



Changing socio-cognitive frames through anti-gender-violence metaphors in Spain: a multimodal metaphor analysis

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ABSTRACT

Violence against women is one of 4th Wave Feminism's main worries. Feminist journalists and discourse analysts insist that, when addressing gender violence, a new discourse of solidarity and hope, rather than the traditional one of danger and threat, needs to be deployed; and this new discourse seems to be already permeating institutional anti-gender violence campaigns. Drawing on critical and socio-cognitive approaches to discourse, this paper focuses on how the struggle against gender violence is conceptualized by Spanish Institutions as represented in posters for November 25 (International Day for the Elimination of Violence Against Women) from 2005 to 2022. More specifically, we use the concepts of (multimodal) metaphorical creativity, metaphor scenario and metaphorical polarization to analyze how different scenarios or narratives are created in the posters under study. Preliminary results show how: (i) the use of metaphorical strategies increases throughout the 20 years studied; (ii) there is a shift in the target recipients of the texts, gradually moving from women to society in general, including men; (iii) the metaphor scenarios identified focus mainly on action, exhorting women to escape and fight gender violence, but also society to get involved, while the danger scenario is decreasing. Results thus show that the new social and cognitive frames related to gender violence developing within the Spanish society, in which women are conceptualized as active citizens and not submissive victims, are being reflected by institutions as well.

KEYWORDS: (Multimodal) metaphor; Metaphor scenarios; Socio-cognitive frames; Anti-gender violence discourse.



Mudança de quadros sociocognitivos através de metáforas de violência antigênero na Espanha: uma análise multimodal de metáforas

RESUMO

A violência contra as mulheres é uma das principais preocupações da 4ª Onda do Feminismo. As jornalistas feministas e os analistas de discurso insistem que, ao abordar a violência de gênero, um novo discurso de solidariedade e esperança, em vez do tradicional de perigo e ameaça, precisa ser implantado; e este novo discurso parece já estar a permear campanhas institucionais de violência antigênero. Baseado em abordagens críticas e sociocognitivas do discurso, este documento centra-se na forma como a luta contra a violência de gênero é conceptualizada por instituições espanholas, tal como representada em cartazes para 25 de Novembro (Dia Internacional para a Eliminação da Violência contra as Mulheres) de 2005 a 2022. Mais especificamente, utilizamos os conceitos de criatividade (multimodal) metafórica, cenário metafórico e polarização metafórica, para analisar como diferentes cenários ou narrativas são criados nos cartazes em estudo. Os resultados preliminares mostram como: (i) o uso de estratégias metafóricas aumenta ao longo dos 20 anos estudados; (ii) há uma mudança nos destinatários-alvo dos textos, passando gradualmente das mulheres para a sociedade em geral, incluindo os homens; (iii) os cenários metafóricos identificados centram-se principalmente na ação, exortando as mulheres a escapar e a combater a violência de gênero, mas também a sociedade a se envolver, enquanto o cenário de perigo está a diminuir. Os resultados mostram assim que os novos *frames* sociais e cognitivos relacionados com a violência de gênero que se desenvolvem na sociedade espanhola, nos quais as mulheres são conceptualizadas como cidadãs ativas, e não vítimas submissas, estão também sendo refletidos pelas instituições.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Metáfora (multimodal); Cenários metafóricos; Quadros sociocognitivos; Discurso antiviolação de gênero.

1. Introdução¹

Discrimination against women is a long and deep social problem within all countries in the world, including Spain. The many ways in which women are still discriminated against include violence as one of the most flagrant violations of women's human rights. Only in Spain, gender violence (GV) is the major cause of death among women between the age of 14 and 45, and the reason why 53% of women are killed.² GV has thus become a primary social issue for the Spanish Government and Institutions,³ who, in addition to passing a revolutionary new sexual freedom law (the *solo sí es sí* or 'only yes means yes' law)⁴ in 2022, have started to incorporate in their anti-gender campaigns the new discourses demanded by feminists by which the traditional

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² GV increased by 3,2% in 2021, reaching 30.142 women and 49 were killed only in 2022. INE (Instituto Nacional de Estadística). Retrieved from: <https://www.ine.es/prensa/evdvg_2021.pdf>. Access date: Dec. 15, 2022. 1190 women have been killed since 2003, when statistical data on GV started to be recorded. Retrieved from: <<https://violenciagenero.igualdad.gob.es/violenciaEnCifras/victimasMortales/fichaMujeres/home.htm>>. Access date: Dec. 15, 2022.

³ Ministerio de Igualdad (Ministry for Equality), in the main.

⁴ Revolutionary in the sense that the new law moves the concept of 'intimidation' and/or 'violence' to that of 'consent' ('only yes means yes') when judging whether a sexual aggression should be considered rape or only abuse. From the year 2022, consensual sex in Spain is only made clear by explicit communication, thus shifting the focus of attention from the victim's behavior to the aggressors' responsibility.



frames of fear and threat are being replaced by those of solidarity, hope and empowerment (ARRUZZA et al., 2019; BARJOLA, 2018; COOPER et al., 2020).

Within this line of research, this paper focuses on the discursive changeover taking place in the communication of anti-gender violence as conceptualized in Spanish institutional posters created for November 25 (International Day for the Elimination of Violence Against Women)⁵ during the last two decades (2005 to 2022), that is, from the first general law against GV enacted in 2004⁶ to the new sexual freedom one passed in 2022. More specifically, we analyze the (multimodal) metaphorical strategies deployed by the 25N placard makers in order to show how new feminist cognitive and social frames are developing within Spanish society, portraying women as active citizens capable of escaping GV, and not as passive victims of their aggressors.

The anti-gender institutional posters analyzed, first, need to be contextualized within the new 'fourth wave feminisms', *Feminism 4.0.* or *Feminism for the 99%*, spreading worldwide (ARRUZZA et al., 2019; CHAMBERLAIN, 2017) from the second decade of the new century. In addition to supporting traditional feminist demands, such as the need to establish the political, economic, and social equality of the sexes, one of the main claims of fourth wave feminism is to put an end to all types of gender violence; physical, sexual, psychological, digital, socio-economical or verbal. In order to achieve this goal, feminist movements have become more intersectional, integrating and open both in their main objectives and in the new technological and social tools at hand, which are contributing to spread their claims, slogans and messages worldwide.

The data under research also have to be understood within the Spanish *Pacto Integral Contra la Violencia de Género* (or National Deal Against GV) signed in 2017⁷ and which includes within its 10 lines of action the recommendation to develop "prevention and awareness campaigns with positive messages, [...] involving society as a whole [...] focusing on the rejection of the abuser and presenting examples of strong and courageous women, without stereotyping the victims".⁸ Institutional graphic campaigns against GV thus have a crucial role in the fight against this social scourge, as they not only help to raise awareness by making GV visible all over the country, but also help to keep track of the changes undergone by Spanish society in relation to GV as reflected in the socio-cognitive frames the different campaigns portray over the years.

Studies on the discursive strategies of the new feminist Spanish movements, specifically those of protest slogans (ROMANO, 2021; 2022), have shown the enormous creativity of the persuasive devices deployed to call attention to feminists' main political demands, among them, the urge to stop sexual aggressions, as mentioned. Humor and irony, polysemy, wordplay and multimodal

⁵ Chosen by Latin American and Caribbean Feminist Movements in 1981 to raise awareness on GV as a homage to the three Mirabal sisters assassinated in the Dominican Republic in 1960.

⁶ Ley de Protección Integral contra la Violencia de Género.

⁷ Developed from the Ley de Protección Integral contra la Violencia de Género 2004.

⁸ Retrieved from: <<https://violenciagenero.igualdad.gob.es/pactoEstado/docs/FolletoPEVGcastweb.pdf>>. Access date: Dec. 20, 2022.

metaphor are some of the most recurrent mechanisms identified within this discourse type. As the slogans identified by Romano (2022) show, there is a clear intention by creators to reframe GV discourse, sexual aggression in the main, and thus many traditional socio-cognitive frames still present in Spanish society. Women are encouraged to fight and rebel against GV, but also to have fun, wish and enjoy, embracing their empowerment, as the new lemmas of the 'loud and noisy' feminisms proclaim (COOPER et al., 2020; Requena, 2020).⁹

Like protest slogans, the institutional placards created for the 25N anti-gender violence campaigns contain clear attention-calling, persuasive and social action functions and are, therefore, highly prone to discursive creativity. The posters need to call interlocutors' (women and society in the main, but also men) attention efficiently, probably at one single glance; they need to make interlocutors aware of this social problem, as well as to convince them to take action against it; and this needs to be done by using very short and cognitively efficient texts and images to enhance remembrance. This is why anti-gender violence posters, as we will see, make use of (multimodal) metaphors, as they are highly expressive cognitive and discursive strategies that activate well-known shared cultural and emotional knowledge within a community in very efficient ways (FORCEVILLE, 2020; KÖVECSSES, 2015; 2020). But in addition to the similarities mentioned, the fact that they are construed for specific addressees and purposes, institutional posters are also a text type of their own as, contrary to protest slogans, they are thoroughly designed by a specific team of experts, not spontaneously created; a feature which brings them very close to ads.

In order to understand which are the main (multimodal) metaphorical mappings deployed in anti-gender institutional posters and observe whether the socio-cognitive frames they project have changed during the last two decades in Spanish society, Section 2 explains the main theoretical notions of the study, namely, *multimodal metaphorical creativity*, *metaphor scenario* and *polarization*; Section 3 details the methodological procedure followed; Section 4 presents a detailed qualitative and quantitative analysis and discussion of the results; and, finally, Section 5 summarizes our preliminary conclusions.

2. Theoretical concepts

This study follows critical and socio-cognitive models of discourse analysis in the main, together with Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis. It is critical in the sense that it seeks to understand how cognitive and social factors interact in the production, representation and perpetuation of social injustice, as well as to contest it critically (FAIRCLOUGH, 1992; LAZAR, 2005; MONTESANO; MORALES-LÓPEZ, 2015; VAN DIJK, 2004; 2014) and also because the multimodal texts under study are created intentionally with the potential to construe specific

⁹ See for instance the slogans *Nos queremos vivas y libres* ('We want ourselves alive and free'), *No nací mujer para morir por serlo* ('I wasn't born a woman to die for it'), *No es no* ('No is no'), *Sí es sí* ('Yes is yes'). Or *No me digas cómo vestirme. Diles que no violen* ('Don't tell me how to dress, tell them not to rape'), *Mi falda no es corta, tu mentalidad sí* ('My skirt isn't short, but your mentality is'), *Con ropa o sin ropa, mi cuerpo no se toca* ('With or without clothes, my body is not to touch') denouncing victim blaming.



representations of the world, forming and influencing human beliefs, attitudes and action (CHARTERIS-BLACK, 2004). The study is also socio-cognitive (CHARTERIS-BLACK, 2004; 2013; CHILTON, 2004; DIRVEN et al., 2007; HART, 2014; MUSOLFF; ZINKEN, 2009; SOARES DA SILVA et al., 2017; STEEN, 2014), as it intends to contribute to explaining the ways in which individual minds and cognitive processes are shaped by their interaction within broader sociocultural structures and practices (FRANK et al., 2008; SHARIFIAN, 2011; ZIEMKE et al., 2007; VAN DIJK, 2014). In addition, since the research wishes to create critical awareness and develop feminist strategies for resistance and change (LAZAR, 2005), this work needs to be included as well within Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis. The combination of models can better explain how the posters are created within a specific socio-political, cognitive and linguistic context, namely the Spanish institutional anti-gender violence campaigns through time, as well as to emphasize their function as powerful ideological tools for social transformation in recent Spanish society. This model has already been called Feminist, Critical and Socio-cognitive (ROMANO, 2021; 2022).

A first theoretical concept required for the study of the new GV frames shown in the posters is *multimodal metaphorical creativity*. The meaning of many of the metaphors identified in the placards under study, we will see, emerges through the interactions of two different modes, verbal and visual (FORCEVILLE; URIÓS-APARISI, 2009; FORCEVILLE, 2020; KRESS; VAN LEEUWEN, 2001; ROMANO, 2021). These complex¹⁰ and context induced or situated metaphors, construed discursively and cognitively within the specific context in which the conceptualization takes place (KÖVECSES, 2015; 2020), namely social changes in Spain from 2005 to 2022, perform clear ideological functions as they are influencing the cognitive and social transformation of Spanish society in relation to GV perception and action. They can thus be considered prototypical *transforming narratives* promoting the changeover of women from passive victims to active, outraged citizens (MONTESANO; MORALES-LÓPEZ, 2015). Another notion closely related to metaphorical creativity is that of *recontextualization* (CAMERON, 2011; Linell, 2002; Semino et al., 2013; ROMANO, 2013; ROMANO; PORTO, 2018; PORTO; ROMANO, 2019). Many of the mappings identified in the posters are created by readapting already existing conventional metaphors in the community to fit the new discursive and social contexts they occur in, as we will see.

Musolff's (2006; 2016) concept of *metaphor scenario*, in addition, helps to explain multimodal metaphors as mini narratives, that is, as framing devices that include shared pragmatic knowledge or sets of assumptions made by members of a community about 'typical' aspects of a source situation, such as its participants, roles, storylines, outcomes and evaluative inferences. Metaphor scenarios, explains Musolff (idem), allow readers/hearers to arrive at default conclusions on a specific topic or target domain by applying problem-solving strategies emerging from the source. In the 'narratives' under study, the conclusions deriving from the shared common-sense information 'it is important to remain safe', 'nobody should be abused', 'any type of abuse should be fought,

¹⁰ Metaphors that result from the combination of primary metaphors, those that derive from our bodily experience, and cultural elements (GRADY et al., 1996; KÖVECSES, 2005).

denounced, etc. are applied to the target GENDER VIOLENCE, to construe possible 'happy' ends to this 'horror' story and focus on the fact that women, together with society, can put an end to it.

Finally, this study also takes into account the recent notion of *polarizing metaphor* (PETERSEN; SOARES DA SILVA, submitted), referring to "those metaphors that are used to positively represent the ingroup (i.e., 'us') and/or negatively conceptualize the outgroup (i.e., 'them')". The multimodal metaphors identified in the anti-gender violence placards clearly fall into this new categorization, as they are created with the main aim of construing new feminist identities and ideological frames, active and empowered women who can defeat and escape GV, by legitimizing the 'Self', battered women, and delegitimizing the 'Other', aggressors. In contrast to other discourses challenging traditional patriarchal social structures in which the new feminist identities are being built from below, such as protest slogans, in the posters under study the new in-group identities of empowerment and social action are built from above (HOARE; SMITH, 1971; LACLAU, 1990), Spanish Institutions, who are incorporating the socio-cognitive and discursive changes demanded from below, feminists.

3. Data and methodology

For this study, a multimodal corpus of posters created for November 25 in different years was collected using Google Advanced Search Tool. More specifically, four sub-corpora were collected and contrasted.¹¹ As explained, one of the main objectives of this study was to compare diachronic differences across a representative sample of the last 20 years.

During the first period under analysis, 2005-2007, 34 posters were gathered. They represent the years immediately preceding the first massive campaigns against gender violence promoted by Spanish Institutions, a period when digital media were not used so frequently to share and denounce socio-political issues. The second period under analysis, 2012-2013, includes 44 posters. These texts coincide with the beginning of the massive spread of feminist claims and campaigns against gender violence and with the increase in the use of digital media. The third period of research, 2017-2021, containing 50 placards, is especially relevant from a social point of view, since specific events taking place in Spanish society trigger important changes in relation to GV. Among these events, we can highlight, for instance, the intent in 2014 by the conservative Popular Party in Government to restrict the already existing abortion law; or an especially shocking group rape that took place during the Pamplona San Fermín celebrations in 2016 and known as the *Manada* case, among others. These events had direct effects on the enormous increase in the number of participants in the Spanish 8M feminist rallies of 2017 and 2018, as well as on the visibility GV has started to receive in both mainstream and social media.¹²

¹¹ We would like to thank Silvia Peterssen (UAM) for her help in the compilation of the corpus.

¹² Press reports on sexual aggressions quadrupled between 2016-19. Retrieved from: <<https://www.publico.es/sociedad/agresiones-sexuales-manada-espana-registra-155-agresiones-sexuales-grupo-ultimos-cuatro-anos.html>>. Access date: Dec. 15, 2022. The Spanish platform #Cuéntalo ('Tell it') received 3 million tweets in 10 days between 26 April and 6 May 2018 on women's personal experiences of GV and harassment.



Finally, a last sub-corpus is devoted to 2022, since it is the most recent one, and further changes in the cognitive and social frames portrayed in the posters were expected. It is important to mention that the original number of posters collected for the year 2022 was larger than the final texts under analysis. The online search for the 25N campaign in 2022 originally provided 106 results; however, in order to obtain a certain degree of balance among the different sub-corpora, a random selection was performed through the online platform *échaloasuerte.com*, resulting in a final set of 50. The final distribution per period of the 180 posters analyzed is as follows:

TABLE 1. Number of posters and periods

Year/period	Posters
2005-2007	34
2012-2013	44
2017-2021	51
2022	50
Total	180

Source: Produced by the authors.

Once the data were collected and annotated, the methodological process included four main steps:

1. Metaphor identification;
2. Metaphor classification;
3. Categorization of metaphor scenarios and sub-scenarios;
4. Contrastive analysis across periods.

In order to answer all these questions, we performed an in-depth analysis separately and then compared results until inter-rater agreement was achieved. In case of doubt, an external metaphor expert was consulted. Relevant data, included in an Excel database, focused on the following information: date, place and institution, addressee, metaphorical text or not, mono- or multimodal metaphor, verbal and/or visual target and source domains, conceptual metaphor/s, mappings, emergent meaning, main scenario, and observations.

The main questions this study aimed to answer, therefore, were:

- a. Metaphoricity: does the poster include metaphorical content?
 - Modality: if the poster includes metaphorical content, is it monomodal (only verbal content or only visual) or multimodal (both)?
 - What are the main targets and sources deployed in each mode?
 - What is the emergent metaphor in the poster?
 - What are the main scenarios depicted by the identified metaphors in the poster?
- b. Who is the main addressee of the poster? Is it women in general, battered women in particular, society in general, men in general, aggressors, or is it not specified?

Moreover, since the goal was to compare periods, there is a last research question which covers all the previous ones:

c. What are the main differences found across the four sub-corpora?

Before we detail the analysis and results, two last methodological issues need to be clarified. First, how multimodal metaphors were identified in our data and second, how multiple metaphorical scenarios were sorted out.

Poster 1 includes the verbal lemma *tenemos salida* ('we have/there's a way out'), which creates the conceptual metaphor GENDER VIOLENCE IS A (DANGEROUS) CONTAINER plus the visual metaphor FIGHTING GV IS HOLDING HANDS/SOLIDARITY. In this poster we do not find a multimodal metaphor, but two monomodal ones, one verbal and another visual. In Poster 2, we do see a multimodal creation, instantiated by the interaction of the two modes, verbal and visual, as source domains for the same conceptual metaphor. Both the verbal *que no te cierren la boca* ('don't let them close your mouth') and the representation of a needle sowing a mouth with stitches construe the conceptual metaphor NOT SPEAKING IS NOT DENOUNCING GV OR SPEAKING IS DENOUNCING GV.

POSTER 1. Castilla-La Mancha 2013



Source: Instituto de la Mujer de Castilla-La Mancha.¹³

¹³ Retrieved from: <<https://institutomujer.castillalamancha.es/content/dia-internacional-contra-la-violencia-hacia-las-mujeres-2013>>. Access date: Apr. 5, 2022.

POSTER 2. Arganda Del Rey 2017



Source: Ayuntamiento de Arganda del Rey.¹⁴

Finally, it is important to mention that some of the placards analyzed show an overlapping of scenarios, as is exemplified in Poster 3. This poster shows a DANGER scenario, realized through the arrow-drops falling from the sky and which stand for the different types of gender violence suffered by women, together with an ACTION-FIGHT scenario, represented by the woman holding an umbrella which includes the words *educa*, *rechaza*, *denuncia* ('educate, reject, denounce'), which creates the emergent meaning GV can be fought. Because of the pervasiveness of positive, optimistic visual clues included in this placard, such as the smile on the woman's face, the fact that the bright-positive color-scheme occupies a bigger space than the dark one in the poster, the inclusion of a sun, which can stand for 'hope', etc., the ACTION-FIGHT metaphorical scenario, we think, predominates over the DANGER one.

¹⁴ Retrieved from: <<https://www.ayto-arganda.es/noticias/los-actos-torno-al-dia-internacional-la-eliminacion-la-violencia-las-mujeres-comenzaran-15-noviembre/>>. Access date: Apr. 10, 2022.

POSTER 3. Asturias 2017



Source: Consejería de la Mujer de Asturias.¹⁵

4. Analysis and discussion

This section describes the metaphorical scenarios portrayed in the anti-gender violence posters, the main source domains that structure them, and the different social and cognitive frames they contribute to construe within Spanish society from 2005 to 2022. First, general information on the discursive features of the multimodal texts, metaphoricity and target recipients is provided to better understand the evolution of this text-type, and second, the scenarios are explained in detail.

4.1 Some discursive features of anti-gender institutional posters

4.1.1 Metaphoricity

As mentioned in the introduction, one of the main features of institutional posters is the need of their ‘creators’¹⁶ to call ‘interlocutors’ attention to different social matters as efficiently as possible. In the case under study, the posters have further functions, as they need to render complex social knowledge about gender violence in a simplified manner, not only to aid

¹⁵ Retrieved from: <<http://www.ceiplosmorales.es/2019/11/25-de-noviembre-dia-internacional-de-la.html>>. Access date: Apr. 10, 2022.

¹⁶ The teams of experts designing the posters and commissioned by different Spanish authorities (ministers, mayors, advisors and heads of different national and regional institutions – Instituto de la Mujer, Consejería de la Mujer – and feminist associations, among many others).

understanding on the topic, but also, and more importantly, to persuade interlocutors (women in the main) to take action against GV in different ways, as the analysis of the scenarios shows (section 4.2.). Posters are, in addition, physically limited and readers will probably have only one chance to grasp their meaning and remember them. Therefore, one of the discursive strategies expected to be found in the data was (multimodal) metaphorical creativity, since it is especially relevant when very short and cognitively efficient texts and images are required (ROMANO, 2013; 2021; PORTO; ROMANO, 2019).

Table 2 summarizes the metaphorical nature of the placards analyzed, and Table 3 details the mono- or multimodal nature of the metaphors identified.

TABLE 2. Percentage of metaphorical posters

Metaphorical content			
2005-2007	2012-130	2017-2021	2022
21/34 (62%)	27/44 (61,5%)	50/51 (98%)	47/50 (94%)

Source: Produced by the authors.

TABLE 3. Percentage of mono- vs. multimodal metaphors

Type of metaphorical content				
	2005-2007	2012-13	2017-2021	2022
Monomodal	16 (76%) 14 visual 2 verbal	13 (48%) 12 visual 1 visual & verbal	22 (44%) 21 visual 1 verbal	25 (53%) 22 visual 1 verbal 2 visual & verbal
Multimodal	5 (24%)	14 (52%)	28 (56%)	22 (47%)

Source: Produced by the authors.

What seems interesting from the data retrieved is, in the first place, the enormous growth of the metaphorical character of the posters, from 61,75% in the first two periods analyzed (2005-2013) to 96% in the last years (2017-2022), as shown in Table 2. The monomodal vs. multimodal character of the texts (Table 3) seems to evolve at a more constant pace, showing balanced percentages of both modes in all periods except the first, 2005-2007, in which the monomodal texts triple the multimodal ones (76% vs. 24%). The biggest growth in multimodality thus takes place from the first (2005-2007) to the second period (2012-2013), which coincides with the first massive anti-gender campaigns in Spain. We can therefore state that, as both Spanish society and institutions become more aware of gender violence and the need to raise consciousness about fighting it, more complex and efficient discursive strategies, such as (multimodal) metaphor, are deployed.

4.1.2 Addressees

Another important defining feature of anti-gender violence posters is the fact that target recipients of the posters are usually made clear; contextual information which is crucial in the understanding of how the different anti-gender violence scenarios are structured and change within Spanish society.

TABLE 4. Percentage of target recipients

Addressees				
	2005-2007	2012-13	2017-2021	2022
Batt. women	9 (26,5%)	10 (22,7%)	10 (19,6%)	11 (22%)
Women	5 (14,7%)	4 (9%)	8 (15,7%)	12 (24%)
Men	2 (5,9%)	0	2 (4%)	5 (10%)
Agressor	3 (8,9%)	1 (2,3%)	0	1 (2%)
Society	6 (17,6%)	11 (25%)	16 (31,3%)	12 (24%)
Not-specified	9 (26,5%)	18 (41%)	15 (29,4%)	9 (18%)
TOTAL	34	44	51	50

Source: Produced by the authors.

A first conclusion that can be drawn from the data in Table 4 is the fact that, throughout the four periods studied, and as expected, posters are mostly directed towards women, both women as victims of GV and women in general, who can become victims some day and who should show solidarity and help victims. Figures for 2005-2007 are 41,2%; 31,7% for 2012-2013; 35,3% for 2017-2021 and 46% for 2022.

We also see how men increase their role as target recipients of the texts from 2005 to 2022; this last period doubling the posters (from 2,9% to 10%) which are directly addressed to men as important actors in the fight against GV. Especially interesting are those posters which include verbal exhortations from men to other men urging them to react against GV (e.g. Posters Puerto de S. María, 2022 and Euskadi, 2022), in which we read *Yo no soy cómplice de la violencia machista, ¿y tu?* ('I'm not an accomplice of machist violence, And you?') or *¿Qué no quieres entender? Solo sí es sí* ('What is it you don't want to understand? Only yes means yes').

Addressing aggressors directly is not a very significant strategy in the data; a tendency that decreases from 3 examples in the first period, to 1 in the second, none in the third, and 1 in 2022. In this last 2022 poster, aggressors are addressed through the direct 2nd person singular personal pronoun *tu* ('you'), as in *Así se siente tu opresión* ('this is how your oppression/subjugation is felt'), an expression accompanied by the visual realization of a labyrinth contained with the masculine symbol ♂.

Another tendency worth mentioning is that direct appeals towards society in general (17,6% to 24%), including more and more men together with women, increase from the first to the last periods analyzed. Examples include expressions both in the generic second person singular (e.g. *No justifiques, no silencies la violencia de género* 'Don't justify, don't silence GV') or in the plural (e.g. *Acabemos con la violencia de género* 'Let's stop GV'). Posters in which the addressee is not specified, that is, they do not contain any type of direct exhortation, just general informative statements on GV, are starting to decrease (26,5% to 18%) (e.g. *25 Día mundial contra la violencia de género* '25N International Day against GV' or *La violencia de género mata* 'GV kills').

In short, posters are more frequently directed towards women in all four periods, both battered and in general, closely followed by those posters directed towards society as a whole, as an active agent in the elimination of GV. However, the data also show how explicit appeals

to men are increasing, both individually and as important social actors; as Poster 4 states: *Los jóvenes tenemos mucho más que decir* ('(we) young men have much more to say').

POSTER 4. Extremadura 2022



Source: Consejería de Igualdad y Cooperación de la Junta de Extremadura.¹⁷

4.2 Scenarios

This section provides a detailed explanation of how Musolff's (2006; 2016) concepts of metaphor scenario and sub-scenarios contribute to explain the different narratives identified in the anti-gender violence posters under study; namely the action, danger and power scenarios. Table 5 summarizes the quantitative results of the first step of the scenario analysis:

TABLE 5. Metaphor scenarios

	ACTION	DANGER	POWER	Total
2005-07	16 (76%)	5 (24%)	0	21
2012-13	17 (63%)	9 (33%)	1 (4%)	27
2017-211	43 (86%)	6 (12%)	1 (2%)	50
2022	38 (81%)	8 (17%)	1 (2%)	47
Total	114 (78,6%)	28 (19,3)	3 (2,2%)	145

Source: Produced by the authors.

¹⁷ Retrieved from: <https://twitter.com/Junta_Ex/status/1593211427271372803/photo/2>. Access date Jan. 15, 2023.

As observed, the most frequently found scenario by far, in the corpus as a whole and in each sub-corpora or periods, is action (114 posters, comprising almost 80% of the total). Moreover, there is a slight increase in its use in the more recent periods (from 2017 on). Danger also appears quite frequently across periods (almost 20% of the posters), especially in the earlier periods (2005-07 and 2012-13), contrary to action. These numbers point at a common narrative more focused on the negative aspects of GV in earlier periods, since more attention is given to the danger, harmful factor, while a more optimistic tone, at least calling for an active role against GV, is more noticeably preferred after the social turning points in Spain from 2017 until 2022.

4.2.1 Action scenario

Within this ‘mini-narrative’, the main emergent meaning conveyed by the metaphors (monomodal and multimodal) is that there is a social problem, gender violence, which needs to be resolved through action (or reaction). This narrative falls within the problem-solving strategies suggested by Musolff (2006; 2016): there is shared knowledge among citizens, and which institutions need to spread, that GV is harmful and thus must be stopped. The metaphorical narratives, therefore, include shared pragmatic knowledge of GV within the community, its main participants and roles, consequences, possible (re)solutions, and evaluative inferences. The sub-scenarios created within this action narrative depend on the different kinds of actions that participants are encouraged to do: “escaping”, “fighting”; “becoming aware” or “acknowledging”, and “showing solidarity”. The percentage of sub-scenarios are summarized in Table 6.

TABLE 6. Action sub-scenarios

	ESCAPE	FIGHT	AWARENESS	SOLIDARITY
2005-07	5 (31,25%)	2 (12,5%)	4 (25%)	5 (31,25%)
2012-13	3 (17,7%)	3 (17,7%)	5 (29,5%)	6 (35,1%)
2017-21	13 (30%)	10 (24%)	13 (30%)	7 (16%)
2022	6 (15,8%)	12 (31,6%)	10 (26,3%)	10 (26,3%)
Total	27 (23,6%)	27 (23,6%)	32 (28%)	28 (24,5%)

Source: Produced by the authors.

Table 6 shows a balanced distribution of the four different sub-scenarios that represent the narrative of action, with the one calling for awareness being slightly more frequent than the rest. However, more noticeable differences are found when looking at each period in isolation and at the evolution of each sub-scenario alongside periods. For example, the escape sub-scenario is, together with solidarity, the most frequent in the earliest period, which is also the most frequent one in the second period, followed by awareness. The latter, together with escape, are the predominant ones in 2017-21, but there is a tendency to increase the focus on fight as well, which is confirmed in the most recent period, 2022.

4.2.1.1 Action-escape

In the first sub-scenario, escape (27 posters - 23,6%), the participants that need to take the active role against GV are specifically battered women, who are the ones that are metaphorically portrayed as trapped entities through metaphors like GV IS A LABYRINTH, GV IS A TRAP OR GV IS A PRISON. The container frame is a constant one in this sub-scenario, and the message that emerges, either through the image, through the written words or through the interaction of both modes, is that escaping is not only possible but also urgent. An example is given in Poster 5.

POSTER 5. Teror, Gran Canaria 2019



Source: Ayuntamiento de Teror, Gran Canaria.¹⁸

The target or addressee of this monomodal visual metaphor is battered women, metaphorically represented not only as a house themselves, but also as the trapped entity in it. Women are portrayed metonymically through the different body parts attached to the house (eye, long hair, leg and high heel shoe, hand, etc.). Moreover, there is a key element in the woman's hand, the key to freedom, the symbol of femininity which stands for the feminist fight against GV. The word *valor* ('courage') is written on one of the woman's legs, emphasizing the emergent message in the narrative that battered and trapped women need to find the courage to escape GV.

4.2.1.2 Action-fight

The sub-scenario calling for fighting GV directly is as relevant as escaping within the corpus (27 - 23,6%). In this case, the participants that are asked or persuaded to take action are not only battered women, but also women in general, men in general and society as a whole, meaning

¹⁸ Retrieved from: <<https://teror.es/tu-que-puedes-hacer-para-eliminar-la-violencia-contra-la-mujer/>>. Access date: Apr. 10, 2022.

that we all can and need to fight the metaphorical enemy that GV is. In fact, the most recurrent source used in the posters classified in this sub-category have an open hand as the main element in the metaphor, representing a stopping/blocking force that needs to be used to fight aggressors and violence. An example of this pervasive hand source domain is presented in Poster 6.

POSTER 6. Picanya 2022



Source: Ayuntamiento de Picanya.¹⁹

Poster 6 is another monomodal metaphor showing a hand with the word ‘stop’ written in its palm. The accompanying written message (*cada decisió que prenem ens pot portar al canvi que desitgem*²⁰ ‘each decision we make can take us to the change we desire’), does not contribute to the metaphorical mapping, but emphasizes the need for action so that a change, namely putting an end to GV, can be achieved. The tone of this sub-scenario is not as optimistic as the escaping one, as it focuses more on the difficulty, strength and effort required to hold hands up against violence.

4.2.1.3 Action-awareness

The third sub-scenario identified in the data intends to spread a new message, namely that in order to escape and fight GV, we first need to acknowledge and make it visible. Awareness or acknowledgement has been identified in 32 (28%) of the posters analyzed. In this case, the addressees are the people who can help the victims; particularly, men and society as a whole are exhorted in the posters to acknowledge this social problem. The main target domains that are constantly repeated in this sub-scenario are acknowledging gv, and its opposite, ignoring gv. As for the main source domains, they all refer to different ways in which GV is ignored, such as closing mouth (as in Poster 2) or closing eyes, or to actions that are required to solve the problem, which are the exact antonyms of the previous ones: speaking, denouncing (opening mouth) or seeing (opening eyes), as seen in Posters 7 and 8.

¹⁹ Retrieved from: <<http://www.picanya.org/persones/dones/activitats/25-de-novembre>>. Access date: Jan.15, 2023.

²⁰ Written in Valencian.

POSTER 7. Almoracid 2020



Source: Ayuntamiento de Almoracid.²¹

POSTER 8. Galicia 2007



Source: Xunta de Galicia.²²

In Poster 7, the multimodal metaphor includes a broken mirror, representing GV, and the written message calling for action *Si lo ves, si lo escuchas, no mires para otro lado, actúa* ('If you see it, if

²¹ Retrieved from: <<http://www.almoradi.es/2020/11/25/si-lo-ves-si-lo-escuchas-no-mires-para-otro-lado-actua/>>. Access date: Apr. 10, 2022.

²² Retrieved from: <<http://igualdade.xunta.gal/es/campanas/y-tu-que-opinas-de-los-malos-tratos-las-mujeres-dia-internacional-para-la-eliminacion-de-la>>. Access date: Jan. 7, 2023.

you hear it, do not look the other way, act'), which includes the verb *mirar*, meaning both look and acknowledge, get involved. The addressee, society in general, is directly asked to stop ignoring GV and to take an active role against it by denouncing it, not by looking in another direction. As for Poster 8, the worldwide known image of the Three Wise Monkeys (meaning "I hear nothing, I see nothing, I say nothing") is used as the monomodal metaphorical source to represent the lack of action among some people, including potential addressees, who are directly appealed to in the written message *E ti, que opinas dos malos tratos as mulleres?*²³ ('And you, what do you think about violence against women?'). Through a very easily recognizable source, irony is used here to tell citizens not to be monkeys, that is, ignorant, and therefore stop contributing to the perpetuation of GV.

4.2.1.4 Action-solidarity

A last action sub-scenario sends out a call for solidarity and/or unity among citizens towards women in general and victims of GV in particular (28 - 24,5% of samples). Once again, the addressed participants in this solidarity sub-scenario are women and men in general and/or the entire society. The common knowledge shared here is that victims need everyone's help to escape, fight and put an end to GV; that battered women cannot do this on their own. The recurrent metaphorical source domains in this sub-scenario are thus those representing union (solidarity against gv is unity). Unity is shown in many different ways such as united hands, arms, chains, laces or walking together, among others. Some representative examples are shown in Posters 9 and 10.

POSTER 9. Navalafuente 2021



Source: Ayuntamiento de Navalafuente.²⁴

²³ Example in Galician.

²⁴ Retrieved from: <<https://www.navalafuente.org/cartel-ganador-del-ii-concurso-de-carteles-25n-navalafuente-contra-la-violencia-de-genero/>>. Access date: Apr. 10, 2022.

POSTER 10. Priego de Córdoba 2022



Source: Ayuntamiento de Priego de Córdoba.²⁵

In Poster 9, a battered woman is depicted at the bottom left corner of the poster, trapped by GV (represented by the dark shadow and colors). Another woman in the more colorful center of the poster, who could be a former victim of gender violence, together with other members of society, is trying to help her out by tending her own hand. Hand, thus, also stands for solidarity and strength, not only fight; they are hands that hold, pulling the victim out of GV. This poster is clearly multimodal, as there are written words in the different strings: *visibilidad, denuncia social, implicación, escucha* ('visibility, social denounce, implication, listening'), which stand for the mini actions required by society to support victims. Poster 10 also contains a multimodal metaphor projecting solidarity (overcoming gv is walking together), where visual and written elements both interact in the construal of the source domain unity; in this case, both men and women are directly represented in the image and in the verbal message that reads *Caminamos juntos* ('We walk together'), reinforced by the image of a couple walking side by side.

4.2.2 Danger scenario

The second main scenario in the corpus is danger. In this case, the starting point of the narrative is the negative and destroying nature of GV for women, in particular, and society, in general. This scenario thus projects an alarm system in the addressees, as they are made aware or reminded of the potential damage this violence can bring. We argue here that the ultimate goal created by this scenario is directly linked to the action one: there is something dangerous threatening society and action must be taken. Even though not as numerous as action, danger is also presented in different ways, or sub-scenarios, as summarized in Table 7.

²⁵ Retrieved from: <<https://priegodecordoba.es/conmemoracion-dia-internacional-contra-la-violencia-de-genero/>>. Access date: Jan. 15, 2023.

TABLE 7. Danger sub-scenarios

	BROKEN	FORCE	WATER	PANDEMIC	OTHER
2005-07	3 (60%)	0	0	0	2 (40%)
2012-13	4 (44,5%)	4 (44,5%)	0	0	1 (11%)
2017-21	2 (33,3%)	0	2 (33,3%)	1* (16,7%)	1 (16,70%)
2022	4 (50%)	0	1 (12,5%)	1 (12,5%)	2 (25%)
Total	13 (46,4%)	4 (14,3%)	3 (10,7%)	2 (7,2%)	6 (21,4%)

Source: Produced by the authors.

The most recurrent sub-scenario across periods is that of a broken object (13 out of 28, almost half of the total). There is a wider variety of sub-scenarios in periods 2 and 3 respectively, but it is by far the most frequent in periods 1 and 4, even if the latter includes three more sub-scenarios. Two of the sub-scenarios, water and pandemic, are only found in the most recent periods. As for the force sub-scenario, it is only found in period 2, but in a relatively high proportion in relation to the total figures for that period.

4.2.2.1 Danger-broken object

In our corpus, the dangerous risks of gender violence and aggressors is always represented as the central element of this sub-scenario, although there is a variety of entities that can be broken (statues, dolls and other figures representing women). However, the destructive power of gender violence is always shown as the direct cause of the broken piece, which can always be reconstructed, as shown in Poster 11.

POSTER 11. Teulada 2021



Source: Ayuntamiento de Teulada.²⁶

²⁶ Retrieved from: <<https://www.teuladamoraira.com.es/ayttm/news/new.php?id=1480>>. Access date: Apr. 10 abr, 2022.

The central figure in Poster 11 is a statue representing women and feminism together with the verbal message on the top reading *El amor no hace daño* ('Love doesn't hurt'). The multimodal metaphor projected here is WOMEN ARE STATUES or, more specifically, BATTERED WOMEN ARE DAMAGED STATUES and the metaphor GV/AGGRESSORS ARE HARMFUL OBJECTS/WEAPONS, projected by the noun *daño* ('harm'). The statue is cut into many small pieces, and even though completely damaged, it is still standing and recognizable, that is, there is still hope for battered women.

4.2.2.2 Danger- force

The second sub-scenario that depicts danger as the central narrative is that of an external force that has destructive power. In the previous broken-object sub-scenario, the central role is given to the victims, while this one moves it to aggressors, directly pointing at them as a force that is capable of destroying women (Poster 12).

POSTER 12. Confederación Intersindical 2012



Source: Conferencia Intersindical.²⁷

The central element and thus protagonist of the narrative is a man's arm and fist squeezing a heart, destroying it and bleeding it out. The arm metonymically represents the aggressor and the heart, battered women. These image sources, together with the blood drips and the word *mata* ('kills') renders the multimodal emergent meaning GV is a deadly killer.

²⁷ Retrieved from: <https://intersindical.org/dones/article/taller_coeducatiu_stepv>. Access date: Apr. 5, 2022.

4.2.2.3 Danger-water

The power of water as a destructive element is a recurrent element in metaphor studies,²⁸ and some cases were also found in our corpus, especially in the most recent periods. The examples focus on the unstoppable and uncontrollable mappings projected by this source domain. It is general knowledge that enormous amounts of water like floods or tsunamis have the power to destroy everything in a millisecond. In a less powerful but still dangerous way, water falling on us like rain cannot be stopped, we cannot suddenly change weather conditions, although we can still protect ourselves from the rain with an umbrella (Poster 3). Poster 13 shows one of the most dangerous features of uncontrollable water, the fact that we can drown in it.

POSTER 13. La Laguna 2020



Source: Ayuntamiento de La Laguna.²⁹

As observed, a woman's hand is metonymically represented trying to reach out and survive in the middle of a rough sea. It is society's responsibility, shown in the strings containing the words *implicate*, *no la juzgues*, *escúchala* ('get involved, don't judge, listen to her'), to pull the victim out of the waves, otherwise she will not survive this force. The resulting multimodal metaphor can be rendered as GV IS DANGEROUS/ROUGH WATER.

²⁸ As can be seen, for instance, in anti-immigration discourse.

²⁹ Retrieved from: <<https://www.aytolalaguna.es/servicios/igualdad-lgtbi/dia-internacional-contra-la-violencia-machista/>>. Access date: Apr. 10, 2022.

4.2.2.4 Danger-pandemic

Even though not frequent in the data, only 2 posters found in 2021 and 2022, this sub-scenario shows the situationally based character of metaphorical creativity, as metaphors, like any other linguistic element, are intrinsically related to their specific socio-cultural and historical contexts, as mentioned in section 2. In this case, COVID-19 pandemic is deployed as source domain for gender violence for the very first time. Poster 14 shows a creative multimodal metaphor combining two main scenarios or narratives.

POSTER 14. Madrid 2020



Source: Comisiones Obreras.³⁰

On the one hand, there is a battered woman who is being silenced by a hand in the middle (speaking is denouncing – action-acknowledging), with a message that reads³¹ *Todas las violencias duelen* ('All forms of violence hurt'). In addition, we can also see the central position and thus role of the visual representation of a virus-shaped circle, COVID-19, representing a new danger for women: the pandemic. In fact, it is known that GV increased during lockdown in Spain.

³⁰ Retrieved from: <https://sanidad.ccoo.es/sanidadmadrid/noticia:524239--CCOO_insta_a_erradicar_las_violencias_machistas_y_reclama_al_Gobierno_la_ratificacion_de_los_Convenios_internacionales&opc_id=be8a640326dc7b578828a-c304d67372b>. Access date: Apr. 10, 2022.

³¹ Retrieved from: <<https://www.uso.es/la-pandemia-hace-aumentar-la-violencia-de-genero-en-espana/>>. Access date: Dec. 15, 2022.

4.2.2.5 Danger-other

Finally, there were some posters (6 – 24%) that clearly projected the danger scenario but could not be included in any of the other categories. A prototypical example is Poster 15, which resorts to the source domain of fantasy and in which we see a battered woman lying on the floor, dressed like a doll, next to a message that reads *No es un cuento, podría estar muerta* ('It's not a tale, she could be dead'), creating the multimodal metaphor GV IS A FAIRYTALE and BATTERED WOMEN ARE DOLLS.

POSTER 15. Extremadura 2021



Source: Junta de Extremadura.³²

4.2.3 Power scenario

Finally, there is a third scenario in the corpus which, even if it did not include many examples, was analyzed as a separate one: power. As can be observed in Table 5, there are only 3 cases within this scenario, one per year in the last 3 periods. In all of them, the central figure of the narrative, or the only protagonist, is women, and they are always depicted showing their strength, with a rising arm and fist or a metonymically standing for resilience and empowerment. This highly optimistic sub-scenario is clearly related to action, but we decided to categorize it independently as the mappings are mostly linked to the inner capacities of women to overcome GV, not only to external ones as the action scenario portrays. Posters 16 and 17 are prototypical monomodal metaphors projecting this last sub-scenario.

³² Retrieved from: <<https://www.regiondigital.com/noticias/portada/353215-campana-de-junta-para-25n-recuerda-a-los-jovenes-la-violencia-de-genero-no-es-un-cuento.html>>. Access date: Apr.10, 2022.

POSTER 16. Madrid 2013



Source: Comunidad de Madrid.³³

POSTER 17. Sagunto 2017



Source: Ajuntament de Sagunt.³⁴

³³ Retrieved from: <<https://www.elmundo.es/yodona/estaticas/especiales/2013/07/carteles-violencia-genero/>>. Access date: Apr. 5, 2022.

³⁴ Retrieved from: <<https://aytosagunto.es/es/actualidad/comienzan-los-actos-contra-la-violencia-machista-en-sagunt/>>. Access date: Apr. 10, 2022.

5. Preliminary considerations

This paper has analyzed 180 Spanish anti-gender institutional posters from 2005 to 2022 with the aim of checking whether the demands of feminist scholars and journalists urging for a new anti-gender violence discourse, and promoted by the 2017 National Deal Against GV, is influencing anti-gender campaigns in Spain. More specifically, our main aim has been to analyze the socio-cognitive frames portrayed in the (multimodal) metaphorical scenarios deployed by poster creators in the last 20 years. Among our findings we can highlight the following:

First, the fact that violence against women is starting to be considered structural to society by the mass media and institutions is contributing to developing a new anti-gender discourse which is making use of highly complex discourse strategies, such as metaphorical creativity, to raise awareness and fight it. Our data show how metaphoricity increases in the posters under study, from 62% in 2005 to 94% in 2022, and how multimodality also increases its use gradually in order to call interlocutors' attention to the problem (24% of 2005 posters to 47% in 2022).

Second, that even though most posters are directed towards women (38,3%), both battered and women in general, in all four periods, there is a gradual increase in the use of the entire society as the target recipient of the texts, exhorting us all to take action (17,6% in 2005 to 24% in 2022). Especially relevant is the fact that men have doubled their role as active agents in the elimination of GV (5,9% in 2005 to 10% in 2022).

Third, we see how the action scenario or narrative is the most pervasive along the 20 years analyzed (78,6% of samples), addressing women in the main, but also men and society in general, that need to become aware of GV, to escape and fight it, as well as to show solidarity towards victims. Even though slight, we have found a slow increase in the use of this frame from 2005-2007 (76%) to 2017-2022 (83,5%), whereas the danger frame, also present in all four periods and rendered through sources domains such as broken objects, forces and dangerous waters, shows a gradual decrease in use (24% in 2005 to 17% in 2022). This changeover in both metaphor scenarios would confirm the changeover in the social and cognitive frames conceptualizing gender violence in Spain, by which a discourse of optimism, empowerment and hope is gaining ground while that of danger and threat is disappearing from intuitional campaigns.

Finally, the discourse type under study is inherently polarized, as the metaphors deployed in the construal of the different metaphor scenarios and sub-scenarios enhance a clear distinction between battered women, the 'Us' or in-group, and aggressors, the 'Them' or out-group. Moreover, these polarized roles, as shown in the analysis, are very frequently portrayed in the metaphorical posters through visual clues (e.g. flowers, butterflies, mouths, eyes and bright colors, for women vs. threatening arms, hands, fists, dark figures and shadows, for aggressors). Still, changes are also evident in this axiological structure. Institutions are reflecting 'from above' the new feminist frames of action, empowerment and hope in anti-gender violence posters demanded 'from below', society. The posters do include GV as one of the protagonists of the narratives, but aggressors are losing prominence in this story as women, together with society as a whole, are emphasized.



In short, this research wishes to show how critical and socio-cognitive tools can help to understand how the discourse of gender violence is gradually moving from the private and taboo into the public and political sphere, while creating new social and cognitive frames in the Spanish society.

AUTHORS' CONTRIBUTION

María Muelas: methodology, analysis of subcorpora 1 & 2, manuscript writing

Manuela Romano: theoretical concepts, analysis of subcorpora 3 & 4, manuscript writing

CONFLICT OF INTEREST

The authors certify that they have no involvement with any organization or entity in the subject matter or materials discussed in this manuscript.

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