



# Online Misogyny in Canadian Politics

RESEARCH BRIEF (JANUARY 2019)

## SUMMARY

- Gender-based hate targeting Canadian females in politics is prevalent and transcends political affiliation
- Public commentary acknowledges that online gender-based hate target genders differently, both in terms of scope and scale
- Online misogyny often intersects with other identity markers such as sexual orientation

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# INTRODUCTION

The misogyny present today within online spaces is not new: the tradition extends to the earliest memes found on online bulletin-board systems and image boards, such as “There are no girls on the Internet” and “Tits or GTFO [Get the fuck out]” (Citron, 2014, p. 53).

4chan’s “[Rules of the Internet](#)” provide an instructive snapshot of early internet culture in the West. These rules highlight the boys’ club or fraternal culture that developed in online message boards in the late 1990s. Notably, according to these rules, women were assumed to not participate in online spaces (rule 30), or if they did, they were urged to provide an image of their breasts or leave the space (rule 31).

Members of the 4chan (and other similar) communities would claim that the Rules are not meant to be taken seriously; rather, they are being used in jest, ironically, or satirically.

Defenders of 4chan cite rule 30 and 31 in particular to support their contention that the Rules are simply meant to rid 4chan of gender altogether because one’s gender does not matter within the community.

However, critics argue that the end result of these “jokes” works to create spaces that are alienating to women and other marginalized groups.

For instance, it is easy for 4chan members who say problematic, sexist, racist comments to hide behind their claim that nothing they say is to be taken seriously. In this way, members attempt to forgo taking responsibility for their actions claiming that if the victims of their harassment are upset, “it’s their own fault” (Jane, 2016).

In this way online harassment has, over the years, led to thinkers, writers, and journalists from marginalized groups being silenced.

## THE MANOSPHERE

In her book, *Online Misogyny: A Short (and Brutish) History*, Jane (2016) observes that early online discourse (found on message boards in the late 1990s) includes:

- Judgment on women’s appearance or sexual attractiveness – often expressed in terms not only of their ‘fuckability’ but their ‘rapeability’;
- Ad hominem invective;
- Hyperbolic misogyny, homophobia, and/or sexually graphic imagery;
- Prescribed coerced sex acts as all-purpose correctives; and/or
- Disavowal in that authors fixate on their targets while insisting explicitly or implicitly that nothing about their targets is worthy of notice.

Jane (2016) argues that while the early days of online culture were definitely toxic and unwelcoming to women, a much nastier, more worrisome, and more organized violence has developed in recent years.

Jane points to the example of Kathy Sierra, a leading figure in the tech industry who had seen success writing books about software design. When, in 2007, Sierra suggested that there should be some form of moderation on reader comments and made public the amount of rape and death threats that were coming her way, she faced an increase in harassment, along with her social security number and address being published online. In the end, Sierra bowed out of speaking engagements, stopped writing for her blog and ultimately removed herself from public space for years (Jane, 2016, p. 25; Sierra, 2014).

In the last decade, misogynist ideology has become more popular and organized. It is known in men's rights and alt-right circles as *The Manosphere*, which is an ideology that sells itself as a counter-culture to feminism.

While the communities found within the Manosphere do not always agree with one another, the anti-feminist online movement counts within it communities such as [r/TheRedPill](#), a sub-reddit on which men can be found sharing misogynist memes, stories about their struggles with women, and arguing for a return to traditional gender roles.

Another notable example can be found in [Men Going Their Own Way or MGTOW](#), an online culture of men who have declared themselves sovereign of women, claiming that women are detrimental influences in the lives of men. The image macros and [memes](#) they share amongst themselves point to a culture of misogyny and a feeling that the rights of men are being largely ignored (Lamoureux, 2015).

## MISOGYNY IN POLITICS

A 2016 Inter-Parliamentary Union [study](#) on sexism, harassment, and violence against women parliamentarians concluded that there is “a troubling prevalence of gender-based violence against women parliamentarians throughout the world” (IPU, 2016).

In the last five years, there has been an increase in cases of female politicians speaking out about the abuse that they receive from on- and offline sources. Some instances, such as the [speech](#) made in parliament by former Australian Prime Minister Julia Gillard, have garnered international attention, including millions of views on YouTube™.<sup>i</sup>

Online misogyny and threats directed towards British MP Diane Abbott reached a new high in the days leading up to the Brexit referendum. For Abbott, virulent racism was attached to the misogyny that she faced: “I have had rape threats, death threats, and am referred to routinely as a bitch and/or nigger, and am sent horrible images on Twitter. Death threats include an EDL affiliated account with the tag ‘burn Diane Abbott’” (Mason, 2017).

Abbott claims that this type of abuse discourages young women from pursuing a life in politics, which is in line with the findings of the Inter-Parliamentary Union study which found that gender-based “violence impedes the ability of women parliamentarians to do

their work freely and securely and has a dissuading effect on women's political engagement in general" (IPU, 2016).

## MISOGYNY IN CANADIAN POLITICS

### Michelle Rempel

The Canadian version of Gillard's speech came in the form of an Op-Ed in the *National Post* by Conservative Party MP Michelle Rempel. Titled "Confront Your Sexism," the piece exposes what Rempel refers to as routine sexism in parliament; including inappropriate and unwanted touching, gendered slurs, catcalls, as well as online harassment (Rempel, 2016).

### Sandra Jensen

Following the publication of Rempel's Op-Ed, Progressive Conservative Sandra Jensen made Canadian headlines by defecting to the NDP, claiming that a main motivation for the move was due to the sexism and harassment found within the Progressive Conservative Party (Wiebe, 2016). Among the comments that Jensen faced were:

- "You are both a disgrace to Alberta."
- "Lying bitches."
- "Now you have two blond bimbos in a party that is clueless."
- "Another useless tit goes NDP."
- "Dead meat."
- "Sandra should stay in the kitchen, where she belongs."
- "Fly with the crows and get shot."
- "Dumb broad. A good place for her to be is with the rest of the queers."

### Cathy Bennett

Cathy Bennett, finance minister for Newfoundland and Labrador, has also gone public with the abuse she has received online. Bennett has been the victim of online abuse that involves body-shaming and death threats:

- "All Newfoundlanders should put a bounty on her head. She is a witch."
  - "I hope she chokes on her breakfast."
  - "You are simply a bad person. You should do the world a favour and kill yourself."
- (Bailey, 2016)

### Rana Bokhari

Rana Bokhari, former leader of the Manitoba Liberal Party, has been the victim of racist attacks, death threats, and sexual harassment. Her harassers have propositioned sex, with one man sending Bokhari a photo of his genitals. The harassment extended to the offline, with Bokhari having to deal with harassers breaking into her car. Bokhari explains that she was afraid of the backlash with which she would have been met had she gone public with these attacks. Bokhari therefore suffered silently because she did not feel she had recourse

to deal with the situation. She now claims that she regrets not coming out sooner with these allegations (Kavanagh, 2016).

### **Karla MacFarlane**

Karla MacFarlane, Progressive Conservative MP for Pictou West, is often approached in public by citizens who make comments on her appearance, whether it be weight (gaining or losing a few pounds) or comments on what MacFarlane is wearing that day (MacMillan, 2016).

### **Rachel Notley**

Alberta Premier, Rachel Notley, noticed criticism of her leadership mimicked a motto that was central to the American 2016 Presidential Election. There were similarities drawn between her and Hillary Clinton, with opponents chanting “Lock Her Up” at an Edmonton rally in 2016. Data from an access to information request by the Edmonton Journal found that Rachel Notley is one of the most targeted politicians in the Canadian political scene: in 2016, “there were 412 reported incidents involving Notley, 26 of which were forwarded to police as they were deemed to have approached a criminal threshold” (Gerein, 2017).

### **Lenore Zann**

Lenore Zann, a New Democratic Party MLA for Truro-Bible Hill-Millbrook-Salmon River, had a nude photo of herself released on Twitter. The photo was a screen shot from her days as an actress and was posted online by a high school student “as a joke”. After a heated exchange on Twitter, in which Zann asked the student to take the picture down, Zann began to receive hateful messages from other Twitter users. She describes the incident as the “worst two weeks of my life” (MacMillan, 2016).

## **INTERSECTIONALITY**

To label these attacks as attacks against women alone would not paint a full picture of the problem. Attacks found on Facebook, Twitter, and Reddit are intersectional in nature. That is to say that these attacks target interconnected social categories like gender race, class, and sexuality, simultaneously.

### **Joanna Bernard**

Joanne Bernard, the first openly gay MLA in Nova Scotia, was the victim of incessant abuse online, much of it homophobic. She has received death threats over the phone. Most prominently, however, Bernard claims that she receives comments about her weight, both on and offline. “If I gain a few pounds or lose a few pounds, I hear about it on social media.” Bernard claims that this is something that does not happen, to the same degree, to her male colleagues (McMillan, 2016).

### **Kathleen Wynne**

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Like other Canadian women in politics, former Ontario Premier, Kathleen Wynne, has been subject to explicitly violent [online death threats](#). However, in Wynne's case, the discrimination and misogyny targeting her is also layered with homophobic and Islamophobic rhetoric (Crawley, 2017).

### Iqra Khalid

When Liberal MP Iqra Khalid, a proponent of M-103, [read out to the House of Commons some of the hateful tweets she'd received](#), the common themes intersected misogyny, racism, and Islamophobia, and make reference to both physical and sexual violence.

Notably, criticism of Islam often came with the assertion that critics were defending women's rights; that is, by opposing the "coming of Sharia law" that they believed Khalid to be vehemently supporting, critics were defending the rights of Canadian women.

While hateful messages criticized Khalid for her presumed religion, messages also included a racist and xenophobic element. Much of the hateful speech focuses on having Khalid deported, reminding her that she is unwanted and does not belong to Canada, and linking her to the Taliban (Stone, 2017).

# METHODOLOGY

## CORPUS-ASSISTED CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS (CACDA)

The present study uses corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis [CACDA] (Thomas, 2015) to uncover linguistic patterns in online conversations pertaining to Canadian female politicians.

CACDA combines conventionally quantitative corpus linguistic techniques with typically qualitative critical discourse analytic methods. It provides an effective means of mapping out frequency information and association patterns related to linguistic phenomena appearing within large volumes of electronically encoded text.

Specifically, CACDA enables a researcher to identify word pairings that appear frequently within a data set and their statistical significance. Furthermore, it allows for an analysis of how statistically significant word pairs are used in context.<sup>ii</sup>

## REDDIT

This research brief analyzes online conversations appearing on [reddit](#), a publicly available, open source website that is most aptly understood as a hybrid forum-based social network/news aggregator site.

As of November 2017, reddit counted over 330 million active monthly users, 138 thousand active communities (subreddits), and was ranked as the fifth most visited site in the United States.<sup>iii</sup>

Registered reddit users are able to customize what they see on their personal account pages by subscribing to 'subreddits'. Any registered user may create a subreddit on any topic and under such categories as: educational subreddits, entertainment subreddits, discussion subreddits, and humour and image-sharing subreddits.

Registered reddit users are also able to submit content to the site in the form of a link (e.g., link to a news article, photo, video) or as a text ("self") post. Once content has been submitted, registered users can then vote it 'up' or 'down', which moves this content to a different rank on the website's pages. Users are encouraged to 'upvote' content if they think that it contributes to the conversation and to 'downvote' content if they think that it is off-topic; in short, "the popularity and prominence of material on the site are determined by voting from the reddit community" (Duggan & Smith, 2013, p. 2).

Registered users are equally able to comment on one another's content and to vote on these comments, thus enabling discussion and accentuation of issues that users themselves deem relevant and meaningful.

Importantly, the voting functionality provided by the reddit platform is central to CACDA in that it provides one measure of how online content is being received by audiences.

This approach assumes that the more upvotes that content receives (i.e. the higher its point value), the more its audience agrees with it or sees it as valuable in some way. Whereas, the more content is 'downvoted' (i.e. the lower its point value or if it carries a negative point value), the less its audience agrees with it or sees it as valuable.

Moreover, when content receives a high number of downvotes, it becomes 'downvoted into oblivion' and effectively disappears from reddit's main interface, thus potentially signaling disagreement or resistance to mainstream thought patterns.

## DATA SET

Conversations that covered topics pertaining to Canadian women in politics were sampled using combinations of the following search terms: Canada, (women OR woman OR female), politic\*, "Kathleen Wynne", "Rachel Notley", hate.

All conversations contained within the data set were created in 2018.

Table 1. Data set overview

Conversation Threads	Number of Words	Primary Language
41	143,570	English

The data set used for the present analysis contained 41 conversation threads written predominantly in English, which stemmed from primarily the r/Canada, r/CanadaPolitics, r/Ontario, and r/Alberta subreddits.

## FINDINGS

Analysis of the conversation threads contained within the present data set revealed several salient terms. The frequency of these key terms is represented in Figure 1—the larger the size of a word, the more frequently it appeared in the data set.



Figure 1. Frequent salient terms

Analysis of these salient terms revealed several meaningful linguistic patterns. Of these, the following three terms held associations that reveal particularly interesting discursive patterns: woman [women], look, hate.

# WOMAN

Within the present data, analysis of the key word “woman [women]” revealed frequent and strong associations with terms such as: threat, rape, man. These word pairings (highlighted in Figure 2 and Table 2) were used to discuss the difference between the way that women and men are targeted online.



Figure 2. Terms associated with “woman”

Table 2. Collocation analysis of “woman [women]”

Keyword	Freq.	Associated terms	<i>logDice</i> <sup>iv</sup>
woman [women] (noun)	220	man	13.00
		rape	10.84
		threat	10.75

Representative comments include:

*I'm far more worried about the threats that women receive... Threats against women on the internet tend to be far more vile than threats against men. (20 points)*

*Why is it that someone will threaten to rape a woman? What power does that give them? Why not threaten the male politicians for the same 'crimes'? (3 points)*

*I think part of the argument is that the words used to harass men and women online are not all the same. (8 points)*

*I am not claiming that there are more ways to insult women than men. I am just saying that the words we use to harass women and men are different. I don't need to direct you to a study for you to understand that words such as 'rape' are not commonly directed to men as a form of harassment. (2 points)*

Not only did these comments highlight the disparities in the ways in which women and men are targeted online, but several comments also called into question the reasons why females are often the targets of gender-based hate.

## LOOK

Analysis of the key word “look” revealed frequent and strong associations with the term ‘like’. The word pairing “looks like” (highlighted in Figure 3 and Table 3) was used frequently within the conversation to discuss the physical appearance of female politicians in predominantly negative ways.

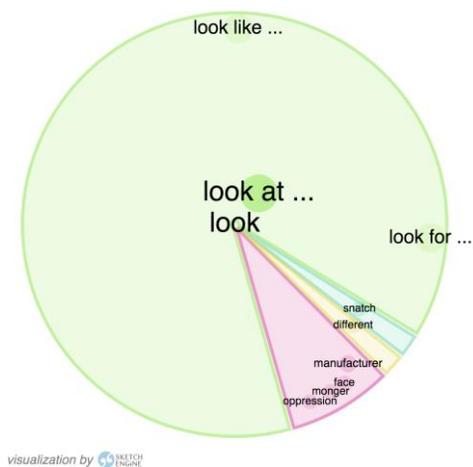


Figure 3. Terms associated with “look”

Table 3. Collocation analysis of “look”

Keyword	Freq.	Associated terms	logDice <sup>v</sup>
look (verb)	139	like	10.07

Representative comments include:

*She looks like Mrs. Grundy from the 1950's Archie comics. (3 points)*

*She looks like Orville Redenbacher. She is complete trash. Seeing her face or hearing her name is a quick way to ruin your week. I really just want her to go away. Like disappear /r/punchablefaces needs to be brought back. (15 points)*

*I don't trust anyone who looks like Orville Redenbacher. (6 points)*

*She looks and sounds butch as all fuck. (10 points)*

Unlike the comments that probed the motives behind disparities in gender-based hate, within the comments made within the conversations analyzed as part of this research brief, hateful comments that referenced physical appearance were largely left unchallenged.

## HATE

Analysis of the key word “hate” revealed frequent and strong associations with terms such as: Wynne, her.

Notably, analysis of the context surrounding the word pairings highlighted in Figure 4 and Table 4 revealed different uses depending on who was being discussed.

Overwhelmingly, when discussing Kathleen Wynne, comments referenced her appearance and her sexual orientation:

*I just hate her face whenever I see it. I hate seeing her. (1 point)*

*Liberal supporter (in general) here. I can't stand her face. (74 points)*

*I hate her because she's a lesbian woman progressive. (7 points)*

*There are people out there that hate her as Premier because she is a woman and there are people who hate her because she's a lesbian. (10 points)*

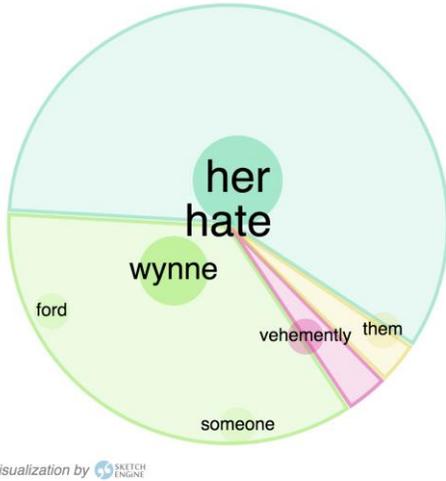


Figure 4. Terms associated with “hate”

Table 4. Collocation analysis of “hate”

Keyword	Freq.	Associated terms	logDice <sup>vi</sup>
hate (verb)	94	her	12.39
		Wynne	11.76

Despite the occasional attempt to deny that the hate directed towards Wynne is related to her sexual orientation—

*I've literally never heard of anyone hating her because she's a woman or hating her because she's a lesbian. Why bother with the bigotry when there are so many legitimate reasons to hate Kathleen Wynne? (4 points)*

—when a reddit user overtly suggested that Wynne is subject to hate because of her sexual orientation, the comment was downvoted in oblivion:

*People who are stuck 100 years ago hate her because she's a woman who likes women. (-11 points)*

The amount that Wynne’s sexual orientation factors into prejudice against her becomes more evident when contrasted with the types of comments made in reference to Rachel Notley.

No comments in the current data set referenced Notley's sexual orientation. Instead, the majority of comments provided a relatively measured analysis of her merits as a Premier:

*I don't think everyone hates her. I like her. But there's a legitimate argument that she's pursuing policies that don't make sense in the current economic environment in the province. (9 points)*

*Everyone doesn't hate her: right wingers (i.e. the Harper Conservatives) hate her because she's a harbinger of things to come. (4 points)*

*It does seem she is the top heel in Alberta and people blindly hate her and blame her for issues from the previous administration. (89 points)*

## DISCUSSION

The online conversations analyzed as part of this research brief highlight that gender-based hate targeting Canadian females in politics is both prevalent and transcends political affiliation. Former Ontario Liberal Premier Kathleen Wynne, former B.C. Conservative Premier Christy Clark, and current Alberta N.D.P. Premier Rachel Notley were all frequent targets of hateful commentary within the data analyzed in the present study.

Where disparities in the nature of online misogyny exist are in the ways that it intersects with other identity markers, such as sexual orientation.

Notably, there were markedly more negative comments directed at Wynne, an openly homosexual political figure, than at Notley or Clark. Moreover, the majority of the comments made against Wynne failed to reference her politics; instead comments targeted both her appearance and her sexual orientation.

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## URLS

Gillard [speech](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ihd7ofrwQX0&t=198s) [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ihd7ofrwQX0&t=198s]

[Men Going Their Own Way or MGTOW](https://www.reddit.com/r/MGTOW/) [https://www.reddit.com/r/MGTOW/] ; [memes](https://www.mgtow.com/posters/) [https://www.mgtow.com/posters/]

[MP Iqra Khalid Reads Mean Racist Tweets & Death Threats She Has Received | Islamophobia M-103](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=laCLITRTz_Q&list=PLM_WBFsg1WS4YsxqaFRGguc0eevXqf3cc&index=12)

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[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q5mwcLMsYgM]

[r/TheRedPill](https://www.reddit.com/r/TheRedPill/) [https://www.reddit.com/r/TheRedPill/]

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## SUGGESTED READING

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## ENDNOTES

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<sup>i</sup> This speech focused on sexism within Australian Parliament itself, rather than on discrimination and sexism waged online.

<sup>ii</sup> For a full discussion of CACDA methodology, see the resources on the [Project Someone: Prejudice du jour web page](https://projectsomeone.ca/prejudicedujour). [https://projectsomeone.ca/prejudicedujour]

<sup>iii</sup> <https://www.redditinc.com/press>

<sup>iv</sup> The *logDice* statistic is an account of how often two words appear within a body of text both next to, and away from, each other. The *logDice* statistic carries a theoretical maximum value of 14; word pairs (collocations) with a *logDice* value of 10 or greater are considered to be exceptionally strong discursive relationships. For a full discussion, see Rychlý, 2008.

<sup>v</sup> Ibid.

<sup>vi</sup> Ibid.