes this specifically pertinent as a characterization of Wilders is that this source domain, in either of its two varieties, is used for no other politician in our corpus (not even for Wilder's populist predecessor Rita Verdonk). The same holds for BOMB, PUPPET PLAYER and HORROR-FILM MONSTER: only Wilders is metaphorically coupled with these source domains. The other source domains occurring more than once with Wilders as target domain were HELMSMAN, DOG, SPOUSE, BABY/CHILD and CRUSADER. These latter domains, however, were not unique for Wilders. Let us say a few words about each of them.

The HELMSMAN source domain clearly taps into the "ship of state" metaphor, itself a variety of the JOURNEY metaphor (e.g., Forceville, 2006): political leaders are supposed to lead the country (movement, party) into the "right" direction. The "ship of state", incidentally, need not be a boat: any vehicle will do. Thus party leaders are coachmen, skippers, rowers, drivers, driving instructors, horse riders, etc. Unsurprisingly, this metaphor is used for other party leaders besides Wilders. But given the conventions of the genre (say, humorously criticizing political leaders and events in the world), there is in the cartoons almost *always* something wrong with the politicians' steering attempts, which are thus usually, in one way or another, doomed or ineffective; for instance, there are two "helmsmen" who each want to go in a different direction, or the helmsman holds a fake steering wheel, or the ship has already sunk.

The SPOUSE domain similarly taps into a familiar scenario, which can be phrased as POLITICAL PARTNERSHIP IS A MARRIAGE. Party leaders are depicted as bride and groom (particularly when they are forming a coalition) or as parents; apart from

the cartoons featuring Wilders, there were various others portraying one or more politicians as spouses or fathers or mothers.⁹ Tellingly, Wilders himself is never metaphorized as a parent – presumably because he was never formally part of a coalition and thus never shared the responsibility of governing the country (the pertinent mapping being: "taking responsibility for one's children").

Wilders is also not the only party leader portrayed as a dog. Dogs are used four times as source domains for other politicians. Presumably, this is due to the fact that, in Dutch society, dogs are popular pets, evoking many different connotations that are potentially mappable onto the target domains with which they are metaphorically coupled. They can be loyal, guard you, bite, threaten, be obedient, be disobedient, defecate... Put differently, interpreting a metaphor of the form X IS A DOG depends heavily on the specific context in which this source domain is used since no unambiguous "default" connotation comes to mind (unlike, for instance, "frightening" for HORROR FILM MONSTER).

There is one instance in the corpus of WILDERS IS A BABY, whereas two cartoons portray him as an (unruly) child. Balkenende, leader of the Christian Democrats (CDA) and Prime Minister from 2002 to 2010, is also twice depicted as a child, but what is mapped in these cartoons is naivety or innocence, not lack of a sense of responsibility or unruliness.

Apart from Wilders, Rouvoet, leader of the traditional Christen Unie (CU), is also once portrayed as a crusader; his enemy, however, is not Islam but embryonic stem cell research.

Contrary to what we had anticipated, we found that, by far, most of the metaphorical source domains used for Wilders (and, indeed, for the other party leaders) are used only in *one* cartoon, and thereby exemplify creative metaphors in the sense of Black (1979). In other words, in the majority of cases, the cartoonist had created a more or less unique source domain, with no intrinsically negative connotations, which requires the specific narrative context of a particular cartoon to evoke the intended critical or negative mappings. Examples of such unique source domains for Wilders are MOZART, ASTERIX, STEAK TARTARE, MALE GENITALS, and ICE CREAM SCOOP – none of whose pertinent mappings can be guessed outside of the scenario of the cartoon in which they appear. In many cases, proper analysis, in turn, requires an understanding of the political-historical situation rather than only expertise in analyzing visual metaphors.

Some methodological considerations

In the interest of aiding future researchers intending to embark on similar metaphor-identification projects, we want to end this section by mentioning several practical problems we encountered in our analysis. In the first place, it sometimes happened that one of us did not *recognize* a certain party leader, for instance because of unfamiliarity with the drawing style of a specific cartoonist. Secondly, occasionally one of us did not immediately understand the depiction of a party leader as metaphorical. This could be due to not recognizing a source-domain scenario (see

Forceville, 2017), but also to initially overlooking a metaphor because it exemplified a *dichéd* scenario (e.g., politicians as parents) – which of course still meant it was a metaphor. Moreover, given that there are *degrees* of metaphoricity, we sometimes disagreed whether in a specific situation a depiction should count as metaphorical or not. A final issue concerned the precise verbalization of a metaphor. Should a given source domain be labelled as ANIMAL, DOG or POODLE? AS SPOUSE, GROOM or PARENT? AS CHILD or BABY? Different formulations suggest different potential mappings, and thus different interpretations. Given the relatively small size of our corpus, we opted for formulating broad categories; but with larger corpora, it is advisable to refine the categories. To further illustrate the impact of verbalization, it is worth noting that, while opting for the label DOG means that this source domain is exploited for various politicians, not just for Wilders, rephrasing the three DOG metaphors for Wilders as WILDERS IS A DOG HOWLING AGAINST AN ISLAM-SYMBOL MOON, WILDERS IS AN ANGRY DOG PURSUING AN ARAB-LOOKING PERSON and WILDERS IS MARIE LE PEN'S PET DOG would turn all three into source domains uniquely associated with Wilders.

Concluding remarks

We cannot be sure, of course, that the cartoons selected for the shortlists of the year's best political cartoons are representative for *all* Dutch cartoons that appeared in that year, so any conclusions about the representation of Wilders are necessarily tentative.

Compared to other political leaders, Wilders appears to be represented very frequently in Dutch political cartoons, just as right-wing party leader Rita Verdonk was before him. This is not surprising: Wilders' views, whatever one may think of them, make him a political force that is difficult to ignore. His extremist statements and provocative behaviour moreover undoubtedly make him an attractive subject for satirical portrayal by cartoonists, who may moreover be inspired to create vivid metaphors due to this selfsame extremism. This starkly contrasts with the frequency with which, for instance, Alexander Pechtold – arguably Wilders' most unwavering and eloquent critic in the House of Representatives – has been represented. Pechtold, the long-time leader of D66 (Democrats 66), does not even feature by name in Table 17.1, as he never appeared more than three times in a single year-book, and therefore is one of the “other party leaders”. This leads to the somewhat worrisome conclusion that reasonable, decently behaving politicians run the risk of not being visible, whereas politicians with extremist ideas are rewarded with attention by cartoonists, who thereby willy-nilly help keep the very ideas they criticize in the limelight.

While we had expected, in line with Bounegru and Forceville (2011), to find many recurring instantiations of the same few source domains to characterize Wilders, this turned out not to be the case. Indeed, only a few source domains occurred more than once; most of them were unique. We can only speculate about the reasons for what was, for us, this unexpected result. The cartoon metaphors we studied in Bounegru

and Forceville (2011) (a) pertained to an event (FINANCIAL CRISIS) that affected the whole world rather than a person in a specific culture; (b) were all published in a very short period of time (two weeks in October 2008); and (c) originally appeared in newspapers all around the world. This means that cartoonists had to come up very quickly with an appropriate metaphorical source domain, and – being artists, not financial experts – perhaps inevitably fell back on the same few “embodied”, source domain scenarios (such as NATURAL DISASTER) that would be universally understood. Moreover, these cartoons all appeared more or less simultaneously, in different cultures and languages, so the cartoons would not be so easily judged unoriginal. By contrast, the metaphors examined here pertain to a specific *person* who moreover behaves differently in different situations over a period of 12 years, in cartoons that were all published in Dutch media. One may expect that Dutch cartoonists closely monitor each other's work, and would want to be as original as possible and thus avoid using the same metaphorical source domains as their colleagues.

Nonetheless, a few source domains recurred and were moreover uniquely used to characterize Wilders. The FOUL-EXUDING CREATURE domain particularly stands out, as it represents behaviour unworthy of serious politicians of any persuasion. Like the BABY/CHILD domain, it emphasizes immaturity and lack of self-control; and with the BOMB and HORROR FILM MONSTER domains it shares the characteristic of being potentially harmful. Incidentally, a search on Google Images using “Geert Wilders” and “political cartoon” as filters, as well as our own non-systematic monitoring in newspapers, yields several other cartoons exemplifying source domains we found recurring in our corpus, notably FOUL-EXUDING CREATURE, BABY and BOMB. These source domains, then, probably are quite typical of cartoonists' views of Geert Wilders.

The fact that most of the metaphorical source domains associated with Wilders, and with other party leaders, however, are unique ones, suggests that analyzing metaphorical cartoons portraying politicians requires researchers to take into account the highly specific context of the socio-political situation they satirize.

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Notes

- 1 Information about Wilders comes from <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Geert-Wilders> and https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Geert_Wilders (both last accessed 10-7-18), and the authors' first-hand knowledge.

- 2 See <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Geert-Wilders> (last accessed 5-2-19).
- 3 See at <https://www.nu.nl/verkiezingen-2017/4560714/vvd-en-cda-willen-niet-met-pvv-tafel.html> (last accessed 10-7-18).
- 4 See e.g. "Wilders wil 'kopvoddentaks'", *Trouw*, 16 September 2009. <https://www.trouw.nl/home/wilders-wil-kopvoddentaks-~ad027ad3/> (last accessed 10-7-18).
- 5 See e.g. "Wilders wil veelplegers in 'tuigdorps'", *De Volkskrant*, 10 February 2011. <https://www.volkskrant.nl/nieuws-achtergrond/wilders-wil-veelplegers-in-tuigdorps-~b9a877b1/> (last accessed 10-7-2018).
- 6 See Forceville (1996), and Forceville (2016) for a recent discussion.
- 7 See Bateman (2014) for a survey of approaches.
- 8 See and Forceville et al. (2014) for discussion of these labels.
- 9 The unlikely coalition between the Liberal-conservative VVD and the Labour-party PvdA resulted in several "courting" scenarios featuring party leaders Rutte and Samsom in 2012.

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