

Metaphors of Sustainable Development in Philippine Presidents' Political Speeches: A Critical Discourse Analysis

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ABSTRACT

Sustainable development in the Philippines has long been a standing concept as revealed in the metaphors employed by the national leaders in their inaugural addresses. Using Charteris - Black (2004) three-stage Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) in parallelism with Karlsson (2015) categorization of metaphors of sustainability, this study revealed that metaphor is pervasively used in Philippine political discourse. Specifically, in the genre of inaugural address, the rocket and runway metaphors are generally evident. From their inaugural addresses, the study has demonstrated that political leaders resort to metaphorical expressions in their speeches to chart their visions for the development of their nation both cognitively and conceptually. The study has further demonstrated that metaphors enabled the speakers project themselves as visionary and missionary leaders who have the interest of the people and the nation at heart, underscoring their dynamic perspectives which cascade to the people. Furthermore, the essence of metaphor in the speeches stress the influence of the leaders to achieve and maintain solidarity with the people, identifying themselves with the people so as to create a bond between them in their journey towards progress and development.

Keywords: Critical Metaphor Analysis, Inaugural Address, metaphors of sustainability, sustainable development

Introduction

The dynamism of human life calls for a constant acceptance and recognition of change, a change that significantly leads to sustainable development. While many would argue on the precise definition of the concept of sustainable development which is also oftentimes understood as the concept of sustainability, Blewitt (2008) offers a simple explanation, that is, sustainable development is the idea that the future should be a better, healthier place than the present.

Predicated by Blewitt's simple concept, it is therefore construed that sustainable development requires an understanding of the natural world and the human social world as being not so much 'connected' as one and the same and that as a process, necessitates a holistic view of the world and human lives as elements of a larger entity. With the recognition that the world is multi-faceted, fragmented while at the same time, complete, comes the acceptance that people have different perceptions, values, philosophies, aims and ambitions. Thus, it is further explicated that sustainable development is the product of many stories, worldviews, values, actions and perspectives, which to be fully appreciated, require readiness to listen, respect differences, suspend established opinions, and see with others' eyes while allowing other voices to resonate and be heard (Blewitt, 2008).

In addition, sustainable development as analogous to sustainability, is a term chosen to bridge the gulf between development and environment and a concept of a balanced integration of the three pillars

namely, social, environmental, and economic performance of human lives to the benefit of current and future generations (Rogers, et.al., 2008; Geissdoerfer et. al., 2017). To put the sustainability essence into practice, the United Nations (UN) General Assembly launched the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development which introduced sustainable development goals (SDGs) and calls upon all governments and private businesses to support the achievement of the specified SDGs). The goals include among other: (1) no poverty, (2) zero hunger, (3) good health and well-being, (4) quality education, (5) gender equality, (6) clean water and sanitation, (7) affordable and clean energy, (8) decent work and economic growth, (9) industry, innovation, and infrastructure, (10) reduced inequalities, (11) sustainable cities and communities, (12) responsible consumption and production, (13) climate action, (14) life on land, (15) peace, justice and strong institutions.

In quantifying the SDGs, study on predicaments and strategies and results show that for the developed countries, all the three underlying pillars of SDGs are significant, although the magnitude of increase in sustainable development is highest from the underlying social and environmental pillars of SDGs. Results suggest that developing countries, which situates the Philippines, may continue their focus on the economic and social pillars of SDGs although sustainable development gains from the environment pillar are relatively smaller in magnitude in the short run, it cannot be ignored due to the interlinkages, synergies and trade-offs between and among the three pillars of SDGs.

Like all other countries, Philippines' political scene is and has always been vibrant with activities and speeches that address the whole nation, from former President Ferdinand Marcos' push of making Philippines great again to the present President Rodrigo Duterte's call for action in liberating the country from drugs and corruption. Throughout history, no one can downplay the power of language in nation-building. It unites as easily as it divides. Armed with such knowledge, politicians are often aware of how selective they need to be in packaging information (Adjei Fobi, 2011). As political communication is the "lifeblood or mother's milk of politics", Perrez & Reucahmps (2015) contended that at the core of it, is the ability of the politician to use metaphor and symbols that awaken the latent tendencies among the masses (Graber, 1993, Edelman, 1997, Mio, 1997). Hence, questions about the nature of political metaphors and about political discourse are topics that are intrinsically interrelated.

Metaphors are defined as the main mechanism through which abstract concepts are comprehended and abstract reasoning is performed and in the words of Lakoff (1993) cited Audebrand (2010), "*they form an integral part of the way we act, interact, and think about the world*". Considering the focus of the present study, 'nature' and 'sustainability' metaphors provide a good opportunity to study the social construction of sustainable development. Along this thought, Postman (1995) and Berryman and Sauv  (2013) as cited in Kopnina (2014) assert that language, discourse, and metaphors are crucial dimensions of environmental education (EE) and education for sustainable development or ESD. Some of the metaphors associated with sustainable development are 'progress' and 'modernity' (Lewis, 2005); a journey, heroic struggle or 'war' (Kahn, 2008; Kopnina, 2015); the footprint, the rocket, and the runway (Karlsson, 2015).

Given that political leaders carry a heavy burden on their shoulders (Penninck, 2014), the way in which they address the nation to respond to prevailing fears and uncertainties can have a great impact on the way they are perceived by the people. It is significant that this research focuses on the two political figures, the Philippine Presidents Marcos and Duterte as they have been considered as tough politicians of their time and are believed to have brought changes in the national landscape – society, environment, and economy. It is the focus of this study to analyze their inaugural speeches with a view to discourse analyze their visions for the nation, in particular reference to the deployment of the rhetorical device, metaphor for sustainable development.

Literature Review

Discourse Analysis: CDA and CMA

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is "primarily interested in and motivated by pressing social issues and is interested in how discourse constitutes and negotiates such social issues. In the dominant (CDA) models, emphasis on ideology, power, and language (Fairclough 1989; van Dijk 1998; Wodak 2001)

has overridden concern with the conceptual structures that are behind discourse, even though such structures have started to be investigated across discourses. Overall, critical discourse analysts addressed local issues in discourse such as lexis, syntax, modality, etc. but global features such as analogy and metaphor have so far received a short shrift (Wilson 1990; Chilton 2004). One important critical development for discourse pragmatics has been initiated by Charteris-Black (2004), which is known as “Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA)” —a version of CDA drawing on the insights of CDA, pragmatics, and the Contemporary Theory of Metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Hamilton 2003; Nerlich and Dingwall 2003; White and Herrera 2003; Wolf and Polzenhagen, 2003; Maalej, 2007; Agbo, et.al. 2018). Since the language of politics is characterized by metaphorical themes, it is thus a powerful tool for getting to the heart of political thought. They are deployed by politicians to manage difficult situations, and to convey problematic expressions in order to avoid conflicts. In politics, there are various conceptualizations of experience in which the audience is left to infer possible metaphorical entailments, thus, “*metaphor is a major and indispensable part of our ordinary, conventional way of conceptualizing the world, and ... our everyday behaviour reflects our metaphorical understanding of experience*” (Lakoff, 2004); Gil, 2018).

Accordingly, CMA adheres to metaphor as not a matter of language but of thought (Guo, 2013). The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). In other words, metaphor is cross-domain mapping from the source domain to target domain, with the former typically referring to abstract and intangible concepts and the latter to concrete and tangible ones. Given the example, TIME IS MONEY, it is understood as the abstract and intangible “time” which comprises the target domain with recourse to the concrete and tangible “money” which is the source domain. For this, Kövecses (2010), opines that experiences with the physical world serve as a natural and logical foundation for the comprehension of more abstract domains.

In this present study, the metaphor for sustainable development as employed in inaugural speeches are at the heart of metaphor analysis, which may be done linguistically and/or conceptually. Linguistic metaphor refers to a metaphorical expression, which is also the surface realization of underlying conceptual metaphor whereas conceptual metaphors are considered as part of the human conceptual system and emphasize the interaction between metaphor and what is being “metaphorised”, placing metaphors on different levels and ways of usage (Hanne, 2006).

Metaphor in Political Speeches: Definition and Implications

Penninck (2014) cites the definition of metaphor as “a figure of speech in which a word or phrase literally denoting one kind of object or idea is used in place of another to suggest a likeness or analogy between them” (Merriam-Webster 2014b). Its meaning is derived from the Greek noun “*metaphorá*”, which signifies “a transfer” (Oxford Dictionaries 2014). A metaphor thus draws a comparison between two terms, without using the words “as” or “like”, as is done in simile. The things that are compared with one another are from “different classes of experience”, which creates a new understanding through specific use of language. (Burkholder & Henry 2009: 98). The terms focus and frame are indications for the two concepts that are being compared metaphorically by a writer or speaker. The focus is the most essential term and relates to the topic that is being discussed. The frame refers to the other term that is of a different kind of experience from this focus. By bringing together this focus and frame, the metaphor as a rhetorical figure in fact urges the hearer or reader to understand one concept “in terms of” the other concept (Burkholder & Henry 2009: 98).

Mio (1997) as cited in Amanda (2017) expresses that the capacity of metaphor utilized in political discourse lies in persuading concealed beliefs or symbolic representation since politics issues are hypothetical and not everybody can encounter it. Therefore, the speaker enlists required feelings of the audience through metaphors. Moreover, metaphors support the speaker to accentuate the topic and, therefore, to avoid an issue he does not want to challenge with. This brings metaphors to an impact on cognitive perception which results in its power to influence people’s opinions or thoughts and alter their vision on the world. Since politics is closely connected with ideology, metaphors share a great deal in influencing people’s political conviction (Lesz 2011: 21).

Conceptual metaphor helps to gain a certain understanding of the world, according to Opoku Mensah (2008) as cited in Adjei Fobi, 2011. It is therefore a manifestation of a speaker's creativity based on certain concepts or experiences of the speaker without which they are obviously limited. This is clearly explained by the model created by Lakoff & Johnson (1980). In this model, they argue that there is a set of metaphorical concepts around which people conceptualize the world, or better, their worldviews. Following this, it seems that the metaphor is rather a matter of experience or everyday life. Or a matter 'of thought and reason' (Lakoff, 1993) than merely a matter of language. This model was further developed by Lakoff & Turner (1989) and Johnson (1987), respectively. In their reference to poetic metaphor they argue that:

General conceptual metaphors are thus not the unique creation of individual poets but are rather part of the way members of a culture have of conceptualizing their experience. Poets, as members of cultures, naturally make use of these basic conceptual metaphors to communicate with other members, their audience (p. 9).

Metaphors are sometimes creative in giving rise to structures within our experience. That is, they do not merely report pre-existing, independent experience; rather they contribute to the process by which our experience and our understanding are structured in a coherent and meaningful fashion (p. 98).

Metaphor as a tool for understanding politics can also invigorate a message or make a speech more memorable, as well as can arouse emotional response. The way in which a metaphor transmits an emotional feeling can be illustrated by calling a political leader "a Hitler". The emotions aroused or exemplified by this allusion have an influence on how the national leader is perceived. The way in which a political leader can thus influence people's emotions is one of the principal reasons why they use metaphors in their discourses. Some of the most famous speeches based on inspiring potential followers through metaphorical use were the "I have a dream"-speech of Martin Luther King Jr. and the "thousand points of light" speech of George W. Bush, as well as the "Iron Curtain" address of Winston Churchill (Mio et al. 2005: 288). The power of the use of metaphor was highlighted by Mio, et. al. (2005) where they claimed that the higher the metaphor use in political speeches, the more they seem to inspire followers. This is mainly because these speeches arouse emotions that connect with the topic or rhetor while at the same time communicating what measures need to be taken. In their study, presidents that used twice as many metaphors in their inaugural speech were perceived as more charismatic and more inspirational, from which can be deduced that metaphor serves as an inspirational figure of speech. Expressing emotion through body language, however, is also of great importance and can invigorate a political figure's credibility as captured in Hill (2009):

Today, however, political leaders tend to be used as the face of a political institution rather than truly represent it. Namely, the address that they may or may not have drafted themselves has gone through a process of adaptation and perfection to the extent that the edited message they bring is not their own anymore. Many others that form part of the team have revised it in function of this organization, whereof the political leader merely functions as a spokesman.

Metaphors of Sustainable Development

One very seminal reference for the present study is the study of Karlsson (2015) where he used the metaphors of sustainability: the footprint, the rocket, and the runway, to describe the development in the Anthropocene, which according to Hamilton, et.al (2015), has quickly become a staple trope of environmental political theory. The concept of Anthropocene along with few other concepts, has succeeded in capturing the brutal scale of human domination over what was once "nature" (Wapner, 2010). The metaphors on footprint, rocket, and runway are hence given light.

On one hand, the footprint metaphor is one of ecological footprint. This metaphor can be conceptualized as the “load” imposed by a given population on nature or, in other words, the amount of nature that humans are thought to occupy in order to live using existing technologies (Wackernagel & Rees, 1996:5). Still another, the rocket metaphor draws on the political imagination of the “upwingers” as it introduces a dynamic perspective on human development and sociotechnological evolution. Rather than seeking an immediate local approximation of a sustainable state, this metaphor is about ensuring that humanity as a whole is put on a sustainable long-term global trajectory through the Anthropocene. On the other hand, for the runway metaphor, one can imagine human civilisation as an airplane running down the “runway of modernity”.

Initially, three very different outcomes seem possible, (1) an acceleration and take-off into a space-faring post-scarcity civilization, (2) a deceleration back into a localized economy based on norms of frugality and simplicity, or (3) an overrunning of the runway resulting in a devastating and most likely irreversible crash. To complicate the situation, the people on the airplane do not know the precise length of the remaining runway since it is covered in dense epistemic mist, i.e., it is not possible to know, at least not a priori, the true resilience of nature or to make anything but a crude estimation of the planetary boundaries of the human enterprise (Knight, 2015:2, Rockström et al., 2009). Moreover, many of the passengers may not be aware that they are in an airplane to start with. Others would immediately dispute the very possibility of flight on the basis of religious or other metaphysical beliefs.

Conceptual Framework

This study is framed on Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA), an approach to metaphor analysis which aims at revealing the implied intentions and ideologies of language users (Charteris-Black, 2004) as well as the conceptual nature of metaphor. Furthermore, this approach according to Wei Li (2016) “also brings metaphor back into the traditional view of metaphor, a branch of philosophy, where metaphor was treated as a way of argumentation as well as a way of composition and style”.

The CMA framework for metaphor analysis suggests that in metaphor analysis, the linguistic, semantic, cognitive, and pragmatic criteria should be combined in order to effectively account for metaphor in any linguistic expression. Essentially, the framework employed in this study to analyze metaphoric expressions for sustainable development as found in inaugural address of the Philippine Presidents combines the components of linguistic, cognitive, and pragmatic criteria to sufficiently account for the metaphoric expressions in the political speeches that form the corpus of data. Premised on these criteria, the critical metaphor analysis evolves around (1) linguistic (metaphor causes semantic tension by reification, personification, and depersonification; (2) pragmatic (metaphor has underlying purpose of influencing opinions and judgments by persuasion; and (3) cognitive (metaphor is caused by a shift in the conceptual system in context).

From the said criteria, the metaphor analysis shall work on three levels, in agreement to that of Cameron and Low’s (1999) and Fairclough’s (1995) three stages of identification, interpretation and explanation methodology of CDA. Cameron and Low (1999) opine that the three stages in the methodology of metaphor analysis involve picking samples of linguistic metaphors used in discussing the topic, making a generalization from them to arrive at the conceptual metaphors they represent, and using the results to make predictions of the thought patterns which inform people’s beliefs and actions in a particular socio-cultural context.

In this study, CMA is employed to frame the exploration of metaphors of sustainable which bring about the contextual significance or meaningful representation of the political expectations of thoughts of the Presidents playing around programs, projects, and national activities for sustainable development.

Objectives of the Study

This study aimed at exploring the metaphors in the political speeches, specifically inaugural addresses of Marcos and Duterte. Specifically, it identified the metaphors of sustainable development that are employed and what results have been achieved with their employment. To this end, the study attempted

to describe the metaphors using the linguistic, pragmatic, and cognitive criteria of critical metaphor analysis.

It particularly explored answers to the questions: (1) What metaphors of sustainable development are identified in the political speeches? (2) How are these metaphors interpreted in the light of social relations? (3) How are these metaphors explicated within the context?

Methodology

Research Design

This study employed the qualitative research design as it endeavored to discourse analyze metaphors for sustainable development in the Inaugural Addresses of the political leaders.

Qualitative research is the design used in the study as it collects, analyzes, and interprets, the language – particularly the metaphors in the political speeches of the national leaders. It is used in the study to understand how speakers frame their speeches to persuade and thereby affecting the listeners as they perceive and give meaning to their social reality in context.

Corpus of the Study

The corpus of this study is limited to the political speeches of two Philippine presidents. These political speeches are the Inaugural Address of former Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos delivered in 1965 and the Inaugural Address of President Rodrigo Duterte delivered in 2016. In this study, the Inaugural Address was chosen as a genre that activates certain situational contexts and are realized in these contexts (Cap & Olulska, 2013, Gruber, 2013).

In their inaugural address, the political leaders should try to unite the nation. Through their discourse, they need to rally the population around the new administration and its plans. Because a new administration signifies a new beginning, the president is usually expected to talk about the change he wants to make or see. Consequently, these patterns make people expect certain issues to be talked of or reassured of (Kuypers 2009).

The political speeches as the corpus of the study were both sourced out from the Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines via <https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/1965/12/30/inaugural-address-of-president-marcos-december-30-1965/> for President Marcos speech delivered at the Quirino Grandstand, Manila, Philippines on December 30, 1965 and <https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/2016/06/30/inaugural-address-of-president-rodrigo-roa-duterte-june-30-2016/> for President Duterte's speech delivered on June 30, 2016, Rizal Ceremonial Hall, Malacañan, Manila, Philippines.

Data Analysis

In the analysis of the Inaugural Address of the two Philippine Presidents, the study made use of Charteris - Black (2004) Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA), which derives from cognitive linguistics and critical discourse analysis, consisting of three stages: *identification, interpretation and explanation* of metaphors.

Metaphor identification involves determining the metaphors present in a text and whether they reveal any semantic tension between a literal source domain and a metaphorical target domain. Metaphors cause semantic tension when they occur in a context where they are not expected. It seeks to discover a potential frame, explicit or implicit, to which metaphoric processing and/or processing metaphor are applied in view of writing the conceptual metaphors behind discourse.

Metaphor interpretation concerns itself with ascertaining the type of social relations that are constructed through the metaphors identified. It finishes the cognitive job of description by ascertaining the mapping, spelling it out in terms of ontological and epistemic correspondences, and reasoning about it, making the necessary entailments by inference.

Metaphor explanation, on the other hand, deals with the way metaphors interact within the context where they are used. It addresses the issue of ideological motivations in the use of language in a political speech or text. It takes care of highlighting the role of metaphor as evaluation by linking to persuasion, thus bridging mind, discourse, and socio-cultural context.

The three stages in the methodology of metaphor analysis is in agreement to that of Cameron and Low's (1999) and Fairclough's (1995) three stages of identification, interpretation and explanation methodology of CDA. Cameron and Low (1999) as cited in Maalej (2007), opine that the three stages in the methodology of metaphor analysis involve picking samples of linguistic metaphors used in discussing the topic, making a generalization from them to arrive at the conceptual metaphors they represent, and using the results to make predictions of the thought patterns which inform people's beliefs and actions in a particular socio-cultural context.

Results and Discussion

The following discussion follows Charteris - Black (2004) three-stage Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA): metaphor identification, metaphor interpretation, and metaphor explanation in parallelism with Karlsson (2015) categorization of metaphors of sustainability: footprint metaphor, rocket metaphor and runway metaphor.

The Footprint Metaphor (load on nature)

The footprint metaphor is conceptualized as the "load" imposed on nature, or the amount of nature that humans are thought to occupy in order to live using existing technologies. From this concept, the SDG goals that come to play are clean water and sanitation, affordable and clean energy, responsible consumption and production, climate action, and life on land.

This is explored on the following excerpts:

1. ... *the problems that bedevil our country today which need to be addressed with urgency, are corruption, ... criminality in the streets, and the rampant sale of illegal drugs in all strata of Philippine society and the breakdown of law and order.* (R. Duterte)
2. *For I see these ills as mere symptoms of a virulent social disease that creeps and cuts into the moral fiber of Philippine society.* (R. Duterte)
3. *Erosion of faith and trust in government – that is the real problem that confronts us.* (R. Duterte)
4. *Indeed, ours is a problem that dampens the human spirit. But all is not lost.* (R. Duterte)
5. *They say that my methods are unorthodox and verge on the illegal.* (R. Duterte)
6. *What threatens humanity in another area threatens our society as well.* (F. Marcos)

In excerpts 1-6, the speakers identified load on nature generally pertaining to life as threats, problems, ills and erosion of faith employed metaphorically for all types of human struggle and conflicts.

R. Duterte in excerpts (1-5) conceptualizes the myriad of political struggles in the Philippines for democratic governance. The methods as mentioned are the political strategic plans of doable actions for deliberate socio-political reconstruction from the society's load of problems and distrust. The speaker further conceptualizes corruption as cancer of the economy, criminality as threat to internal and external social order, sale of illegal drugs that is ruinous to the ideals of the youth, and the composite of these as breakdown of law and inequity in people's lives in the Philippine society. The dampening of the human spirit is metaphorically represented as loss of trust in the government. The seriousness and devastating effect of political instability in the Philippines is metaphorically represented in '*virulent social disease that creeps and cuts the moral fiber*'. Solidarity is metaphorically represented in Marcos' excerpt (1) as the threat to humanity is the threat to the society as well. The implication of this assertion is to affect the mental frame of the people, drive and develop a significant political will that encourage them to keep struggling

until lawfulness and balance emerge in the Philippines and until the load of nature particularly on life on land develops sustainably.

The Rocket Metaphor (dynamic perspective)

The rocket metaphor for sustainability underscores political imagination of the “upwingers” as it introduces a dynamic perspective on human development and socio-technological evolution, ensuring that humanity as a whole is put on a sustainable long-term global trajectory. The SDGs that hence interplay with this metaphor are: good health and well-being, quality education, gender equality, and peace, justice and strong institutions.

This metaphor intended to project the heart the politicians have for human and nation development. It projects the politicians as having the interest of the people at heart. Metaphors which conceptualize the dynamic perspective for political stability necessarily calls for ‘upwingers’ or actors to make it happen. The excerpts below illustrate this.

1. *We must repeat the feat of our forebears in a more commonplace sphere, away from the bloody turmoil of heroic adventure – by hastening our social and economic transformation. (F. Marcos)*
2. *...out of the martyr's blood that flowed copiously there sprung a new nation. It is our nation. (F. Marcos)*
3. *Thus Kawit and Malolos are celebrated in our history as acts of national greatness. (F. Marcos)*
4. *...we have come to realize that economic planning is as essential for freedom as political planning. (F. Marcos)*

In the above excerpts (1-4), F. Marcos identified social and economic transformation as metaphorically representing the idea of heroism which has roots from ideals of early Filipino freedom fighters. The particular reference to the Philippines as ‘*our nation*’ espouses social responsibility and accountability as he urges the Filipinos to revitalize once again acts of national greatness. The identification of economic and political planning metaphorically represents the concept of certainty in prosperity in the hands of Filipino inhabitants- an indelible mark of true freedom from colonial control.

5. *...this mandate is clear – it is a mandate not merely for change. It is a mandate for greatness. (F. Marcos)*
6. *We shall have to restore into our life the vitality which had been corroded by our complacency. (F. Marcos)*
7. *In international affairs, we shall be guided by the national interests and by the conscience of our society in response to the dilemma of man in the 20th century. (F. Marcos)*
8. *This nation can be great again. (F. Marcos)*

In excerpts 5-8, F. Marcos identified mandate for change metaphorically representing the dynamism of his political administration. His reference for greatness is clear in the excerpts as mantra and dictum for genuine milestone transformation across Filipino cultural orientations and generations. The identification of restoration and guidance metaphorically represents a nation in its downfall, hence, charting the national interests and international affairs towards the development of a nation responsive to the dilemma of men. The emphasis made on excerpt 8 ‘*This nation can be great again*’ metaphorically represents the country’s sustainable development goal of the speaker for the Philippines in which the Filipinos are expected to align fastidious and serious efforts in confronting pressing concerns, issues, and problems, and to outsmart the social ills and political imperfections.

9. *It is the people from whom democratic governments draw strength... we have to listen to the murmurings of the people, feel their pulse, supply their needs and fortify their faith and trust in us whom they elected to public office. (R. Duterte)*

10. *No leader, however strong, can succeed at anything of national importance or significance unless he has the support and cooperation of the people he is tasked to lead and sworn to serve. (R. Duterte)*
11. *My adherence to due process and the rule of law is uncompromising... You mind your work and I will mind mine. (R. Duterte)*
12. *To those who flaunt the law, I say: this is my constitutional duty and I am resolved to perform it. I am pledged to execute the law and preserve the constitution of our republic. (F. Marcos)*
13. *...allow us a level of governance that is consistent to our mandate. The fight will be relentless and it will be sustained. (R. Duterte)*

R. Duterte in excerpts 9 and 10 identified the trustworthy moral support of the Filipino people as the source of his humanitarian administrative leadership strength. This metaphorically represents the power of the people to make or unmake the government and its leaders. Necessarily, this metaphor conveys the acknowledgment of the leader to serve and empower his people, but in doing so, he needs the support and cooperation from them. The concept of democracy in the Philippines is thus emphasized ‘government by the people, of the people, and for the people’. In excerpts 11-13, R. Duterte and F. Marcos identified adherence to law as indispensable and uncompromised imperative for a unified [Filipino society whose subservient to mandated democratic ideals mightily puts the concerted noble vision into the state of socio-economic stability. This metaphorically represents indiscipline as a major challenge to Philippines’ sustainable development. Their resolve to perform their constitutional duty is heavily anchored on the rule of law or due process and that Filipinos have to work in the concept of “You do your work. I do mine”. In excerpt 13, R. Duterte presents his efforts to discipline which is tantamount to fighting a war. The use of the metaphor ‘fight’ underscores the enormous tasks required to inculcate discipline into the Filipinos. The fight against indiscipline became necessary as “*the fight will be relentless but it will be sustained*” since allowing indiscipline to continue will stagnate growth and development in the country.

14. *These were battle cries articulated by me in behalf of the people hungry for genuine and meaningful change. But the change, if it is to be permanent and significant, must start with us and in us. (R. Duterte)*
15. *Changing the rules when the game is on-going is wrong. (R. Duterte)*
16. *I abhor secrecy and instead advocate transparency in all government contracts, projects and business transactions from submission of proposals to negotiation to perfection and finally, to consummation. (R. Duterte)*
17. *I was not elected to serve the interests of any one person or any group or any one class. I serve every one and not only one. (R. Duterte)*
18. *“I have no friends to serve, I have no enemies to harm.” (R. Duterte)*
19. *The human person is unique in creation. Of all organisms, it is he that develops in proportion to the demands made upon his abilities. That is true of individuals and I hold it to be true of nations. (F. Marcos)*

In excerpts 14-19, R. Duterte and F. Marcos appeal to the emotions and intellect of the Filipinos and establish strong political perspective with them. The endorsement of their dynamic perspectives “...*change must start with us and in us*” and “*the human person is unique in creation*” strategizes the mental model of their audience. This gives the speakers entrance into the hearts of the people and enables them to establish themselves and their positions more securely. The metaphors that conceptualize the good governance of the nation are clearly seen in being impartial “*I abhor secrecy...*”, “*I serve every one...*”, “...*no friends to serve...*”. These metaphors project the strong-willed ideology of positive self-representation, and a non-partisan character that unprevail polarizing political interest-groups with hidden intents for self-vested interest. These are essential elements in servant leadership that rest in the willingness of political leaders to withstand the odds and challenges for the sake of unifying the people whose

endowments of cultural orientation is diverse, and whose political affiliation is characteristically vengeful and distorted by personal deep-seated yearning for hegemonic power and control of the national wealth.

The Runway Metaphor (airplane to modernity)

The runway metaphor for sustainability is suggestive of a journey towards modernity or progress, imagining human civilization as an airplane running down the “runway of modernity”. The nation is metaphorically conceptualized as a journey in which the people are travelers while the political leader leads the way to the desired destination of the people. The well-planned aspiration for healthy society’s humane state of wellbeing is usually patriotically innate in the sound ideals of institutionalized democracy and as subsumed in the outlined legislated national goal for government authorities to conscientiously fulfill within set time frames and required meritorious administrative political standards. Below are examples of journey metaphors from the corpus.

Relative to the metaphor are the SDG goals on no poverty, zero hunger, quality education, decent work and economic growth, industry, innovation, and infrastructure, reduced inequalities, and sustainable cities and communities.

1. *...the Filipino, it seems, has lost his soul, his dignity and his courage. (F. Marcos)*
2. *We have come upon a phase of our history when ideas are only a veneer for greed and power (F. Marcos)*
3. *Our people have come to a point of despair. (F. Marcos)*
4. *We have ceased to value order as a social virtue. (F. Marcos)*
5. *Justice and security are as myths rendered into elaborate fictions to dramatize our so-called well-being and our happy march to progress. (F. Marcos)*
6. *I have heard the cries of thousands and clasped hands in brotherhood with millions of you. (F. Marcos)*
7. *We are in crisis. (F. Marcos)*
8. *One of the most galling of our inherited problems is that of lawlessness. (F. Marcos)*
9. *This is the climate for criminality. (F. Marcos)*
10. *I have seen how corruption bled the government of funds... (R. Duterte)*
12. *I have seen how illegal drugs destroyed individuals and ruined family relationships. (R. Duterte)*
13. *we have become our own worst enemies. (R. Duterte)*
14. *I have seen how criminality...snatched from the innocent and the unsuspecting, the years and years of accumulated savings. (R. Duterte)*

In excerpts 1-14, F. Marcos and R. Duterte identified to its wholesome extent the realities and scenarios in the struggles of the Filipinos from the despotic control of the past till this decade where loop holes of democracy is caused by circumventions of laws across undesirable political leaders, officialdom in bureaucracy, and influential citizenry make the socio-economically handicapped members of the society even all the more become impoverished. These are metaphorically represented as losing the Filipino soul, slaves to greed and power, desperation, injustice and insecurity, crisis, lawlessness and criminality. The representation of all these dark past of the Philippines as a nation, kindles in the Filipinos a reminiscence to the journey they and the nation had gone through and that knowing the difficulties in the journey will necessarily call for renewed commitment to strengthen the moral fiber in the Filipino identity should Filipinos today want the Philippines to be great again.

In essence, the ‘runway’ or journey towards progress necessarily commences with latency but with political leaders’ perspectives, the nation will definitely have the runway as shown in the exploration of Philippine Presidents’ speeches which demonstrate that “development” is the most occurring word in the previous state of the nation addresses which implies that for the last 82 years (1935 to 2016), the past presidents were indeed focused on the growth of the country. In addition, the second most appearing word

is “people.” This result provides an insight that the presidents’ speeches were addressing the needs of the citizens highlighting the understanding that as a democratic country, public officials in the Philippines are expected to serve the Filipino people.

15. *armed with nothing but raw courage and passionate intelligence and patriotism, our predecessors built the noble edifice of the first Asian Republic. (F. Marcos)*
16. *Peace in our time, we declare. But we cannot guarantee life and limb in our growing cities. (F. Marcos)*
17. *For indeed we must rise from the depths of ignominy and failure. (F. Marcos)*
18. *...we shall draw from our rich resources of spiritual strength that flow from this place of martyrdom. (F. Marcos)*
19. *The economic viability of the government and of the nation requires immediate retrenchment. (F. Marcos)*
20. *Every form of waste – or of conspicuous consumption and extravagance, shall be condemned as inimical to public welfare. (F. Marcos)*
21. *Frugality with government funds and resources must be developed into a habit at every level of the government. (F. Marcos)*
22. *We must, therefore, aim quickly at the establishment of a genuine rule of law. (F. Marcos)*
23. *We need a new orientation toward Asian. (F. Marcos)*
24. *It is my article of faith, and Divine Providence has willed that you and I can now translate this faith into deeds. (F. Marcos)*
25. *...each generation writes its own history... with fortitude and excellence we must write ours. (F. Marcos)*
26. *We must renew the vision of greatness for our country. (F. Marcos)*
27. *We must awake the hero inherent in every man. (F. Marcos)*
28. *... let us march together towards the dream of greatness (F. Marcos)*

In excerpts 15-28, F. Marcos identified the vital focus of attention and the sustainable development-oriented approaches to attain his vision for the Philippines. The actions and activities are metaphorically conceptualized as a declaration of freedom from the bondage of the past. The speaker further uses the metaphors *noble edifice*, *peace in our time*, *spiritual strength*, *immediate retrenchment*, *public welfare*, *frugality*, *genuine rule of law*, *new orientation*, *translation of faith into deeds*, *write our history*, *renew vision for greatness*, *awaken the hero in us*, and *marching together*, to appeal to the sense and judgment of Filipinos. These metaphors were also identified to serve as justification for the actions to be taken by the government for the welfare of the Filipino people. The marching together towards the dream of greatness captures the essence of the runway metaphor which transports the idea of Filipinos journeying in unity with a renewed hope for progress. F. Marcos knows the destination of the country and leads the country to that destination which is the aspiration of all Filipinos. He maintains the faith as translated into deeds to be a runway ticket for the Philippines to follow the path of peace for growth and development. At the heart of all these metaphors is the emphasis on installing a policy of rigorous fiscal restraint for the vision of a better and a more sustainably developed Philippines.

31. *Love of country, subordination of personal interests to the common good, concern and care for the helpless and the impoverished – these are among the lost and faded values that we seek to recover and revitalize as we commence our journey towards a better Philippines. The ride will be rough. But come and join me just the same. Together, shoulder to shoulder, let us take the first wobbly steps in this quest. (R. Duterte)*
32. *On the international front and community of nations, let me reiterate that the Republic of the Philippines will honor treaties and international obligations. On the domestic front, my administration is committed to implement all signed peace agreements in step with constitutional and legal reforms. (R. Duterte)*

33. *I am elated by the expression of unity among our Moro brothers and leaders, and the response of everyone else to my call for peace. (R. Duterte)*
34. *I look forward to the participation of all other stakeholders, particularly our indigenous peoples, to ensure inclusivity in the peace process. (R. Duterte)*
35. *Join me as we embark on this crusade for a better and brighter tomorrow. (R. Duterte)*
36. *I am here because I love my country and I love the people of the Philippines. I am here, why? Because I am ready to start my work for the nation. (R. Duterte)*

In excerpts 31-36, R. Duterte deploys metaphors for the pathway to recovery in his conceptualization of a better Philippines beginning with his use of “wobbly steps” metaphorically representing that the journey towards change is not an easy feat. The speaker subtly presents himself as architect of bolder social change, reform and transformation conforming the common interest of the people. In the examples of runway metaphors above, R. Duterte projects his presence as only necessary because of his love for the Filipinos and his motherland Philippines, consequently projecting himself as a democratic and a peace-loving leader. This finds support in Canay & Temporal (2019) study of discursive strategies of R. Duterte where results show that the rhetoric of the President remains in force as he made use of most references and nominations in establishing a sense of identity and a sense of membership. Moreover, his use of perspectivization to frame his views strongly projected his involvement, objectivity, and transparency. The intensification strategy evident in the speech also contributes to the framing of his credibility and authority as the country's leader in persuading his audience to belief and action.

Conclusion

Sustainable development in the Philippines has long been a standing concept as revealed in the metaphors employed by the national proactive leaders in their inaugural addresses. Using Charteris - Black (2004) three-stage Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA): metaphor identification, metaphor interpretation, and metaphor explanation in parallelism with Karlsson (2015) categorization of metaphors of sustainability: *footprint metaphor, rocket metaphor and runway metaphor*, this study underpins the view on the pervasive use of metaphorical expressions in Philippine political discourse. Notably, in the genre of inaugural address, the rocket and runway metaphors are generally evident. From their inaugural addresses, the study has demonstrated that political leaders resort to metaphorical expressions in their speeches to chart their visions for the country's sustainable development. The study has further demonstrated that metaphors enabled the speakers project themselves as visionary and missionary leaders who have the interest of the people and the nation at heart, underscoring their dynamic perspectives which cascade to the people. Furthermore, the essence of metaphor in the speeches stress the influence of the leaders to achieve and maintain solidarity with the people, identifying themselves with the people so as to create a bond between them in their journey towards national prosperity, growth and development.

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