Conceptual Metaphor in Governor Soludo's 2023 Independence Day's Speech: A Critical Discourse Analysis.

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Abstract

The use of metaphor in discourses has recently become a topic of interest for linguists. Before now, metaphor has been viewed as a rhetoric device. However, the American Linguists, Lakoff and Johnson propounded a different view which holds that metaphor is not only a literary device or form of language, but also a matter of human actions and perceptions. Political discourse is always seen to be embedded with politics and influenced by ideologies, thereby making it abstract for people to grasp. This study therefore, applies Conceptual Metaphor Analysis approach, a sub-theory of Critical Discourse Analysis in Governor Soludo's 2023 Independence Day's speech to discover that politicians usually employ conceptual metaphors from different source domains to express their own political thought and stance tom persuade, influence and motivate the people by means of mapping concrete familiar concepts into abstract political concepts.

Keywords: Conceptual metaphor, Independence, Critical discourse analysis

Introduction

Political speeches embodying thought, policy decisions and strategies, inevitably represent certain political stance and group interest. As a kind of typical political speeches, the Independence Day's speech of a political leader, particularly in Nigeria, definitely portrays their stance and opinion regarding the achievements and developments in the country so far, as an independent nation. This, to a large extent, shapes the

celebration mood and views of the citizens regarding the country and the leadership skills of her past and present administrations. Those political speeches are dull and abstract, however, makes it hard to understand and accept by many audiences. As a result, the leaders often structure their speeches around a specific argument or point of view, and they may use rhetorical devices. One of such rhetorical devices is metaphor which is considered "a fundamental form of reasoning" (Lakoff &Johnson, 1980).

 In 1980, the idea of conceptual metaphor proposed by Lakoff and Johnson in Metaphors We Live By has opened doors to study metaphors in thinking and acting. Conceptual metaphors are "enduring conceptual mappings from source to target domains that motivate a wide range of linguistic expressions" (Gibbs, 2002, p. 80). This kind of conceptual mappings from source to target domain is conventionalized across a speech community to conceptualize the world. The more conceptually accessible and concrete source domains tend to represent inaccessible and abstract target domains. That reveals metaphor is not only a matter of tend to represent inaccessible and abstract target domains.

That reveals metaphor is not only a matter of words, but also a matter of thought hidden in language. Therefore, apart from literature, it is not surprising to see metaphors are pervasive in political discourses which are an inevitable way for many politicians to make their ideas and propositions accepted. According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), the fact that people in part conceptualize things systematically influences the shape they take and the way people talk about them because metaphorical concepts are systematic. Thus, there is no wonder that conceptual metaphors are commonly found in inaugural address. Politicians often use metaphors that resonate with people's underlying views, and the repetition of such metaphors blunts people's conditioned, non-critical underlying predispositions and internal response (Sun & Li, 2019), so they can present their vision of the country, set forth their goals for the nation, and prompt people to support their political beliefs.

This paper focuses on the critical analysis of the conceptual metaphor used in Prof. Chukwuma Soludo's (The incumbent governor of Anambra State) 2023 Independence Day's Speech, using the

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach. The aim is to determine as many forms of conceptual Metaphor as possible, used in the speech and their persuasive purposes.

Conceptual Framework

Conceptual Metaphors: conceptual metaphors-also known as a generative metaphors-are metaphor (figurative comparisons) in which one idea (conceptual domain) is understood in terms of another (Lakoff, 1980). Conceptual metaphor is one of the most important terms in cognitive linguistics, which refers to the process of establishing cognitive links, or mappings, between several concepts (conceptual structures), pertaining to different domains. Metaphor is "understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another" [Lakoff, Jonson 1980:5]. Unlike the traditional linguistic approach to metaphor, conceptual metaphor, as G. Lakoff sees it, represents

a universal quality of thinking. Conceptual metaphor does not belong to the language only, it can be expressed both by verbal (e.g. *She has come to a crossroads in her lif*e) and non-verbal means – arts, music, gestures, etc. Thus, in terms of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), metaphor is a cognitive process that is reflected in language structures. According to Lakoff and Johnson's Theory, conceptual metaphor represents interaction of two cognitive structures (or domains): the source domain and the target domain. The target domain is structured similarly to the source domain, i.e. metaphorical correspondences or, in other words, metaphorical mappings are established between them.

In cognitive linguistics, the conceptual domain from which we draw the metaphorical expressions required to understand another conceptual domain is known as the source domain, while the conceptual domain that is interpreted in this way is the target domain. Thus the source domain of the journey is commonly used to explain the target domain of life. Conceptual metaphors are part of the common language and conceptual precepts shared by members of a culture.

These metaphors are systematic because there is a defined correlation between the structure of the source domain and the structure of the target domain. We generally recognize these things in terms of a common understanding. For example, in our culture, if the source concept is "death," the common target destination is "leave-taking or departure."Because conceptual metaphors are drawn from a collective cultural understanding, they've eventually become linguistic conventions. This explains why the definitions for so many words and idiomatic expressions are dependent on understanding accepted conceptual metaphors. The connections we make are largely unconscious. They're part of an almost automatic thought process. Although sometimes, when the circumstances that bring the metaphor to mind are unexpected or unusual, the metaphor evoked may also be more out of the ordinary. In politics, conceptual metaphors are used in conventional and inaugural speeches by influential politicians to influence and persuade their audience who are definitely from the same geographical culture as them to see things from a particular perspective which will ultimately be to the politicians' advantage.

Independence Day: According to an online dictionary, is a day celebrating the anniversary of national independence. the world most acclaimed independence day is that of the Americans which is celebrated on every <u>Fourth of July</u>. In Nigeria, it is always an official holiday celebrated on the 1st of October of every year. It marks Nigeria's proclamation of independence from British rule on 1 October 1960. The holiday is celebrated annually by the government of Nigeria. The festivities begin with the President's address to the people, which is broadcast on radio and television, then followed by celebrations across states and sectors in Nigeria, including the Nigerian Armed Forces, the Nigeria Police Force, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the workforce and national education services. For instance, the primary and secondary schools perform a ceremonial march-past in various state capitals and local government areas where they are located. The streets are filled with celebrations as individuals and groups troupe to the streets wearing green-white-green. Offices and markets are closed in Nigeria on 1 October. These therefore make it paramount for the governors of the various states to present their own speeches in

recognition of the celebrants and the celebration. It was on this year's observation of such celebration that the incumbent governor of Anambra state, Prof, C. C. Soludo presented the speech under study in this work.

Speech: Generally, a speech is a formal address given by a person or group to an audience which often serves to inform, persuade or inspire the audience. Speeches can be given in many different settings, including political rallies, commencement of ceremonies, and religious services. Speeches can be broadcast on radio or television, or shared on social media. In this article, the type of speech under study is a political speech delivered at the commencement of the year's Independence Day ceremony. The speech was equally shared on social media which serves as a source for the data. Also, because the speech to be studied is delivered within a political context, it is expected to be persuasive, influencing and inspiring in nature. Hence, the presence of conceptual metaphors in this speech is unavoidable.

Discourse Analysis: Discourse and discourse analysis have become central catchwords in social and education sciences in recent decades. Closely linked to the constructionist or linguistic turn across disciplines, research in the field of education increasingly adopts analyses that take language in context – texts, talk, and social interaction – as the starting point for their qualitative inquiry. Discourse analysis, which in its most basic form is the study of language, is derived from the field of linguistics. Writing for the *Linguistic Society of America,* Tannen notes that discourse analysis may be defined as "the analysis of language 'beyond the sentence'". American scholar Zellig Harris is often credited with coining the term *discourse analysis* (Salkie, 2009; Stanlaw, 2021). He wrote that discourse analysis was valuable in order to study the exemplification of grammar and to focus on how a text sends its messages rather than what the messages within the text may be (Harris, 1952). Contemporary researchers acknowledge that there are countless variations of definitions for the term discourse analysis, differing in relation to the field of study, specific usage, and scholar's stances on the method (Tannen et al., 2015). As a research approach discourse analysis has application across a broad array of fields of study, including communications,

education and politics. in the relation to politics, discourse analysis refers to the study of how language is used to construct meaning and power in political context. This can include studying the language used by politicians, analyzing the way that the media portrays political events, or looking at how social movements use language to further their goals. The goal of discourse analysis is to understand how power relations are expressed and maintained through language. The two primary types of discourse analysis are descriptive and critical. Descriptive discourse analysis seeks to understand how language influences people and situations. Critical discourse analysis seeks to expose through description and interpretation the ways that social inequalities are constructed, maintained, and legitimized (Mullet, 2018). Fairclough (1985) holds that critical discourse requires an investigation of the ways that verbal interactions are determined by social structures as well as the effects of those verbal interactions on social structures. IT is therefore pertinent to mention at this juncture, that in analysis of this study, critical discourse analysis will be adopted as we will be carrying out an investigation on how the use of conceptual metaphor showcases power imbalance between the influential politicians and their incapable audience.

Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework adopted in this study is Critical Discourse Analysis. According to Fairclough cited in Ezeifeka (2018), Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a relatively new research paradigm which gained prominence in the 1970s as Critical Linguistic (CL), a term first used by group of scholars working in the University of East Anglia, as the last chapter of their work titled *Language and Central* which was published in the 1979. It eventually changed from CL to CDA in the 1990s. CDA is an approach to language analysis that focuses on how language is used to produce and reproduce power imbalances and social inequalities. Luke, (2008) also in Ezeifeka, points out that this power imbalance and institutional discrimination of resources between speakers and listeners, writers and readers, can be linked to their unequal access to linguistic and social resources. She further described CDA as being, among other features, socially and morally-committed linguistic resources for people struggling

against domination and oppression in their linguistic form. The aim of CDA is to uncover the hidden meanings in language that support dominant ideologies and dominant groups in the society. It is also used to challenge these dominant ideologies and groups by uncovering the way language can be used to marginalize and oppress others. Hence, in CDA which is described as problem oriented, social problem, rather than pure linguistic analysis are the focus of research. This type of power imbalances which CDA sets out to uncover is commonly found in political discourses which are the focus of this paper. Political discourse refers to language use in politics. It includes speeches, debates, and other forms of political communication. No doubt, the goal of analyzing political discourse is to understand how language is used to influence and persuade people in the political arena.

There are five key concepts in CDA, (Ezeifeka, 2018). These include:

i.   the term 'Critical'
ii.   power
iii. ideology
iv.   hegemony, and
v.   History

The term, 'Critical' in CDA, means not taking things for granted, being skeptical about representations in texts and discourse, being self-reflective in deconstructing texts in order to make opaque ideological positions transparent, seeing through the hidden agenda represented in texts, diagnostic reading of texts to separate ideologies from official meaning of linguistic items. This compliments the claims of the proponents of CDA that everyday use of power is never neutral; those words and expressions are ideologically loaded and readers have to extract associative meanings from official denotative meanings in order to explain their underlying implications. On the other hand, Moore and Henry (in Wareing, 2001) described **power** as "the force in society that gets things done and by studying it, we can identify who controls what, and for what benefits." CDA therefore sees power as a central condition in social life. "Even when two people are engaged in casual conversation, each participant is concerned with how to make his view point dominate the other" (Ezeifeka, 2018). Based on this, CDA approach therefore takes the side of the oppressed, the sufferer of the oppressive

discourses, and pass value judgments on the oppressive regime**. Ideology** has been defined as a complex body of ideas, beliefs, values and insights we hold as individuals and groups that influence and direct our behaviour and serve as a basis for our actions as individuals and as groups (Ogunmodede, 2005). This definition, according to Ezeifeka, sees ideology as simply a word-view and not as a negative concept. Another definition of ideology is that it is "a system of ideas and beliefs about human conduct which has normally been simplified and manipulated in order to obtain popular support for certain actions and which is usually emotive in its reference to social action' (Watson & Hill, 2006). **Hegemony** sustains ideologies and their thrives. McGregor sees hegemony as having the capability of making unbalanced power relations and portrayals of social groups to be commonsense, normal, and natural when in actual fact, the reality is prejudice, injustice and inequalities.

The concept of History: Every discourse is said to be historically embedded, and to have repercussions on current and future discourses (Ezeifeka, 2018). It is usually located in space which is the socio-cultural context, and time which can be both diachronic and synchronic. CDA proponents therefore advocates taking into account, the historical development of discursive practices (how they have evolved and the changes overtime). This way of analysing text in time and space has been referred to by Wodak as the discourse historical approach.

Methodology

As one of conscious linguistic choices, metaphor uncovers hidden social processes. The analysis of conceptual metaphors in Soludo's Independence Day's speech is based on Critical Metaphor Analysis which is a subtype of CDA proposed by Charteris-Black in 2004. According to Charteris-Black (2004), Critical Metaphor Analysis aims to shed lights on the convert and possibly unconscious intentions of language users. Therefore, it helps to conceal the underlying way of constructing the discourse and dominating his audiences by Governor Soludo. In order to achieve the goal, the Independence Day's speech by Governor Soludo is treated as a small corpus at first, and conceptual metaphors are identified through close readings and deep understanding of the corpus. The conceptual metaphors are then analyzed

by categorizing them into different types, according to Charteris Black (2004): conflict metaphor, religious Metaphor, human metaphor, journey metaphors, building metaphors, physical environment metaphors, etc. The interpretation and explanation of conceptual metaphors in Governor Soludo's Independence Day's speech in 2023 are conducted successively in specific examples.

Data Analysis

This section focuses on analyzing the conceptual metaphors used in Governor Soludo's Independence Day's speech of the year 2023 after close reading of the discourse and the identification of the conceptual metaphors

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The table below shows an overview of the source domains and resonance of the metaphors used in the inaugural address.

Source domains	Types Total	Total Tokens	Resonance	% of Total Resonance
Nature metaphors	2	5	10	4.31%
Human metaphors	4	6	24	10.34%
Conflict Metaphors	4	9	36	15.51%
Building metaphors	1	2	2	0.86%
Object metaphors	3	5	15	6.46%
Machine metaphors	2	2	4	1.72%
Fire & light metaphors	2	3	6	2.58%

Religious metaphors	3	7	14	6.03%
Physical Process and environment metaphors	1	3	3	1.29%
Journey metaphors	7	15	105	45.25%
Treasure-hunt metaphors	1	1	1	0.43%
Spatial metaphors	2	6	12	5.17%
Total	32	60	232	100%

The second column lists the number of different types of word in the metaphor, and the third column shows the metaphorical tokens, namely the actual number of metaphors. The resonance provided in the fourth column is working out by multiplying the number of types and the number of tokens. According to Charteris-Black (2004), the resonance indicates the extent to which metaphor source domains are in the discourse, enabling us to measure and to compare the productivity of source domains. In other words, higher resonance of the source domain means higher frequency of the metaphor. It can be seen from the table above, that journey metaphors and conflict metaphors are the two most resonant domains, accounting for 45.1 percent and 15.45 percent respectively. The following section shows a detailed discussion of this finding close look at the finding.

Findings

Soludo's Independence Day's speech was holistically full of optimism and persuasion. He is optimistic about the unity of the country despite the political, religious and ethical insurgencies, economic crisis, assaults on democracy and truth. He was explicit about how he had approached and is still approaching

some of this crisis in his state while urging the federal government to do their part by employing metaphors source domain that are commonly understood such as journey metaphors, conflict metaphors, human metaphors, to mention but a few. In some cases, Soludo combined two or more conceptual metaphors in a sentence to be more expressive of his view. This aspect of the study focuses on analyzing the conceptual metaphors used in Prof. Chukwuma Soludo's Independent Day's Speech after closely reading the discourse and the identification of the conceptual metaphors.

Conflict Metaphor: The analysis of conflict metaphors employs the subcategories proposed by Charteris Black in his books, Approaches to metaphor. They are metaphors of defense, metaphors of attack and metaphors of struggle. This classification is based on the semantic orientations of the metaphor keyword. For instance, words such as retreat and defend are associated with the notion of defense. Politicians adopt conflict metaphors to highlight the personal sacrifices and physical struggles necessary in achieving social goals. (Charteris-Black, 2004).

(1) Every nation continues to struggle in its match to a more perfect nation union.
(2) Nigeria is currently battling to reset the buttons of the development.
(3) We are firing from all cylinders in our haste to lay the foundations for a livable and prosperous homeland.

To explain example one above, it is necessary to note that the beginning of the governor's speech, he made a suggestive statement that Nigeria has been "stitched" together, meaning that it would proof almost impossible to try to separate the country. Being a promoter of the country's unity and being very optimistic about a greater Nigeria, He tries to persuade his audience into accepting the current ups and downs in the country as a 'normal' for a better future; implying that the challenges are what every nation must encounter before greatness. This concept thus derives from the general metaphor Politics Is Conflict. In example two, we can see the combination of both machine metaphor and conflict metaphor. Machine metaphors is often used to suggest that there are problems that needs to be fixed, and that certain actions must be taken to address those problems (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) As machine metaphor

suggests, Nigeria is portrayed as a "machine" that needs to be maintained and repaired, and "resetting the buttons' is the process of fixing it. As a conflict metaphor, the word 'battle' suggests conflict. The statement therefore suggests that there is a struggle between different forces which in this case, are Nigeria and its development. The governor used these conceptual metaphors to persuade his audience to view the subsidy removal in the country, which he actually described as "desired" development from a positive perspective. Furthermore, example (iii) displays the combination of a whole three metaphors: conflict, machine and building metaphors. According to George Lakoff, and Mark Johnson in their book, Metaphor We Live By, they suggest that metaphors are not just a matter of language, but also reflect the way we think and perceive the world. in example (3) therefore, we can see the incorporation of 'war' metaphor in the phrase "firing from all cylinders" which expresses the idea of taking decisive actions to achieve a goal; and 'machine' metaphor, in that the expression gives the sense of the use of machines (guns and cylinders) to fight a battle. Likewise, "laying down the foundations" is a 'building' metaphor because it

suggests that "we" are creating the base on which something else will be built. Here, Soludo suggests that the goal is to create a "livable and prosperous homeland", so he combines the 'building' metaphor with the 'machine' metaphor and the 'conflict' metaphor which gives the impression that "we" are building a machine that is fighting a battle to lay the foundations for a better country.

Religious metaphor: Religious metaphor has been a significant social culture in Nigeria. Since it can strongly influence an individual's ideologies by shaping their values. Morals and beliefs, it has also played a significant role in shaping Nigeria's politics. Religious expressions can be easily found in political discourse. For example, George Washington proposed "fervent supplication to that Almighty Being who rules over the universe" in America's first Inaugural address (Coe, 2016). Soludo is one of the numerous Christian governors that Anambra state has had (since the state is a pure Christian state). It is therefore not surprising, the resonance of religious metaphor prevalent in his speech. The following are the instances:

(4)   Challenges abound, but I see hope

(5)   I see a more glorious future provided we all intentionally decide to make it happen.

(6)   We pray for the president of Nigeria, Asiwaju Bola Ahmed Tinubu….

It is a common knowledge that Nigeria as a country is dominated by two out of the three major religions, and though the citizens often seem to clash because of biases in beliefs, politicians still draw upon their religious beliefs for personal guidance. The expression, "I see hope" and "let's pray" suggest religious faith; "glorious" is associated with Christianity; these three instances in Soludo's speech forms a chain that underpins a strong religious theme in the speech, showing that the conceptual metaphor-politics is religion-is used systematically to create coherence in the Independence Day's speech, and can serve as a source domain to invoke spiritual aspiration into the political domain and links the governor with a commitment to his faith. A critical function of metaphor is the "achievement of intimacy in which the maker and the appreciator of a metaphor are drawn close to one another' (Cohen. 1978). Soludo's use of the inclusive deixis, "we" seems to suggest this sense of 'intimacy' between him and his subjects.

Human metaphors: Human metaphors "allow us to comprehend a wide variety of experience with non-human entities in terms of human motivation, characteristics and activities" (Lakoff. 1980). Hence, they are often used in political discourse to simplify complex political ideas and make them more accessible and understandable to the general public. These metaphors draw parallels between aspects of human behaviour or experience and the political realm, allowing for a more vivid and relatable discussion. Here are some examples from Soludo's Independence Day's Speech:

(7)   We have also begun the ambitious programme of a true free primary to JSS3 education – free of all fees, tuition

(8)   we have rolled out the most ambitious response to the challenging time, subject to the limit of resources.

in example (7) above, the term, "ambitious" in example (8) and (9) suggest that both programme and response are humans, since being ambitious is a human attribute. The concepts were

employed by Soludo to bring to the limelight, his personal efforts so far (which are series of lucrative events for the Youths and free education for children in the state), and what he still tends to do (for the poor and the elderly) to elevate his subjects from their current state of hardship. However, to achieve his persuasive goal, it can be observed that Soludo maintained his use of inclusive pronoun, "we", thereby making his subjects feel like they are part of the change makers.

Journey metaphor: in the Independence Day's Speech of Governor Soludo, the use of journey metaphor ranks the most. A journey source domain a starting point, destination, travelers, setbacks, etc. Therefore, reaching the destination is of positive value. in his speech, JOUrney metaphor appears to be the greatest weapon he used for effective persuasion of his audience as can be seen in his constant use of the inclusive deixis in almost all of them.:

(9) some 63years ago today, we gained independence.

(10) Since then, our journey to nationhood has been a chequered one.

(11) With a civil war, cycles military coup, and fits and starts with democracy, we have muddled through the past 63years with squandered opportunities and yet, with the promise of potential greatness.

(12) Again, the goal is that we are all in this together and we will swim out of the challenging time together.

In the above examples, metaphors from the domain of journey are systematically employed by Soludo to describe a purposeful social activity. He tries to carry his audience along as he 'travels' through the past, present and future of the country's state of affair. in the experience, he tries to relate with them by admitting to what he knows the subjects are likely to admit to. In example (9), "the journey" being "a chequered one" suggests mixture of experiences which he knows the audience will easily agree to; "squandered opportunities" in example (11) is also likely to be a mutual consensus with his audience. In example (3), he makes his intention of making his audience feel that they are part of the process, as well as reassures them that everything is going to be alright. Soludo seems to understand that there is no better 'currency' for buying the trust and cooperation of people

other than giving them a sense of belonging. With these, they are likely to answer to his indirect call for collective responsibility to fix the country, hence, his application of these journey metaphors in his speech.

Object Metaphors: An object metaphor is used to present something that is ordinarily not an object ass an object. in Soludo's Independence Day's speech, the following is an instance of object metaphor used in the speech:

(13) Over the years, macroeconomic management was on its head with the enduring legacies of a technically insolvent Federal Government (FG|) and pressures in exchange rate and inflation.

In example (13), macroeconomic management is portrayed as an object with a "head" and the ability to "pressure" something. This conceptual metaphor was used to refer to the numerous challenges like the cashless policy, inflation, deflation, to mention but a few, that the financial sector of the government administration has encountered. The use of the term "enduring legacies' and "pressures' byb the governor suggests that

the experience wasn't a pleasant one on the country's economy.

Spatial metaphor: This type of metaphor, according to Lakoff, (1980), compares something abstract, like a political process, to something concrete with spaces in between. IN this case, Nigeria is compared to some objects or materials with some spaces or distance in between.

(14) 63years ago, Nigeria was stitched together.
(15) the country has peacefully transferred power from one president to another

in example (14) above, to "stitched together" means to close a gap between two material so as to make them one. Therefore, Nigeria being stitched together obviously suggests that Nigeria is different materials with spaces that were joined to become one, thereby closing the space between them. In like manner, example (15) suggests that the country has moved from one place to another, from one president to another. This metaphor is used by Soludo to refer to the recent election which has consequently led to the chance in the leadership of the country.

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Conclusion

This study has analyzed the significance of conceptual metaphors identified in Soludo's 2023 Independence Day speech, inaugural speech in shaping public perception, and political ideology. Through the identification of metaphors, a great many of the metaphors are found in reference to source domains like journey metaphor, conflict metaphor, religious metaphor, human metaphor, building metaphor, spatial metaphor, etc. The author focuses on the top six source domains-journey metaphor, conflict metaphor, human metaphor, religious metaphor, object metaphor and spatial metaphor-in accordance with the total resonance of each source domain, which helps measure and compares the productivity of source domains. It is found that through systematically associations of words, these metaphors are selected to help the governor show his optimism about the current state of affairs in the country as well as his faith and expectation of a better Nigeria. In addition to highlighting his personal efforts so far to assist his subjects in the state scale through this challenging time in the country, he emphasized that faith and unity are of great importance in pursuing the public good, in a persuasive way by employing religious metaphor. Hence, it can be concluded that metaphors are not just linguistic devices, they are strategic choices employed by politicians to make their ideas and policies more relatable and understandable to the public since they can provide individuals with mental shortcuts to understand complex political ideas.

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