

What's in a metaphor?

**The use of political metaphors in the Conservative
and Labour parties**

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1. Introduction

Whether we like it or not, and whether we are aware of it or not, politics plays an important part in the lives of us all. Humans are social beings, and our survival depends on having the assurance, comforts, and mental stimuli of living in a community. Every community is based on the shared understanding of a number of concepts that describe and define the structure and rules of that community. Today, the most important community is that of the nation-state which we are born into. The important political concepts which thus influence our lives to such a great extent are numerous, for instance the concept of the *state* itself, the *government* and the relationship with the *people* it rules, the *economy* of the state, as well as *political parties*, *taxes*, *programmes*, *education*, *employment*, *welfare* and *crime*, to mention a few.

Politics revolves around these concepts, and politicians are constantly referring to, discussing, re-defining and evolving the concepts, not least to say, *disagreeing* about these concepts. The special thing about these political concepts is that most of them are, even *politics* itself, abstract concepts that have no real-life manifestations in the perceptible world; they are theoretical constructions of the human mind. This fact implies that the act of talking and thinking about these concepts come with no small difficulties; abstract ideas are hard to grasp. How do we then speak and reason about these concepts?

Linguistic studies have shown that *metaphors* abound as soon as such complex and intricate ideas are being discussed, researched and philosophized about. The most important find is that metaphors are not only devices that rhetoricians and poets pick and choose among to spice up and ornament their arguments and verses, but are fundamental structures of reasoning that the mind utilizes in order to make sense of the more complicated aspects of our existence. As a part of the Cognitive Sciences, research into conceptual metaphors, working with the theoretical framework of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, has revealed many groundbreaking and exiting facts about how the human mind makes use of metaphors. Studies of conceptual metaphors in political discourse have become quite frequent, and especially comparisons between different political ideologies are of great interest. Because, as we will see, the especially complex and abstract nature of the concepts that are so important to politics give rise to the possibility of different conceptual metaphors being employed on the *same*

concepts, which may thus serve to explain why the field of politics is so characterized by disagreement and seemingly incompatible opinions.

The most significant and extensive appliance of Conceptual Metaphor Theory onto the field of politics was taken on in the beginning of the 90's by George Lakoff, himself an important figure in the development of the theory of conceptual metaphors itself. His intent was to find answers to what was behind, what really constituted the profound differences he experienced as being so prominent between the conservative and liberal ideologies of his native United States of America. Dating back to the days of the French Revolution, this philosophical divide between right versus left-wing ideologies has been the mark of the political make-up of many modern democracies. In the United States and Great Britain, among others, this divide is manifested in the hegemony and polarization of two dominant parties, each endorsing and promoting either conservative or more liberal ideas and policies. Lakoff's investigation of the rhetoric of the Republican and Democrat parties resulted in the book *Moral Politics*. Boldly suggesting not only that most of the reasoning behind politics is carried out on an unconscious level and that the divide between the liberals and the conservatives is hence a matter of having different, unconscious, worldviews, *Moral Politics* also argues that these different worldviews origin in different views of morality and how the ideal family life should be like. Explaining how even our morality is metaphorically based, and how a metaphor of the family is the most widespread conceptualization of a government and its citizens, Lakoff develops two models that aspire to elucidate why conservatives and liberals reason in the way they do, and hence why they take the stands they do on the important issues. The two models centers around what Lakoff perceives as the two fundamental different ways of envisaging the ideal family, and are hence named the Strict Father and Nurturant Parent model.

Though I will be putting the stretch of the Atlantic Ocean between Lakoff's study and mine, the antagonist views of conservatives and liberals will still be at the heart of the discussion as this thesis investigates political discourse of the British Isles' most influential, and rival, political parties; The Conservatives and Labour. Using the parties' 1997 manifestos as material, I will compare and discuss the metaphors they use. My hypothesis is that because the Conservatives and Labour are representatives of two different ideologies and advance different politics, their differences will also surface in their language use, and thus in the metaphors they employ. I believe not only that there will be evidence that the Conservatives and Labour will prefer different metaphors, but that by the use of Conceptual Metaphor

Theory and Lakoff's Strict Father and Nurturant Parent models the metaphors we find in the manifestos will prove to reveal underlying conceptual differences in the two parties. In short, we will investigate what really is *in* a metaphor.

In order to focus my thesis on the task ahead and have a clear guideline for my investigation, I have developed four research questions which may serve to direct my arguments and inquiry. The research questions are dependent on each other in the manner that the second question can not be answered before the first is investigated and so forth. The research questions are stated below:

Q1: What sorts of linguistic metaphors are used by the Conservative Party and the Labour Party when talking about the political topics we have chosen to investigate, e.g., the Government, the Parliament, economy, taxes, crime and so on?

Q2: Can we, based on the linguistic metaphors employed by the politicians, detect any underlying conceptual metaphors that may tell us something about the nature of political thought and reasoning?

Q3: Are there any differences in which metaphors, linguistic and conceptual, the Conservatives and Labour tend to use? That is, is there any evidence that the Conservatives and Labour prefer different metaphors though they are talking about the same topic?

Q4: If there is evidence that the Conservatives and Labour prefer different metaphors, do their metaphor distribution follow, and can thus be explained by, Lakoff's Strict Father and Nurturant parent cognitive models?

This study begins by introducing the theoretical framework, centered on Conceptual Metaphor Theory, in chapter 2. Chapter 3 will commence with a presentation of the corpus, and proceed with a quite thorough discussion of possible methodological problems and proceedings. In chapter 4 the metaphors will be presented and discussed, and possible conceptual metaphors and connections to Lakoff's Strict Father and Nurturant Parent models will be argued. The conclusion will be found in chapter 5, followed by the appendices and a list of references.

2. Theory

In this chapter we will first introduce Cognitive Linguistics in section 2.1. Section 2.2 will present the working tool of this thesis; Conceptual Metaphor Theory. In the last section, 2.3, we will focus more closely on the topic of this thesis, figurative political language and the conceptual metaphors of political reasoning.

2.1 Foundations: Cognitive Linguistics

In the mid 1970's a small group of linguists, trained within the generative grammar tradition began to see what they perceived as serious shortcomings with that theory. What mostly prompted these linguists, with George Lakoff and Ronald Langacker as the most central characters, to turn away from generative grammar, was what they perceived as the theory's abstractness, syntax focus and the notion that meaning and the context of speech are peripheral in contrast to the formal rule system that devises linguistic expressions. As a reaction, they set out to construct a new theory of language, which would come to be known as Cognitive Linguistics. Today, Cognitive Linguistics is a rather broad movement which includes a variety of approaches, methodologies, and emphases. However, all the different approaches are unified by some common assumptions about language, the most important of which we find a short synopsis of below.

First of all, the most basic assumption of Cognitive Linguistics is that language is “*essentially and inherently symbolic in nature*” (Taylor 2002: 20). This means that all linguistic expressions; words, phrases and sentences, uttered, signed or written, are symbols for a conceptualization in a speaker's mind. Meaning is thus something that resides in someone's mind (i.e. concepts) and language is the means for relating that meaning to a sound or written word. The symbolic thesis is illustrated below (Taylor 2002: 21):

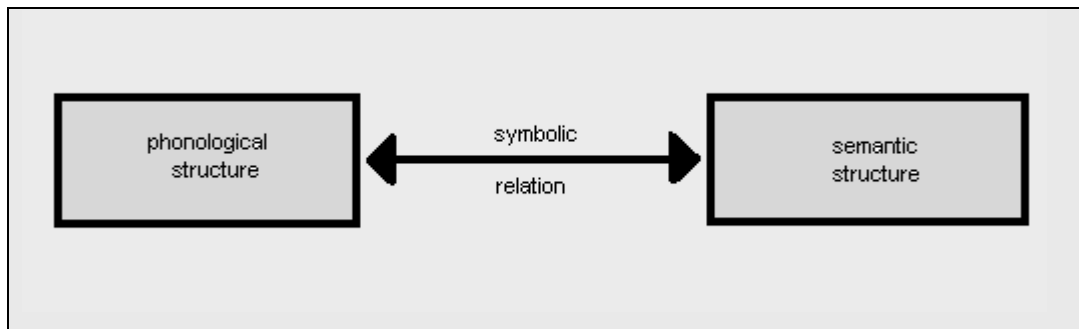


Figure 1: The symbolic thesis

According to Taylor (2002: 20ff) all language can be explained in terms of these three entities, in which *phonological structure* refers to the actual linguistic expression, be it in speaking, writing or signing, *semantic structure* refers to the meaning of that linguistic expression, that is, the conceptualization of that which the speaker is trying to convey. These entities are then brought together by the *symbolic relation*. It is important to note that the arrow points in both directions, thus making the relation between sound and meaning a two-way affair; a word can thus invoke its related concept in the same way that a concept invokes its corresponding word (Taylor 2002: 21).

Another important assumption is that in Cognitive Linguistics *language is seen as an integral part of cognition*. In generative grammar it is assumed that language knowledge constitutes a “separate cognitive faculty, structured according to its own specific principles and which is independent of other mental capacities” (Taylor 2002: 7). Though generative grammar certainly acknowledges that grammar exists in the mind of speakers as a cognitive function, the theory, by believing in a specific “organ” exclusively devoted to language, abstains from including what we know about the other parts of the human cognition into the theories of language, thus, “[rather] than a theory of mind constraining linguistic theory, linguistic theory itself inputs into a theory of mind” (Taylor 2002: 8).

Cognitive Linguistics has turned this pretty much around, saying that there is no specific organ devoted only to language. Instead, language is seen as intricately related and dependent on other cognitive functions, and thus, “[what] is known about the mind informs and constrains the kinds of theories that the human and social sciences can come up with” (Taylor 2002: 8). This means that any theorizing a cognitive linguist does about language has to incorporate and be consistent with what we already know about the mind. As a consequence

Cognitive Linguistics enjoys a close scientific tie with the other disciplines which also have the mind as their object of exploration, such as psychology, neurology and philosophy. It is this interdisciplinary study of the mind which is referred to as Cognitive Science, and it is through studies within these different fields that we have come to understand that the general cognitive capacities which are plausibly involved in language production are, for example, categorization, figure/ground perception, mental imagery and construal, automatization, and, metaphor.

Another common assumption that unifies Cognitive Linguistic approaches is the strong emphasis on *meaning*. In the words of Alan Lee:

The main feature that distinguishes Cognitive Linguistics from generative grammar has to do with the place of meaning in the theory. In the generative model the structure of linguistic expressions is deemed to be determined by a formal rule system that is largely independent of meaning. By contrast cognitivists argue that linguistic structure is a direct reflex of cognition in the sense that a particular linguistic expression is associated with a particular way of conceptualizing a given situation (2001: 1).

Yet another feature of Cognitive Linguistic is that the theory brings with it a *relativist dimension*. Research into common Cognitive Linguistic topics such as perspective, highlighting, framing, categorization and metaphor have resulted in “significant implications for an understanding of the nature of communication”, namely, that because they “suggest that meaning is not a property of utterances but a product of the interaction between an utterance and a human being’s ‘knowledge base’” which then “introduces an important relativist dimension to the process of interpretation” (Lee 2001: 12).

To sum up, we can say that Cognitive Linguistics is, as Langacker himself noted (1994: 590), a highly innovative theory; working side by side with other cognitive fields of study to test, explore, and challenge our knowledge and assumptions of mind and language, to seek for models that will *explain* how the mind and language operate, and never puts aside the notion that communication and language are inherently meaningful.

2.2 Conceptual Metaphor Theory

Most ordinary people have some understanding of what a metaphor is. Many have encountered them in literature and poetry, and most of us also know that even when we talk casually, we may take advantage of such figurative language, perhaps especially when there is some evasive, hard-to-grasp emotion or thought that we want to communicate. However, to the surprise of many, when we take a second look at *most* forms of language, be it casual conversation, newspapers, literature or scientific articles, we find a quite extensive use of metaphors. In fact, one study revealed that in ordinary discourse people used 1.08 novel and 4.08 so-called frozen metaphors *per minute* of conversation (Gibbs 1994: 123). Another analysis looked at metaphors produced in televised debates and news commentary programs and found that speakers used one unique metaphor for every 25 words (*ibid.*). By all indications these studies are even conservative in their estimations of our metaphorical productivity, making figurative language a force to be reckoned with, and more importantly, an instance of human language that requires and deserves to be investigated and explained.

That is exactly what George Lakoff and Mark Johnson set out to do in the late 70's, resulting in the 1980 publishing of their groundbreaking book *Metaphors We Live By*. Recognized by most as the foundation for the development of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, it will, for the most part, provide the theoretical basis for this thesis. In section 2.2.1 the basic claim of Conceptual Metaphor Theory is presented, along with some concept definitions. Section 2.2.2 explains some important properties of conceptual metaphors. A short listing of some common criticism that has been directed at Conceptual Metaphor Theory is given in section 2.2.3.

2.2.1 Basic claim and working definitions

The fundamental and defining claim of Conceptual Metaphor Theory is that the human conceptual system is “fundamentally metaphorical in nature” (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 3), and, consequently, that “human thought processes are largely metaphorical” (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 6). The theory suggests that the reason that metaphors, as we have seen, are so abundant in language, is that they reflect underlying metaphorical thought: “Metaphors as linguistic expressions are possible precisely because there are metaphors in a person’s conceptual system” (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 6).

As we see, *concepts*, *conceptual systems* and *metaphors* are central notions in Conceptual Metaphor Theory. Before we move on, these expressions might need further explaining. In Cognitive Linguistics a *concept* is the same as a *cognitive category* (e.g. Ungerer and Schmid 1996: 2). It is thus something that resides in the mind of the speaker, “the components of thought” (Lakoff 2002: 4), and is a result of the mental process of *classification*, in which we divide up the physical, social and psychological world into different entities in order to recognize and act according to the signals fed to us by our conceptual systems. According to cognitive categorization theory all categories have fuzzy borders, different attributes to characterize the entity, and may have a *prototype* organization. Each concept, or category, may have a single word denoting it, but a word may denote several concepts. For example, the word “bank” may denote both the financial institution and a river-bank, as in “the bank of the river was very steep”. In cases where special clarity may be in order, we may refer to a concept in small capital letters, like FREEDOM, BLUE, CUP, FATHER, etc. When the word *domain* is used in this thesis, it will be as synonym to concept and category.

Accordingly, a *conceptual system* becomes the interrelated, inter-working sum of all our individual concepts. Different people (or groups of people) may conceptualize the world differently, resulting in different *worldviews*. Our conceptual systems are not something that we are normally aware of, and Lakoff refers to this as the “cognitive unconscious” (2004: xv).

The word *metaphor* comes from Greek *metapherein*, which means to carry from one place to another (Miller 1979: 156). It is important to separate between metaphors as they appear in language and the metaphors that are part of our thought processes, cf. Conceptual Metaphor Theory. When speaking about metaphors as they appear in language they will in this thesis be referred to as *linguistic metaphors* or *metaphorical expressions*. A linguistic metaphor has two components, a *topic* and a *vehicle*. For example, in the sentence *Juliet is the sun*, *Juliet* is the topic, and *the sun* is the vehicle, i.e. the thing that is carried over from one place to say something of the other.

A *conceptual metaphor* is a metaphor that exists in the mind of a speaker, and may thus be unconscious. The process which constitutes a conceptual metaphor is when the knowledge from one domain is mapped onto another domain. Conceptual metaphors consist also of two components, but to separate them from linguistic metaphors, we will use Lakoff and

Johnson's terms for the two components where the domain, or concept, that is mapped *onto* is referred to as the *target domain*, while the domain that is mapped *from* is known as the *source domain*. For example, if someone utters the sentence *When is the next wave of immigrants going to hit us?* the use of *wave* is metaphorical, the target domain is immigration and the source domain is water; and he or she is thus conceptualizing immigrations in terms of waves of water. Conceptual metaphors are typed in small capital letters, like IMMIGRANTS ARE WATER.

Conceptual Metaphor Theory suggests that conceptual metaphors play an important role in human thought processes, and are largely unconscious. But being unable to “look into” our own minds how can we then suggest that conceptual metaphors exist at all, let alone try to describe them? On what findings are the Conceptual Metaphor Theory based? Though the human mind is an elusive and complex field of study, because of the Cognitive Linguistics view of the integral nature of the different parts of human cognition, the assumption is that through the study of language we can learn about how the mind functions as a whole. In Lakoff and Johnson's words: “Since communication is based on the same conceptual system that we use in thinking and acting, language is an important source of evidence for what that system is like” (2003: 3). Thus, through investigating language, or, more specific, groups of linguistic metaphors that show an internal systematicity as regards to topic and vehicle, we come across findings that other theories of language cannot explain in the same way as Conceptual Metaphor Theory will. As an example, consider the everyday expressions below (all from Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 7-8):

- (1) You're wasting my time.
- (2) This gadget will save you hours.
- (3) I don't have the time to give you.
- (4) How do you spend your time these days?
- (5) That flat tire cost me an hour.
- (6) I've invested a lot of time in her.
- (7) Do you have much time left?
- (8) He's living on borrowed time.

All of the above sentences are linguistic metaphors in which the topic is *time*. The vehicles can be said to be systematically related as having something to do with human relation to money. A linguist working within Conceptual Metaphor Theory would suggest that the reason for the widespread use of linguistic metaphors with topic and vehicles like those shown above

is because time is a concept which is metaphorically structured. One way of conceptualizing time would be seeing time in terms of money, leading to the conceptual metaphor TIME IS MONEY. It is the common and prevalent use of these groups of related linguistic metaphors that led Lakoff and Johnson to believe in a fundamentally metaphoric human thought system.

2.2.2 Properties of conceptual metaphors

Focusing now only on the nature of conceptual metaphors, we consider six points as to how it is thought conceptual metaphors are structured and how they function. Firstly, conceptual metaphors seem to be *culturally dependent*. Above we saw that through the study of certain linguistic expressions we could infer that we in some instances conceptualize time in terms of money. But it is not necessary for humans to conceptualize time in this way; it is dependent on our culture (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 9). Thus, linguistic analysis of metaphorical expressions of time in other cultures may reveal different conceptual metaphors.

Secondly, *conceptual metaphoric structuring is partial in nature*. This means that when you map from one domain in order to bring some enlightenment to another domain you only map *some*, not all, of the features that define the source domain onto the target domain. For example, sometimes when we talk about theories we employ the conceptual metaphor THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS, seen in surface language when we talk about a *strong* or *weak* theory, the *foundation* and *framework* of theories, theories that need *support*, and theories that *stand* or *fall*. However, it would be very strange to think of theories as having *staircases*, different *rooms*, and a *roof*, though these are properties of buildings too: “Thus the metaphor THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS has a “used” part (foundation and outer shell) and an “unused” part (rooms, staircase, etc.)” (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 52).

Thirdly, conceptual metaphors have *multiple mappings*. A single concept can have several different conceptual metaphors working to describe different parts of how we understand that concept. For example, the human mind is sometimes conceptualized in terms of a machine. In other instances we may instead employ the MIND AS A BRITTLE OBJECT metaphor. These two different conceptual metaphors enable us to focus on different aspects of mental experience, as seen in these two examples: He broke down (THE MIND IS A MACHINE) – He cracked up (THE MIND IS A BRITTLE OBJECT) (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 28).

Fourth, which concepts that get mapped onto other concepts is not random or haphazard, but usually, our conceptual system is *grounded* in a very specific way. In most cases the target domains are abstract whereas the source domains are concrete, or, in the words of Lakoff and Johnson, “we typically conceptualize the nonphysical in term of the physical” (2003: 59). This means that we usually map from a domain which we can see, feel, touch and understand to the domains that we cannot see or so easily comprehend. This is a very important aspect of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, because as the theory claims that most concepts are structured in terms of other concepts, a question then arises how we can understand anything at all if there are no concepts to be understood directly without metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 56). The concepts that are seen as understood on their own are our sensory-motor experiences (including cultural presuppositions) such as for example: UP-DOWN, IN-OUT, FRONT-BACK, LIGHT-DARK, WARM-COLD etc. Though our own emotional experience is very real to us, it is “much less sharply delineated in terms of what we do with our bodies” (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 58), which is evident in the many conceptual metaphors in which emotions are seen in terms of physical properties, for example: HAPPY IS UP; SAD IS DOWN, and ANGER IS HEAT (He was *boiling* with rage. I tried to *cool him down*, but he was so angry.).

Fifth, conceptual metaphors can have a special property of *highlighting and hiding*. Following Conceptual Metaphor Theory, a concept may be understood by mapping certain aspects of other concepts onto itself, and it may come down to context as to which concepts are used as source domains. In that way we can choose to highlight certain features of the target domain, for example, by using the MIND IS A BRITTLE OBJECT we can emphasize the psychological strength, or lack thereof, of the mind. Or, by using the MIND IS A MACHINE metaphor we can stress that the mind has levels of efficiency, a certain productive capacity and such (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 28). But a conceptual metaphor can also hide certain aspects of a concept. For example consider the CONDUIT metaphor, where ideas (or meanings) are seen as objects, linguistic expressions as containers and the act of communication as sending: “It’s hard to *get* that idea *across* to him”, “It’s difficult to *put* my ideas *into* words”, “His words *carry* little meaning” (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 10ff). This conceptual metaphor hides the fact that words and sentences are dependent on context and speaker to have any meaning, words and sentences do not correspond in a one-to-one relationship with our thoughts (ibid.). This is something that is important when assessing political metaphors, an example that immediately springs to mind is the conceptual metaphor WAR IS A COMPETITIVE GAME, in which war is conceptualized as a game

of chess, football or boxing, but where of course aspects of war such as injury, marring, explosions, gunfire and death are played down (Lakoff 1991).

Lastly, in the wake of conceptual metaphor research there follows some important *philosophical implications*. The empirical research, the subsequent findings and theory building carried out by the cognitive sciences challenge much of the basis upon which traditional western philosophy is built. In the traditional view, the mind is divinely separated and elevated above the body, and our concepts and knowledge are objective, literal and subject to conscious reasoning. When investigations into figurative language reveal a mind that “is fundamentally shaped by various poetic and figurative processes” (Gibbs 1994: 1), where it is claimed that “most of our thought is unconscious” (Lakoff 2002: 4) and that our reasoning draws heavily on our bodily experiences, we see that this constitutes nothing short of a definite break with the past. For a thorough discussion of these philosophical implications, cf. Lakoff and Johnson *Philosophy in the Flesh: The Embodied Mind and its Challenge to Western Thought* (1999).

2.2.3 Critique against Conceptual Metaphor Theory

Any theory that makes such revolutionary claims as Conceptual Metaphor Theory does is bound to get reactions, and criticism has come from a number of academics. Wierzbicka (1986) criticized Lakoff and Johnson’s theory from a semantic aspect. Wierzbicka believes that concepts can be truly explained and compared in terms of their components, and hence she is concerned with finding definitions of words that is inherently meaningful. For example, Wierzbicka (1986: 292f) finds Lakoff and Johnson’s theory unhelpful as they “fail to break the concept defined into its semantic components”. Wierzbicka is in general taken aback by the assumption that a metaphor can suffice as a definition for a concept, and as for the grounding of conceptual metaphors she thinks it “an illusion to think that spatial and otherwise physical notions are inherently clearer to us than frankly mental ones, as it is an illusion to think that the external more is more accessible to us, and more familiar to us than our inner world” (1986: 296f).

Jackendoff (2002) suggests metaphor interpretation often is confused with the fact that different situations may have the same conceptual structure (regardless of semantic field), i.e. apparent metaphor can be explained via the same abstract organization in many semantic

fields. Clausner and Croft (1997) discusses for example the difficulties with formulation of conceptual metaphors, due to different metaphor productivity and schematicity.

In Rakova (2002) the philosophical foundation of Conceptual Metaphor Theory are criticized, as Rakova finds Lakoff and Johnson to front a type of “extreme empiricism” (2002: 218). Lakoff and Johnson (2002) answer Rakova in a defense of their philosophy of embodied realism. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss this further, but cf. the works mentioned above as well as Taylor (2002) for further discussion.

2.3 Political Metaphors

Knowing that so much of human cognition consists of metaphor, and consequently making so much of human language metaphorical, there should be no surprise that also political discourse and understanding features figurative language. When we in addition know that many of the concepts that are central to politics, what politics in essence is *about*, concepts like *democracy, freedom, rights, justice, taxes, education, elections, laws, economy, nations* and *war*, are abstract and in essence creations of the human mind and our society, it indeed seems likely that political language will be, to speak figuratively, packed with metaphors.

In this section we will take a look at more specific metaphors central to political discourse and understanding. More specifically, section 2.3.1 is a general introduction to political metaphor and some of the research that has been done in this domain. Section 2.3.2 discusses Lakoff’s *Moral Politics*, a groundbreaking research into the centrality of conceptual metaphors in politics. A 2004 study by Cienki, in which claims made in Lakoff’s *Moral Politics* are investigated, will be the topic of section 2.3.3.

2.3.1 The metaphorical landscape of politics

In order to attain a basic understanding of even the most mundane news report with a political subject matter a reader needs to have some basic metaphorical concepts in place. Consider the following excerpts from some BBC articles, commenting upon the 2006 mid-term election in the United States and the prospects of Mr. Giuliani’s political career, respectively:

The mid-term elections have swept the Democrats to power in both houses of Congress. But the vote is a protest against the Republicans. They're calling it a Blue Wave, a sweeping rejection for President Bush. A re-alignment of the political makeup of the United States (BBC Article 1).

Former New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani has taken a key step towards running in the 2008 US presidential election. [...] His relatively moderate views may make it difficult for him to persuade mainstream Republicans that he should be their presidential candidate. His support for same-sex civil unions and embryonic stem cell research would put him to the left of most of his party members (BBC Article 2).

As we see, figurative language is very prevalent, and without a metaphorical understanding of phrases and descriptions such as “a Blue Wave”, “a re-alignment of the political makeup”, “running in the presidential election”, “mainstream Republicans”, and “to the left of most of his party members”, these articles would make no sense what so ever.

The fact that anyone doing any kind of talking, philosophizing or description of any political concept or topic would be put hard to test to try to do so without turning to metaphors, has been acknowledged, discussed, and researched since the days of Aristotle. It goes without saying that many have taken a great dislike to this metaphorical landscape, but, as Miller (1979: 155) noted, even Hobbes, when vehemently rebuking metaphorical reasoning within the politic realm, could not do so without employing metaphors. Metaphors seem to be an inescapable substance of political discourse and understanding.

Any attempt at providing something remotely like a complete inventory of political metaphors would require an entire library. But in order to get some initial understanding of the extent and variety of the topic, Miller provided in his essay a list of some of the major sources that the metaphors used in political theory and discourse draw upon:

... the human relationships of everyday life, such as those in the family (father to children, husband to wife, master to slave, brotherhood), those in the sphere of exchanges, contracts and promises, and those in sporting activities and games or in warfare and military life; making and doing things through the arts, such as medicine, gymnastics, generalship, horsemanship, tending sheep, piloting, building, tailoring, painting, acting, flute-playing, and engineering on a large scale; the characteristics of artifacts such as a building and its foundations, a pyramid, a wheel, a pair of scales, a web or cloth woven from thread, clocks, machines, pumps, engines, computers, and communications networks; capacities of human beings, such as in references that treat a community or institution as a “person” that plans or exercises foresight and experiences such human emotions as love, hatred, pride, sympathy, and magnanimity; subhuman

activities or processes in nature, such as animal behavior (Machiavelli's fox and lion, Nietzsche's lambs and birds of prey), organic processes common to human and non-human beings (conception, birth, maturation, health and disease, death), and the natural properties or motion of bodies (revolution, attraction and repulsion, the exertion of force); and, finally, *mathematical relations* and proportions of various kinds (Miller 1979; 157).

As we will see, most of the political metaphors that we touch upon in this thesis will have as their source domain one of the listed entities in Miller's inventory. For example, the "sporting activities" and "warfare and military" life are the metaphorical sources that Howe (1988) found in his study of metaphors employed in U.S. elections. He concluded that politicians draw heavily and systematically on the terminology of sports and warfare. Thus, in using sports-terminology elections are metaphorically seen as a rule-governed contest between two opponents, whereas use of military jargon depicts politics as an exercise of power, the politicians portrayed as ruthless and treacherous (Howe 1988). The recurrent use together with the commonness and consistent use of warfare and sports metaphors is in fact not restricted to electoral topics only, but seems indeed to be applied to the whole field of politics, making *POLITICS IS WAR* and *POLITICS IS SPORTS* general conceptual metaphors applied in numerous instances of political discourse.

That capacities of human beings is being mapped onto abstract entities, like a state being conceptualized as a person, was one of the most important conceptual metaphors that Lakoff found in his 1991 paper on *Metaphor and War*. Lakoff describes the *STATE AS A PERSON* metaphors like this:

A state is conceptualized as a person, engaging in social relations within a world community. Its land-mass is its home. It lives in a neighborhood, and has neighbors, friends and enemies. States are seen as having inherent dispositions: they can be peaceful or aggressive, responsible or irresponsible, industrious or lazy (Lakoff 1991).

In such a system, the state can have other human traits in that its well-being is judged from its economic wealth, its strength from the size of its military, and the grade of maturity from its industrialization progress (ibid.). Miller's "sphere of exchanges" is seen in another of the metaphors Lakoff found; *POLITICS IS BUSINESS*, where "efficient political management is seen akin to efficient business management" (1991).

2.3.2 Lakoff's moral politics

In *Moral Politics* George Lakoff sets out to apply all his accumulated knowledge and skills in cognitive science to the world of politics, or, more accurately, the bipolar realm of U.S. politics, starring conservatives versus liberals. His intent is no less than to create a model which can explain not only what “unifies the collections of liberal and conservative political positions” but also “why liberals and conservatives take the stands they do on particular issues” (Lakoff 2002: 12). A model such as this must for instance be able to explain what conservatives' opposition to abortion has to do with their opposition to environmentalism, and what those have to do with opposition to affirmative action or gun control or the minimum wage, and, of course, also explain why liberals tend to have the cluster of opposing political stands (*ibid*).

Lakoff's model is based on a suggestion that the divide between conservatives and liberals comes down to different worldviews. In the language of cognitive science that means that conservatives and liberals conceptualize the world differently. Lakoff's basic claims are that 1) morality is at the heart of U.S. politics, political difference being in fact differences of morality, and 2) the moral divide is grounded in two different views of the family.

The two different models of the family that Lakoff proposes is that of the Strict Father; from which are drawn the moral principles that form the base of conservative political views, and the Nurturant Parent model; providing liberals with their moral basis and, consequently, their political stands. In Lakoff's own words: “The conservative/liberal division is ultimately a division between strictness and nurturance as ideals at all levels – from the family to morality to religion and, ultimately, to politics” (2002: x).

A reasonable question that arises is what specifically would lead two different views of the family to amount to different political ideologies. The link Lakoff proposes between family-based morality and politics comes from the *NATION AS A FAMILY* conceptual metaphor; one of the most common ways we have of conceptualizing what a nation is (2002: 13). In this metaphor the government is seen as a parent and the citizens are seen as the children, and examples of how it surfaces in our language are seen in expressions like “Founding Fathers” and “Uncle Sam”, and when a country sends its “sons” and “daughters” to war (2002: 154f). But this metaphor is far from specific in what kind of family the nation is, and it is here that Lakoff

claims conservatives see the NATION AS A FAMILY metaphor as a Strict Father family, whereas liberals envision it as a Nurturant Parent family (2002: 155). Lakoff's own description of the two models of the family is found below:

The Strict Father Model:

This model posits a traditional nuclear family, with the father having primary responsibility for supporting and protecting the family as well as the authority to set overall policy, to set strict rules for the behavior of children, and to enforce the rules. The mother has the day-to-day responsibility for the care of the house, raising the children, and upholding the father's authority. Children must respect and obey their parents; by doing so they build character, that is, self-discipline and self-reliance. Love and nurturance are, of course, a vital part of family life but can never outweigh parental authority, which is itself an expression of love and nurturance – tough love. Self-discipline, self-reliance, and respect for legitimate authority are the crucial things that children must learn.

Once children are mature, they are on their own and must depend on their acquired self-discipline to survive. Their self-reliance gives them authority over their own destinies, and parents are not to meddle in their lives.

The Nurturant Parent Model:

Love, empathy, and nurturance are primary, and children become responsible, self-disciplined and self-reliant through being cared for, respected, and caring for others, both in their family and in their community. Support and protection are part of nurturance, and they require strength and courage on the part of their parents. The obedience of children comes out of their love and respect for their parents and their community, not out of fear of punishment. Good communication is crucial. If their authority is to be legitimate, parents must explain why their decisions serve the cause of protection and nurturance. Questioning by children is seen as positive, since children need to learn why their parents do what they do and since children often have good ideas that should be taken seriously. Ultimately, of course, responsible parents have to make decisions, and that must be clear.

The principal goal of nurturance is for children to be fulfilled and happy in their lives. A fulfilling life is assumed to be, in significant part, a nurturant life – one committed to family and community responsibility. What children need to learn most is empathy for others, the capacity for nurturance, and the maintenance of social ties, which cannot be done without the strength, respect, self-discipline, and self-reliance that comes through being cared for. Raising a child to be fulfilled also requires helping that child develop his or her potential for achievement and enjoyment. That requires respecting the child's own values and allowing the child to explore the range of ideas and options the world offers.

When children are respected, nurtured, and communicated with from birth, they gradually enter into a lifetime relationship of mutual respect, communication, and caring with their parents (Lakoff 2002: 33f).

Each model induces a set of moral principles. The systems use many of the same moral principles but give them opposing priorities, in the end making them radically opposed (Lakoff 2002: 34f). A list of each model's moral principles, with their underlying conceptual

metaphors is provided in Appendix 1. For a more comprehensive explanation of the moral system of the two models, cf. Lakoff (2002 chapter 5 and 6 (pages 65-140)). To make more sense of these two models, one should also have an understanding of how Lakoff argues that moral thinking is metaphorical in nature, and how the MORAL ACCOUNTING metaphor functions (cf. Lakoff 2002: 41-64).

It is important to understand that the two models of the family, their moral priorities, and the ensuing conservative and liberal worldviews are idealized models; they are central prototypes. Also, Lakoff naturally understands that the real world of politics is by far ideal and coherent. Two politicians within the same party may hold quite different positions on certain issues and both be considered conservatives or liberals. And the average citizen does not even on a good day have something that resembles a coherent ideology; the changing voting pattern is in itself evidence for this. Indeed, Lakoff believes that most people do not have internally consistent worldviews, and it is normal to “operate with multiple models in various domains” (2002: 14). It is very likely that all of us recognize both models of the family, and may use both but at different aspects of our life (for example use the NP model in our own family life, but the SF model in our political views), or that we recognize both models but believe in one and mock the other (2002: 159). Often, Lakoff says, he finds that many use the SF model as to how they think fathers should act and the NP model for how they think mothers should act (ibid.). It is also true that in the electoral history of the U.S., it is not uncommon to have, for example, a conservative President and a liberal Congress. Such was the case during the cold war, and Lakoff sees this as the voters (unconsciously, of course) reproducing the Strict Father and the Nurturant Mother in the national family, the Strict Father being the President and his administration, and Congress being the Nurturant Mother (2002: 15).

In addition, neither liberalism nor conservatism are monolithic ideologies, but have considerable variation. Lakoff sees liberalism and conservatism as radial categories (cf. Lakoff 1987: 91ff), where the variations of liberalism and conservatism can be explained on the basis of four parameters of variation to the central model. For a thorough discussion of those parameters and examples of the different forms of liberalism and conservatism they can give rise to cf. Lakoff (2002: 283-309).

A problem with Lakoff’s models is perhaps the lack of empirical evidence. Apart from a few linguistic expressions as examples of the most central conceptual metaphors, such as MORAL

ACCOUNTING and NATION AS A FAMILY, there are few linguistic findings to support the claimed conceptual metaphors. As Cienki notes: “The [SF and NP] models appear to have been deduced largely from the logic behind political policies, or inferred as principles guiding political rhetoric, rather than having been found directly exemplified in linguistic expressions (2002: 411)”. This may be problematic to researchers who want to further investigate Lakoff’s models or use them as a framework, seeing that it would perhaps be hard to know which linguistic expression to look for as evidence of the conceptual metaphors that make up the two models. In the following section, it is precisely such a study of Lakoff’s models that will be discussed, with focus on the issues that are most related to this thesis.

2.3.3 Cienki 2004

Cienki (2004) uses the 2000 televised presidential debates as corpus, featuring George W. Bush as the Republican candidate and Al Gore as the Democratic candidate, attempting to find occurrences of SF and NP metaphorical expressions. The hypothesis was that Bush was likely to use considerable more SF metaphorical expressions, with the opposite pattern being recognizable in Gore’s case (Cienki 2004: 411). However, in 100 pages of transcripts Cienki found only 48 expressions of metaphorical language that reflected the conceptual metaphors of the SF and NP models (Cienki 2004: 414). Out of the 48 expressions, Bush used 22 SF and 7 NP metaphorical expressions, while Gore used 5 SF and 14 NP metaphorical expressions (ibid.).

How, then, does Cienki explain these results? First of all, Lakoff (2002: 31) suggests that “conservatives have a deeper insight into their worldview than liberals into theirs” and that “where conservatives are relatively aware of how their politics relates to their views of family life and morality, liberals are less aware of the implicit view of morality and the family that organizes their own political beliefs”. This is suggested as an explanation of Bush’ higher ratio (3:2) of SF expressions compared to Gore’s use of NP expressions (2004: 411f).

More important, perhaps, is the search for a possible explanation for the low overall productivity of SF and NP metaphorical expressions in this study. Cienki discusses Clausner and Croft’s (1997) suggestions about how conceptual metaphors differ according to their degree of *schematicity* and *productivity*. In short, metaphors have different degrees of schematicity, dependent on how “general” and “useful” the given target and source domains

of a metaphorical mapping are (e.g. the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR have greater schematicity than THE CONVINCINGNESS OF AN ARGUMENT IS THE STRUCTURAL INTEGRITY OF A BUILDING). In addition, metaphors also differ as to productivity, that is, how successfully a given conceptual metaphor manifests itself in linguistic expressions (e.g. GOOD IS UP/BAD IS DOWN is very productive due to the many linguistic expressions found originating from this conceptual metaphor)(Cienki: 2004: 415). In view of this, Cienki proposes that the NP and SF metaphors are “not productive in the context of this data, and we can surmise that they are probably not productive in Bush’s and Gore’s language overall” (ibid). He further notes that though many of the SF and NP conceptual metaphors do seem to be schematic metaphors, the problem seems to be that though the SF and NP metaphor may very well be active in the mind when reasoning about politics, they do not “show themselves” in the context of the debates. This may be due to that the candidates, as the norm is, are talking about specific issues, like foreign policy and economic issues, thus making the metaphor they use to be more related to target domains on a more specific level (ibid).

However, though Bush and Gore’s language does not express many direct SF and NP metaphors, evidence to support the SF and NP models can still be found, but then as *entailments* (Cienki 2004: 415f). An entailment, understood as “a logical consequence of a given conceptual metaphor” (Cienki 2004: 416), can be both metaphorical and non-metaphorical in its realization. For example, when Gore says “will we use that prosperity wisely in a way that benefits all of our people?”, that is an instance of a non-metaphorical entailment of the NP metaphor MORALITY AS FAIR DISTRIBUTION (ibid.). Taking this into consideration, together with a gesture analysis, Cienki found more consistency in his findings, and though no conclusion can be reached that gives coherent support to Lakoff’s models “in the usual way of finding verbal expressions that are direct ‘surface’ manifestations of ‘underlying’ conceptual metaphors” (Cienki 2004: 433), there may be support in more subtle ways; that is, in the forms of entailments and gestures. A conclusion may be that Lakoff’s model may very well be accurate in itself, but there seems to be a methodological problem in verifying it, possibly caused by the models’ schematic quality and low productiveness (in the sense of Clausner and Croft 1997). The methodological issues raised in this section will be one of the topics explored and discussed in the next chapter on corpus and method.

3. Corpus and Method

For many years the Chomskyan tradition of relying on introspection and intuition for evidence was the unquestioned method that dominated much of linguistic studies (Cienki 2005b: 4). However, in recent years a much needed call for more scientific research has been forwarded, and, especially within Cognitive Linguistics, with its close ties to anthropology, psychology and neurology, the research methods are changing more to the likeness of those found in the natural sciences (ibid.). This means that the scientific values of observable, realistic data, replicability and validity should be important concerns to this study. However, it is well-known that in metaphor research, and perhaps conceptual metaphor research in particular, methodological problems and concerns are numerous, and the expectations of establishing scientific reliable research methods come with no small challenges. Though we touched upon some of these challenges and problems in the previous chapter, especially in section 2.3.3, these problematic issues are so important that a thorough discussion is in order. Thus, section 3.2 is organized such that every specific procedure used for identifying and researching metaphors will be preceded by the appropriate theoretical discussion of methodological procedures and problems. First, however, the corpus of this thesis will be presented.

3.1 Presentation of corpus

A scientific approach in linguistics demands that natural language data, as spoken or written by the language users, are used as the base for any inferences that are drawn about language. When studying political language, data such as political newspaper articles and editorials, political debates, speeches and manifestos may serve as good sources. The corpus of this thesis is based on the 1997 electoral manifestos of the Labour and Conservative parties. I had two primary reasons for choosing manifestos as corpus. The first reason has to do with *whose language* (and metaphors) we are investigating. The topic of this study is the language use of two political parties. But in reality there is no such thing as a party having its own language. A party, as we know, is an abstract concept, and any reference to a party's language use is therefore figurative. In reality, the way a political party decides to formulate its policies can be said to be the result of many individuals' consensus, due to shared understanding of the

concepts important in political reasoning. Thus, it is important that the language samples used in this study are the result of such a shared understanding of concepts, and a manifesto may be the closest we can get to have such a thing as a political party “speaking with one voice”.

The second reason is that because we are to *compare* how Labour and Conservative use metaphors when talking about the same issues and concepts, we need data where the two parties are talking about the same subjects with approximately the same amount of linguistic output. In other words, if we are to compare metaphors employed by Labour and Conservatives when talking about, say, economy, we need a material where in fact both parties are talking about this subject, using roughly the same quantity of speech. The decision to use the 1997 manifestos specifically is mostly due to the abovementioned reason of comparable material. In the most recent manifestos, from the 2001 and 2005 elections, the overall length (number of words) of the manifestos differs greatly, making a fair comparison between Labour and Conservative difficult. For example, the 2001 Labour manifesto consists of 25611 words, while the 2001 Conservative manifesto consists of only 11455 words. The 2005 manifestos are even more imbalanced. On the other hand, the 1997 Conservative manifesto is made up of 21216 words, nearly equal to the 1997 Labour manifesto’s 17666 words. However, the actual corpus used in this research does not contain the whole 1997 manifestos, but a few selected main topics of specific political issues. The topics selected and the number of words each party devoted to that topic is accounted for in the table below. As can be seen, the total word count of this corpus is 21708.

Topic	Labour Party	Conservative Party
Economy	3404	3045
Education	1949	1976
Health	991	1069
Crime	921	1978
Foreign policy	1851	1945
Family Life, social programs	1191	1388
Total words	10307	11401

Table 1: Corpus word distribution

After the selected parts of each manifesto were put together in a new Word document, every sentence was separated and individually coded. Thus, the first line of the Conservative corpus looks like this: *C01. Doubling Living Standards*, where the *C* refers to it being from the Conservative party and *01* to it being the first sentence (in this case a headline) of that corpus. When giving examples from the corpus, the whole sentence will be included, including the code, so that if the context in which the sentence appears needs to be consulted, it can easily be found in Appendix 2 and 3, where the Conservative and Labour data are, respectively, enclosed. However, even a corpus that has been narrowed down to only contain parts of the two manifestos has too many metaphors in it for us to have in-depth discussions of them all. Though the whole corpus has been searched for metaphors, only some selected concepts and topics from the corpus will be presented and discussed. Exactly which political concepts and topics that are included in this study are accounted for in the introduction to chapter 4.

3.2 Researching metaphor

In this study we will be investigating linguistic metaphors as well as conceptual ones. However, as linguistic metaphors are found in linguistic utterances (in our case as words and phrases in the given corpus) and conceptual metaphors reside in the mind, the method for identifying them can not be the same; they are on different levels of analysis (cf. Cameron 1999a). In section 3.2.1 we will be discussing how to work out frameworks for identifying linguistic metaphors. With respect to identifying conceptual metaphors, the main framework is of course Conceptual Metaphor Theory, but there are still several issues that can be discussed regarding exactly how we may or may not infer conceptual metaphors from linguistic evidence. Those issues will be the topic of section 3.2.2. A part of the thesis will also work with Lakoff's SF and NP models, to see if they may present some explanatory power to possible findings, and problematic issues and potential methods for that investigation is discussed in section 3.2.3.

3.2.1 Operationalizing metaphor for research of linguistic metaphors

The first tool a metaphor researcher needs is a working definition of what a linguistic metaphor is, in order for the linguistic metaphors to be properly identified. We will adopt a basic definition given by Cameron (1999b: 118): A linguistic metaphor is when a Topic

domain is referred to by one or more Vehicle terms, and there is an incongruity between the Topic domain and Vehicle term, but that incongruity can be made sense of by some transfer of meaning from the Vehicle term. From this definition a huge variety of linguistic metaphors can be found, and one basic problem for any researchers of metaphors is indeed to see the metaphor behind all the shapes it may take on, something we can call a metaphor identification problem. Let us explore this potential problem a bit further.

The wide range of metaphors that exists is due to the almost unlimited linguistic realizations that the Topic and Vehicle terms may have. The perhaps most easily recognizable example of a linguistic metaphor is when both the Topic and the Vehicle are explicitly stated and both are nouns, as we see in the example below:

(9) Juliet is the sun.

Here, the Topic is *Juliet*, and the Vehicle, generally underlined as here, is the *sun*. This type of linguistic metaphor is easy to spot, though unfortunately not that common. In another type of metaphor we find a preposition as Vehicle, like the one in example (10) below:

(10) That was in a different time.

Here the Topic is the noun *time* and since time does not have a natural enclosure, the use of *in* is metaphorical and thus the Vehicle of this sentence. The Vehicle could also be realized in the form of a verb, as example (11) shows, where *feelings* is the Topic and *bottled up* is the Vehicle:

(11) She bottled up her feelings.

In some linguistic metaphors the topic is not explicitly stated in the sentence. Such instances may be called *implicit metaphors* (Steen 1999: 84). The problem with such instances of metaphor is that they require the researcher to study the context and identify the metaphor by inference, which of course may add to further subjectivism on the researcher's behalf. An example of such a metaphor is given below:

(12) I'm a little rusty today.

Here the Vehicle is easy to spot as *a little rusty*, but the Topic can only be identified by inference from the context, and could be said to be *the mind* or *the day to day (psychological) condition of this particular person* etc. As we see, such inference certainly adds a subjective flavor to the metaphor identification process, as different researcher may infer a slightly different Topic.

The above examples are but a few of the forms a linguistic metaphor may take on, and not by far as complex as the linguistic metaphors we see in more “sophisticated” sentence structures and texts. However, our simple examples may still raise discussion as to if they should be coded as linguistic metaphors as all. Let us consider example (10) one more time. How can we really claim that the use of *in* is metaphorical? One could say that the conventional domain of *in* has to do with actual, physical objects and containers, so that using *in* in relation to feelings and abstract entities is transferring meaning from a physical to a non-physical domain, which constitutes as metaphor (Cameron 1999b: 120). Others may argue that feelings and other entities like it are used so conventionally together with *in*, that we can no longer call it a metaphorical use (ibid.). The same discussion can be held concerning numerous instances of linguistic metaphors, but more prone to discussion is, perhaps, linguistic metaphors where the Vehicle is a preposition, as we have seen, or verbs. Consider for example the sentences: *I see your point* and *He supported the suggestion*. Are we to classify these uses of *see* and *supported* as metaphorical? Well, yes, because though the transferred uses of these verbs are very common, which may make some feel that no metaphor is present, they are still metaphoric in origin. To *see* is to physically use our eyes, and to *support* is to physically use some part of your body to hold something up, and since a *point* and a *suggestion* are abstract, we have, again, instances of metaphorical transfer of meaning from concrete categories to abstract ones.

However, in language there is no such thing as clear-cut categories. And herein lies the heart of any metaphor-researcher’s problem: Because of the fuzzy borders of categories there is no list of necessary and sufficient conditions by which a word, phrase or sentence can be identified as clearly metaphorical. Indeed, it is in fact more descriptive to talk about *metaphoricity*, where metaphor is a matter of gradation – as Cameron puts it; “some metaphors are more metaphorical than others” (1999b: 107). So what researchers might disagree about is, as I see it, just how much “incongruity” (cf. our linguistic metaphor

definition) there needs to be between the Vehicle and Topic for an instance to be considered metaphorical. We thus have a methodological problem of “where to draw the line”; it becomes up to the individual researcher to set conditions for what shall be counted as a metaphor – and what not to include. Different researchers may then set criteria in the operationalizing of metaphor in which the result is that some “boundary” linguistic expressions will be coded as metaphorical with one researcher, but perhaps not with another. For a metaphor-study’s validity to be upheld, it is important that the researcher is clear about exactly what his or her identification criteria are.

Still, any researcher of metaphors is likely to be faced with a lot of instances where a subjective decision seems unavoidable. Are there any possible solutions to this problem, or at least any measures the researcher may take to decrease the numbers of “close calls” concerning an expression’s degree of metaphoricity? First of all, though boundary decisions seem to be unavoidable, the researcher may at least explicitly record all such instances where he or she is in doubt as to code a given instance as metaphorical or not (Cameron 1999b: 123). In this way, the researcher may then easily choose whether or not to include those instances, or, if she wants to perform a quantitative count of the metaphors, she may do so both with and without the more “uncertain” metaphors.

Another measure to reduce bias is to have the metaphors of a corpus identified by more than one researcher, either by a collaborative research group or by the researcher employing an assistant. The latter method was used by Cienki in his research into SF and NP metaphors, where after the specific identification criteria were agreed upon, a trained assistant coded 20% of the data, and the assistant’s and Cienki’s findings could then be compared to each other, measuring agreement by using Cohen’s kappa (a standard measure of inter-rater agreement) (Cienki 2005b: 5). An interesting example of a collaborative research group, is the Pragglejazz (named after the first initials of its ten members) project, where a group of well-known researchers of metaphors, from different disciplines, are working on developing reliable procedures for the identification of metaphorically used words in texts (Cienki 2005b: 9). There are undeniable advantages to studies where the actual metaphor identification is being done by more than one person, as subjectivity, randomness and the recency effect, as well as under-identifying, are all dangers which the researcher working alone may meet (Low 1999: 49).

Unfortunately, I will have to rely on my own metaphor identification skills, as no trained assistant is available to me. However, the most important conclusion from this discussion has to be that the researcher must be specific about which criteria he or she will use to identify linguistic metaphor in the data. Below follows the coding guidelines used for identifying linguistic metaphors in this corpus. The guidelines are developed by the Pragglejaz research group (Cienki 2005b: 11), but are slightly adapted to better suit the purpose of identifying political metaphors:

- (A). Read the entire text to establish a general understanding of the meaning.
- (B). For each sentence, determine the lexical units in the text.
- (C). For each lexical unit in the text, check metaphorical use:
 - (1) Establish the meaning of each lexical unit in context, i.e. how it applies to an entity, relation or attribute in the situation evoked by the text (contextual meaning). You should take into account what comes before and after the lexical unit.
 - (2) Determine if the lexical units have a more basic current/contemporary meaning in other contexts than the one in the given context. For our purposes, basic meanings tend to be:
 - more concrete; what they evoke is easier to imagine, see, hear, feel, smell, and taste.
 - relate to bodily action.
 - more precise (as opposed to vague).
 - historically older.Basic meanings are not necessarily the most frequent meanings of the lexical unit.
 - (3) If the lexical units have a more basic current/contemporary meaning in other contexts than the given context, decide whether the contextual meaning can be understood by comparison to, and in contrast with, the basic meaning.
 - (4) If any metaphorically used lexical items are used, are they related to any of the political topics I want to investigate, i.e. to economy, taxes, crime, welfare etc.?
 - (5) If yes, mark the lexical units as metaphorical by underlining them.
 - (6) If there are any boundary decisions as to if a lexical item is used metaphorical or not, the sentence should be explicitly marked.

Repeat steps (1) – (6) for each lexical unit.

Though we have been talking explicitly about metaphors in these discussions, we may in our material sometimes come across interesting instances of personification, metonymy or other types of figurative language. When that have occurred in this study, those instances are coded as metaphorical because the essence of this thesis is investigating figurative political language in general, though the theoretical framework have focused specifically on metaphor.

3.2.2 From metaphor in language to metaphor in thought

In a study such as this thesis, the work does not end when all the linguistic metaphors have been identified and classified. We can now on the basis of these linguistic metaphors argue for underlying conceptual metaphors, which may then again serve to explain the existence of the linguistic metaphors in the first place. However, as Low states, any “generalizations from metaphoric utterances to social behavior or conceptual/mental organization should not be assumed to be true; they need to be justified” (1999: 65). How do we then go about justifying conceptual metaphors?

First of all, we must agree that not every linguistic metaphor can be said to also be a conceptual metaphor. This seems perhaps obvious, but there appears to be a problematic tendency in some metaphor research to argue for the existence of conceptual metaphors with very few linguistic utterances to back it up (Deignan 2005: 140). As an example of such overgeneralizations, Deignan refers to a study of political discourse where the researchers, based on the following two citations by US senate members *He plucked January 15th out of thin air* and *None of us has a crystal ball*, argued the conceptual metaphor BUSH AS A MAGICIAN (Deignan 2005: 140). We see that in order to argue underlying conceptual metaphors, there should be more substantial evidence, but exactly how much evidence, and what kind of evidence is needed?

When we classify similar topic domains together, we sometimes observe that there exists systematicity in the vehicle terms belonging to these related topic domains. It is such systems of often overlapping and partial vehicle terms that are used to provide linguistic evidence for conceptual metaphors, and thus inferences about the interaction of metaphor and thought (Cameron 1999a: 16). However, though we only would want to argue conceptual metaphors based on such systematicity of vehicle terms, we are still faced with the same problem as where to “draw the line” concerning just how many instances of systematic and coherent linguistic metaphors are “needed” as evidence for metaphoric thought. Again much responsibility lies with the researcher’s ability to make valid decisions. And, again, a good practice is to keep any “borderline decisions” out “in the open”.

With respect to conceptual metaphors in this thesis, if we find evidence for any such underlying constructions, evidence for this will be provided and we can then argue explicitly for the conceptual metaphor in the thesis' main text; thus, every reader may assess the evidence and the validity of the conceptual metaphors for him- or herself, and choose to agree or not with the arguments. This approach will be in line with the method used by David Block in his investigation of conceptual metaphors in SLA research, where he concluded that "if my interpretations [of conceptual metaphors] were simply idiosyncratic, then every individual examining my data would be likely to come up with a different construal, and nobody would be able to understand my analysis" (1999: 138).

3.2.3 Researching the SF and NP models

In the discussion of the Cienki study of SF and NP conceptual metaphors (section 2.3.3), we touched upon some problematic issues concerning how we as researchers can use Lakoff's SF and NP models. Cienki found, as previously noted, very few actual manifestations of SF and NP conceptual metaphors in his corpus, leading to a discussion on research methodology. In this section we will go a bit further into the problematic situation, and see what consequences and challenges this thesis may face.

As mentioned in section 2.3.3, one of Cienki's (2004: 415) suggestions as to why he found so few SF and NP metaphors in his material, was that though the SF and NP conceptual metaphors very well could be active in the minds of the politicians when talking about politics, they would not surface in actual linguistic expressions due to the context of the political debates was kept on an issue-specific level, thus the target domains would not be matching those of the SF and NP conceptual metaphors. If we take a look at some of the actual target domains of the SF and NP models, we find concepts like BEING GOOD, DOING EVIL, MORALITY, IMMORALITY, MORAL AUTHORITY, WELL-BEING etc., which we must admit is hardly the topic of your normal political discussion. Instead, target domains are more likely to be for example CRIME, NATURAL RESOURCES, TAXES and SCHOOLS. Similar finds like this have led researchers to suggest that conceptual metaphors seem to be understood on different levels of framing (Cienki 2005b: 7). Parent and Lakoff (2006) suggest three such different levels, Level One being *values*, Level Two being *issue areas* and Level Three being *policies*. An example of this, taken from Parent and Lakoff (2006), can be found in the illustration below:

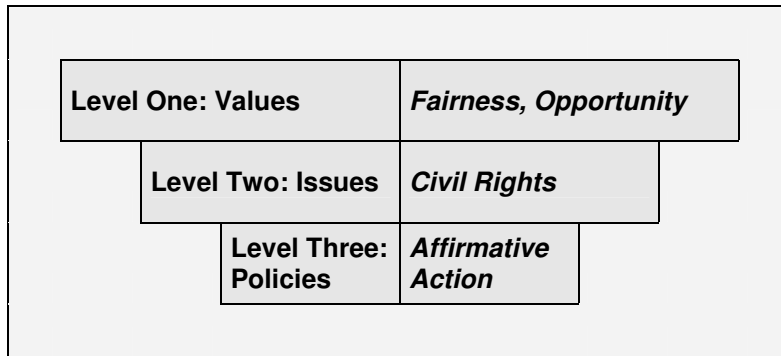


Figure 2: Different levels of framing

Here, Level Three represents the policy *affirmative action*, up one level is the issue, which in this case is *civil rights*, and on Level One we find the value that supports the politician’s view on this policy, which would perhaps be *fairness* or *opportunity* (making this politician a probable liberal). We see that though the values is an important part of our reasoning about politics, they may not appear as direct linguistic expressions, because most of political talk is held on level two or three.

As most of the SF and NP conceptual metaphors are on Level One, Cienki proposes that a more “fully fleshed-out” version of Lakoff’s models are needed, where researchers can see how the models are realized on all the three different levels, thus one could have the opportunity of coding expressions as SF or NP on Level Two and Three as well (2005b: 7). As an example, the Level One SF conceptual metaphor THE MORAL ORDER IS THE NATURAL ORDER, could have as Level Two metaphors NATURE IS A RESOURCE, NATURE IS PROPERTY and NATURE IS A MECHANICAL SYSTEM, which all reflect the Level One conceptual metaphor’s view of human domination over nature (Cienki 2005b: 7f). However, as this “fleshing-out” of the models would be an arduous task to say the least, Cienki does not set out to further enhance Lakoff’s models, and neither will any attempt at the task be carried out here.

However, another approach to researching the SF and NP models could be to identify the issue- and policy-specific conceptual metaphors and then try to infer from them possible underlying Level One conceptual metaphors, which then could be argued as belonging to either the SF or the NP model. This is the approach we will be taking. In some cases, it might also be necessary to use non-metaphorical entailments as part of evidence for underlying SF or NP conceptual metaphors.

4. Findings and Discussion

In this chapter the findings from the metaphor research will be presented and discussed. As we saw in the presentation of the corpus (section 3.1), not every metaphor found in the corpus will be presented and discussed. In order to focus on a more in-depth and qualitative discussion of metaphors and possible underlying structures, the actual number of topics had to be fairly few. In section 4.1 a number of selected general and important political concepts such as Britain, the Government, the Parliament and policies, programmes, schemes and such were investigated for metaphor use. Section 4.2 focuses entirely on one specific political issue, namely economy and the metaphors the Conservative and Labour Party used in their manifestos when talking about that subject. Section 4.3 is also devoted to a political subject, notably the topic of crime. Each subchapter is constructed in much the same manner: we will first present and discuss the linguistic metaphors found, focusing on those that are most interesting and the most numerous. Then, if there is linguistic evidence, we will argue for the presence of conceptual metaphors. Lastly, we will look for possible SF and NP connections with the findings. The actual comparing of Conservative and Labour metaphors will be continuous throughout the discussion.

4.1 Political concepts

Throughout their manifestos the Conservative Party and Labour make many references to institutions such as *Britain*, the *Government* and the *Parliament*, the relation between the government and the people of Britain, and concepts such as *programmes*, *policies* and *schemes*. The metaphors used when the parties are talking about these concepts and their relations make for interesting study, and these concepts are just as central to politics as the actual issues politicians talk about, thus deserving a closer investigation. We will begin by looking in section 4.1.1 on the concept of Britain. In section 4.1.2 the topic is the Government, the Parliament and the relation between the ruling bodies and the people. An important part of an electoral manifesto is to set out the party's strategic direction and outline its most important policies, programmes, schemes, reforms and prospective legislation.

Metaphors used when the parties discuss such programmes and schemes will be dealt with in section 4.1.3.

4.1.1 Britain

In everyday discourse we often use the terms *state*, *nation* and *country* synonymously. However, in a more strict sense we could say that *country* refers to a geographical area, *nation* denotes a people (that may or may not inhabit its “own” geographical territory), while *state* is a more political term, referring to the concept of a set of governing institutions that have *sovereignty* over a territory and its people. Though these definitions do not do any justice to these terms with respect to complexity, the point is that when we talk about *Britain* we could do so referring to the actual *landmass*, its *people*, or the *state*. If referring to the latter we would be in a much more abstract domain, since a state is a manmade concept, not something that has any physical or psychological qualities. Considering this, let us look at some sentences from our material in which Britain is the topic:

- (13) C06. Britain helped to secure it.
- (14) C41. Britain is now enjoying the longest period of stable prices for almost fifty years.
- (15) C69. The only way Britain will be able to compete and win in world markets is by sticking to the Conservative policies that are delivering success.
- (16) C115. But if Britain signed up to the Social Chapter it would be used to impose that model on us - destroying British jobs.
- (17) L146. Britain can do better.
- (18) L640. Labour wants Britain to be respected in the world for the integrity with which it conducts its foreign relations.
- (19) L604. The country takes pride in their professionalism and courage.
- (20) L557. With a new Labour government, Britain will be strong in defence; resolute in standing up for its own interests; an advocate of human rights and democracy the world over; a reliable and powerful ally in the international institutions of which we are a member; and will be a leader in Europe.

As we can see, Britain is here portrayed as having several human qualities, both physical and emotional, like being able to *help*, to *enjoy*, to *compete*, *write*, have *integrity*, take *pride*, *stand up*, be a *leader*. These kind of linguistic metaphors are very common, indeed it seems hard to talk about Britain *the state* without turning to metaphors. In the material 18 obvious instances where the Conservatives were using linguistic metaphors when talking about Britain were found, while the number for Labour was 15 instances, making these personifications of Britain very common for both parties.

Because of the consistency of these linguistic metaphors and the systematically linked vehicle terms (human action), we will argue that there is an underlying conceptual metaphor that gives rise to all these linguistic metaphors, namely the *STATE AS A PERSON* conceptual metaphor that we looked at in section 2.3.1. As we saw, in this conceptual metaphor human capacities are mapped onto the abstract concept of a state. This enables us to easily think and talk about a concept that otherwise is hard to grasp. However, there are also some consequences to consider. Since this conceptual metaphor simplifies a complex concept, it will hide (cf. section 2.2.2) complexities, in the end thus never being able to provide the “whole picture”. For example, when the Conservatives say *Britain is succeeding* (C60), who or what is *Britain* then denoting? Is it really all the people and the political institutions that make up the state? Is really every inhabitant of Britain succeeding? We see how easily a metaphor that conceptualize the *many* and the *complex* as *one* and *uniform* may fail to include the voice of the minorities and undermine differences of opinions.

4.1.2 The parliament, the government and the governed

The concept of *the British Parliament* shares some qualities with the above discussed concept of *Britain*. It has an undeniable physical manifestation as an actual building, where people gather to perform the duties for which they are elected, but also a highly abstract quality, in this case as a *legislative institution*. Below are some examples of how the parties speak of this institution:

- (21) C29. Over the next parliament, we will achieve our goal for the government to spend less than 40% of our national income
- (22) C47. During the next parliament, we will maintain an inflation target of 2½% or less.
- (23) L195. To encourage work and reward effort, we are pledged not to raise the basic or top rates of income tax throughout the next Parliament.
- (24) L130. Over the course of a five-year Parliament, as we cut the costs of economic and social failure we will raise the proportion of national income spent on education.

We see that the vehicle terms *over*, *during*, *throughout* and (*over the*) *course* are used. Let us look a bit closer on these terms to see what specific features are carried over to say something about what the parliament is. Beginning with *over*, we know that to search for *the* basic meaning of that word would be near impossible, as these kinds of delexicalised terms have very little intrinsic meaning but many possible uses. However, if we look at the context of

example (21) and consult different meanings of *over* in the Oxford English Dictionary (hereafter OED) we find that one meaning that matches the context of our example is when the term is referring to *time*. In such a case *over* is synonymous with *during* and *over the course*. Also *throughout* can be used to signify a period of time, and we indeed see that we could almost use the vehicle terms in the above examples interchangeably without losing the meaning of the sentences.

I believe that we have here two kinds of metaphors working. The first metaphorical process relates to how we use of the terms *over*, *throughout* and *course* in these examples. Though it would be more of a philosophical musing and not related to my actual material, I find it plausible that the time-referring meanings of some of the vehicle terms are metaphorical adaptations from a more concrete meaning, namely movement in space. *Over* is originally used with reference to crossing surfaces of sea and land, and then later used more generally of crossing the space or distance between two places (OED). Since *time* is a concept much harder to conceptualize than *space* (as it cannot be seen, touched, or sensed in any other way), it is easy to see how *over*, from denoting distance of space, also came to denote distances of time. The same case could be argued when referring to *throughout* and *course*, with *throughout*'s more basic meaning being "through the whole of a space, region, etc.", and *course* denoting "onward movement in a particular path, as of the heavenly bodies, a ship, etc." (OED).

The other metaphor working in our examples we see when parliament is spoken of as a stretch of time. Indeed, because of the widespread use of expressions such as "during the next parliament" and "over the next parliament", and because we have so many different vehicle terms that are systematically related to denote *time*, it is plausible that there exists a conceptual metaphor in which parliament is conceptualized as a sort of "political measurement" for a stretch of time. We could call this conceptual metaphor PARLIAMENT AS A STRETCH OF TIME. Why would we want to think of parliament in terms of time? Perhaps this might have to do with how the political system in Britain is made up. As we know, after a general election the candidates who win the most votes in their constituency get a seat in the parliament, and the government will then be formed by the party which wins the majority of seats in the parliament. In Britain, it is the Prime Minister who, within a five year period, decides when the parliament should be dissolved and a subsequent general election be called. Therefore there is no fixed limit as to how long parliaments will exist, though the normal

duration has for the last elections been around four years. The cycle of the general elections that decides the composition of parliament and government and the following dissolution of parliament some years later is very central to the political parties as the results on election day will decide if they can put their politics to practice over the next four years or so, or if they will have to spend those years on the sideline, without any influence. It thus seems as if one way of conceptualizing *parliament* is as a specific stretch of time. This conceptualization of parliament as a time-measurement also gives rise to the common metaphors we see in the sentences below:

- (25) C181. Early in the next Parliament we will introduce a Social Services Reform Bill which will create a new statutory framework for social services.
- (26) C435. Our aim is to keep crime falling over the lifetime of the next parliament.

Of course, as any other concepts parliament may be conceptualized in more than one way. Consider the two examples below:

- (27) C92. In the next parliament, we will reform business rates to reduce the cost that falls upon small businesses.
- (28) L540. It was a Labour MP who piloted the 1995 Carers Act through Parliament.

In example (27) the use of *in* may evoke a more physical image of the politicians actually being *in* the parliament (the building). However, *in* might also be used referring to a specific time period (e.g. *in the next year or two...*), and the sense of the sentence would thus be much in line with our previous examples. Example (28) is different, as *through* in this context seems to represent a more physical aspect, we almost get the feeling that the parliament is considered some sort of room or space with obstacles, as the specific Act referenced needed to be “piloted through”. This use of parliament thus seems to evoke the *function* of a legislative institution and the *process* of bills being presented, discussed and approved/rejected; the process perhaps being envisioned as some sort of physical structure (a tunnel, or stairs?) that the abstract bills/proposals have to work their way through. However, the material did not give enough examples of these kinds of metaphors to speculate any further on these conceptualizations of parliament, though they certainly would make an interesting topic of study for further research.

Let us now turn to the metaphors the parties used in connection with the concept *the government*. The government is the executive branch of the constitutional monarchy of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, and is formed by the leader of the political party with majority of seats in the House of Common. When looking into metaphors used on this subject the first, and not unexpected, finding is that the government, though made up of many individual politicians and their respective governmental departments, is talked about as an uniform entity possessing human qualities. Examples of this metaphorical use of human qualities are seen below:

- (29) C120. Although governments cannot create jobs, they can help people train and find work.
- (30) C168. The next Conservative government intends to reform the tax system so that it gives substantially more help to families.
- (31) L160. But by spending wisely and taxing fairly, government can help tackle the problems.
- (32) L601. A new Labour government will build a strong defence against these threats.

In total 26 instances of such personification were found, evenly divided on both parties. Again, the consistency of these linguistic metaphors and the systematically linked vehicle terms (human action), suggests the conceptual metaphor GOVERNMENT AS A PERSON. This way of conceptualizing a group of many individuals acting as one person seems to be very common and perhaps an inevitable aspect of how the human mind works. As for the politicians sitting in government we can assume that this particular conceptual metaphor works in their favor, as the government certainly would like to appear as a very homogeneous group that support the same policies and work towards common goals. Perhaps there is something in our conceptualizations of a single human as more able to accomplish a task in an effective manner than a group of individuals, who would perhaps have different opinions and judgments, which may again result in ineffective management.

Another common metaphor related to government is the use of referring to a Labour or Conservative government with only the party's name in combination with the preposition *under*. Let us see a couple of instances of this metaphor in use:

- (33) C372. Under Labour there have been years when resources for the NHS actually shrank - something that would be inconceivable with the Conservatives.

- (34) L177. The increase in taxes under the Conservatives is the most dramatic evidence of economic failure.

A political party holds the most power when it sits in government. By using *under* when referring to a government we create a metaphorical hierarchy with the government “on top” and the other political institutions and the people of the country as being in some ways “under”. Having that power is thus being above the other; being on top. Metaphorical expressions giving evidence of such a hierarchical power structure are very common and can be traced back to a fundamental set of conceptual metaphors that have to do with spatial orientation. In these orientational metaphors we map our experienced up-down orientation onto other aspects of our lives, for example our emotions, making the conceptual metaphor HAPPY IS UP; SAD IS DOWN (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 15). With respect to being in power it is the conceptual metaphor HAVING CONTROL OR FORCE IS UP; BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL OR FORCE IS DOWN (ibid.) that is responsible for the linguistic metaphors such as our examples above.

Altogether, 12 instances of this metaphorical use of *under* were found in the material. However, these instances were not evenly distributed between the two parties; the Conservatives had only three instances, while Labour had a total of nine. This is an incongruity that needs to be explained. First of all, it seems it is only when referring to the antagonist party that *under* is most used. In the three Conservative instances, two were neutral, referring to governments in general, while one (example (33)) referred to a Labour government. In the Labour instances, eight referred to Conservative governments. The last instance from Labour referred to both Labour and Conservative governments (L194. *There will be no return to the penal tax rates that existed under both Labour and Conservative governments in the 1970s.*). When the parties are referring to themselves in government (or the “government to be”; that is, if they win the election) they seem to favor the preposition *with*, thus almost creating a sense of comradeship with the citizens; they are seeing themselves as standing side by side with the people, not above them. This can be seen in example (33) above, and in the three instances below where Labour used *with* in this context:

- (35) L30. With Labour, the Department for Education and Employment will become a leading office of state.
- (36) L238. With Labour, British and inward investors will find this country an attractive and profitable place to do business.

- (37) L386. With Labour, the measure will be quality of outcome, itself an incentive for effectiveness.

At the time of the 1997 election the Conservatives had been in power since 1979, winning the last four general elections. For Labour it thus seems credible that when it compares its own politics to that of its rival party, it may refer much more to the sitting and previous Conservative governments than the Conservative party has the need to do. This might be a possible explanation for why we find the *under* metaphor used more in the Labour manifesto.

We have now seen the parties making use of the conceptualization of government as a living entity with human qualities as well as the conceptualization of being in government as being physically on top of others. However, large parts of the manifestos are dedicated to what the parties want to *do* when/if they get to form a government, in other words they will speak about *practicing politics*. Consider the sentences below:

- (38) C55. We are on course to achieve our goal.
(39) C81. Now we intend to go further, tackling the remaining problems they [small businesses] face.
(40) C312. We will take steps to ensure that every school fulfils its role of providing religious education and collective worship.
(41) L280. We support a major push to promote energy conservation - particularly by the promotion of home energy efficiency schemes, linked to our environment taskforce for the under-25s.
(42) L572. The third is the path a new Labour government will take.
(43) L311. We are determined not to continue down the road of a permanent have-not class, unemployed and disaffected from society.

The *we* in these sentences is the parties themselves, speaking as if they had the power to do the things they want, that is, if they were in government. As we see, the actual practicing of politics is spoken of as doing things physically, more specifically, as moving forward as on a path. In the material these kinds of linguistic metaphors were very common (more than 25 instances), which may be evidence that we are dealing with yet another conceptual metaphor, one that maps characteristics of physical motion onto the more abstract act of practicing politics. In examples (38), (42) and (43) we especially get the sense that there is not only a path to be taken, but that there may be some sort of *journey* involved. If that is the case we see a connection to the common conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY, in which characteristics associated with journeys, such as movement in a straight line, overcoming obstacles, having

to choose paths etc. are mapped onto the domain of life (Gibbs 1994: 238). We can thus call such a conceptual metaphor as seen in the examples above PRACTICING POLITICS IS BEING ON A PATH (JOURNEY).

Let us now take a look at the metaphors describing the relationship between the political institutions in power (government/state) and the people. Consider the sentences below, which are all from the Conservative manifesto:

- (44) C20. For enterprise to flourish, the state must get out of the way of the wealth creators.
- (45) C174. A heavy-handed and intrusive state can do enormous damage.
- (46) C203. We need to make sure efforts to help struggling families does not turn into unnecessary meddling.
- (47) C204. When the state goes too far, it is often the children who suffer.

Here we see that the state (public sector) is personified and capable of physically interfering with the doings of the people (private sector). This *interfering*, seen in the use of the vehicle terms *in the way*, *intrusive*, *meddling*, and *go too far*, is clearly described as an undesired and even dangerous phenomenon (can cause *damage* and *suffering*). In total, eight instances in the Conservative corpus that can be said to be such state/people interference metaphors were found. Labour, on the other hand, only applies one metaphor of the same sort, even stating at one time that it “does not see families and the state as rival providers for the needs of our citizens” (L484). Instead, the preferred view in the Labour corpus of how the relation between public and private sectors should be is to see it as a *partnership*. Labour has thirteen instances of such *partnership* metaphors, while the Conservatives have only three. The use of *partnership* evokes an image of the government as *one person* (as we have already seen) and the people as *one person*, and the relationship between the two as one of partners. This then becomes a metaphor which seems to favor a more cooperative approach between state and people, while the tendency in the Conservative corpus was instead to look negatively upon the public sector in favor of the private sector. On the basis of this we can argue that we may have two different conceptual metaphors underpinning Conservative and Labour’s views of the relationship between the state and its people. We can call the Conservatives and Labour’s conceptual metaphors for THE STATE IS AN INTERFERENCE and THE STATE IS A PARTNER, respectively. How can this first clear difference between metaphors used by the Conservative Party versus

Labour be explained? And why would the Conservatives in the first place want to depict the central government as *intrusive*?

By studying the context of the above examples we see that what the Conservatives are against is government *regulations*. To answer why conservatives may oppose such regulation we turn to Lakoff's SF model. There we find that an important conceptual metaphor that might play a role in these examples is the one concerning Moral Self-Interest. To become self-reliant is very important in the Strict Father model, and one becomes self-reliant through using self-discipline and pursuing one's self-interest (Lakoff 2002: 94). This is very clearly seen in example (44): Pursuing self-interest is moral (*for enterprise to flourish*), and to interfere with such pursuit of self-interest would be immoral (*the state must get out of the way*). In addition, there exists in the Moral Self-Interest metaphor a folk version of Adam Smith's famous "invisible hand", which leads people to think that each person who seeks to maximize his own wealth, will maximize the wealth of all (hence the phrase *wealth creators* in our example)(*ibid.*). If we then also take the Principle of Morality of Reward and Punishment (Lakoff 2002: 163f) into account together with the Moral Self-Interest Metaphor, we see that one explanation with respect to the examples above might be that a person with conservative moral categories sees governmental regulation as immoral because they represent an interference (punishment) in the citizens moral pursuits of self-interest (which should instead be rewarded)(Lakoff 2002: 211).

What about liberals then, why do we not find the same extent of state/people interference metaphors there? According to Lakoff's models, this is because government regulation are seen as a nurturant parent's (the state) way of protecting its citizens (children), thus government regulation is the *protection* of those that cannot protect themselves "- protection of citizens, workers, honest businessmen, and the environment against possible harm by unscrupulous or negligent businesses and individuals" (Lakoff 2002:210).

Going back to the above Conservative examples there are still some puzzling facts about these statements that we might dig a bit deeper into. Because even if the government regulations are looked disapprovingly upon, we still get the feeling that these examples seem like criticism of government in general. But as we know, at the time this Conservative manifesto was written the Conservatives had been in government for decades, and the Conservatives certainly wanted that situation to continue. How can they then criticize the government when they are,

or at least represent, the government? If we again turn to Lakoff's *Moral Politics* and see the government in terms of the family, following the NATION IS A FAMILY conceptual metaphor, Lakoff suggests that the general resentment of government is correlated to the role of the father in the Strict Father model. Because, when a child has become an adult, according to the SF model, it should be standing on its own feet and be self-reliant, and should now know better than its parents what is best for it; there should thus be no more meddling from the father's side into the lives of the children. If we see the citizens of a country as the grown-up children, we can see how the Conservatives merely are taking sides with the citizens against what they would perceive as such "unnecessary meddling". The citizens are leaders in their own families, and thus the responsibility of protecting the family lies with the citizens themselves, not the state (metaphorical strict father). Though Lakoff (2002: 272f) sees this as a special American trait of the Strict Father model, these Conservative examples above might suggest that the tendency to see government as interfering in the business of its citizens (who should be self-reliant) is present in Britain too. Again we see that Lakoff's models will give a credible explanation for a phenomenon that would perhaps be otherwise difficult to properly clarify.

4.1.3 Programmes, schemes, polices and reforms

When a political party has attained power by winning an election it would like to transform its ideology and vision to concrete actions that have real-life effects in the community. In a simplified description, we can say that the way to do this is to formulate political documents with the exact actions they want to be taken to set their politics to life, and then implement the proposed actions by use of the bureaucratic system available. Such "action plans" can take the form of a *programme*, *scheme*, *reform* or a specific *policy*. Seeing programs, schemes, reforms and policies as only slightly different means for doing the same thing, that is, setting abstract political goals into more concrete political action, we will discuss them as one, as the metaphors surrounding them are fairly the same.

In the material it was found that when the parties were referring to these "action plans" quite different metaphors were employed, and these different metaphors were used according to the different stages (or phases) that the "action plans" go through from when they are only still on an abstract "discussion-based" level to fully implemented and working. Consider the sentences below:

- (48) C321. We will give more talented children, from less well-off backgrounds, the opportunity to go to fee-paying schools by expanding the Assisted Places Scheme to cover all ages of compulsory education, in line with our current spending plans.
- (49) C322. We propose to develop it [the Assisted Places Scheme] further into a wider scholarship scheme covering additional educational opportunities.
- (50) L581. We will seek a thorough overhaul of the Common Fisheries Policy to conserve our fish stocks in the long-term interests of the UK fishing industry.
- (51) L631. In government we will strengthen and restructure the British aid programme and bring development issues back into the mainstream of government decision-making.
- (52) L376. In making this change, we will build on the existing collaborative schemes which already serve 14 million people.

These “action plans” are still in the process of being discussed and worked out, or they are old “action plans” that are in need of revision. We see that these schemes, programmes and policies are talked about as if they were concrete *objects*. The vehicle terms (*expanding, develop, overhaul, strengthen, restructure* and *build*) can be said to be systematically related as having to do with the act of *building*. In all, 13 instances of linguistic metaphors that follow the same pattern as the ones above were found. Because of these findings, there may exist a conceptual metaphor in which programmes, schemes, reforms and such are thought of as *objects under construction*, that is, when they are in this particular “planning and preparing” phase. We might call this conceptual metaphor ACTION PLANS ARE OBJECTS UNDER CONSTRUCTION.

When an “action plan” is fully developed, it is time to make the transition from a more abstract entity to something that is capable of influencing real lives. The actual *introducing* of a new programme or scheme sometimes comes together with some interesting linguistic metaphors. Consider the examples below:

- (53) C138. We are launching an ambitious programme with industry to spread "IT for All", giving every adult the opportunity to try out and learn about new IT services.
- (54) C240. We will pilot our "Parent Plus" Scheme that gives special help to lone parents who want to work, and extend it if it proves successful.
- (55) L121. We will kickstart the programme for up to a million people, using £150 million of TEC money which could be better used and which would provide a contribution of £150, alongside individuals making small investments of their own.
- (56) L65. The scheme will be launched on a pilot basis during the 1997/8 season.

When *pilot* is used in contexts like these it means to test something out on a small scale before extending that something more widely (OED). The original meaning of the word denotes some sort of *navigating* or *steering*, especially through sea or (later) sky. The original and the more figurative use of the term both have in common that two entities are involved; something *to pilot* and something *to be piloted*. In a more basic context, the two entities could for example be a human and an airplane, respectively. In our context, the one doing the piloting is the Conservative Party (in government) and the thing being piloted is the “IT for All” programme. Likewise, in *launching* and *kickstarting* we need someone to do the launching/kicking and something to be launched/kicked. We thus have three vehicle terms with a lot in common; the political parties (when/if in government) are the ones in control and responsible for the action, and the action causes movement in (inanimate) objects, which in our case are programmes and schemes. In addition, the terms *kickstart* and *launch* denote a very powerful ascending movement. If we again go back to a more basic meaning of *pilot*, we can find the flavor of powerful movement too, especially if we think of it in terms of a pilot in an aircraft, in which case the upward trajectory could be imagined as well.

We have now seen different “action plans” go from being constructed to being introduced, and in all our examples the parties have been actors, responsible for all the action (*developing, overhauling, strengthening, building, piloting, kickstarting, launching*), while the “action plans” have been inanimate objects. What happens after the “action plans” have been introduced and fully implemented? Consider the sentences below:

- (57) C179. Our community care reforms have given them a central role ensuring that elderly people get care of the highest quality: and in their own homes where possible.
- (58) C131. We will also develop an innovative "Britain Works" scheme which uses the experience and ingenuity of private and voluntary sectors to get people off welfare into work.
- (59) C607. They support policies that would fragment the United Kingdom's influence within a Europe of Regions.
- (60) L317. Labour's welfare-to-work programme will attack unemployment and break the spiral of escalating spending on social security.
- (61) L331. Our programme for the phased release of past receipts from council house sales will provide new jobs in the construction industry.
- (62) L512. For today's pensioners Conservative policies have created real poverty, growing inequality and widespread insecurity.

Now, the “action plans” are spoken of as if they were living object with human attributes; they are able to *help, give, use, attack, provide, create* etc. It is no longer the parties that are doing the action, but the policies, programmes and schemes themselves. As we see, from one party’s viewpoint the “action plans” that it has constructed and introduced are capable of doing good things, while the “action plans” from the adversary party are capable of doing “bad” things, like *fragment influence* and *create poverty*. This type of linguistic metaphor was very common in the material (more than 20 instances), and both parties used these metaphors to reasonably the same extent. It seems reasonable, therefore, to suggest that in addition to the conceptualization of these “action plans” as inanimate objects under construction, there exists also a conceptual metaphor, which we can call ACTION PLANS ARE LIVING ENTITIES, where the characteristics of a living entity with human abilities are mapped onto programmes, schemes and such. The most interesting part is perhaps that these two different conceptualizations of such “action plans” are used in two different phases in the “lives” of these “action plans”, depending on whether they are “under construction” or “working”, with even specific metaphors of powerful movement employed when the different programmes, schemes, reforms etc. are first introduced.

4.2 Economy

Turning from the metaphors of the more general political concepts of the state, parliament and government, let us begin to consider actual political issues which are central to the parties, and the metaphors surrounding them. One of the core issues of the 1997 election was the economy. National economics is a field that is undeniably complex, with its many separate parts all contributing to make a barely perceptible whole that can be measured and discussed as it materializes itself in how the market, prices, rates, employment, to name but a few aspects, are faring. A great deal of politics concerns the health of this complex concept of national economy, and the politicians’ jobs are to render the intricate world of economy into easily conceptualized images that can make them understood by the public – and win their votes. This scenario leaves much room for the different parties to “paint their own picture” of how the economic situation is at the present, what lies ahead, and what should be done. The different metaphors that the parties used when discussing the economy on a general basis will be look at in section 4.2.1. Section 4.2.2 will deal with metaphors that occur when we want to

measure concepts such as taxes, rates, public spending etc. Section 4.2.3 is devoted entirely to an in-depth discussion of metaphors related to the concept of taxes. Very closely connected to the “health” of the economy is the fluctuation in the labor market, and metaphors related to unemployment and jobs will be discussed in section 4.2.3.

4.2.1 The economy in general

At the time the Conservatives and Labour Party wrote their respective manifestos, the actual economic situation in Britain must have been the same for both parties to consider, but interestingly, in their manifestos, the parties seem to describe to different realities, with metaphors playing a significant role in conceptualizing the “realities” that the parties want to promote. Let us first consider how the Conservative Party sees the economic situation as it was at the time of the 97 election. Consider the sentences below, which is how the Conservatives have chosen to introduce their chapter on the economy:

The free market is winning the battle of ideas the world over. From Russia to Vietnam, from China to Romania, people are realising that the socialist model has failed. This is not just an economic triumph. It is a triumph for human freedom. Britain helped to secure it. We should take pride in it (C02 – C07).

In a metaphorical “battle of ideas”, economy is mainly seen in terms of different ideal approaches, where the two main opponents are the “free market” versus the “social model”. Let us take a closer look at these terms. The term “free market” is quite commonly used in association with *laissez-faire* philosophy, and denotes an economic situation in which prices are regulated by demand and supply, unrestricted by the government. Of course, such an ideal realization is not practiced to its full potential in any countries, and the extent to which the government should or should not interfere in the economic market is a topic that is being constantly discussed. Thus the *free* in “free market” would in the context of late 90’s Britain be a vehicle term that leans more towards a metaphoric meaning than a more “literal” one.

The Conservative use of “social model” is interesting as it seems to be a term coined by themselves (the term never being mentioned in the Labour manifesto) to describe what must be what they perceive as the economic politics of their opponent party. Of course, the use of *model* in “social model” serves as a perfect counterpart to the *free* in “free market”: A model denotes some sort of representation or description of *structure* while *free* is the absence of any

boundaries. The message the Conservatives may try to convey is thus that the choice of the voters is between the freedom that comes from the “free market” or the restraint that comes with the “social model”. In another excerpt from the Conservative manifesto we see that these opposing renditions of different economic philosophies are consistently being set up against each other:

That choice - between stagnation and dynamism - is the choice which faces Britain at this election. It is a stark choice between the British way - of trusting the people and unleashing enterprise - and the failing social model, practised on the continent, which the Labour Party wants to impose on us here under the guise of "stakeholding". Hard economic evidence shows how great is the divide between these two strategies (C12-C14).

This excerpt is quite packed with metaphors. The two opposing economic philosophies (or *strategies*) which the Conservatives have presented us with, metaphorically termed “free market” and “social model”, cannot be perceived as anything but two very abstract entities. Yet, above we find very physical vehicle terms applied to them: The “free market” is described as *dynamic*, while the “social model” is a choice of *stagnation*. The use of *unleashing* further emphasizes the *movement* that the Conservatives want to connect with the “free market” strategy. The “social model”, on the other hand, is associated with *imposition*, a term that may give association to something being physically placed over someone *under control* by someone in authority, and *guise*, which in this context is more to be interpreted as *assumed appearance* and *pretence* (OED). Finally, a metaphorical use of *divide* reinforces the Conservatives interpretation of the economic situation as a battle between two more or less physical entity, one being “free”, “dynamic” and “winning”, the other being having more rigid qualities as a “model”, “stagnant” and “failing”.

In the Labour Party’s manifesto there is no war or battle of different economic models. Instead, it starts out by attacking the “welfare” of the economy as it had been under the recent years of Conservative rule:

The Conservatives have in 18 years created the two longest, deepest recessions this century. We have experienced the slowest average growth rate of any similar period since the second world war. There has been a fundamental failure to tackle the underlying causes of inflation, of low growth and of unemployment.

Here we are introduced to a very common metaphor, that of economic *growth*. This metaphor is much used by both the Conservatives (8 instances) and Labour (12 instances), making it reasonable to suggest that it not only is a linguistic metaphor, but a conceptual metaphor, in which we conceptualize the economy in terms of a growing organism; thus, ECONOMY IS A GROWING ORGANISM. Because this conceptual metaphor has a very central role in the Labour manifesto, let us look at it a bit closer. First, a few more examples of this metaphor in use are provided below:

- (63) C11. But if we boldly embrace these new opportunities by pushing forward the economic revolution we began in 1979, then we will enter the next millennium with boundless prospects for growth and prosperity.
- (64) C15. Britain is now in its fifth year of growing faster than France or Germany.
- (65) L233. We will build a new partnership with business to improve the competitiveness of British industry for the 21st century, leading to faster growth.
- (66) L267. Support for small businesses will have a major role in our plans for economic growth.

Seeing increase in the value of goods and services as economical *growth* is so well established that the metaphorical quality is perhaps etymological at best. However, the idea that people actually may conceptualize an economy as growing with strong ties to the more original sense of the word as organic growth, may not come as a surprise, and may even be a reason why politicians are so fond of applying this image. Humans have perhaps some innate understanding of organic growth as a foundation and necessity for life itself, thus by employing the *growth* image when talking about economy, *more* income, value and such must always be something positive - a growing economy must be better than one that does not grow. The suggestion that organic aspects of growth may still be present in our conceptualization of economy, may be further strengthened by taking into account some interesting metaphors from the Conservative manifesto, where we see that the Conservatives' uses of *flourish*, *thrive* and *seedcorn* are all more closely related to the organic world than one of economy:

- (67) C20. For enterprise to flourish, the state must get out of the way of the wealth creators.
- (68) C40. Inflation has to be kept firmly under control for an economy to thrive.
- (69) C75. The source of tomorrow's jobs will be small businesses, the seedcorn of Britain's prosperity.

Going back to the Labour manifesto, we saw how Labour started out their discussion on the economy by criticizing the Conservatives of what they perceive as economic mismanagement. Their main objection is that there has not been enough economic growth. When providing causes for this low economic growth, this metaphor appears:

(70) L142. too much economic instability, with wild swings from boom to bust

We are now introduced to another common economic metaphor that will be important in Labour's successive reasoning, namely that of economic *stability*. Compared to economic *growth*, it is perhaps easier to see that in order for something to have the attribute of being *stable* or not, it has to have a physical mass, and though the economy certainly has the power to influence many peoples' lives, it is a non-physical concept upon which any physical entities, such as *stability*, must be only metaphorically applied. Being physical beings ourselves, it is perhaps easy to see that stability must be a good thing, and in the economic market it is not good if prices and rates increase or decrease too much too often; thus the metaphor may be a good description of a wanted state. Next, Labour gives another cause of low economic growth, brought forward by yet another metaphor, one which draws on terms from the domain of *building* and *construction*:

(71) L145. too narrow an industrial base and too little sense of common purpose in the workplace or across the nation.

These metaphors of *stability* and *building/construction* play a very central role in the Labour manifesto, and are in fact presented as the solution which Labour would like to provide to "heal" what they perceive as an "unhealthy" economy. The excerpt below gives us a good insight into how the metaphors of *growth*, *stability* and *building* all work together and how much Labour is relying on these metaphors to transmit their thoughts and plans concerning the economy:

An explicit objective of a Labour government will be to raise the trend rate of growth by strengthening our wealth-creating base. We will nurture investment in industry, skills, infrastructure and new technologies. [...] Economic stability is the essential platform

for sustained growth. In a global economy the route to growth is stability not inflation. The priority must be stable, low-inflation conditions for long-term growth. The root causes of inflation and low growth are the same - an economic and industrial base that remains weak (L151-L152, L155-L158).

In this passage we see that Labour's goal is economic *growth*. In order to have growth the *base* needs to be *strengthened*. What the base or *platform* needs in order to be strengthened is *stability*. The reason why we do not have the desired growth today is because the base is too *weak*. We see how logically the stability and building metaphors interact; it seems obvious that in order for us to build something, to make something grow, we need a stable base. If the base is weak, we cannot have stability, and the logical conclusion will be to strengthen it, hence "the route to growth is stability". It is also worth noticing in this passage how the use of *root* in "root causes" and the use of *nurture* all fit into the scheme of presenting the economy as a living organism. This kind of metaphoric reasoning continues through all of Labour's economic discussion, as we can see from some further examples below:

- (72) L233. We will build a new partnership with business to improve the competitiveness of British industry for the 21st century, leading to faster growth.
- (73) L234. Many of the fundamentals of the British economy are still weak.
- (74) L235. Low pay and low skills go together: insecurity is the consequence of economic instability; the absence of quality jobs is a product of the weakness of our industrial base; we suffer from both high unemployment and skills shortages.
- (75) L270. Prosperity needs to be built from the bottom up.

The use of the building/stability metaphors are very common in the Labour manifesto, with about 25 instances in which they are used. Together with the diverse yet systematic use of the vehicle terms in these metaphors, it seems in order to suggest that there are actual conceptualizations of the economy in which attributes of stability and building/construction are used to more easily think and reason about this complex domain. The same can be said in the case of the Conservatives' rendition of the economy, where the opposition of two different economic philosophies is metaphorically manifested as a "battle" of the "free market" versus the "social model", and where both strategies are seen as having physical qualities. Because of the numerous instances (more than 20) where these metaphors are used, there may be grounds to argue that there are thought processes involved where physical attributes are mapped onto the abstract concept of economy. If we were to put a name on these proposed conceptual metaphors, we can say that Labour's main conceptualization are ECONOMY IS A

BUILDING, ECONOMY IS AN ENTITY THAT MUST BE IN BALANCE, plus the already mentioned ECONOMY IS A LIVING ORGANISM, while the Conservatives seem to conceptualize ECONOMY IS A BATTLE. We need to keep in mind that these names on the conceptual metaphors are only suggestions, and we must be aware of not overly simplifying a complex structure like a conceptual metaphor by putting too much weight on the names we give them.

To sum up so far, we can say that though faced with the same economic situation, the Conservative Party and Labour Party have chosen two different approaches to get the public to consider the national economy. In order to make their respective interpretations something that can be more easily conceptualized by the public, they have chosen to use different metaphoric images: The Conservatives chose to see the economic situation as an ongoing battle between what they term the “free market” versus the “social model”. They strongly condemn the social model, and claim that only the free market model will win the battle. However, as the public finances had been in the care of a Conservative government for the past 18 years, the Conservatives cannot criticize the economic situation as it was at the time, seeing that the economic philosophy they favor was already the one in use. In contrast, the Labour Party is far from satisfied with the current economic situation, and they use metaphors of imbalance; saying that the financial base is weak and the economy is unstable. Labour thus offers us metaphors that give great meaning to our collective common sense: where there is weakness and lack, we must counter with strength and growth.

How can we explain the parties’ choices of such different metaphors? May it have anything to do with different ideologies and how these express themselves in their linguistic utterances? If that is the case, Lakoff’s SF and NP models might shed some light on the issue. In section 4.1.2 we discussed metaphors which described the relationship between the political institutions in power (government/state) and the people. As an explanation for the findings, we saw that by using the Moral Self Interest metaphor and the Principle of Morality of Reward and Punishment the Conservatives’ apparent resentment against governmental regulations made sense. In effect, we have the same scenario going on when the Conservatives promote what they call the “free market” philosophy and vehemently oppose the so-called “social model”: The “free market” is moral because people are free to seek their own self-interest, and by doing so they will promote the wealth of us all. The “social model” is associated with the state trying to *regulate* the market, thereby restricting the search of self-

interest, and the subsequent maximization of well-being for all will not take place (Lakoff 2002: 95). Consider the sentences below:

- (76) C10. If we try to protect ourselves from these challenges with more regulations, public subsidies and a cosy dependence on government then Britain will fail.
- (77) C62. By contrast the European social model is stifling job creation on the continent by imposing regulations and burdens on business.

In example (62) the use of *cosy dependence* makes sense if we are relying on conceptual metaphors that see the government as a father, the “we” as grown up children, and the relationship between us as one that should be free and independent, and hence dependence, regulations and other ways of meddling from the father’s side into the lives of the children is immoral. In example (77) the Conservatives depict the “social model” as having human qualities such as being able to *stifle* and *impose*, causing the “social model” to appear as something immoral. The reason for this immoral portrayal could again be the *restrictions* the Conservatives see this model as having on the economy, causing it harder for people to be self-reliant and seek their own fortune. Both of these examples can be said to be some sort of explicit realization of argumentation based on SF morality, and we also saw that the “whole” of the Conservatives’ rendition of the economy may be explained as being in line with SF reasoning.

The SF and NP models are based on both liberals and conservatives seeing the government as a parent. In the cases we have discussed here, we can say that the Conservatives may see the government as a Strict Father, and the “children” as grown-up, independent citizens that should be self-dependent; additionally, there should be as little meddling into their life on the part of the parent as possible. If Labour follows a Nurturant Parent version of the government/people relationship, not all the citizens may be conceptualized as being “grown up”, and there may still be a need for the “parents” to provide nurturance. In addition, in the NP model the relationship between parent and child does cease when the child is grown up, but parent and child continue to have a lifetime relationship based on communication and caring (Lakoff 2002: 110). Thus, the reason why liberals are in favor of an economic market under somewhat more control of the government, might be, as we mentioned in section 4.1.2, because they see the regulation of business as a *protection* of the citizens (Lakoff 2002: 210).

If indeed Labour follows NP reasoning we should find metaphors that support the idea of the government as giving metaphorical nurture and protecting its citizens. However, we have seen that Labour focused on metaphors of *growth*, *stability* and *building*. In these metaphors it is difficult to find some obvious relation to any metaphors in the NP model, though we could perhaps argue that the *growth* metaphor in a sense may be related to nurturing, as it may seem reasonable to conceive how growth would benefit from good nurturance. Is it the case, then, that the NP model seems to fit Labour's writings on the economy to a lesser extent than what the SF model did in the Conservative writings? Perhaps so, but if we diverge from the actual linguistic metaphors we have identified and take the whole of Labour's discussion on the economy into consideration, the NP model seems to have some explanation power on many of the points that Labour make. For examples, consider the two sentences below:

(78) L131. We will promote personal prosperity for all

(79) L148. New Labour's objective is to improve living standards for the many, not just the few.

Here we see quite clearly the message of MORALITY IS FAIR DISTRIBUTION from the NP model reflected in these utterances, making them *entailments* of this specific conceptual metaphor. The conclusion from this must be that though we seem to match Labour's overall argumentation with conceptual metaphors in the NP model, it is hard to pinpoint exact one-to-one relations between the linguistic metaphors in the manifesto and the conceptual metaphors that rule the SF and NP models. However, this is exactly what we predicted in our discussion of the SF and NP models in sections 2.3.3 and 3.2.3, that is, that the NP and SF conceptual models might realize themselves more as entailments than linguistic metaphors, and that the issue-focus of the parties might further reduce actual realization of SF and NP metaphors, though they still might be used as a basis for unconscious reasoning about the political issues.

4.2.2 Measuring economic concepts

In this section we will group together a number of concepts, such as taxes, rates, inflation, and public spending, which are all central to the economy, and discuss some common metaphors employed when we talk of these concepts in terms of *measurement*. Consider the sentences below:

- (80) C43. Low inflation has delivered lower interest rates whilst preserving the value of people's savings.
- (81) C45. It has taken tough decisions to break free from our reputation as a high inflation economy.
- (82) C82. High taxes and rates deter enterprise.
- (83) C106. We are a low cost economy
- (84) L190. New Labour is not about high taxes on ordinary families.
- (85) L197. Reducing the high marginal rates at the bottom end of the earning scale - often 70 or 80 per cent - is not only fair but desirable to encourage employment.
- (86) L212. For the next two years Labour will work within the departmental ceilings for spending already announced.
- (87) L299. There should be a statutory level beneath which pay should not fall - with the minimum wage decided not on the basis of a rigid formula but according to the economic circumstances of the time and with the advice of an independent low pay commission, whose membership will include representatives of employers, including small business, and employees.

The above concepts of inflation, taxed, costs and such have all been attributed with a *spatial* term, mostly *high* or *low*. This use of spatial terms in relation to these political concepts is so common and widespread, both in the material and all around us, by layman as well as experts, that we will immediately suggest that we are dealing not only with a linguistic phenomenon, but with a *conceptualization* of the measurements of these concepts in terms of spatial relations. That we are dealing with conceptual metaphors can be further sustained by the use of *ceiling*, *bottom end* and *beneath* in examples (85), (86) and (87), in which the spatial aspects used for measuring these political concepts have been extended, and the high and low numbers now even have a three-dimensional space envisaged as surrounding them.

Let us look a bit closer into these conceptual metaphors of high and low. First of all, why do we use them? As we know, all of the political concepts mentioned in this section could be measured using a number, for example, the basic rate for income from employment in Britain today is 22%. However, a number in itself does not render much meaning to us human beings because it does not have any physical qualities that we can appreciate using our sensory-motor system; it is an abstract entity. In constructing most of our mental models, human beings rely tremendously on basic spatial concepts such as *up* (out of which we get *high*), *down* (out of which we get *low*), *in*, *out*, *on*, *up* etc., these concepts being the first infants have to learn in order to understand how the world functions (Lee 2001: 18). These spatial concepts thus become a way for us to ground (cf. section 2.2.2) abstract entities into conceptualizations we can understand because we know the effect the spatial terms have on our bodies.

Considering this we can easily see how conceptualizing numbers in terms of *high* or *low* makes it easier for us to think about them. In addition, we see how much easier it is to talk about these concepts when we can label them in these terms: If we had to give an exact number for what we meant by high or low in the examples below, the sentences would be very complex and wearisome, thus the use of these spatial terms becomes a way of making language more efficient; to put much information into a small package.

Of course, this use of spatial terms also has its drawbacks. First of all, ascribing low or high as an attribute of a number can only be done in context. For example, the number 10 would be a high number if the context was goals scored in a soccer game, but a low number if the context was degrees Celsius in London in July. Even when the context is narrow, such as income tax in Great Britain, the use of high/low would most certainly be relative to time period, the general economic climate of the nation, personal preferences and political parties. Because of this we might infer that what the Labour Party considers a low income tax would not necessarily coincide with what the Conservative Party considers as a low income tax. The uses of spatial terms in stead of real numbers thus adds a slight vagueness and elusiveness as we do not always know what is really understood by high or low, though they undeniably make a complex concept more manageable.

It is interesting to note that even entities which cannot be conveniently measured in numbers, such *living standards* are still being treated in the same fashion, as we can see in the example below, where the Conservative Party wants to *double* living standards:

(88) C54. The goal which we set ourselves in 1995 is to double living standards over 25 years.

4.2.3 Taxes

In this section we will discuss in detail metaphors used when the parties talk about the concept of taxes. We will begin with looking at how the Conservatives approach the topic of taxes and the metaphors they employ. Consider the sentences below:

(89) C19. A Low Tax Economy

(90) C21. We are the only party that can cut taxes because we are the only party which is serious about controlling public spending.

- (91) C34. Our aim is to ensure Britain keeps the lowest tax burden of any major European economy.
- (92) C82. High taxes and rates deter enterprise.
- (93) C87. Investment and enterprise are deterred if the taxman takes too much of the capital that is built up by a successful business.
- (94) C89. We will continue to reduce the burden of capital gains tax and inheritance tax as it is prudent to do so.
- (95) C528. We will push ahead with the major reforms now under way which will greatly speed up the process and improve the delivery of justice without imposing additional burdens on the taxpayer.

Example (89) is the actual headline which introduces the Conservatives' section on taxes, and we see the metaphorical use of *low* that we discussed above. Eight instances of the *low taxes* phrase in the Conservative manifesto was counted. In example (90) we see the physical action of *cutting* being applied in a metaphorical manner to the abstract concept of taxes, which is a very common metaphor in general, and used three times in the Conservative manifesto. Since these uses of *low* (or spatial terms in general, as discussed above) and *cut* are so commonly used in general discourse and in the manifesto we can argue that these physical aspects have parts to play in the actual conceptualization of the concept of taxes as well, making it likely that these linguistic metaphors stem from a conceptual metaphor which we might name TAXES ARE AN OBJECT. In examples (91) through (95) we see the conceptual metaphor even more clearly as taxes are being ascribed quite clear physical attributes by the use of the vehicle terms *burden* and *deter*, respectively: If something has the ability to be a burden, it needs a physical mass, and something that is abstract and thus does not have a physical manifestation would not be so likely to deter (i.e., frighten away) anything. In addition, there is no denying that the "actions" performed by this abstract concept form a consistent moral flavoring; that is, the vehicles used to describe the topic term are of a negative value, and hence taxation becomes negative in itself. This negative view of taxes is further emphasized by the construction of a metaphorical *taxman* who *takes too much*, and the use of *prudent* in example (94), which brings with it a sense of tax cuts and low taxes being judicious and sensible. Indeed, it seems like the message is that lowering taxes is the *moral* thing to do. However, though we have seen some instances which put taxes in a negative light, the Conservatives have at least two sentences in which the tax system is seen as being able to *help*, as we can see below:

- (96) C168. The next Conservative government intends to reform the tax system so that it gives substantially more help to families.
- (97) C228. The tax system must help pensioners who have saved.

This is a quite clear case of personification of the tax system, but with a positive attribute given to taxes, which certainly makes Conservatives use of tax metaphors more ambiguous; for most of the time, tax is seen as something negative, but it may also be something which can contribute in a positive way. As we have seen, the Conservatives have used many linguistic metaphors that depict taxes in a negative fashion, and because these are so frequent and have systematically related vehicle terms, there may in addition be a conceptualization of taxes as a force or object that has the capacity to do harm. If such be the case, this conceptualization of taxes would be in line with what the SF model tells us, namely that being a good, moral person should be rewarding (according to the Morality of Reward and Punishment), and taxation thus becomes a financial harm, a metaphorical punishment, as it takes away some of the hard-earned money the moral people have rightfully gained through their pursuit of self-interest (Lakoff 2002: 189). However, because of the instances in which the Conservatives regarded taxation as a means to *help* people, we cannot use the SF model to explain all of our findings. But as Lakoff stated so many times in his *Moral Politics*, the SF and NP models are only to be taken as idealized models, and no politician, or party for that matter, could be expected to use metaphors only consistent with the one model. In Cienki (2004), for example, we saw that Bush used a great many NP metaphors as well (cf. section 2.3.3). Thus, those tax system-as-help metaphors may be there because the Conservatives as a party does in certain instances apply NP metaphors. Another scenario could be that the SF and NP models, developed as they are to explain American political thinking, in this case do not “fit” to the same extent when we use the models to explain political reasoning in Great Britain, where slightly different political traditions and philosophies may affect the metaphors used. To see if that was indeed the case one would have to investigate specifically how or if the Conservatives’ metaphors of taxes differ from those used by the Republican Party. However, though I do not know of any such study, I would not be surprised to see that the Republicans would on some occasions see the tax system in terms of being able to *help* as well, thus I believe that occasional Conservative use of NP metaphors is perhaps the most likely explanation for our results.

In the Labour manifesto, no instances in which taxes are seen as burdens or being able to deter was found. Instead, Labour used on several occasions the phrase *fair taxes*, as we can see in the sentences below:

- (98) L160. But by spending wisely and taxing fairly, government can help tackle the problems.
(99) L193. Fair taxes

Fair has its etymological roots in Old English *fæger* and was used as the antithetical of *faul*, thus denoting something that is beautiful (OED). From there it has evolved (by metaphorical processes perhaps) to also denote a conduct, action or method that is free from bias, fraud and injustice (OED). If the use of *fair* in our examples should count as a metaphor or not might be a matter of discussion, depending on if we see the attribute of fair as being something that resides in the concepts of taxes, which would be a metaphor, or if fair is an attribute of the ones *doing* the taxation, i.e. the government. Perhaps example (98) is more in line with the latter sense of fair, thus not being as metaphoric, and example (99) more in line with the former sense, thus it could be counted as a metaphor. On the other hand, we could also view both these sentences as linguistic instances of the NP conceptual metaphor MORALITY AS FAIR DISTRIBUTION. In NP morality, taxation, that is, *progressive* taxation, is seen as both a civic duty and a means to promote fairness: The more wealthy citizens are seen as mature and healthy “children”, who, now no longer in need of “parental” nurturance, have a duty to help their less well-off “siblings”, because it is them who need nurturance the most (Lakoff 2002: 190). Thus, the tax system is seen as a way to redirect resources from the more wealthy to the more in need, and Labour’s use of *fair* in this context is right in line with NP reasoning. If we read the Labour manifestos’ part on taxes, we will see that this MORALITY AS FAIR DISTRIBUTION conceptual metaphor can be said to explain many of their policies. Consider for example the sentences below:

- (100) L189. [The principles that will underpin our tax policy are clear [...]] and to be fair and be seen to be fair.
(101) L190. New Labour is not about high taxes on ordinary families.
(102) L191. It is about social justice and a fair deal.
(103) L198. This goal [their tax-policies] will benefit the many, not the few.
(104) L199. It is in sharp contrast to the Tory goal of abolishing capital gains and inheritance tax, at least half the benefit of which will go to the richest 5,000 families in the country.

Seeing such entailments of the MORALITY AS FAIR DISTRIBUTION conceptual metaphor as those above give us more confidence that Labour are indeed promoting NP morality, even though the linguistic metaphors are rather sparse.

However, there are instances in which Labour use SF metaphors, as seen when they state that they desire *low* taxes and promises tax *cuts*, as we can see from the sentences below:

- (105) L196. Our long-term objective is a lower starting rate of income tax of ten pence in the pound.
- (106) L200. We will cut VAT on fuel to five per cent, the lowest level allowed.
- (107) L305. Tax cuts for employers who create new jobs for the long-term unemployed

Though not by far found as often as in the Conservative manifesto, we see here that Labour too employs the *low* and *cut* metaphors. Indeed, we even find one instance where taxes can be said to be put in a negative light, as we can see in the sentence below, where the use of *hit* implies that taxes have the capacity to hurt, though the context in which the metaphor is found is still in perfectly in line with NP reasoning:

- (108) L179. [Topic: taxes] The tragedy is that those hardest hit are least able to pay.

An interesting finding concerning taxes was that the Conservatives employed more metaphors when talking about taxes than Labour did. Indeed, all the metaphors Labour used have been accounted for in the examples above, something that makes the ratio of tax-metaphors employed one to three in favor of the Conservatives. It is hard to tell if such a lower rate of metaphor-use by Labour is due to sheer coincidence, or if it is a general trend, though it is worth noting that also Cienki (2004: 414) found an overall more extensive use of metaphors by Bush in comparison with Gore. What we can conclude is that with respect to taxes, both parties show a use of metaphors which is consistent with what the SF and NP models predict, though we also have seen that both parties have used some metaphors that “belong” to the opposite model. In the case of Labour we also found that they employed fewer metaphors than the Conservatives did, though by conferring with the manifesto we found entailments consistent with NP reasoning. This last finding relates closely to our discussion in section 2.3.3 and 3.2.3, where we predicted that to find SF and NP conceptual metaphors realized as

linguistic metaphors in political discourse might sometimes be difficult, though the entailments following the logic of the models might still be present.

4.2.4 Jobs and unemployment

In this section we will investigate metaphors used when the parties discuss the concepts *unemployment*, *welfare*, *jobs* and *work*. These concepts, as we can see, are interrelated, because when you are unemployed you are normally on some kind of welfare (or benefit), and the terms job and work are used quite synonymously in this context. We are then left with a binary opposition between unemployment/welfare/benefits on the one side and employment/jobs/work on the other. The metaphors that conceptualize these concepts are, (once one notices the metaphoricity behind the familiar phrasings), very intriguing and may reveal some interesting aspects of how we perceive certain things in our society.

Let us first consider the concepts themselves more closely. Though having a job and going to work has its undeniable physical aspects for all of us in daily life, the concept of *employment* is abstract, signifying an agreement between two parties, an employer and an employee, in which the employee contributes with some sort of labor in return of some sort of payment. To be *unemployed* is to not have a job, and thus unable to receive an income, the state will (in a modern welfare state) provide the unemployed with financial assistance, referred to as benefits or welfare. Since unemployment is neither an object nor an entity with any psychological attributes, but a socially constructed concept, it is inherently abstract in nature. Not surprisingly however, we frequently talk about the concepts of *work*, *jobs* and *employment* as well as *unemployment* and *welfare* as having physical qualities. Consider the sentences below:

(109) C119. Welfare into Work

(110) C120. Although governments cannot create jobs, they can help people train and find work.

(111) C130. As Project Work succeeds and demonstrates that its costs can be met by the savings from getting people into work, we will extend the programme to cover the long-term unemployed nationwide

(112) L220. Labour's welfare-to-work Budget

(113) L319. Every young person unemployed for more than six months in a job or training

(114) L505. We will attack the problem in two principal ways: the phased release of capital receipts from council house sales will increase the stock of housing for rent; and our welfare-to-work programme will lead the young unemployed into work and financial independence.

The underlined words in these examples all relate to the concept of *work*. We see that work is spoken of as something we can *find* and then move *to* or *into*, as if it was a metaphorical three-dimensional room. And once you find a job, you are then *in* a job. Already we have established a use of a metaphorical path, produced by the use of the preposition *into*, which denotes movement, and metaphorical “rooms”, denoted by the preposition *in*. Interestingly, the metaphors surrounding benefits and welfare are different:

- (115) C122. We are also developing new incentives, alongside Family Credit, to help people move off benefit into work.
- (116) C124. That belief underpins our new Jobseeker's Allowance which ensures that no-one can refuse reasonable work opportunities and remain on benefit.
- (117) C131. We will also develop an innovative "Britain Works" scheme which uses the experience and ingenuity of private and voluntary sectors to get people off welfare into work.
- (118) C133. People move on, and up, into better paid jobs more easily than on the continent.
- (119) L248. plus an imaginative welfare-to-work programme to put the long-term unemployed back to work and to cut social security costs.
- (120) L302. We will get the unemployed from welfare to work
- (121) L309. One million single mothers are trapped on benefits.
- (122) L322. Rights and responsibilities must go hand in hand, without a fifth option of life on full benefit.

As we see in examples (116), (121) and (122), benefits or welfare is something you are *on* instead of *in*. If you as a person are *on* something, it means you are being *physically supported* by some kind of surface (OED), and if that something is a *benefit* we see that not only is benefit seen as an entity with physical qualities, but it is also seen as the one thing holding a person *up*, it is seen as actually supporting that person. In examples (115) and (117) through (120) we see terms denoting movements being used, and we have a direction *from* or *off* benefits *to* or *into* work. This is clearly the direction which the politicians want people “to go”, and the alternative, to *remain* or be *trapped* on benefits is clearly undesirable. Because, if you are in a job you can not only *move on*, as we see in example (118), you can also move *up*. The *up* then comes to represent a metaphorical climb in the “social ladder”, in which “spatially higher” has become “socially higher”. This metaphorical use of *up* can be explained as being a realization of the HIGH STATUS IS UP; LOW STATUS IS DOWN conceptual metaphor, in which

status is correlated with social power, and power (in its physical manifestations), as we have seen, is conceptualized as *up* (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 16).

Because the different metaphors discussed above were used extensively, and by both parties (all in all over 40 instances), I will suggest that the linguistic metaphors exist because we *conceptualize* work and unemployment in a distinctly dichotomous manner: Work is something you walk *into*, then something you are *in*, and, once you have work, you can move *onwards* and *upwards*; *you* are the active participant as you are the one doing the movement. In contrast, when unemployed, you are *on* benefits, which then become a metaphorically stagnant place, as you yourself are not an active participant, but are being *physically supported*. If or when the person on benefits find work, we have movement *into* work, but by the use of the verbs *get* and *put* as we see in examples (117), (119) and (120), it is actually the *Government* that is doing the *getting* or *putting*, thus people on welfare are almost completely objectified.

In order for our society to function, people must work so that they can earn money, which again enables them to pay taxes, which the government then can use to build roads, defend the country and otherwise support its inhabitants. The whole concept of a country/nation/state is built upon this idea, and therefore it perhaps comes as no surprise that we have metaphors which enhance the positive aspects of work and jobs. Having many people unemployed, and thus only “using” money, not “making” them, is consequently not desirable for a country as a whole, making metaphors that put unemployment and welfare in a somewhat negative light understandable. However, the metaphorical use of prepositions and verbs which have the possible effect of conceptualizing people on benefit as being in a “standstill” position, and being “inactive” and only receiving, may be argued as possibly contributing to the stigmatization of the unemployed. We must remember that most people have no wish of being unemployed, but may find themselves in that position due to causes beyond their control.

4.3 Crime

In a modern democracy, one of the major tasks of a government is to provide a safe society for its inhabitants. The state must not only make sure that no foreign supremacy disturbs the

peace, but also control the citizens within its own borders. This means that the state must set laws for what the citizens are allowed and not allowed to do, and reinforce the laws by pursuing, convicting and punishing any who commits a crime. A *crime* can thus be defined as “an act punishable by law, as being forbidden by statute or injurious to the public welfare” (OED). We immediately see that though a crime has a physical aspect (as it is an act), it is at the same time a very abstract concept because what acts are to be considered a crime is decided by the state. For example, same-sex intercourse is considered a criminal act in some countries while it is legal in other countries. Indeed, the abstract nature of the concept *crime* is further established when we consider the more general use of the term *crime*, in which it is applied only to acts which the speaker considers evil or especially offensive, or to acts that deviate from the social norm. For example, though it may be forbidden by law to drive through a red light, not many would deem the deed a crime, and though abortion may be legal in a country, some might still call the act a crime. Whenever we are faced with such a complex concept as crime, interesting metaphors may be found. In section 4.3.1 we will look at the different ways of envisaging crime and the metaphors that are involved. Section 4.3.2 investigates the parties’ approach and solutions to the common goal of reducing crime. According to the politicians, crime and drugs are strongly interconnected, and metaphors used when drugs was the topic of discussion will be looked at in section 4.3.3.

4.3.1 Different conceptualizations of crime

By definition a crime is *an act* (punishable as such) performed by a member of society. A crime, then, involves one person and one act. However, more than often we talk about crime in a more general way. Consider the sentences below:

- (123) C430. Recorded crime has fallen every year for the last 4 years.
- (124) C431. It is now 10% lower than it was in 1992.
- (125) C433. But crime is still too high.
- (126) L417. Under the Conservatives, crime has doubled and many more criminals get away with their crimes: the number of people convicted has fallen by a third, with only one crime in 50 leading to a conviction.
- (127) L419. Last year alone violent crime rose 11 per cent.
- (128) L427. Youth crime and disorder have risen sharply, but very few young offenders end up in court, and when they do half are let off with another warning.

As we see, crime is here seen as the sum of all committed acts of crime in the British society at one particular time. Crime thus becomes a separate and independent entity which might

then be measured using numbers and spatial terms. We have, then, a situation much the same as we had when we discussed measurement of political concepts such as rates and taxes (section 4.2.2), where we saw that conceptualizing number measurements using spatial terms such as *high, low, falling, rising* etc., makes it easier to reason and talk about such concepts. To speak of crime as if it is one entity, and an entity which can be measured, is very common in both parties' manifestos, and indicates that we do indeed conceptualize crime, in certain instances, not as an individual action but more as objectified entity; a social problem. Instead of treating crime as many individual acts, acts which may be performed with a number of totally different motivations, crime becomes now a more readily perceptible adversary, and by this objectification our energy can easier be focused into finding solutions as to how to overcome it.

Once we have a conceptualization of crime as this single entity, something we might perhaps call the CRIME IS AN OBJECT conceptual metaphor, the next step might be to embody the entity with physical abilities. Consider the sentence below:

(129) C438. Anti-social behaviour and petty crime disrupt communities and spread human misery.

Taking the terms “anti-social behavior” and “petty crime” as representing all the individual acts of crime that the Conservatives surely were referring to here, we see that crime itself has become a force, something that takes on a life of its own, and with almost superhuman power can *disrupt* communities and *spread human misery*. The act (as well as the persons involved) is taken away from crime, leaving this abstract yet highly physical force. Because this one instance was the only clear use of such a view of crime as a force, we should perhaps not suggest that the Conservatives think of crime in terms not of individual acts but as a disembodied force, but, as we will see, we will return to this kind of “force-reasoning” when we discuss the parties metaphors on drugs.

There is one particular phrase, quite common in everyday speech when crime is the topic, which is very intriguing seen from a cognitive view. The parties used it in the manifestos one time each. The phrase is seen in the examples below:

- (130) C462. This sends all the wrong signals to youngsters - particularly first time offenders - who then feel they can get away with crime.
- (131) L417. Under the Conservatives, crime has doubled and many more criminals get away with their crimes: the number of people convicted has fallen by a third, with only one crime in 50 leading to a conviction.

According to an online English learning site (UsingEnglish.com), this phrase is a phrasal verb and is defined as “not get caught, criticized or punished for doing something wrong”, or, “achieve something, despite not doing it correctly or properly”. Let us divide up the phrase to see if we can get deeper into its meaning. In this context *get* means to obtain possession of something. The use of *away* gives a sense of path, a direction of movement from some place (which is known; our standpoint) towards another (unknown) place. Of the many possible meanings of *with*, our context in this phrase seems to express a relationship or union between an actor (the one *getting*) and another person or thing. The above-mentioned learning site gives this example of the phrase in use: “Thieves got away with two Picassos, which were never found”. Here we see that some people took possession of (got) two objects, then moved from the known place where the objects were held to an unknown destination (away), bringing the pictures (with). Possibly, this example describes the more original meaning of this phrase, namely an act of theft in which we have actual obtaining (stealing), actual movement (fleeing from scene of crime) and something that is brought along (stolen objects). From there we can suggest that the phrase has gone through a metaphorical shift where *get* may denote an actor obtaining not an object in itself but any act that is immoral and/or forbidden by law, thus objectifying the act itself. *Away* then does not necessarily involve movement, only that the actor is not getting caught. Finally, *with* refers not to the stolen objects coming along with the actor, but represents the objectification of the wrongdoing coming along with the actor. Thus, we see that in examples (130) and (131) above, that in order for the phrase “get away with” to make sense, we need to have a conceptualization of the act of crime as an object in order for people to in the first place “get” or obtain the criminal act, for then to take the crime “away” “with” them without being subject to punishment.

Another interesting metaphor of crime, which is also quite common in everyday speech, is the one seen below:

- (132) C453. We are developing a network of local teams to identify children who are at risk of turning to crime and to take early steps to address the factors which put them at risk.
- (133) C542. The promising youth of today can too easily become the sad dropouts of tomorrow turning to crime and violence.

According to the Oxford English Dictionary, one definition of “turn to” is to “apply oneself to some task or occupation; to set to work”, with the sense that one is “directing one's attention *to* something practically; to apply oneself *to* or take up an occupation or pursuit”. In this definition then, crime may be conceptualized as a task, occupation, or, a job. If crime is conceptualized in any way as a kind of work, we should be able to find evidence of the same metaphors being applied to both crime and a job. Though the parties have not used any in their manifestos we may think of some examples for ourselves. For instance, in the same way as we can say *go into* a job or work we can say *go into crime* (a quick search on Google for the phrase “go into crime” rendered 11900 results). We may argue that because the same metaphor which conceptualizes work as a room we may go into, also can be used when talking of crime, crime as well may be an entity which we have the ability of conceptualizing as a room we may go into. Further, the same phrase “turn to” that we see used about crime, can also be imagined in some cases to be used about work, cf. for instance the sentence “Trying to put the memories behind her, she turned to hard work”. Even if we want to argue for one conceptualization of crime being as a kind of work criminals “apply themselves to” or not, we cannot get by the fact that the use of “turning to” in relation with crime, is objectifying crime by separating the act of crime from the one doing the act. For example (132) and (132) to make any sense at all, we must envisage crime as an object apart from ourselves that we can face (i.e., turn to, direct our attention to).

Still, the fact remains that the use of *turn* in “turning to” is more readily used when talking of crime than talking of work. There seem to be some important differences between work and crime, which have very much to do with spatial direction. Think only of the example “People move on, and up, into better paid jobs...” that we looked at earlier. We cannot perceive of any instances in which we would use the spatial term of *up* when discussing crime. Instead, another common metaphor more readily comes into mind as used when talking of crime, namely the phrase “falling into crime” (a search for the phrases “fall into crime” and “falling into crime” in Google gave 11370 hits). How can we explain this? Here we could argue that we are faced with a realization of moral and social condemning revealed in a metaphorical

interpretation of crime as a “stray” or “turning away” from the “straight” and “moral” path; you may go *on* and *up* into jobs, but turning to the side is to take a crooked road, which leads only to crookedness (cf. the expression a *crook*). The phrase “falling into crime” gives us even more a sense of moral condemnation, where the falling is a metaphorical representation of the biblical fall from grace.

Two conceptual metaphors in Lakoff (2002) support these suggestions. First, working closely together with the LIFE IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphor, the moral principle of Moral Boundaries tells us that moral action is movement along permissible paths, while immoral action is deviating (turning from) this permissible range (Lakoff 2002: 84f). As a part of the Moral Strength principle we find the conceptual metaphor DOING EVIL IS FALLING (Lakoff 2002: 71). Both the above mentioned conceptual metaphors can be found in both the SF and NP morality models, though the Moral Strength principle is highly important in the Strict Father model, while it has far less priority in the Nurturant Parent model, along with the Moral Boundaries principle. The phrase “turning to crime” could thus arguably be ascribed to Strict Father reasoning. However, it is not possible to say anything conclusive on the matter of Conservatives versus Labour’s use of SF and NP metaphors in this case; although both examples belong to the Conservatives, only two instances of a metaphor is hardly conclusive evidence for this as a Conservative conceptualization of crime. None the less, these different ways of talking (and perhaps thinking) about crime are very intriguing indeed, and further research on the issue would be interesting.

4.3.2 Fighting crime

In the course of our discussion so far, we have seen several instances of metaphors that rely in some degree or other on the LIFE IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphor. In that metaphor problems we face, either as individuals or governments or communities, are seen as something to overcome; problems and challenges are metaphorical bumps, obstacles or uphill slopes in the metaphorical journey of our lives. When the problems are of some magnitude, like crime, tough means are needed in order to overcome them. Consider the sentences below:

- (134) C441. We will support chief constables who develop local schemes to crack down on petty crime and improve public order.
- (135) C450. Tackling Juvenile Crime
- (136) C501. Strengthening the Fight Against City Crime
- (137) L415. Crackdown on petty crimes and neighbourhood disorder

(138) L423. They [the police] are in the front line of the fight against crime and disorder.

(139) L444. We will tackle the unacceptable level of anti-social behaviour and crime on our streets.

As we see, crime is something the parties want to *fight*, *crack down on* and *tackle*. Both parties have numerous instances in which these terms are used. The uses of these terms are clearly metaphorical as they all have an original meaning in which an actor performs physical actions onto/against an object or other person. But it is not only the action against crime that is metaphorical, the target of these metaphorical actions, i.e. crime itself, also must be interpreted metaphorically as it would be impossible to fight and tackle all the individual acts of crime on every given time. Again, crime must be conceptualized via the conceptual metaphor CRIME IS AN OBJECT if we are to understand the sentences above.

Let us go on to discuss some reasons the parties give for why crime should be fought, and how it should be fought. Though it first may appear redundant to discuss *why* crime should be fought, there are in fact many different reasons for why we as a society would want to prosecute and punish criminals. To mention some, one reason may be to deter others from doing criminal acts (pre-emptive), which is closely related to the cause of protecting the people of the state (as they may be potential victims of crime). Yet another reason may be because of the conviction that criminals should be punished for punishment's sake (make them "pay" for their crimes). As far as *how* crime should be fought, several solutions may be given, most of them related to the above reasons of why to prosecute criminals in the first place; one possible solution can be to have more police so that more people can be convicted, and have more prisons and longer sentences (both deterrent and punishment for punishment's sake), while a different solution might be to look into the causes of crime (e.g., social deprivation). We will begin by considering a statement by the Conservatives:

(140) C511. The guilty must be held to account for their actions promptly

How can we explain the use of *account*, which is an economic term, in this example, and what is the reasoning behind such a statement? The Moral Accounting Metaphor (Lakoff 2002: 44-62) tells us that we conceptualize well-being in terms of wealth, with moral or immoral action seen as a sort of financial transaction. And as financial accounts need to be balanced, so too

do the “moral books” need to be in balance. If I do you a favor, you “owe” me, i.e., I have given you something of positive value, and you need to “pay” me back something of positive value (reciprocation). The same goes for immoral behavior; if I do you harm you can see it as me giving you something of negative value (which you do not want), in which case you may do something to harm me, to “pay me back” (revenge if done by private citizens, just retribution if done by legitimate authority). Another way to settle the moral books if I gave you something of negative value is for me to make restitution, that is, to make up for the wrongdoing by giving you something of positive value, e.g., if I broke your window, I can make it “good” by paying you the cost of replacing the window. We now see that example (140) means that someone has done something wrong, and according to the Moral Accounting Metaphor, which we all unconsciously reason by, those persons must do something to balance the moral books. This would then be an instance of punishment for punishment’s sake.

Another interesting metaphor is seen below:

(141) C428. Our reforms are aimed at ensuring that crime does not pay

What is meant by *pay* here? Again, the Moral Accounting Metaphor may give an explanation: If we see an immoral act not as giving something of negative value, but as taking something of positive value, which is also an option (Lakoff 2002: 48), the use of *pay* may here refer to the act of taking something of positive value from someone and gaining on it by “getting away with” it. The Conservatives are simply stating that they do not think that this is fair (neither would too many of us, as it leaves the books “unbalanced”), and want to make sure the criminals have to settle their books, i.e., they need to be punished. Below follow two more examples of the Moral Accounting metaphor, though in the form of entailments:

(142) C465. Persistent juvenile offenders need to be properly punished.

(143) C480. Once caught, criminals must be convicted and then properly punished.

We see now how important this metaphor is to us and the politicians, because without it we would find it hard to explain why we *need* and *must* punish these people. The use of *properly* in these examples is interesting as it suggests that there is some kind of moral *righteousness* in punishing, in the sense of properly being understood as *rightly* and *correctly* (OED). Is there any way of relating these examples of Conservative politics to SF or NP morality? We know

that the SF model favors retribution as the moral alternative given by the Morality of Reward and Punishment principle (Lakoff 2002: 197), the reasons being that retribution is both doing justice (settling moral books) as well as working as a deterrent for others thinking of taking a “criminal path”. People being true to the SF model will thus often believe that the morally right action to take in the “fight” against crime is building more prisons and supporting harsher prison sentences (Lakoff 2002: 200f). Do the Conservatives comply with this reasoning? As we have seen in the examples above, they do seem to support punishment for the sake of settling moral arithmetic. Indeed, it even seems like that is the *moral* thing to do. We now already have good evidence that SF morality can be found in the Conservatives’ discussion of crime. In the next examples we see more entailments of SF reasoning:

- (144) C488. Prison works - not only as a deterrent, but in keeping these criminals off the street.
- (145) C489. Those sent to prison are less likely to re-offend on release than those given a community punishment.
- (146) C490. We will provide another 8,500 prison places by the year 2000.
- (147) C467. In 1994 we doubled the maximum sentence for 15-17 year olds to 2 years detention in a young offenders institution.
- (148) C492. Anyone convicted of a second serious sexual or violent crime, like rape or armed robbery, will get an automatic life sentence.
- (149) C493. Persistent house burglars and dealers in hard drugs will receive mandatory minimum prison sentences of 3 and 7 years respectively.

The first two examples above show the Conservatives’ support of prison working as a deterrent. Example (146) shows that the Conservatives believe in building more prisons. That Conservatives are in favor of harsher prison sentences are seen in examples (147) through (149).

There seems to be much evidence that the Conservative tend to favor punishment for punishment’s sake, as well as believe in punishment as a deterrent. However, there are some statements which bring to light yet another reason as to *why* Conservatives want to pursue criminals, as we can see from example (150) and (151) below:

- (150) C491. We will introduce minimum sentences for violent and persistent criminals to help protect the public more effectively, reversing Labour's wrecking amendments to our tough Crime Bill.
- (151) C496. Concern for the victim must be at the heart of our entire approach to the criminal justice system.

Here we see that *protecting the public* and *concern for the victim* are also important to the Conservatives. It is difficult to ascribe these statements as belonging to SF or NP values. We know that on the face of it, *help*, *protection* and *concern* are core NP values (evoking both the Morality As Empathy and Morality As Nurturance moral principles). However, Morality as Nurturance is a part of the SF model too, though enjoying far less importance, and *protection* as such can be argued to be an important part of the Strict Father's "job" (in our context that means government) to protect his "family". But either way, the SF metaphors discussed previously are undeniable, and, conclusively, the linguistic metaphors and the entailments support a quite predominant SF morality as underpinning Conservative politics on the subject of crime.

Concerning Labour statements on the subject of why crime should be fought and how to fight it, the metaphoric evidence is very meager; indeed, it is hardly existent at all. The only metaphor I could find on the subject is listed below in (152):

(152) L411. We will be tough on crime and tough on the causes of crime

I have marked *tough* as metaphorical on the grounds that the use of this term might both be said to have an etymological more original meaning as a attribute of inanimate objects (OED), as well as the metaphorical sense that Labour wants to be tough "on crime" as crime, after all, is used here as a collective term for many individual acts of crime. More to the point of our discussion however, would be the question as to what Labour's use of *tough* here implies? Does it imply that Labour too is a supporter of more (harsher) punishment? There is some evidence in the form of entailments to support that notion:

(153) L412. Fast-track punishment for persistent young offenders

(154) L436. We will implement an effective sentencing system for all the main offences to ensure greater consistency and stricter punishment for serious repeat offenders.

(155) L445. Our 'zero tolerance' approach will ensure that petty criminality among young offenders is seriously addressed.

This idea of punishment for punishment's sake can be said to be an entailment of the Moral Accounting Metaphor, and above we see in addition some evidence that Labour wants stricter punishment as well. As an aside, we can mention that while the Conservatives have seven instances in which the word *punishment* is used in relation to their discussion on crime, Labour only has the two instances given in example (153) and (154) above.

Going back to example (152) we see that Labour wants to be "tough on the causes of crime". This use of *tough* can also be argued to be metaphorical on the base of etymology as well as the fact that it must be a metaphorical *tough* that Labour wants to enforce, because causes are after all not solid objects. However, it is the use of *causes* in "causes of crime" that is interesting because it follows NP reasoning. In NP morality, corporal punishment is not the preferred solution. Instead, NP morality looks to the causes of crime, which is often found to be a lack of nurturant environment in the criminal's upbringing, and thus, the NP model wishes to *prevent* crime by, for example, trying to reduce poverty and finding work for all (Lakoff 2002: 200-208). Entailments of such reasoning are found below:

- (156) L421. We insist on individual responsibility for crime, and will attack the causes of crime by our measures to relieve social deprivation.
- (157) L465. We will place a new responsibility on local authorities to develop statutory partnerships to help prevent crime.

Here we see again that it is the *causes* of crime that is under attack by Labour, and that they want to *prevent* crime. Interestingly, while Labour mentions the terms *causes* and *prevent* in relation with crime five times, no instances of these terms are found in the Conservative's discussion of crime. There are also five instances in which Labour are using the protection of citizens as argument for why fight crime, which is three more than we found in the Conservatives' discussion of crime.

When we read the parties policies on crime in these manifestos we see that on the face of it, both parties want many of the same things; less crime, more police, more effective prosecution (especially concerning young offenders). Both parties seem to want stricter punishment for repeated offences, and both parties have more or less evidence that argue for wanting to fight crime on the basis of punishment for punishment's sake, and to protect the people. However, when we do a more close analysis we find a great many metaphors and

entailments consistent with SF reasoning and morality within the Conservatives' argumentation. We also find much support for NP reasoning within Labour's argumentation. In this case then, with respect to why and how the parties want to fight crime, the SF and NP models come into their own as being able to explain different Conservative and Labour reasoning by pointing out the differently based morality behind their policies.

4.3.3 Drugs

Let us now look at the parties' discussion of drugs. First, the term *drugs* itself might need some clarification. Originally, the term denoted any organic or inorganic substances used in medicine, chemistry and pharmacy and the like (OED). Today, there is no single good definition of the term, and it may be used for everything from prescriptive medication, to everyday substances such as coffee and nicotine, to the so called "harder" drugs of amphetamine and heroin, to mention a few. In our context, however, we take it that the parties refer only to substances prohibited by law. Still, even defined as "illegal drugs" the category is very complex, not only because the substances in it are so diverse, ranging from those that have no more effect than legal substances such as alcohol and which are not addictive, to those which can seriously affect your health as well as make you an addict in a short time, but also because the *users* and their *reasons* for use are so diverse. As there are no "defining" attributes that can unite all the different drugs in this category, there are no common features to unite the different users of these drugs. With that complexity in mind, let us see what kind of metaphors the parties employed when discussing this concept.

In our discussion of crime we saw that on several occasions there was much use of the conceptual metaphor of CRIME IS AN OBJECT; crime was no longer only individual acts of misconduct, but an entity that people could *turn to*, *get away with*; an entity that needed to be *fought*. In one case, crime was even talked of as a force able to *disrupt* and *spread misery*. In their manifestos, both parties mention drugs as part of their discussion of crime, and in the same manner as crime, drugs too are a problem that must be taken action against:

- (158) C543. The Conservative Government has a comprehensive strategy, launched in 1995, committed to fighting drugs in communities and in schools.
- (159) L454. Labour will appoint an anti-drugs supremo to co-ordinate our battle against drugs across all government departments.

The preferred action by the Conservatives to be taken against drugs is *fighting*, which they have four instances of, together with two instances in which *tackling* is used. Labour has one instance in which *tackle* is used, one instance in which *attack* is the preferred method of action, and, as we see in example (159), they even on one occasion declare a *battle* against drugs. In the case of crime we argued that to fight crime had to be metaphorical because crime is of an abstract nature, and that we had to conceptualize crime as an object before we could *fight* it. Drugs, on the other hand, though the category itself is arguably somewhat abstractly put together (i.e., different substances put together into one category, and the state deciding that they are illegal), drugs still have an undeniably physical quality; they are real-life substances that we can see and touch. However, the term *fight* in its original sense would most certainly require two actors; you are not in a fight unless someone is fighting you back. The same applies even more to the term *battle*; there is not much sense to say you are fighting a war unless an enemy is there to make a resistance. Since drugs after all are inanimate objects, which *in themselves* pose no threat, example (158) and (159) must be interpreted as metaphors. Since we so readily can imagine a fight against drugs, we must map attributes of a living entity onto drugs. This is seen more clearly in the examples below, where drugs are presented as an entity capable of doing terrible things:

- (160) C539. Drugs are a menace to the very fabric of our society
- (161) C540. They ruin the lives of addicts and their families.
- (162) C541. They can destroy whole neighbourhoods.
- (163) C548. This pernicious evil has to be fought by all of us.
- (164) L453. The vicious circle of drugs and crime wrecks lives and threatens communities.
- (165) L455. The 'drug czar' will be a symbol of our commitment to tackle the modern menace of drugs in our communities.

In comparison, the metaphors used to describe crime are relatively harmless to the metaphorical portrayal of drugs, where, as we see, the inanimate and in themselves harmless substances are seen as an entity or force capable of *ruining* and *wrecking* lives, *destroy* neighborhoods, *threaten* communities and are described as nothing less than a *menace* and a *pernicious evil*. In the above examples four belong to the Conservatives, while two belong to Labour. Because both parties' discussions of drugs were quite short, these were all the instances of metaphors of drugs to be found. Still, though the linguistic evidence is not overwhelming, particular on behalf of Labour, we can still suggest that there might exist a conceptual metaphor, which we can call DRUGS ARE A LIVING ENTITY, that has given rise to the

metaphors we have seen in this section. Based on the examples above, we can also say that it seems the Conservatives are a bit more “aggressive” in their portrayal of drugs, especially when applying the vehicle term *pernicious evil*, as the use of *evil* is so far in the direction of making drugs appear as if there is something residing in the drugs themselves that has the ability to take actual physical action.

Concerning the overall metaphor use related to the concept of drugs, as we have seen it used here by the parties, the obvious point that needs to be stated is that the problem really facing communities is drug *use*, together with the production and distribution of the illegal substances. Another point is that a “fight” against the inanimate object “drugs” is quite in vain unless the politicians face the question of *why* the use of drugs is as widespread as it is; what are the reasons why people take to drugs in the first place, individually or socially based as they may be? Seeing this, what may be possible reasons why the politicians want to “frame” (consciously or unconsciously) drugs in this manner? One argument could be that it is only a means to convey the message in a simpler form, that is, instead of always referring to “drug use and the production and distribution of drugs”, the use of only *drugs* itself is meant to grasp all these aspects so that speaking about this subject can be done in a more concise manner. Another argument could be that the politicians are (deliberately or not) focusing their energy on drugs because it is much easier to envisage a fight with an identifiable object (drugs) than to tackle the complex and underlying causes of drug use. By doing so “blame” is aimed at the substance, not the users or society. Perhaps neither of these arguments suffices. What seems reasonable to conclude with however, is that often when we see such obviously apparent “over the top” and uniform metaphor use as in this case of drugs, a real understanding and portrayal of the complexity of the problem might be forfeited.

5. Conclusion

We shall now summarize our most important results. Comparing Conservative and Labour metaphors, we find that a number of concepts seem to be discussed using much of the same metaphors, while other concepts showed that the parties diverged to a greater or lesser extent with respect to what metaphors they use. First we look at the cases where the metaphors employed by both parties are alike: When the concept of *Britain* is mentioned, both parties use extensively what we argued to be the STATE AS A PERSON conceptual metaphor. *Parliament* is talked about by using vehicle terms such as *over*, *during* and *throughout*, which we argued could be due to an underlying conceptual metaphor we called PARLIAMENT AS A STRETCH OF TIME. When referring to *government* both parties draw heavily on what we argued as a GOVERNMENT AS A PERSON conceptual metaphor. Both parties also frequently envisage the abstract “action” of practicing politics as physically being *on a course*, *go*, *take steps* etc., which led us to suggest the conceptual metaphor PRACTICING POLITICS IS BEING ON A PATH. When referring to political “action plans” like *programmes*, *schemes*, *policies*, and *reforms*, both parties seem to divide the “lifespan” of these plans into three separate stages, drawing first upon the conceptual metaphor ACTION PLANS ARE OBJECTS UNDER CONSTRUCTION, then expressing the introduction of the plans employing vehicle terms such as *launching* and *kickstarting*, followed by a general use of the conceptual metaphor ACTION PLANS ARE LIVING ENTITIES. Both parties also conceptualize many economic concepts such as *taxes*, *rates*, *inflation* and *public spending* in terms of a single object that may be measured using the familiar spatial terms such as *high* and *low*. To be in a job seems to be conceptualized as being *in* a container, a room we can go *into*, while receiving benefits is being in a stationary position *on* something. Both parties also seem to adhere to the CRIME IS AN OBJECT and DRUGS ARE A LIVING ENTITY conceptual metaphors.

As the above summary shows, it is clear that metaphors play an important part in how we talk and think about political concepts. Metaphor is an undeniable fact of both speech and thought. The overall result from the conceptual metaphors we found is that, with very few exceptions, the source domains have qualities that hold real psychological and perceptible importance to us, like *objects*, *paths*, *spatial orientation* and *people*, and these are mapped onto the more complex and abstract target domains. This is thus in line with the discussion in section 2.2.2 about the grounding of conceptual metaphors. This thesis thus supports Lakoff and Johnson’s claim about the embodiment of reason; meaning to us humans is irrevocably grounded in our

sensorimotor experience and this embodied meaning is extended, via imaginative mechanisms, one of which is conceptual metaphors, to shape abstract conceptualization and reasoning (Lakoff and Johnson 2002: 245). The first thing we may argue is *in* a metaphor, at least as far as our metaphors of political concepts are concerned, is *meaning*; without metaphor we cannot ground the abstractness of these concepts into something that we do understand, i.e., our sensorimotor experiences.

We now turn to those cases where we found the parties to diverge in their metaphor use. The first instance is the relationship between the state and its people, where the Conservatives seem to conceptualize the state as interfering in the business of the citizens, which led us to suggest the conceptual metaphor THE STATE AS INTERFERENCE. Labour, on the other hand, seems to think in terms of THE STATE AS A PARTNER. Next, we found that when the parties explain their take on the complex field of national economy, Labour uses three different conceptualizations; ECONOMY IS A GROWING ORGANISM, ECONOMY IS A BUILDING and ECONOMY IS AN ENTITY THAT MUST BE IN BALANCE. While Labour uses these conceptual metaphors to argue for an economy in need of *stability*, *growth* and a strong *foundation*, the Conservatives frame the economic situation using the conceptual metaphor ECONOMY IS A BATTLE, which features the *free market* versus the *social model* as rivaling antagonists. On the subject of *taxes* we see evidence that the Conservatives might be mapping onto the concept attributes of negative value, seen by the use of vehicle terms such as *burden* and *deter*, and by their reference to a metaphorical *taxman* that *takes too much*. Labour, on the other hand, several times refers to taxes as *fair*. When we discussed how and why the parties want to *fight crime*, we also encountered evidence that the Conservatives put more weight on wanting the criminals to *account* for their crimes, and wanting to make sure that crime does not *pay*.

Based on the differences of metaphor use in the above examples we can conclude that though we did find a great number of concepts in which the metaphor use was similar in both parties, we have also encountered concepts that are being differently conceptualized by the two parties, thus at least partially proving the hypothesis that we would find the ideological differences of the Conservatives and Labour showing up in the metaphors they employed.

Let us take a closer look to see if we might explain why there are so many concepts featuring uniform metaphor use, and what it is about the concepts that do show different metaphor use. Many of the concepts investigated can be labeled as quite uncontroversial and cannot be said

to be a matter of political discussion in the first place. Concepts in this category include *Britain, parliament, government* along with the nature of how we understand concepts like *programmes, schemes* etc., plus the nature of how we think of concepts like *public spending* and *rates* using spatial terms like *high* or *low*. To put it differently, though the parties might disagree on *what* programmes that are most effective and *how high* public spending should be, they both conceptualize this in the same way. Now, in hindsight, it makes quite sense that those concepts that are not political issues *per se* do not show differences in metaphor use, while those that are a matter of political disagreement, such as economy, taxes and how to fight crime, do show a difference in metaphor use.

If we look more closely into how these concepts are grounded, we find that while the “undisputed” concepts are all grounded in spatial experience and easily perceivable objects, we have argued that the most disputed concepts could, by the use of Lakoff’s models, be traced back to a moral base; a moral base that *differs*, that is. Lakoff and Johnson (2002: 246) argue that there are some conceptual metaphors that are more primary than others and which seem to “arise automatically and unconsciously just through our everyday functioning in the world”. These conceptual metaphors all draw upon source domains of primary importance to our sensorimotor apparatus, in which spatial relations hold an important position. Perhaps the conceptualizations of the “undisputed” concepts may also be of such a nature that, for example, the attribution of *high* and *low* to a number of concepts arises very automatically, and hence we would all conceptualize the concepts in the same manner. This argument could work in the instances where we, for example, saw being in power as being *on top*, measurement of political concepts and crime in terms of spatial direction, as well as the instances in which we so naturally attribute inanimate and even abstract objects with physical mass and intentions. If there are some conceptual metaphors that are more primary than others, other types of conceptual metaphors may then be argued as being socially constructed, which could be the case with our “disputed” concepts. Conceptualizing taxes as actually having a physical mass that rests as a burden on the taxpayer does not seem to be a conceptual metaphor that would rise automatically in the mind, but seems much more likely to be a possible conceptualization that can be constructed if an individual was to receive much input from, say, a Strict Father “environment”. The way a person conceptualizes taxes would thus differ depending on influences such as culture, upbringing and political identification.

A sizable part of this thesis focused on the SF and NP models and whether we could explain any possible differences in metaphor use by employing these models. It is quite clear that in the cases we actually saw different metaphors being employed, the SF and NP models were able to explain the results satisfactorily by relating our metaphors to the conceptual metaphors that constitute the different set of moral values in conservative and liberal politics. It was especially the principles of Morality as Punishment and Reward, the Moral Accounting Metaphor, Moral Strength, the Moral Self-Interest Metaphor, Morality as Nurturance and Morality as Fair Distribution that brought explanatory power to our discussions of the relationship between state and the citizens, economy, taxes and crime. On the whole, Conservative politics seems to be best explained by SF morality, and Labour politics seems to fit the NP model, though to a bit lesser extent than Conservative politics fit the SF model. Indeed, it has been shown that it was the Conservatives' use of metaphors that lent itself most easily to be explained by the models, while the most noticeable aspect of the Labour metaphors seems to be their comparative *absence*. This finding is not too unexpected though, as we have seen Lakoff (2002: 31) suggests that conservatives seem to have a deeper insight into their worldview than liberals. Still, because it seems that the Conservatives quite consistently use *more* metaphors as well as more *explicit* metaphors (cf. discussion of *drugs* and *crime* for example), there might be other factors to consider too, and more investigation into that subject would be interesting.

Concerning the *usability* of the SF and NP as a framework in a study such as this, with its predominant focus on metaphors, we must conclude that the models are not easily applied. The problems involved when applying the models were discussed in both section 2.3.3 and 3.2.3, and the result was as expected; when we take non-metaphorical entailments into consideration we can quite easily find substantial evidence for a political statement as belonging either to SF and NP reasoning, but relying only on linguistic metaphors does not reveal a great many underlying SF or NP conceptual metaphors. Taking only metaphors into consideration might then not be the best way of using the SF or NP models. Perhaps Lakoff's models would be better suited to be included as part of a framework more based on, say, Critical Discourse Analysis. Still, there is no denying that even if we in some instances had to turn to non-metaphorical entailments to strengthen our arguments, the SF and NP models have been an important part of the analysis in this thesis, and some of the metaphors encountered (for instance, the Conservative statement *The guilty must be held to account for their actions promptly*) would have been difficult to explain without the existence of the SF or

NP models. We thus also conclude that we have found a good amount of evidence linking British politics to the SF and NP models, which in itself has consequences for how we think and relate to politics. We can now further suggest that in some instances what is *in* a metaphor is morality and family based reasoning as basis for a particular standpoint on a political issue.

To conclude, one might ask why we should take the time and energy to investigate metaphors. Cognitive sciences have taught us that our worldviews, which determine how we think and react to the stimuli presented to us, are in many aspects “hidden” to conscious reasoning. As Lakoff and Johnson note:

The very existence of the cognitive unconscious, a fact fundamental to all concepts of cognitive science, has important implications for the practice of philosophy. It means that we can have no direct conscious awareness of most of what goes on in our minds. The idea that pure philosophical reflection can plumb the depths of human understanding is an illusion. Traditional methods of philosophical analysis alone, even phenomenological introspection, cannot come close to allowing us to know our minds (1999: 12).

This has imperative consequences for our political lives. When we know that a great part of our reasoning of the important concepts that hold such significance in our lives are withdrawn from conscious scrutiny, the study of metaphor can become of great value. By making the conceptual metaphors that “rule” or discourse and thinking explicit, we can begin a process of re-reasoning; we can ask ourselves if the metaphors and hence the unconscious thinking that we reason by *really* reflect a reality which we are comfortable with?

Appendices

Appendix 1: Strict Father and Nurturant Parent Morality Models

Strict Father morality:

➤ **Moral Strength**

- BEING GOOD IS BEING UPRIGHT
- BEING BAD IS BEING LOW
- DOING EVIL IS FALLING
- EVIL IS A FORCE (either internal or external)
- MORALITY IS STRENGTH

➤ **Moral Authority**

- A COMMUNITY IS A FAMILY
- MORAL AUTHORITY IS PARENTAL AUTHORITY
- AN AUTHORITY FIGURE IS A PARENT
- A PERSON SUBJECT TO MORAL AUTHORITY IS A CHILD
- MORAL BEHAVIOR BY SOMEONE SUBJECT TO AUTHORITY IS OBEDIENCE
- MORAL BEHAVIOR BY SOMEONE IN AUTHORITY IS SETTING STANDARDS AND ENFORCING THEM

➤ **Moral Order**

- THE MORAL ORDER IS THE NATURAL ORDER

➤ **Moral Boundaries**

- RIGHTS ARE PATHS

➤ **Moral Essence**

- A PERSON IS AN OBJECT
- HIS ESSENCE IS THE SUBSTANCE THE OBJECT IS MADE OF

➤ **Moral Wholeness**

- MORALITY IS WHOLENESS
- IMMORALITY IS IMPURITY

➤ **Moral Purity**

- MORALITY IS HEALTH
- IMMORALITY IS DISEASE

➤ **Moral Self-Interest**

- WELL-BEING IS WEALTH

➤ **Morality as Nurturance**

- MORAL ACTION IS NURTURANCE

Nurturant Parent morality:

➤ **Morality as Empathy**

- MORALITY IS EMPATHY

➤ **Morality as Nurturance**

- THE COMMUNITY IS A FAMILY
- MORAL AGENTS ARE NURTURING PARENTS
- PEOPLE NEEDING HELP ARE CHILDREN NEEDING NURTURANCE
- MORAL ACTION IS NURTURANCE

➤ **Morality as Social Nurturance**

- MORAL AGENTS ARE NURTURING PARENTS
- SOCIAL TIES ARE CHILDREN NEEDING CARE
- MORAL ACTION IS THE NURTURANCE OF SOCIAL TIES

➤ **Moral as Self-Nurturance**

- MORALITY IS NURTURANCE [OF ONESELF]

➤ **Morality as Happiness**

- MORALITY IS HAPPINESS

➤ **Morality as Self-Development**

- MORALITY IS SELF-DEVELOPMENT

➤ **Morality as Fair Distribution**

- MORALITY IS FAIR DISTRIBUTION

➤ **Moral Growth**

- THE DEGREE OF MORALITY IS PHYSICAL HEIGHT
- MORAL GROWTH IS PHYSICAL GROWTH
- MORAL NORMS FOR PEOPLE ARE PHYSICAL HEIGHT NORMS

➤ **Moral Self-Interest**

- WELL-BEING IS WEALTH

➤ **The Moral Strength to Nurture**

- BEING GOOD IS BEING UPRIGHT
- BEING BAD IS BEING LOW
- EVIL IS A FORCE (EITHER INTERNAL OR EXTERNAL)
- MORALITY IS STRENGTH

Appendix 2: Conservative Corpus

- C01. Doubling Living Standards
- C02. The free market is winning the battle of ideas the world over.
- C03. From Russia to Vietnam, from China to Romania, people are realising that the socialist model has failed.
- C04. This is not just an economic triumph.
- C05. It is a triumph for human freedom.
- C06. Britain helped to secure it.
- C07. We should take pride in it.
- C08. The spread of the free market heralds a new age of global competition.
- C09. That means new markets for British goods and services, but new competitors for British companies as well.
- C10. If we try to protect ourselves from these challenges with more regulations, public subsidies and a cosy dependence on government then Britain will fail.
- C11. But if we boldly embrace these new opportunities by pushing forward the economic revolution we began in 1979, then we will enter the next millennium with boundless prospects for growth and prosperity.
- C12. That choice - between stagnation and dynamism - is the choice which faces Britain at this election.
- C13. It is a stark choice between the British way - of trusting the people and unleashing enterprise - and the failing social model, practised on the continent, which the Labour Party wants to impose on us here under the guise of "stakeholding".
- C14. Hard economic evidence shows how great is the divide between these two strategies.
- C15. Britain is now in its fifth year of growing faster than France or Germany.
- C16. Unemployment in Britain has fallen to less than two million, while it rises across Europe.
- C17. Britain attracts nearly forty per cent of all the American and Japanese investment in Europe.
- C18. Our aim now is to safeguard these achievements and build on them, so Britain becomes the unrivalled Enterprise Centre of Europe.
- C19. A Low Tax Economy
- C20. For enterprise to flourish, the state must get out of the way of the wealth creators.

- C21. We are the only party that can cut taxes because we are the only party which is serious about controlling public spending.
- C22. The choice between the two economic philosophies is clear
- C23. In the years before 1979, public spending in Britain kept pace with the average for Europe as a whole.
- C24. Since then, it has continued rising on the continent, while we have restrained public spending here.
- C25. Now, public spending takes about 40% of our national income as against an average of 50% on the continent.
- C26. We have broken free from a trend in which the rest of Europe is still trapped.
- C27. Conservative government will keep public spending under tight control and ensure that it grows by less than the economy as a whole over the economic cycle.
- C28. At the same time we will continue to spend more on the services which matter most to people - hospitals, schools and the police.
- C29. Over the next parliament, we will achieve our goal for the government to spend less than 40% of our national income
- C30. That means we can reduce the amount government borrows too, and meet our aim of moving towards a balanced budget in the medium term.
- C31. Our plans show how we can virtually eliminate public borrowing by the year 2000.
- C32. Thanks to our success in controlling public spending, Britain is now Europe's low tax economy.
- C33. This is one of the reasons why we are becoming the Enterprise Centre of Europe.
- C34. Our aim is to ensure Britain keeps the lowest tax burden of any major European economy.
- C35. In the election manifesto of 1992, we promised that "We will make further progress towards a basic income tax rate of 20p".
- C36. Since then, we have cut the basic rate of income tax from 25p to 23p, and extended the 20p band so that over a quarter of all taxpayers now only pay income tax at the 20p rate.
- C37. Achieving our public expenditure goals will mean we can sustain permanently low tax levels.
- C38. Over the next parliament, our aim will be to achieve our target of a 20p basic rate of income tax, while maintaining a maximum tax rate of no more than 40p.
- C39. Stable Prices
- C40. Inflation has to be kept firmly under control for an economy to thrive.
- C41. Britain is now enjoying the longest period of stable prices for almost fifty years.
- C42. We are on target to reach our goal of 2½% inflation this year.
- C43. Low inflation has delivered lower interest rates whilst preserving the value of people's savings.
- C44. Homeowners are now enjoying mortgage rates at the lowest levels for 30 years.
- C45. It has taken tough decisions to break free from our reputation as a high inflation economy.
- C46. No Conservative government will jeopardise this achievement.
- C47. During the next parliament, we will maintain an inflation target of 2½% or less.
- C48. Rising Living Standards
- C49. The only secure base for rising living standards is a strongly growing economy, low levels of public spending and taxation, and stable prices.
- C50. That is exactly what Britain is achieving.
- C51. People are reaping the rewards of their hard work as their take home pay increases.
- C52. Between 1974 and 1979, the take home pay for a family on average earnings rose, in real terms, by just £1 a week in today's prices.
- C53. Since 1979 it has increased by £100 a week; this year alone it will increase by £7 a week.
- C54. The goal which we set ourselves in 1995 is to double living standards over 25 years.
- C55. We are on course to achieve our goal.
- C56. Jobs and Business
- C57. Our priority is to create jobs.
- C58. This is not just an economic priority, but also a social and moral one.
- C59. Jobs and enterprise are the best ways of tackling poverty and deprivation.
- C60. Britain is succeeding.
- C61. 900,000 jobs have been created over the past 4 years.
- C62. By contrast the European social model is stifling job creation on the continent by imposing regulations and burdens on business.
- C63. In the United Kingdom unemployment is much lower than in the rest of Europe and falling whereas in Germany, France, and Italy it has risen to its highest level for a generation.
- C64. This is no accident.
- C65. It is because we have pursued very different policies from those on the Continent.
- C66. Curbing the power of trade unions, opening up markets and cutting red tape, have given us a low strike, low cost economy: and as a result Britain is the number one location for foreign investment in Europe.
- C67. Never have such policies been so important.
- C68. For the first time this century we face a world full of capitalist competition.
- C69. The only way Britain will be able to compete and win in world markets is by sticking to the Conservative policies that are delivering success.
- C70. We can earn prosperity as one of the world's most successful global trading nations.
- C71. We should not risk this progress by adopting the very policies that have made the continent uncompetitive and have increased unemployment in Europe by 4.5 million over the past 5 years.
- C72. Small Businesses - Britain's Risk-takers
- C73. Governments do not create jobs.
- C74. Businesses do.
- C75. The source of tomorrow's jobs will be small businesses, the seedcorn of Britain's prosperity.
- C76. Over the last 15 years, small businesses have created over 2 million jobs.
- C77. By the year 2000, over half the workforce should be working in companies which employ fewer than 50 people.
- C78. Back in 1979 only a third of the workforce did.
- C79. Entrepreneurs often risk everything when they set up their own business.
- C80. We have already helped them: raising the VAT threshold, cutting employer's national insurance contributions, simplifying audit requirements and much more besides.
- C81. Now we intend to go further, tackling the remaining problems they face.
- C82. High taxes and rates deter enterprise.
- C83. Our low tax structure has been crucial to our industrial revival.
- C84. We already have the lowest corporation tax of any major industrialised country.

- C85. As we want small businesses to flourish, we will go even further.
- C86. We will cut the small companies rate of corporation tax in line with personal taxation as we move towards a 20p basic rate.
- C87. Investment and enterprise are deterred if the taxman takes too much of the capital that is built up by a successful business.
- C88. Capital is ever more mobile, flying around the world to places where the tax on it is low: Britain must be one of those places.
- C89. We will continue to reduce the burden of capital gains tax and inheritance tax as it is prudent to do so.
- C90. One of the heaviest burdens small businesses face is business rates.
- C91. At the moment, this bears more heavily upon small businesses than large ones.
- C92. In the next parliament, we will reform business rates to reduce the cost that falls upon small businesses.
- C93. No businessman has time to fill out reams of forms.
- C94. We will continue to simplify the administration of NICs and PAYE for small firms, allowing them to concentrate on satisfying customers not bureaucrats.
- C95. We are also tackling a problem that hits small businesses particularly hard - the late payment of bills.
- C96. On top of our programme to ensure government departments and local authorities pay on time we have legislated to require companies to publish their payment policy and to report their record on how quickly they pay their bills to small businesses.
- C97. We have already abolished over a thousand regulations.
- C98. New regulations must only be introduced if it is clear that their benefits exceed their costs and they do not place an undue burden on a small firm.
- C99. We will introduce "sunset" requirements into new regulations whenever appropriate so that they are automatically reviewed or dropped after a specific period.
- C100. Many businessmen suffer regulatory burdens imposed by local government and quangos.
- C101. We will therefore insist that the whole of the public sector adopts the same stringent rules that we require of central government in justifying the benefits of new regulations against their costs.
- C102. Reducing the Burden on Companies
- C103. Jobs depend on British firms winning orders: the difference between success or failure can be wafer-thin.
- C104. Any extra burden on business will destroy jobs.
- C105. Britain is enjoying more jobs and record investment, thanks to the competitive edge we have over other European countries.
- C106. We are a low cost economy
- C107. But that does not mean we are a low pay economy.
- C108. Our competitive advantage comes from the lower costs facing our businesses.
- C109. It can be measured by the social costs an employer has to pay on top of every £100 of wages: in Germany it is £31, in France £41, but in Britain, it is only £15.
- C110. Many countries in Europe have tried to cocoon themselves from global competition behind layers of red tape and regulation - such as the Social Chapter and a national minimum wage.
- C111. This provides a false sense of security, playing a cruel trick on working people.
- C112. It also excludes the unemployed from work.
- C113. As companies in the rest of Europe have grown more uncompetitive, employers have found it too expensive to employ new workers, investment has gone elsewhere, and the dole queues have lengthened.
- C114. The European social model is not social and not a model for us to follow.
- C115. But if Britain signed up to the Social Chapter it would be used to impose that model on us - destroying British jobs.
- C116. No Conservative government will sign up to the Social Chapter or introduce a national minimum wage
- C117. We will insist at the Intergovernmental Conference in Amsterdam that our opt-out is honoured and that Britain is exempted from the Working Time Directive: if old agreements are broken, we do not see how new ones can be made
- C118. We will resist the imposition of other social burdens on the work place through a new European employment chapter.
- C119. Welfare into Work
- C120. Although governments cannot create jobs, they can help people train and find work.
- C121. We now have in place a battery of schemes working with Training and Enterprise Councils to provide targeted help and training, including remedial education in literacy and numeracy.
- C122. We are also developing new incentives, alongside Family Credit, to help people move off benefit into work.
- C123. We will always help those in genuine need: in return, the unemployed have a responsibility to look for work and accept a reasonable offer
- C124. That belief underpins our new Jobseeker's Allowance which ensures that no-one can refuse reasonable work opportunities and remain on benefit.
- C125. As unemployment falls, we want to focus on those who have been unemployed for some time.
- C126. At present, Project Work is helping 100,000 people who have been unemployed for more than 2 years in cities around Britain.
- C127. They are first given help in finding a job - which includes giving employers incentives to take them on.
- C128. Those who do not find jobs are then required to work for a specific period on a community project.
- C129. This helps them regain work habits and ensures they are available for work.
- C130. As Project Work succeeds and demonstrates that its costs can be met by the savings from getting people into work, we will extend the programme to cover the long-term unemployed nationwide
- C131. We will also develop an innovative "Britain Works" scheme which uses the experience and ingenuity of private and voluntary sectors to get people off welfare into work.
- C132. Britain has one of the most mobile economies in Europe.
- C133. People move on, and up, into better paid jobs more easily than on the continent.
- C134. The Information Society
- C135. Britain is at the forefront of creating tomorrow's information society Already we have exposed domestic telecommunications to competition and stimulated investment in cable and satellite entertainment systems.
- C136. And by opening up international telecommunications we will continue to encourage companies worldwide to base their global operations here.
- C137. We will make sure that the digital revolution comes to Britain first.
- C138. We are launching an ambitious programme with industry to spread "IT for All", giving every adult the opportunity to try out and learn about new IT services.
- C139. We will work with industry to ensure that all schools are connected to the information superhighway.

- C140. We will use the Millennium Lottery Fund to transform the computer facilities and information links available in schools, libraries, museums, voluntary organisations and other public places after the turn of the century.
- C141. This will give the public much wider access to information services in the years ahead.
- C142. We will also take advantage of information technology to transform the way government provides services to the public.
- C143. We will keep Britain in the vanguard of new mobile service development - including mobile telephone and information services - by introducing a pricing system for the radio spectrum to achieve more efficient allocation of radio frequencies.
- C144. We will maintain a strong, free and competitive broadcasting and press environment at both national and local level, while continuing to be vigilant in monitoring whether action is needed to curb breaches of standards, and prevent unacceptable press intrusion.
- C145. Science
- C146. British science enjoys a worldwide reputation for excellence and cost-effectiveness, which makes Britain an attractive base for many domestic and overseas companies.
- C147. We will continue to invest in science and target funds at basic research, which would not otherwise be funded by industry.
- C148. At the same time we will provide an enterprising environment which encourages firms to invest with confidence in applied science.
- C149. 2020 Vision
- C150. There is no part of the globe which has not been reached by British enterprise and British culture.
- C151. We have always looked out beyond these shores, beyond this continent.
- C152. Our language, our heritage of international trading links, our foreign investments - second only to America's - are historic strengths which mean we are ideally placed to seize the opportunities of the global economy.
- C153. Thanks to Conservative policies of liberalisation and privatisation we are strong in industries of the future such as telecommunications, financial services, and information technology.
- C154. These are the industries that will benefit from opening up trade around the world.
- C155. We will push for completion of the European Single Market and continue to pursue the objective of transatlantic free trade against the background of world trade liberalisation.
- C156. Our aim is nothing less than tariff free trade across the globe by the year 2020
- C157. Free competition is important for free markets. Companies should not make agreements that restrict competition and hence result in poor value for consumers.
- C158. We have set out proposals to give companies greater protection against price fixing, dumping, and other restrictive practices by larger competitors.
- C159. We will introduce a Competition Bill to take forward these proposals in the first session of the next parliament
- C160. We are committed to pushing forward our competitiveness agenda which is making Britain the Enterprise Centre of Europe.
- C161. 3. Choice and Security for Families
- C162. The family is the most important institution in our lives.
- C163. It offers security and stability in a fast-changing world. But the family is undermined if governments take decisions which families ought to take for themselves.
- C164. Self-reliance underpins freedom and choice.
- C165. Families are stronger if they have the money to look after themselves: that is why we are shifting power and wealth back to working families and away from the state.
- C166. We have already achieved much - the average family's disposable income has gone up by 40% since 1979.
- C167. But we want to go further.
- C168. The next Conservative government intends to reform the tax system so that it gives substantially more help to families.
- C169. We also want to encourage people to save so they have the security and self-respect that comes from being able to rely on their own resources rather than immediately turning to the state.
- C170. We have already made much progress here too with widening ownership of homes, pensions, and the new PEPs and TESSAs.
- C171. We now propose further radical measures for more saving for retirement.
- C172. Support for Families
- C173. Conservatives believe that a healthy society encourages people to accept responsibility for their own lives.
- C174. A heavy-handed and intrusive state can do enormous damage.
- C175. Some families need help to cope with their responsibilities.
- C176. For them, Social Services play a vital role.
- C177. They help with children where parental care has failed.
- C178. They deliver an ever wider range of services to people with learning difficulties or who are mentally ill.
- C179. Our community care reforms have given them a central role ensuring that elderly people get care of the highest quality: and in their own homes where possible.
- C180. We need to ensure that role is properly fulfilled.
- C181. Early in the next Parliament we will introduce a Social Services Reform Bill which will create a new statutory framework for social services.
- C182. The Bill will provide for greater openness and accountability in social services.
- C183. We will provide new guidance to ensure social workers properly reflect the values of the community - focusing their efforts on those families who most need support, and minimising unnecessary interference.
- C184. Social workers working with children will receive special training to cope with the often heart-rending cases they face.
- C185. We will raise standards through a new regulatory framework which will apply the same standards in both the public and private sector.
- C186. We will also remove the power of local authorities to operate care homes where this is in the best interests of the people for whom they are responsible.
- C187. We believe that families who use social services should be able to exercise choice wherever practicable.
- C188. We have given cash payments to disabled people to purchase the services they need directly.
- C189. We also want new ways of reinforcing individual choice where possible.
- C190. We will therefore ensure no barriers stand in the way of local authorities wanting to issue their users with vouchers to buy certain services.
- C191. We will review the direct payment scheme, and provided it has been cost effective, we will extend it to other users of social services.

- C192. Above all, we want to help families to help themselves.
- C193. Caring for older - or disabled - relatives is one of the most natural human instincts.
- C194. We recognise the crucial and often demanding role carers play, and will help them more.
- C195. We will introduce a Respite Care Programme. This will enable family members with heavy responsibilities caring for a relative to take a much needed break.
- C196. We will also offer more practical advice for carers who want to go back to paid work.
- C197. But in some cases, elderly people need more care than their friends or relatives can provide.
- C198. Financing long term care worries many families.
- C199. We will create an imaginative, fair partnership between individuals and the public sector to resolve this problem.
- C200. In the first session of the next Parliament we will implement our partnership scheme for long term care, making it easier for people to afford the cost of care in old age without giving up their lifetime savings.
- C201. Good preparation for marriage can be an important aid to a successful family, while timely help in meeting difficulties can often avoid family breakdown.
- C202. These are matters for voluntary effort, not the state, but we will continue to support such effort.
- C203. We need to make sure efforts to help struggling families does not turn into unnecessary meddling.
- C204. When the state goes too far, it is often the children who suffer
- C205. They become victims of the worst sort of political correctness.
- C206. We will introduce legislation to remove unnecessary barriers to adoption and introduce new rules to make adoption from abroad more straightforward.
- C207. We will also monitor the workings of the Children Act, and act if necessary to ensure it maintains a proper balance between the rights of children and the responsibilities of adults.
- C208. Social Services departments are now the fourth arm of the welfare state.
- C209. Most people will need them at some point in their lives.
- C210. We will ensure that the Conservative revolution in public services now reaches Social Services.
- C211. Disabled People
- C212. We have quadrupled real spending on long term sick and disabled people since 1979, to £22 billion.
- C213. We have introduced the Disability Discrimination Act.
- C214. This is the first legislation of its kind anywhere in Europe and it provides positive proof of our commitment to disabled people.
- C215. We will monitor it to ensure it continues to meet its objectives.
- C216. We are also providing a continuing fund to enable the most severely disabled people to stay in their own homes.
- C217. Security in Retirement
- C218. Pensioners continue to make a positive contribution to society in retirement.
- C219. They give more of their time in charitable work than any other age group.
- C220. They lift some of the pressures on their own families.
- C221. They help keep our nation's history and traditions alive.
- C222. They have paid their National Insurance contributions and taxes and rightly expect us to continue to protect the value of the basic state pension against price rises.
- C223. We will do so.
- C224. We will also ensure that less well off pensioners continue to get extra help on top of the basic pension.
- C225. At the same time as protecting the state pension, our encouragement of private pensions is already transforming the living standards of pensioners.
- C226. The average net income of pensioners has risen by 60% since 1979.
- C227. This has been achieved by our encouragement of saving for retirement.
- C228. The tax system must help pensioners who have saved.
- C229. Our new lower 20p rate on income from savings directly helps 1.7 million pensioners and the special age allowances raise the point at which pensioners start to pay income tax.
- C230. A Better Social Security System
- C231. People in need can rely on our continuing support.
- C232. To ensure that taxpayers are willing to go on paying for that support, we have shaped a social security system we can afford, taking a steadily declining share of our national income.
- C233. We are doing this by focusing benefits on those most in need, helping people off welfare and into work, and curbing welfare fraud.
- C234. These policies are underpinned by our measures to help families help themselves.
- C235. Social Security must be there to help families, pensioners and people in need.
- C236. We will protect the value of Child Benefit and Family Credit which help with the cost of bringing up children.
- C237. This is our Family Benefits Guarantee.
- C238. We will bring the structure of benefits for lone parents into line with that for two-parent families.
- C239. We will continue to help lone parents obtain maintenance, and assist with childcare in work: both these measures help lone parents obtain work.
- C240. We will pilot our "Parent Plus" Scheme that gives special help to lone parents who want to work, and extend it if it proves successful.
- C241. Social Security fraud must be stamped out.
- C242. We will intensify our current initiatives of inspections and checks, including more home visits, to crack down further on benefit cheats.
- C243. We will introduce benefit cards across the country.
- C244. We will establish a Benefit Fraud inspectorate to monitor local authorities' performance.
- C245. We will also improve the sharing of information between government departments to catch more fraudulent claims.
- C246. To ensure as much of the Social Security budget as possible goes into benefits, we will continue to improve the efficiency of administration, using the best mix of public and private sector operations.
- C247. 4. Education and Opportunity
- C248. All children dream of what they might do when they grow up.
- C249. Our task is to help them turn those dreams into reality whatever their background may be.
- C250. It is an exciting world, full of new opportunities for inquiring minds: it should be open to every child.
- C251. Their future - and Britain's prosperity - depends on the quality of their education.
- C252. Our Education Guarantee

- C253. A good education is the birthright of every child.
- C254. Literacy is the building block of all future learning: English is the global language of commerce and, much more, a thing of beauty.
- C255. Without basic science and mathematics, the modern world is incomprehensible.
- C256. Every child therefore must be taught to read, write and add up from an early age.
- C257. Years of mistaken, progressive education in the 1960s and 1970s denied these precious skills to too many children.
- C258. We have worked ceaselessly since 1979 to put that right.
- C259. Our decision to test children and publish the results has allowed standards to be measured and exposed.
- C260. We have reformed the curriculum, toughened inspections, and given more information and power to parents.
- C261. Our many excellent teachers now know what is expected of them, and already standards in schools are rising.
- C262. But they are still not good enough.
- C263. We must do more.
- C264. Building on what we have done, we can now offer a new pledge to parents - a guarantee of education standards.
- C265. First, we will set national targets for school performance that reflect our objective of ensuring that Britain is in the top league of international standards across the whole spectrum of education.
- C266. Second, we will require every school to plan how to improve its performance, and to set targets which relate to similar schools and national standards.
- C267. Third, we will give all parents full information on the performance of their child's school
- C268. Fourth, to underwrite our pledge, we will ensure action is taken to bring any under-performing school up to the mark.
- C269. We will meet this pledge by using the full set of levers for improved standards that we have put in place.
- C270. We are revising and simplifying the National Curriculum in primary schools to emphasise high standards in the basic skills.
- C271. Parents and teachers must have an overview of not just how much a child has learnt while at school, but how the school performs against others.
- C272. Poor schooling must not be protected by a veil of secrecy.
- C273. Parent power is a vital force for higher standards.
- C274. Regular tests and exams are essential if teachers are to discover how much their pupils have learnt, and parents are to know how much progress their children are making against national standards.
- C275. That is why children are already being tested at 7, 11 and 14.
- C276. We will publish all school test results, including the results of tests of 7 and 14 year olds.
- C277. We propose also to assess every child at five.
- C278. This will give teachers and parents a benchmark against which they can measure future progress.
- C279. To give a better measure of pupil's performance, marks out of 100 will be made available to parents as well as the broad-brush levels.
- C280. We will also introduce a new test for 14 year old children that covers the whole National Curriculum - assessing progress before they choose subjects for GCSE.
- C281. Tests and exams need to be rigorous and demanding.
- C282. We will insist that they establish children's command of spelling, punctuation, and grammar in English tests.
- C283. Children will sit arithmetic tests without calculators.
- C284. We will not allow such extensive use of open books in tests and in GCSE exams.
- C285. We will establish an English Language GCSE. We will continue to uphold the gold standard of A-levels, and ensure that the great classics of our literature are studied at A-level.
- C286. At the same time students should have the chance to study more subjects in the sixth form.
- C287. Rigorous tests show how individual children and schools are performing and expose schools that are not giving children the education they deserve.
- C288. To underwrite our guarantee, we will then take action to improve standards.
- C289. We cannot tolerate schools that fail their pupils.
- C290. By this summer every secondary school in the country will have been inspected by independent inspectors, and by summer 1998, every primary school will have been inspected as well.
- C291. We have the power to take over failing schools directly and close them if necessary
- C292. We will now go further and require every school to set, and publish, regular targets, and plans for improving their academic results.
- C293. Independent inspectors will monitor the results of weaker schools and their plans for improvement at regular intervals.
- C294. Sometimes, though, schools are failing because the local education authority which runs them is failing.
- C295. The authorities with the worst GCSE results and the worst results at Key Stage 2 (11 year olds) are run by Labour.
- C296. Those children need our help.
- C297. We will allow for on independent inspection of education authorities and intervene directly to raise standards where education authorities are letting children down.
- C298. Failing authorities will be required to set out their plans to raise standards, and work with education teams - directed by independent inspectors - to implement those plans.
- C299. The vast majority of teachers do an outstanding job.
- C300. They have played a key part in implementing the reforms that we have introduced.
- C301. A few, though, let their pupils down.
- C302. We will establish a more rigorous and effective system of appraising teachers, which reflects how well their pupils perform in tests and exams: this will identify which teachers need more help and, where necessary, which teachers need to be replaced.
- C303. Many feel that the professional standing of teachers would be strengthened by the creation of a single body which could speak with authority on professional standards.
- C304. We will consult with teachers and other interested parties about the possible role of such a body.
- C305. The school should be a place of stability and stimulation for children, especially if they come from a hostile or turbulent environment.
- C306. To improve standards in future our new teacher training curriculum will stress traditional teaching methods -including whole class teaching and learning to read by the sounds of letters.
- C307. We will also encourage more teachers to enter the profession through practical training schemes focused on classroom experience such as the Graduate Teacher Scheme.
- C308. A child is likely to learn more in a well-ordered school.

- C309. Teachers must have the powers they need to maintain discipline.
- C310. We will give teachers greater power to set detentions, to exclude disruptive pupils and to use reasonable physical restraint where necessary.
- C311. Schools also have an important role to play in spiritual and moral education.
- C312. We will take steps to ensure that every school fulfils its role of providing religious education and collective worship.
- C313. Choice and Diversity
- C314. When we came to power in 1979 the school system was totally dominated by one type of school - the monolithic comprehensive.
- C315. The system failed our children.
- C316. It treated every child the same.
- C317. It told parents where to send their children.
- C318. It did not give schools the freedom to run their own affairs.
- C319. Since 1979 we have created a rich diversity of schools, to serve the varied talents of all children and give parents choice within that diversity, because we believe that parents know what is best for their children.
- C320. That is why we - and only we - are committed to giving the parent of every four year old child a voucher for nursery education so they can choose the pre-school education they want for their child, whether in a play-group, a reception class, or a nursery school in the private or state sector.
- C321. We will give more talented children, from less well-off backgrounds, the opportunity to go to fee-paying schools by expanding the Assisted Places Scheme to cover all ages of compulsory education, in line with our current spending plans.
- C322. We propose to develop it further into a wider scholarship scheme covering additional educational opportunities.
- C323. The freedoms and status of fee-paying schools will be protected.
- C324. Grant-maintained schools have been popular with parents across the country -whatever their politics.
- C325. We will encourage more schools to become grant-maintained and will allow new grant-maintained schools to be set up where there is sufficient local demand.
- C326. We will give all grant-maintained schools greater freedoms to expand and to select their pupils.
- C327. Grant-maintained schools are leading the way. Local authority schools are also benefitting from our policy of local management of schools.
- C328. Our ultimate objective is that all schools should take full responsibility for the management of their own affairs.
- C329. In the next parliament we will take another step towards giving them that freedom.
- C330. We will extend the benefits of greater self-governance to all LEA schools.
- C331. We will require local authorities to delegate more of schools' budgets to the schools themselves.
- C332. We will give them more freedom over the employment of their staff and over admissions.
- C333. And, where they want it, we will allow them to take over ownership of their assets, so they can make best use of the resources.
- C334. Local authorities will continue to be responsible for their schools' standards.
- C335. They will provide funds, and compete with other organisations to provide services to schools.
- C336. We would expect the increased responsibility of head-teachers, and their role in achieving efficiency-savings, to be recognised by their pay review body.
- C337. Schools are stronger and more effective where head-teachers and governors can shape their own distinctive character
- C338. Sometimes that means developing a speciality in some subjects.
- C339. Sometimes it means selecting children by their aptitudes: where parents want this we should not stand in their way.
- C340. Special abilities should be recognised and encouraged.
- C341. We will continue to encourage the establishment of more specialist schools in technology, arts, languages and sport.
- C342. We aim to help one in five schools become specialist schools by 2001.
- C343. We will allow all schools to select some of their pupils.
- C344. We will help schools to become grammar schools in every major town where parents want that choke.
- C345. The high standards, real choice and genuine diversity which we have introduced will produce the best results for all our children.
- C346. Lifetime Learning
- C347. Lifetime learning is a reality in Britain today.
- C348. Over a half of all students in universities, and seventy per cent of those in further education colleges, are adults who have returned to education later in life.
- C349. We will continue to create new opportunities for more people to participate.
- C350. There has been a revolution in further and higher education. Three and a half million people are in further education -up from just half a million in 1979.
- C351. The number of young people going to university has risen from one in eight to one in three over the same period.
- C352. We will ensure consistently high standards and will consult on the development of higher education when we receive the results of the Dearing Review.
- C353. We have world class research in British universities which we will continue to support.
- C354. Every young person should have the opportunity to continue in education or training.
- C355. We will give students between 14 and 21 a learning credit which will enable them to choose suitable education or training leading to recognised qualifications up to A levels or their equivalents.
- C356. We will also introduce National Traineeships and encourage employers to offer more work-based Modern Apprenticeships to young people.
- C357. Objective external assessments of a proper syllabus will be made a part of all National Vocational Qualifications.
- C358. We will continue to support the network of Training and Enterprise Councils, which have created a valuable partnership between business and government.
- C359. We will encourage more employers to become involved in "Investors in People", with the public sector matching the performance of the private sector.
- C360. Competitive markets demand high skills.
- C361. If Britain is to win, we need to encourage learning and give people the opportunity to go where their interests and inquiring minds take them.
- C362. 5. Security in Health
- C363. We have been the guardians of the NHS for most of its life, improving its services and securing its funding.
- C364. The benefits can be seen in our rising standards of health. 1993 was for example the first year in which no child in this country died of measles.

- C365. Between 1979 and 1995 life expectancy at birth in England has increased from 70.4 years to 74.3 years for men and from 76.4 years to 79.6 years for women.
- C366. We are getting healthier and we are better looked after when we are sick.
- C367. Growing Resources for a Modern Health Service
- C368. This progress has been possible because we have increased spending since 1979 by nearly 75% more than inflation, to almost £43 billion.
- C369. And we are not stopping there.
- C370. The next Conservative Government will honour a firm guarantee to the NHS.
- C371. We will continue, year by year; to increase the real resources committed to the NHS, so NHS spending will continue to share in a growing economy
- C372. Under Labour there have been years when resources for the NHS actually shrank - something that would be inconceivable with the Conservatives.
- C373. Money is only really a means to an end: better patient care.
- C374. Now we are treating 9.2 million hospital in-patients and day cases as against 6.9 million in 1992 and 5.1 million in 1979.
- C375. Investing in Skilled Staff
- C376. We are committed to expanding the medical staff of the NHS.
- C377. We shall therefore increase medical school intakes to 5,000 a year by the year 2000 and are ahead of schedule in reaching the target.
- C378. Good nursing is the bedrock of the NHS.
- C379. In particular we will increase the number of nurses with specialist qualifications in paediatric intensive care, emergency care, and cancer care.
- C380. The number of nurses qualifying each year will increase by 2,500 within the next 5 years as we continue to expand Project 2000 training.
- C381. Higher Standards of Service
- C382. We are tackling the problem of long waiting times which can cause so much worry; distress, and pain.
- C383. We have set tough targets under the Patient's Charter and as a result average waiting times for in-patient hospital treatments have fallen from more than 6 months 5 years ago to 4 months last year.
- C384. Patients no longer put up with being kept in ignorance.
- C385. They want to know more.
- C386. We will publish more information on how successfully hospitals are treating patients so that they and their GPs can make more informed choices between services in different hospitals and help stimulate better performance
- C387. Better Primary Care
- C388. Our vision of the NHS is one in which hospitals and family doctors gain greater power to run their own affairs.
- C389. That is why we will continue to encourage the spread of fundholding among GPs.
- C390. Labour by contrast would destroy the new freedoms that fundholding doctors enjoy by imposing a new layer of bureaucracy on top of them.
- C391. However, we do not want the benefits of better healthcare to be confined to patients of GP fundholders.
- C392. Our proposals to shift more healthcare towards family doctors are open to all
- C393. We shall implement the new Primary Care Act which will enable all family doctors to provide a broader range of patient services within their surgeries.
- C394. This will include ("super surgeries" and practice-based cottage hospitals that can offer faster and more local treatment.
- C395. We expect to see the number of nurses working in GP practices continue to grow, as will the number of GPs.
- C396. We will extend nationwide our plans to enable more nurses to prescribe a wider range of drugs for patients, recognising their contribution to primary care.
- C397. Mental Health
- C398. The last decade has also seen major changes in the care of mentally ill people.
- C399. We will continue to develop a full range of services - including 24-hour nursed hostels and secure units - that can care for them in a way which is most appropriate to them and the interests of the wider community.
- C400. We will not close any long-stay mental hospitals unless it can be shown that adequate care services exist in the community.
- C401. We will strengthen co-operation between health and social services in the delivery of mental health services.
- C402. Our recent Green Paper showed how this can be done.
- C403. And we will monitor the progress of Health Authorities in developing proper mental health care plans.
- C404. Health of the Nation
- C405. A modern health service is not just about treating illness, it is also about keeping people healthy.
- C406. This is why we launched the Health of the Nation strategy in 1992 - the first time England has had a strategy for health.
- C407. Its aim is to reduce illness and premature death by identifying common causes of ill health, like excessive smoking and obesity.
- C408. Different groups in and outside the health service then work together to tackle the problems.
- C409. We are already seeing progress.
- C410. Between 1990 and 1994, deaths from coronary heart disease among the over-65s, the suicide rate, and the number of teenage pregnancies fell substantially
- C411. And last year we announced that environmental targets would be added to Health of the Nation.
- C412. Improved general health means fewer people requiring attention in hospitals and GP surgeries - and more resources available for patients who need them.
- C413. Our Health of the Nation strategy is a vital part of our vision for creating a health service fit for the 21st Century.
- C414. A Modern Health Service
- C415. Healthcare is changing fast.
- C416. Modern technology is constantly increasing the range of treatments which are available.
- C417. Conservatives believe that the benefits of these advances should be made available to patients on the basis of their clinical need, without regard to their ability to pay.
- C418. Furthermore we also believe that the NHS must have access to sufficient resources to allow it to invest in the facilities required to deliver up-to-date healthcare.
- C419. Since 1979 capital investment in the NHS has proceeded at an unprecedented rate.
- C420. In the future we believe these requirements will be best met in a partnership with the private sector which allows the private sector to improve the facilities in which NHS healthcare is delivered.

- C421. We will promote the Private Finance Initiative which will unleash a new flow of investment funds into the modernisation of the NHS.
- C422. The NHS is a British success story. It commands universal support in Britain.
- C423. It is widely admired all over the world.
- C424. Conservatives are proud of the part we are playing in improving the NHS still further.
- C425. 7. Law, Order and Security
- C426. People have a right to sleep safely in their homes and walk safely on the streets.
- C427. Governments have a duty to maintain that security.
- C428. Our reforms are aimed at ensuring that crime does not pay.
- C429. And they are working - the pessimists and the scoffers are wrong.
- C430. Recorded crime has fallen every year for the last 4 years.
- C431. It is now 10% lower than it was in 1992.
- C432. That is over half a million fewer crimes - the biggest drop since records were first kept in the middle of the 19th century.
- C433. But crime is still too high.
- C434. We must do more.
- C435. Our aim is to keep crime falling over the lifetime of the next parliament.
- C436. This is what we will do.
- C437. Safer Communities
- C438. Anti-social behaviour and petty crime disrupt communities and spread human misery.
- C439. The police are rightly now vigorously tackling problems such as graffiti vandalism and drunkenness.
- C440. Where such behaviour goes unchecked more serious crimes will follow.
- C441. We will support chief constables who develop local schemes to crack down on petty crime and improve public order.
- C442. Closed circuit television has proved enormously successful in increasing public safety.
- C443. We will fulfil the Prime Minister's pledge to support the installation of 10,000 CCTV cameras in town centres and public places in the 3 years to 1999.
- C444. We will provide £75 million over the lifetime of the next parliament to continue extending CCTV to town centres, villages and housing estates up and down the country that want to bid for support.
- C445. We will also continue to take other steps to improve the safety of our streets and communities.
- C446. In this parliament we have given the police power to seize alcohol from under-18s caught drinking in public.
- C447. The police have been given the power to stop and search in a specified area for up to 48 hours if they reasonably believe people to be carrying knives.
- C448. Identity Cards can also make a contribution to safer communities.
- C449. We will introduce a voluntary identity card scheme based on the new photographic driving licence it will, for example, enable retailers to identify youngsters trying to buy alcohol and cigarettes or rent classified videos when they are under age.
- C450. Tackling Juvenile Crime
- C451. A fifth of all crime is committed by under-18s.
- C452. We are encouraging schools to reduce truancy through the publication of league tables and by supporting local projects to tackle the problem.
- C453. We are developing a network of local teams to identify children who are at risk of turning to crime and to take early steps to address the factors which put them at risk.
- C454. We will encourage these local child crime teams to refer children from primary school age upwards who are at risk of, or who are actually, offending to programmes to tackle their behaviour and fully involve their parents.
- C455. The courts would be able to impose an order - a Parental Control Order - on the parents of children whom they believed could keep control of their children but were refusing to do so.
- C456. Courts will be given the power to attach conditions to Parental Control Orders.
- C457. Conditions might include a requirement to keep their children in at night, taking their children to and from school, attending a drug rehabilitation clinic or going to sessions to improve their skills as parents.
- C458. Parents who breached these conditions - in defiance of the court - would face a range of possible sanctions.
- C459. Appearing before a youth court should be a daunting experience for the juvenile concerned.
- C460. All too often it is not.
- C461. At the moment about a third of all juveniles appearing before the youth courts are discharged without any punishment at all
- C462. This sends all the wrong signals to youngsters - particularly first time offenders - who then feel they can get away with crime.
- C463. We will give the courts the power to impose speedy sanctions on youngsters, involving wherever possible an element of reparation to the victim.
- C464. The probation service - rather than social services - will be responsible for enforcing community punishments for under-16s.
- C465. Persistent juvenile offenders need to be properly punished.
- C466. We are piloting a tough new regime, with a heavy emphasis on discipline, at a young offenders institution and at the military prison in Colchester
- C467. In 1994 we doubled the maximum sentence for 15-17 year olds to 2 years detention in a young offenders institution.
- C468. We have given the courts the freedom to allow the publication of the names of convicted juveniles.
- C469. We will give the courts the power to detain persistent 12-14 year old offenders in secure training centres once the places become available.
- C470. We have given the courts the power to impose electronically monitored curfews on 10 to 15 year old offenders.
- C471. We will introduce pilots to test their effectiveness.
- C472. If successful we will consider extending them nationwide.
- C473. Catching, Convicting and Punishing
- C474. We back the police every inch of the way.
- C475. There are now about 16,000 more police officers - and over 18,000 more civilians helping them - than when we took office.
- C476. We are providing chief constables with the resources to recruit 5,000 extra police constables in the three years to 1999.
- C477. We support police initiatives to target the hard core of persistent criminals.
- C478. Intelligence is crucial for this.

- C479. We will establish a national crime squad to provide an improved nationally coordinated approach to organised crime.
- C480. Once caught, criminals must be convicted and then properly punished.
- C481. The public needs to be protected.
- C482. We have reformed the right to silence, despite opposition from Labour.
- C483. The number of suspects refusing to answer police questions has nearly halved as a result.
- C484. We have piloted curfew orders for adult offenders.
- C485. They have been shown to keep criminals indoors - curbing their freedom as a punishment - and keeping them out of trouble in the meantime.
- C486. We will extend electronically monitored curfew orders nationwide for those aged 16 and over.
- C487. Persistent offenders account for a high proportion of all crime.
- C488. Prison works - not only as a deterrent, but in keeping these criminals off the street.
- C489. Those sent to prison are less likely to re-offend on release than those given a community punishment.
- C490. We will provide another 8,500 prison places by the year 2000.
- C491. We will introduce minimum sentences for violent and persistent criminals to help protect the public more effectively, reversing Labour's wrecking amendments to our tough Crime Bill.
- C492. Anyone convicted of a second serious sexual or violent crime, like rape or armed robbery, will get an automatic life sentence.
- C493. Persistent house burglars and dealers in hard drugs will receive mandatory minimum prison sentences of 3 and 7 years respectively.
- C494. We will restore honesty in sentencing by abolishing automatic early release.
- C495. Support for Victims
- C496. Concern for the victim must be at the heart of our entire approach to the criminal justice system.
- C497. We will continue to give strong backing to Victim Support.
- C498. We will give courts in all cases the discretion to allow witnesses to give evidence anonymously if they believe them to be at risk from reprisal.
- C499. We will also take action to allow a judge to stop a defendant from personally questioning the victim in rape cases and other cases where the victim is particularly vulnerable.
- C500. Conservatives are on the side of the victims not the criminal.
- C501. Strengthening the Fight Against City Crime
- C502. Crime that takes place through manipulation of financial accounts and markets is as serious as crime on the street.
- C503. The City's unchallenged position as Europe's most dynamic and successful financial centre owes a great deal to its reputation for honesty and fair dealing.
- C504. We will help ensure that this reputation is maintained.
- C505. We will bring forward in the next parliament a package of measures designed to modernise the current systems for dealing with City fraud.
- C506. This will include legislation to allow the Inland Revenue to pass confidential information to the police, the Serious Fraud Office and the financial regulators to assist in the investigation of cases involving serious financial fraud.
- C507. We will also remove the remaining legal obstacles to the controlled exchange of confidential information between the police and the regulators in this kind of case.
- C508. Faster Justice
- C509. Justice delayed is justice denied.
- C510. It is wrong that people who are innocent should face an excessive wait before the start of their trial.
- C511. The guilty must be held to account for their actions promptly.
- C512. And victims should be given the chance to draw a line under their experience as quickly as possible.
- C513. We are determined to speed up justice without diminishing the genuine rights of every citizen to a fair trial.
- C514. Last October the government set up a review of delays in the criminal justice system.
- C515. It made a series of detailed recommendations.
- C516. We see merit in those recommendations and will seek the views of interested parties.
- C517. We believe that taken together they could dramatically speed up the prosecution process, bringing the guilty to justice and acquitting the innocent more quickly.
- C518. All defendants would appear in court the next working day after they were charged.
- C519. At least half of them would be convicted the next day compared with just 3 per cent at the moment.
- C520. And the time taken to bring juveniles to court would be cut from 10 weeks to a matter of days.
- C521. Civil Justice
- C522. The civil justice system of this country is a vital part of its competitive economy and has a high international reputation.
- C523. The commercial courts attract substantial litigation from all over the world, generating significant foreign earnings.
- C524. We will work to maintain the high standing of these courts.
- C525. We have greatly improved the service the civil courts provide for the aggrieved citizen.
- C526. The simple procedure for small claims has been extended to claims up to £3,000.
- C527. For large claims the county court now provides an efficient local service with specialised courts in many locations around the country leaving the High Court to deal with the more complex and difficult issues.
- C528. We will push ahead with the major reforms now under way which will greatly speed up the process and improve the delivery of justice without imposing additional burdens on the taxpayer.
- C529. The Legal Profession
- C530. We will ensure that the framework in which the legal profession operates is responsive to the changing needs of our people and is one in which unjustified restrictions have no place.
- C531. We have, for example, given most solicitors rights of audience in the higher courts under appropriate conditions.
- C532. Legal Aid
- C533. People are rightly concerned about the rising costs of legal aid.
- C534. We have taken many steps to control the burden and to deny access to legal aid to the "apparently wealthy" - those who qualified technically, but whose lifestyles suggested they should not.
- C535. But more is required:
- C536. We will change the structure of legal aid to ensure that it, like other vital public services, functions within defined cash limits.
- C537. This will enable us to identify priorities and serve them much more efficiently than the present system.
- C538. Drugs

- C539. Drugs are a menace to the very fabric of our society
- C540. They ruin the lives of addicts and their families.
- C541. They can destroy whole neighbourhoods.
- C542. The promising youth of today can too easily become the sad dropouts of tomorrow turning to crime and violence.
- C543. The Conservative Government has a comprehensive strategy, launched in 1995, committed to fighting drugs in communities and in schools.
- C544. It is tough on criminals and vigilant at our ports.
- C545. It is respected throughout the world.
- C546. We spend over £500m every year in tackling all aspects of drug problems.
- C547. We will continue the fight against drugs through a coordinated approach: being tough on pushers; reducing demand by educating young people; tackling drug abuse at local level through Drug Action Teams; saying "No" to legalising drugs; and working with international agencies and foreign governments to resist the menace spreading.
- C548. This pernicious evil has to be fought by all of us.
- C549. 9. Europe and the World
- C550. Britain is a world leader as well as a European nation.
- C551. Our economic strength, our history and our language make us a global trading nation with links right around the world.
- C552. Only the United Kingdom is a member of the European Union, the United Nations Security Council, the Commonwealth, NATO and the Group of Seven leading industrial nations.
- C553. In the Gulf, Bosnia, Cyprus and Northern Iraq, John Major has shown how our nation can contribute to world peace.
- C554. We will continue to work with international partners to secure peace and stability in areas of tension such as former Yugoslavia; in Kashmir; in Cyprus; and in the Middle East.
- C555. We will promote reform of the United Nations to make it a more effective organisation for securing international stability. Britain will continue to deploy our outstanding Armed Forces as peacekeepers under the United Nations.
- C556. And we will support the aspirations of the Poles, Czechs, Hungarians and others to join the European Union and NATO.
- C557. After the transfer of Hong Kong, we will work under the terms of the Joint Declaration to help sustain the prosperity and way of life of the people of Hong Kong and build on the substantial British interests that will remain.
- C558. We will continue to support the Commonwealth, our unique global network, to encourage the spread of democracy; as set out in the Harare Declaration.
- C559. We will focus our aid programme to encourage sustainable development in countries that are growing towards self sufficiency under democratic government.
- C560. We have taken the lead in alleviating the burden of debt for the world's poorest countries.
- C561. We also have significant flows of private investment to developing economies.
- C562. We are more than achieving the long term UN target of 1% of GDP for the transfer of wealth to less developed countries.
- C563. We will continue to maintain a significant bilateral and multilateral aid programme reflecting the aspiration of meeting the UN's target of 0.7% of GDP for aid as a long-term objective.
- C564. We will also continue to provide leadership in Europe and internationally on environmental issues, building on the Rio Conference to encourage sustainable development - meeting our commitment to reduce Carbon Dioxide (CO₂) emissions by 10% on 1990 levels by 2010 to prevent climate change.
- C565. The Prime Minister has committed himself to attending the next UN Environmental Conference in June.
- C566. Britain and the European Union
- C567. We believe that in an uncertain, competitive world, the nation state is a rock of security.
- C568. A nation's common heritage, culture, values and outlook are a precious source of stability. Nationhood gives people a sense of belonging.
- C569. The government has a positive vision for the European Union as a partnership of nations.
- C570. We want to be in Europe but not run by Europe.
- C571. We have much to gain from our membership of the European Union - in trade, in co-operation between governments, and in preserving European peace.
- C572. We benefit from the huge trade opportunities that have opened up since Britain led the way in developing Europe's single market.
- C573. We want to see the rest of Europe follow the same deregulated, enterprise policies that have transformed our economic prospects in Britain.
- C574. However, in June, the nations of the European Union will gather in Amsterdam to negotiate possible amendments to the Treaty of Rome.
- C575. It is a moment of truth, setting the direction in which the European Union will go.
- C576. It will also be crucial in ensuring that we have a relationship with the rest of Europe with which we can be comfortable.
- C577. A Conservative Government will seek a partnership of nation states.
- C578. Some others would like to build a federal Europe.
- C579. A British Conservative Government will not allow Britain to be part of a federal European state.
- C580. The diversity of Europe's nations is its strength.
- C581. As more nations join the European Union, it needs to become flexible not more rigid
- C582. We must also ensure that any developments which only include some members do not work to the disadvantage of others.
- C583. Our priorities for Europe's development will be enlargement of the Community, completion of the single market, reform of the European Court of Justice, and further strengthening of the role of national parliaments.
- C584. We will seek more co-operation between national governments on areas of common interest - defence, foreign policy and the fight against international crime and drugs.
- C585. We also believe the European Union itself should do less, but do it better.
- C586. So we have proposed incorporating the principle of subsidiarity - that the European Union should only do that which cannot be done by member states acting alone - into the Treaty.
- C587. This is how we are approaching the Inter-Governmental Conference.
- C588. We will argue for a flexible Europe which fully accommodates the interests and aspirations of all its member states and where any new proposals have to be open to all and agreed by all.
- C589. We will not accept other changes to the Treaty that would further centralise decision-making, reduce national sovereignty, or remove our right to permanent opt-outs.
- C590. We will retain Britain's veto and oppose further extension of qualified majority voting in order to ensure we can prevent policies that would be harmful to the national interest.

- C591. We will defend the rights of national parliaments and oppose more powers being given to the European Parliament at the expense of national parliaments.
- C592. We will take whatever steps are necessary to keep our frontier controls.
- C593. We will resist attempts to change the inter-governmental nature of co-operation in justice and home affairs.
- C594. We will not accept the development of new legal rights that extend the concept of European citizenship.
- C595. Britain's rebate has so far saved British taxpayers £18bn and we will protect it.
- C596. One of the greatest challenges Europe faces is to cut unemployment and make its businesses competitive.
- C597. Here Britain is leading the way.
- C598. We will continue to argue for deregulation and lower costs on Europe's businesses, the policies that have helped give Britain one of the strongest economies in Europe.
- C599. We will not put that achievement at risk by signing up to the Social Chapter, which would open the door to imposing the high costs of the European social model on British business.
- C600. Once Britain accepted the Social Chapter we could not stop many of these damaging policies being imposed on us by qualified majority voting.
- C601. We will insist that any new Treaty recognises that our opt-out from the Social Chapter enables Britain to be exempt from the Working Time Directive, and prevents any abuse of our opt-out.
- C602. And we will not accept a new employment chapter in any revised Treaty, which would expose British businesses to new costs.
- C603. We made it clear in the previous chapter that we will continue to work for further reform of the Common Agricultural Policy and the lifting of the worldwide ban on British beet and will insist on measures to stop quota hopping by foreign fishing vessels.
- C604. Protecting Britain's interests demands tough, experienced negotiation.
- C605. John Major has proved he has these qualities -including the resolve to say no when necessary even if that means being isolated.
- C606. Labour have said they would never let Britain be isolated in Europe: they would damage Britain's success by undermining our veto, signing up to the Social Chapter and following in others' footsteps - even where they lead in the wrong direction.
- C607. They support policies that would fragment the United Kingdom's influence within a Europe of Regions.
- C608. The Liberal Democrats welcome the end of the nation state.
- C609. Only the Conservatives can be trusted to stand up for Britain in Europe: our national interest must be protected.
- C610. A Single Currency: Our Referendum Guarantee
- C611. The creation of a European single currency would be of enormous significance for all European states whether they are members or not.
- C612. We must take account of all the consequences for Britain of such a major development of policy.
- C613. John Major secured for us at Maastricht an opt-out from the commitment to enter a single currency.
- C614. It is only because of this opt-out that we have the right to negotiate and then decide whether it is in Britain's interest to join.
- C615. It is in our national interest to take part in the negotiations.
- C616. Not to do so would be an abdication of responsibility.
- C617. A single currency would affect us whether we were in or out.
- C618. We need to participate in discussions in order to ensure the rules are not fixed against our interests.
- C619. The national interest is not served by exercising our option - one way or the other - before we have to.
- C620. For a single currency to come into effect, European economies will have to meet crucial criteria.
- C621. On the information currently available, we believe that it is very unlikely that there will be sufficient convergence of economic conditions across Europe for a single currency to proceed safely on the target date of January 1st 1999.
- C622. We will not include legislation on the single currency in the first Queen's Speech. If it cannot proceed safely, we believe it would be better for Europe to delay any introduction of a single currency rather than rush ahead to meet an artificial timetable.
- C623. We will argue this case in the negotiations that lie ahead.
- C624. We believe it is in our national interest to keep our options open to take a decision on a single currency when all the facts are before us.
- C625. If a single currency is created, without sustainable convergence, a British Conservative government will not be part of it.
- C626. If, during the course of the next parliament, a Conservative government were to conclude that it was in our national interest to join a single currency, we have given a guarantee that no such decision would be implemented unless the British people gave their express approval in a referendum.
- C627. Defence in an Unstable World
- C628. The old rivalries of the Cold War have been replaced by new tensions.
- C629. Britain must be able to react rapidly to protect our security and interests around the globe.
- C630. Our armed forces are the most professional in the world.
- C631. We have cut unnecessary bureaucracy and increased efficiency, and directed money to support our Services in the frontline.
- C632. We have made the changes necessary to adapt our Services to the threats which we might now face.
- C633. We have set out defence plans based on stable levels of funding.
- C634. There is no need for a defence review, which would raise fear and uncertainty about the future.
- C635. We will continue to ensure the Services have the modern weapons they need to guarantee their superiority against potential aggressors.
- C636. We will make sure we can conduct military operations throughout the world, and develop our capability to deploy the three services together and rapidly, including the ability to transport heavy equipment into an operational zone.
- C637. We will take part in ballistic missile defence research so we can decide whether we should procure any such system for the United Kingdom.
- C638. We will continue to target our efforts on recruiting for the armed forces.
- C639. We will set up an Army Foundation College, which will provide 1,300 places for 16 and 17 year olds who want to join the Army.
- C640. We will also enable the reserve forces to play a more active role in operations.
- C641. We appreciate the enormous value of cadet forces, and our current plans include resources to encourage their further development.

- C642. We will continue to support Britain's defence industry, and we will work with companies to identify the technologies of the future.
- C643. NATO will remain the cornerstone of our security.
- C644. We will resist attempts to bring the Western European Union under the control of the European Union, and ensure that defence policy remains a matter for sovereign nations.

Appendix 3: Labour Corpus

- L01. We will make education our number one priority
- L02. Cut class sizes to 30 or under for 5, 6 and 7 year-olds
- L03. Nursery places for all four year-olds
- L04. Attack low standards in schools
- L05. Access to computer technology
- L06. Lifelong learning through a new University for Industry
- L07. More spending on education as the cost of unemployment falls
- L08. Education has been the Tories' biggest failure.
- L09. It is Labour's number one priority.
- L10. It is not just good for the individual.
- L11. It is an economic necessity for the nation.
- L12. We will compete successfully on the basis of quality or not at all.
- L13. And quality comes from developing the potential of all our people.
- L14. It is the people who are our greatest natural asset.
- L15. We will ensure they can fulfil their potential.
- L16. Nearly half of 11 year-olds in England and Wales fail to reach expected standards in English and maths.
- L17. Britain has a smaller share of 17 and 18 year-olds in full-time education than any major industrial nation.
- L18. Nearly two thirds of the British workforce lack vocational qualifications.
- L19. There are excellent schools in Britain's state education system.
- L20. But far too many children are denied the opportunity to succeed.
- L21. Our task is to raise the standards of every school.
- L22. We will put behind us the old arguments that have bedevilled education in this country.
- L23. We reject the Tories' obsession with school structures: all parents should be offered real choice through good quality schools, each with its own strengths and individual ethos.
- L24. There should be no return to the 11-plus.
- L25. It divides children into successes and failures at far too early an age.
- L26. We must modernise comprehensive schools.
- L27. Children are not all of the same ability, nor do they learn at the same speed.
- L28. That means 'setting' children in classes to maximise progress, for the benefit of high-fliers and slower learners alike.
- L29. The focus must be on levelling up, not levelling down.
- L30. With Labour, the Department for Education and Employment will become a leading office of state.
- L31. It will give a strong and consistent lead to help raise standards in every school.
- L32. Standards, more than structures, are the key to success.
- L33. Labour will never put dogma before children's education.
- L34. Our approach will be to intervene where there are problems, not where schools are succeeding.
- L35. Labour will never force the abolition of good schools whether in the private or state sector.
- L36. Any changes in the admissions policies of grammar schools will be decided by local parents.
- L37. Church schools will retain their distinctive religious ethos.
- L38. We wish to build bridges wherever we can across education divides.
- L39. The educational apartheid created by the public/private divide diminishes the whole education system.
- L40. Zero tolerance of underperformance
- L41. Every school has the capacity to succeed.
- L42. All Local Education Authorities (LEAs) must demonstrate that every school is improving.
- L43. For those failing schools unable to improve, ministers will order a 'fresh start' - close the school and start afresh on the same site.
- L44. Where good schools and bad schools coexist side by side we will authorise LEAs to allow one school to take over the other to set the underperforming school on a new path.
- L45. Quality nursery education guaranteed for all four year-olds
- L46. Nursery vouchers have been proven not to work.
- L47. They are costly and do not generate more quality nursery places.
- L48. We will use the money saved by scrapping nursery vouchers to guarantee places for four year-olds.
- L49. We will invite selected local authorities to pilot early excellence centres combining education and care for the under-fives.
- L50. We will set targets for universal provision for three year-olds whose parents want it.
- L51. New focus on standards in primary schools
- L52. Primary schools are the key to mastering the basics and developing in every child an eagerness to learn.
- L53. Every school needs baseline assessment of pupils when they enter the school, and a year-on-year target for improvement.
- L54. We will reduce class sizes for five, six and seven year-olds to 30 or under, by phasing out the assisted places scheme, the cost of which is set to rise to £180 million per year.
- L55. We must recognise the three 'r's for what they are - building blocks of all learning that must be taught better.

- L56. We will achieve this by improving the skills of the teaching force; ensuring a stronger focus on literacy in the curriculum; and piloting literacy summer schools to meet our new target that within a decade every child leaves primary school with a reading age of at least 11 (barely half do today).
- L57. Our numeracy taskforce will develop equally ambitious targets.
- L58. We will encourage the use of the most effective teaching methods, including phonics for reading and whole class interactive teaching for maths.
- L59. Attacking educational disadvantage
- L60. No matter where a school is, Labour will not tolerate under-achievement.
- L61. Public/private partnerships will improve the condition of school buildings.
- L62. There will be education action zones to attack low standards by recruiting the best teachers and head teachers to under-achieving schools; by supporting voluntary mentoring schemes to provide one-to-one support for disadvantaged pupils; and by creating new opportunities for children, after the age of 14, to enhance their studies by acquiring knowledge and experience within industry and commerce.
- L63. To attack under-achievement in urban areas, we have developed a new scheme with the Premier League.
- L64. In partnerships between central government, local government and football clubs, study support centres will be set up at Premier League grounds for the benefit of local children.
- L65. The scheme will be launched on a pilot basis during the 1997/8 season.
- L66. We support the greatest possible integration into mainstream education of pupils with special educational needs, while recognising that specialist facilities are essential to meet particular needs.
- L67. Realising the potential of new technology
- L68. Labour is the pioneer of new thinking.
- L69. We have agreed with British Telecom and the cable companies that they will wire up schools, libraries, colleges and hospitals to the information superhighway free of charge.
- L70. We have also secured agreement to make access charges as low as possible.
- L71. For the Internet we plan a National Grid for Learning, franchised as a public/private partnership, which will bring to teachers up-to-date materials to enhance their skills, and to children high-quality educational materials.
- L72. We will use lottery money to improve the skills of existing teachers in information technology.
- L73. In opposition, Labour set up the independent Stevenson Commission to promote access for children to new technology.
- L74. Its recent report is a challenging programme for the future.
- L75. We are urgently examining how to implement its plans, in particular the development of educational software through a grading system which will provide schools with guarantees of product quality; and the provision for every child of an individual email address.
- L76. An independent standing committee will continue to advise us on the implementation of our plans in government.
- L77. The role of parents
- L78. We will increase the powers and responsibilities of parents.
- L79. There will be more parent governors and, for the first time, parent representatives on LEAs.
- L80. A major objective is to promote a culture of responsibility for learning within the family, through contracts between all schools and parents, defining the responsibilities of each.
- L81. National guidelines will establish minimum periods for homework for primary and secondary school pupils.
- L82. Teachers will be entitled to positive support from parents to promote good attendance and sound discipline.
- L83. Schools suffer from unruly and disruptive pupils.
- L84. Exclusion or suspension may sometimes be necessary.
- L85. We will, however, pilot new pupil referral units so that schools are protected but these pupils are not lost to education or the country.
- L86. New job description for LEAs
- L87. The judge and jury of LEA performance will be their contribution to raising standards.
- L88. LEAs are closer to schools than central government, and have the authority of being locally elected.
- L89. But they will be required to devolve power, and more of their budgets, to heads and governors.
- L90. LEA performance will be inspected by Ofsted and the Audit Commission.
- L91. Where authorities are deemed to be failing, the secretary of state may suspend the relevant powers of the LEA and send in an improvement team.
- L92. Grant maintained schools
- L93. Schools that are now grant maintained will prosper with Labour's proposals, as will every school.
- L94. Tory claims that Labour will close these schools are false.
- L95. The system of funding will not discriminate unfairly either between schools or between pupils.
- L96. LEAs will be represented on governing bodies, but will not control them.
- L97. We support guidelines for open and fair admissions, along the lines of those introduced in 1993; but we will also provide a right of appeal to an independent panel in disputed cases.
- L98. Teachers: pressure and support
- L99. Schools are critically dependent on the quality of all staff.
- L100. The majority of teachers are skilful and dedicated, but some fall short.
- L101. We will improve teacher training, and ensure that all teachers have an induction year when they first qualify, to ensure their suitability for teaching.
- L102. There will be a general teaching council to speak for and raise standards in the profession.
- L103. We will create a new grade of teachers to recognise the best.
- L104. There will, however, be speedy, but fair, procedures to remove teachers who cannot do the job.
- L105. The strength of a school is critically dependent on the quality of its head.
- L106. We will establish mandatory qualifications for the post.
- L107. A head teacher will be appointed to a position only when fully trained to accept the responsibility.
- L108. Higher education
- L109. The improvement and expansion needed cannot be funded out of general taxation.
- L110. Our proposals for funding have been made to the Dearing Committee, in line with successful policies abroad.
- L111. The costs of student maintenance should be repaid by graduates on an income-related basis, from the career success to which higher education has contributed.
- L112. The current system is badly administered and payback periods are too short.
- L113. We will provide efficient administration, with fairness ensured by longer payback periods where required.
- L114. Lifelong learning

- L115. We must learn throughout life, to retain employment through new and improved skills.
- L116. We will promote adult learning both at work and in the critical sector of further education.
- L117. In schools and colleges, we support broader A-levels and upgraded vocational qualifications, underpinned by rigorous standards and key skills.
- L118. Employers have the primary responsibility for training their workforces in job-related skills.
- L119. But individuals should be given the power to invest in training.
- L120. We will invest public money for training in Individual Learning Accounts which individuals - for example women returning to the labour force - can then use to gain the skills they want.
- L121. We will kickstart the programme for up to a million people, using £150 million of TEC money which could be better used and which would provide a contribution of £150, alongside individuals making small investments of their own.
- L122. Employers will be encouraged to make voluntary contributions to these funds.
- L123. We will also promote the extension of the Investors in People initiative into many more small firms.
- L124. Our new University for Industry, collaborating with the Open University, will bring new opportunities to adults seeking to develop their potential.
- L125. This will bring government, industry and education together to create a new resource whose remit will be to use new technology to enhance skills and education.
- L126. The University for Industry will be a public/private partnership, commissioning software and developing the links to extend lifelong learning.
- L127. Government spending on education
- L128. The Conservatives have cut government spending on education as a share of national income by the equivalent of more than £3 billion as spending on the bills of economic and social failure has risen.
- L129. We are committed to reversing this trend of spending.
- L130. Over the course of a five-year Parliament, as we cut the costs of economic and social failure we will raise the proportion of national income spent on education.
- L131. We will promote personal prosperity for all
- L132. Economic stability to promote investment
- L133. Tough inflation target, mortgage rates as low as possible
- L134. Stick for two years within existing spending limits
- L135. Five-year pledge: no increase in income tax rates
- L136. Long-term objective of ten pence starting rate of income tax
- L137. Early Budget to get people off welfare and into work
- L138. The Conservatives have in 18 years created the two longest, deepest recessions this century.
- L139. We have experienced the slowest average growth rate of any similar period since the second world war.
- L140. There has been a fundamental failure to tackle the underlying causes of inflation, of low growth and of unemployment.
- L141. These are:
- L142. too much economic instability, with wild swings from boom to bust
- L143. too little investment in education and skills, and in the application of new technologies
- L144. too few opportunities to find jobs, start new businesses or become self-employed
- L145. too narrow an industrial base and too little sense of common purpose in the workplace or across the nation.
- L146. Britain can do better.
- L147. We must build on the British qualities of inventiveness, creativity and adaptability.
- L148. New Labour's objective is to improve living standards for the many, not just the few.
- L149. Business can and must succeed in raising productivity.
- L150. This requires a combination of a skilled and educated workforce with investment in the latest technological innovations, as the route to higher wages and employment.
- L151. An explicit objective of a Labour government will be to raise the trend rate of growth by strengthening our wealth-creating base.
- L152. We will nurture investment in industry, skills, infrastructure and new technologies.
- L153. And we will attack long-term unemployment, especially among young people.
- L154. Our goal will be educational and employment opportunities for all.
- L155. Economic stability is the essential platform for sustained growth.
- L156. In a global economy the route to growth is stability not inflation.
- L157. The priority must be stable, low-inflation conditions for long-term growth.
- L158. The root causes of inflation and low growth are the same - an economic and industrial base that remains weak.
- L159. Government cannot solve all economic problems or end the economic cycle.
- L160. But by spending wisely and taxing fairly, government can help tackle the problems.
- L161. Our goals are low inflation, rising living standards and high and stable levels of employment.
- L162. Spending and tax: new Labour's approach
- L163. The myth that the solution to every problem is increased spending has been comprehensively dispelled under the Conservatives.
- L164. Spending has risen.
- L165. But more spending has brought neither greater fairness nor less poverty.
- L166. Quite the reverse - our society is more divided than it has been for generations.
- L167. The level of public spending is no longer the best measure of the effectiveness of government action in the public interest.
- L168. It is what money is actually spent on that counts more than how much money is spent.
- L169. The national debt has doubled under John Major.
- L170. The public finances remain weak.
- L171. A new Labour government will give immediate high priority to seeing how public money can be better used.
- L172. New Labour will be wise spenders, not big spenders.
- L173. We will work in partnership with the private sector to achieve our goals.
- L174. We will ask about public spending the first question that a manager in any company would ask - can existing resources be used more effectively to meet our priorities?
- L175. And because efficiency and value for money are central, ministers will be required to save before they spend.
- L176. Save to invest is our approach, not tax and spend.
- L177. The increase in taxes under the Conservatives is the most dramatic evidence of economic failure.
- L178. Since 1992 the typical family has paid more than £2,000 in extra taxes - the biggest tax hike in peacetime history, breaking every promise made by John Major at the last election.
- L179. The tragedy is that those hardest hit are least able to pay.

- L180. That is why we strongly opposed the imposition of VAT on fuel: it was Labour that stopped the government from increasing VAT on fuel to 17.5 per cent.
- L181. Taxation is not neutral in the way it raises revenue.
- L182. How and what governments tax sends clear signals about the economic activities they believe should be encouraged or discouraged, and the values they wish to entrench in society.
- L183. Just as, for example, work should be encouraged through the tax system, environmental pollution should be discouraged.
- L184. New Labour will establish a new trust on tax with the British people.
- L185. The promises we make we will keep.
- L186. The principles that will underpin our tax policy are clear:
- L187. to encourage employment opportunities and work incentives for all
- L188. to promote savings and investment
- L189. and to be fair and be seen to be fair.
- L190. New Labour is not about high taxes on ordinary families.
- L191. It is about social justice and a fair deal.
- L192. New Labour therefore makes the following economic pledges.
- L193. Fair taxes
- L194. There will be no return to the penal tax rates that existed under both Labour and Conservative governments in the 1970s.
- L195. To encourage work and reward effort, we are pledged not to raise the basic or top rates of income tax throughout the next Parliament.
- L196. Our long-term objective is a lower starting rate of income tax of ten pence in the pound.
- L197. Reducing the high marginal rates at the bottom end of the earning scale - often 70 or 80 per cent - is not only fair but desirable to encourage employment.
- L198. This goal will benefit the many, not the few.
- L199. It is in sharp contrast to the Tory goal of abolishing capital gains and inheritance tax, at least half the benefit of which will go to the richest 5,000 families in the country.
- L200. We will cut VAT on fuel to five per cent, the lowest level allowed.
- L201. We renew our pledge not to extend VAT to food, children's clothes, books and newspapers and public transport fares.
- L202. We will also examine the interaction of the tax and benefits systems so that they can be streamlined and modernised, so as to fulfil our objectives of promoting work incentives, reducing poverty and welfare dependency, and strengthening community and family life.
- L203. No risks with inflation
- L204. We will match the current target for low and stable inflation of 2.5 per cent or less.
- L205. We will reform the Bank of England to ensure that decision-making on monetary policy is more effective, open, accountable and free from short-term political manipulation.
- L206. Strict rules for government borrowing
- L207. We will enforce the 'golden rule' of public spending - over the economic cycle, we will only borrow to invest and not to fund current expenditure.
- L208. We will ensure that - over the economic cycle - public debt as a proportion of national income is at a stable and prudent level.
- L209. Stick to planned public spending allocations for the first two years of office
- L210. Our decisions have not been taken lightly.
- L211. They are a recognition of Conservative mismanagement of the public finances.
- L212. For the next two years Labour will work within the departmental ceilings for spending already announced.
- L213. We will resist unreasonable demands on the public purse, including any unreasonable public sector pay demands.
- L214. Switch spending from economic failure to investment
- L215. We will conduct a central spending review and departmental reviews to assess how to use resources better, while rooting out waste and inefficiency in public spending.
- L216. Labour priorities in public spending are different from Tory priorities.
- L217. Tax reform to promote saving and investment
- L218. We will introduce a new individual savings account and extend the principle of TESSAs and PEPs to promote long-term saving.
- L219. We will review the corporate and capital gains tax regimes to see how the tax system can promote greater long-term investment.
- L220. Labour's welfare-to-work Budget
- L221. We will introduce a Budget within two months after the election to begin the task of equipping the British economy and reforming the welfare state to get young people and the long-term unemployed back to work.
- L222. This welfare-to-work programme will be funded by a windfall levy on the excess profits of the privatised utilities, introduced in this Budget after we have consulted the regulators.
- L223. We will help create successful and profitable businesses
- L224. Backing business: skills, infrastructure, new markets
- L225. Gains for consumers with tough competition law
- L226. New measures to help small businesses
- L227. National minimum wage to tackle low pay
- L228. Boost local economic growth with Regional Development Agencies
- L229. A strong and effective voice in Europe
- L230. New Labour offers business a new deal for the future.
- L231. We will leave intact the main changes of the 1980s in industrial relations and enterprise.
- L232. We see healthy profits as an essential motor of a dynamic market economy, and believe they depend on quality products, innovative entrepreneurs and skilled employees.
- L233. We will build a new partnership with business to improve the competitiveness of British industry for the 21st century, leading to faster growth.
- L234. Many of the fundamentals of the British economy are still weak.
- L235. Low pay and low skills go together: insecurity is the consequence of economic instability; the absence of quality jobs is a product of the weakness of our industrial base; we suffer from both high unemployment and skills shortages.
- L236. There is no future for Britain as a low wage economy: we cannot compete on wages with countries paying a tenth or a hundredth of British wages.
- L237. We need to win on higher quality, skill, innovation and reliability.
- L238. With Labour, British and inward investors will find this country an attractive and profitable place to do business.
- L239. New Labour believes in a flexible labour market that serves employers and employees alike.
- L240. But flexibility alone is not enough.
- L241. We need 'flexibility plus':

- L242. plus higher skills and higher standards in our schools and colleges
- L243. plus policies to ensure economic stability
- L244. plus partnership with business to raise investment in infrastructure, science and research and to back small firms
- L245. plus new leadership from Britain to reform Europe, in place of the current policy of drift and disengagement from our largest market
- L246. plus guaranteeing Britain's membership of the single market - indeed opening up further markets inside and outside the EU - helping make Britain an attractive place to do business
- L247. plus minimum standards of fair treatment, including a national minimum wage
- L248. plus an imaginative welfare-to-work programme to put the long-term unemployed back to work and to cut social security costs.
- L249. A reformed and tougher competition law
- L250. Competitiveness abroad must begin with competition at home.
- L251. Effective competition can bring value and quality to consumers.
- L252. As an early priority we will reform Britain's competition law.
- L253. We will adopt a tough 'prohibitive' approach to deter anti-competitive practices and abuses of market power.
- L254. In the utility industries we will promote competition wherever possible.
- L255. Where competition is not an effective discipline, for example in the water industry which has a poor environmental record and has in most cases been a tax-free zone, we will pursue tough, efficient regulation in the interests of customers, and, in the case of water, in the interests of the environment as well.
- L256. We recognise the need for open and predictable regulation which is fair both to consumers and to shareholders and at the same time provides incentives for managers to innovate and improve efficiency.
- L257. Reinvigorate the Private Finance Initiative
- L258. Britain's infrastructure is dangerously run down: parts of our road and rail network are seriously neglected, and all too often our urban environment has been allowed to deteriorate.
- L259. Labour pioneered the idea of public/private partnerships.
- L260. It is Labour local authorities which have done most to create these partnerships at local level.
- L261. A Labour government will overcome the problems that have plagued the PFI at a national level.
- L262. We will set priorities between projects, saving time and expense; we will seek a realistic allocation of risk between the partners to a project; and we will ensure that best practice is spread throughout government.
- L263. We will aim to simplify and speed up the planning process for major infrastructure projects of vital national interest.
- L264. We will ensure that self-financing commercial organisations within the public sector - the Post Office is a prime example - are given greater commercial freedom to make the most of new opportunities.
- L265. Backing small business
- L266. The number of small employers has declined by half a million since 1990.
- L267. Support for small businesses will have a major role in our plans for economic growth.
- L268. We will cut unnecessary red tape; provide for statutory interest on late payment of debts; improve support for high-tech start-ups; improve the quality and relevance of advice and training through a reformed Business Links network and the University for Industry; and assist firms to enter overseas markets more effectively.
- L269. Local economic growth
- L270. Prosperity needs to be built from the bottom up.
- L271. We will establish one-stop regional development agencies to co-ordinate regional economic development, help small business and encourage inward investment.
- L272. Many regions are already taking informal steps to this end and they will be supported.
- L273. Strengthen our capability in science, technology and design
- L274. The UK must be positively committed to the global pursuit of new knowledge, with a strong science base in our universities and centres of excellence leading the world.
- L275. The Dearing Committee represents a significant opportunity to promote high-quality standards in science teaching and research throughout UK higher education.
- L276. We support a collaborative approach between researchers and business, spreading the use of new technology and good design, and exploiting our own inventions to boost business in the UK.
- L277. Promoting new green technologies and businesses
- L278. There is huge potential to develop Britain's environmental technology industries to create jobs, win exports and protect the environment.
- L279. Effective environmental management is an increasingly important component of modern business practice.
- L280. We support a major push to promote energy conservation - particularly by the promotion of home energy efficiency schemes, linked to our environment taskforce for the under-25s.
- L281. We are committed to an energy policy designed to promote cleaner, more efficient energy use and production, including a new and strong drive to develop renewable energy sources such as solar and wind energy, and combined heat and power.
- L282. We see no economic case for the building of any new nuclear power stations.
- L283. Key elements of the 1980s trade union reforms to stay
- L284. There must be minimum standards for the individual at work, including a minimum wage, within a flexible labour market.
- L285. We need a sensible balance in industrial relations law - rights and duties go together.
- L286. The key elements of the trade union legislation of the 1980s will stay - on ballots, picketing and industrial action.
- L287. People should be free to join or not to join a union.
- L288. Where they do decide to join, and where a majority of the relevant workforce vote in a ballot for the union to represent them, the union should be recognised.
- L289. This promotes stable and orderly industrial relations.
- L290. There will be full consultation on the most effective means of implementing this proposal.
- L291. Partnership at work
- L292. The best companies recognise their employees as partners in the enterprise.
- L293. Employees whose conditions are good are more committed to their companies and are more productive.
- L294. Many unions and employers are embracing partnership in place of conflict.
- L295. Government should welcome this.
- L296. We are keen to encourage a variety of forms of partnership and enterprise, spreading ownership and encouraging more employees to become owners through Employee Share Ownership Plans and co-operatives.
- L297. We support too the Social Chapter of the EU, but will deploy our influence in Europe to ensure that it develops so as to promote employability and competitiveness, not inflexibility.
- L298. A sensibly set national minimum wage

- L299. There should be a statutory level beneath which pay should not fall - with the minimum wage decided not on the basis of a rigid formula but according to the economic circumstances of the time and with the advice of an independent low pay commission, whose membership will include representatives of employers, including small business, and employees.
- L300. Every modern industrial country has a minimum wage, including the US and Japan. Britain used to have minimum wages through the Wages Councils.
- L301. Introduced sensibly, the minimum wage will remove the worst excesses of low pay (and be of particular benefit to women), while cutting some of the massive £4 billion benefits bill by which the taxpayer subsidises companies that pay very low wages.
- L302. We will get the unemployed from welfare to work
- L303. Stop the growth of an 'underclass' in Britain
- L304. 250,000 young unemployed off benefit and into work
- L305. Tax cuts for employers who create new jobs for the long-term unemployed
- L306. Effective help for lone parents
- L307. There are over one million fewer jobs in Britain than in 1990.
- L308. One in five families has no one working.
- L309. One million single mothers are trapped on benefits.
- L310. There is a wider gap between rich and poor than for generations.
- L311. We are determined not to continue down the road of a permanent have-not class, unemployed and disaffected from society.
- L312. Our long-term objective is high and stable levels of employment.
- L313. This is the true meaning of a stakeholder economy - where everyone has a stake in society and owes responsibilities to it.
- L314. The best way to tackle poverty is to help people into jobs - real jobs.
- L315. The unemployed have a responsibility to take up the opportunity of training places or work, but these must be real opportunities.
- L316. The government's workfare proposals - with a success rate of one in ten - fail this test.
- L317. Labour's welfare-to-work programme will attack unemployment and break the spiral of escalating spending on social security.
- L318. A one-off windfall levy on the excess profits of the privatised utilities will fund our ambitious programme.
- L319. Every young person unemployed for more than six months in a job or training
- L320. We will give 250,000 under-25s opportunities for work, education and training.
- L321. Four options will be on offer, each involving day-release education or training leading to a qualification: private-sector job: employers will be offered a 60 pound-a-week rebate for six months work with a non-profit voluntary sector employer, paying a weekly wage, equivalent to benefit plus a fixed sum for six months full-time study for young people without qualifications on an approved course a job with the environment taskforce, linked to Labour's citizens' service programme.
- L322. Rights and responsibilities must go hand in hand, without a fifth option of life on full benefit.
- L323. Every 16 and 17 year-old on the road to a proper qualification by the year 2000
- L324. Nearly a third of young people do not achieve an NVQ level two qualification by age 19.
- L325. All young people will be offered part-time or full-time education after the age of 16.
- L326. Any under-18 year-old in a job will have the right to study on an approved course for qualifications at college.
- L327. We will replace the failed Youth Training scheme with our new Target 2000 programme, offering young people high-quality education and training.
- L328. Action on long-term unemployment
- L329. New partnerships between government and business, fully involving local authorities and the voluntary sector, will attack long-term joblessness.
- L330. We will encourage employers to take on those who have suffered unemployment for more than two years with a 75 pound-a-week tax rebate paid for six months, financed by the windfall levy.
- L331. Our programme for the phased release of past receipts from council house sales will provide new jobs in the construction industry.
- L332. Lone parents into work
- L333. Today the main connection between unemployed lone parents and the state is their benefits.
- L334. Most lone parents want to work, but are given no help to find it. New Labour has a positive policy.
- L335. Once the youngest child is in the second term of full-time school, lone parents will be offered advice by a proactive Employment Service to develop a package of job search, training and after-school care to help them off benefit.
- L336. Customised, personalised services
- L337. We favour initiatives with new combinations of available benefits to suit individual circumstances.
- L338. In new and innovative 'Employment Zones', personal job accounts will combine money currently available for benefits and training, to offer the unemployed new options - leading to work and independence.
- L339. We will co-ordinate benefits, employment and career services, and utilise new technology to improve their quality and efficiency.
- L340. Fraud
- L341. Just as we owe it to the taxpayer to crack down on tax avoidance, so we must crack down on dishonesty in the benefit system.
- L342. We will start with a clampdown on Housing Benefit fraud, estimated to cost £2 billion a year, and will maintain action against benefit fraud of all kinds.
- L343. We will save the NHS
- L344. 100,000 people off waiting lists
- L345. End the Tory internal market
- L346. End waiting for cancer surgery
- L347. Tough quality targets for hospitals
- L348. Independent food standards agency
- L349. New public health drive
- L350. Raise spending in real terms every year - and spend the money on patients not bureaucracy
- L351. Labour created the NHS 50 years ago.
- L352. It is under threat from the Conservatives.
- L353. We want to save and modernise the NHS.
- L354. But if the Conservatives are elected again there may well not be an NHS in five years' time - neither national nor comprehensive.
- L355. Labour commits itself anew to the historic principle: that if you are ill or injured there will be a national health service there to help; and access to it will be based on need and need alone - not on your ability to pay, or on who your GP happens to be or on where you live.
- L356. In 1990 the Conservatives imposed on the NHS a complex internal market of hospitals competing to win contracts from health authorities and fundholding GPs.
- L357. The result is an NHS strangled by costly red tape, with every individual transaction the subject of a separate invoice.

- L358. After six years, bureaucracy swallows an extra £1.5 billion per year; there are 20,000 more managers and 50,000 fewer nurses on the wards; and more than one million people are on waiting lists.
- L359. The government has consistently failed to meet even its own health targets.
- L360. There can be no return to top-down management, but Labour will end the Conservatives' internal market in healthcare.
- L361. The planning and provision of care are necessary and distinct functions, and will remain so.
- L362. But under the Tories, the administrative costs of purchasing care have undermined provision and the market system has distorted clinical priorities.
- L363. Labour will cut costs by removing the bureaucratic processes of the internal market.
- L364. The savings achieved will go on direct care for patients.
- L365. As a start, the first £100 million saved will treat an extra 100,000 patients.
- L366. We will end waiting for cancer surgery, thereby helping thousands of women waiting for breast cancer treatment.
- L367. Primary care will play a lead role
- L368. In recent years, GPs have gained power on behalf of their patients in a changed relationship with consultants, and we support this.
- L369. But the development of GP fundholding has also brought disadvantages.
- L370. Decision-making has been fragmented.
- L371. Administrative costs have grown.
- L372. And a two-tier service has resulted.
- L373. Labour will retain the lead role for primary care but remove the disadvantages that have come from the present system.
- L374. GPs and nurses will take the lead in combining together locally to plan local health services more efficiently for all the patients in their area.
- L375. This will enable all GPs in an area to bring their combined strength to bear upon individual hospitals to secure higher standards of patient provision.
- L376. In making this change, we will build on the existing collaborative schemes which already serve 14 million people.
- L377. The current system of year-on-year contracts is costly and unstable.
- L378. We will introduce three- to five-year agreements between the local primary care teams and hospitals.
- L379. Hospitals will then be better able to plan work at full capacity and co-operate to enhance patient services.
- L380. Higher-quality services for patients
- L381. Hospitals will retain their autonomy over day-to-day administrative functions, but, as part of the NHS, they will be required to meet high-quality standards in the provision of care.
- L382. Management will be held to account for performance levels.
- L383. Boards will become more representative of the local communities they serve.
- L384. A new patients' charter will concentrate on the quality and success of treatment.
- L385. The Tories' so-called 'Efficiency Index' counts the number of patient 'episodes', not the quality or success of treatment.
- L386. With Labour, the measure will be quality of outcome, itself an incentive for effectiveness.
- L387. As part of our concern to ensure quality, we will work towards the elimination of mixed-sex wards.
- L388. Health authorities will become the guardians of high standards.
- L389. They will monitor services, spread best practice and ensure rising standards of care.
- L390. The Tory attempt to use private money to build hospitals has failed to deliver.
- L391. Labour will overcome the problems that have plagued the Private Finance Initiative, end the delays, sort out the confusion and develop new forms of public/private partnership that work better and protect the interests of the NHS.
- L392. Labour is opposed to the privatisation of clinical services which is being actively promoted by the Conservatives.
- L393. Labour will promote new developments in telemedicine - bringing expert advice from regional centres of excellence to neighbourhood level using new technology.
- L394. Good health
- L395. A new minister for public health will attack the root causes of ill health, and so improve lives and save the NHS money.
- L396. Labour will set new goals for improving the overall health of the nation which recognise the impact that poverty, poor housing, unemployment and a polluted environment have on health.
- L397. Smoking is the greatest single cause of preventable illness and premature death in the UK.
- L398. We will therefore ban tobacco advertising.
- L399. Labour will establish an independent food standards agency.
- L400. The £3.5 billion BSE crisis and the E. coli outbreak which resulted in serious loss of life, have made unanswerable the case for the independent agency we have proposed.
- L401. NHS spending
- L402. The Conservatives have wasted spending on the NHS.
- L403. We will do better.
- L404. We will raise spending on the NHS in real terms every year and put the money towards patient care.
- L405. And a greater proportion of every pound spent will go on patient care not bureaucracy.
- L406. An NHS for the future
- L407. The NHS requires continuity as well as change, or the system cannot cope.
- L408. There must be pilots to ensure that change works.
- L409. And there must be flexibility, not rigid prescription, if innovation is to flourish.
- L410. Our fundamental purpose is simple but hugely important: to restore the NHS as a public service working co-operatively for patients, not a commercial business driven by competition.
- L411. We will be tough on crime and tough on the causes of crime
- L412. Fast-track punishment for persistent young offenders
- L413. Reform Crown Prosecution Service to convict more criminals
- L414. Police on the beat not pushing paper
- L415. Crackdown on petty crimes and neighbourhood disorder
- L416. Fresh parliamentary vote to ban all handguns
- L417. Under the Conservatives, crime has doubled and many more criminals get away with their crimes: the number of people convicted has fallen by a third, with only one crime in 50 leading to a conviction.
- L418. This is the worst record of any government since the Second World War - and for England and Wales the worst record of any major industrialised country.
- L419. Last year alone violent crime rose 11 per cent.
- L420. We propose a new approach to law and order: tough on crime and tough on the causes of crime.
- L421. We insist on individual responsibility for crime, and will attack the causes of crime by our measures to relieve social deprivation.

- L422. The police have our strong support.
- L423. They are in the front line of the fight against crime and disorder.
- L424. The Conservatives have broken their 1992 general election pledge to provide an extra 1,000 police officers.
- L425. We will relieve the police of unnecessary bureaucratic burdens to get more officers back on the beat.
- L426. Youth crime
- L427. Youth crime and disorder have risen sharply, but very few young offenders end up in court, and when they do half are let off with another warning.
- L428. Young offenders account for seven million crimes a year.
- L429. Far too often young criminals offend again and again while waiting months for a court hearing.
- L430. We will halve the time it takes to get persistent young offenders from arrest to sentencing; replace widespread repeat cautions with a single final warning; bring together Youth Offender Teams in every area; and streamline the system of youth courts to make it far more effective.
- L431. New parental responsibility orders will make parents face up to their responsibility for their children's misbehaviour.
- L432. Conviction and sentencing
- L433. The job of the Crown Prosecution Service is to prosecute criminals effectively.
- L434. There is strong evidence that the CPS is over-centralised, bureaucratic and inefficient, with cases too often dropped, delayed, or downgraded to lesser offences.
- L435. Labour will decentralise the CPS, with local crown prosecutors co-operating more effectively with local police forces.
- L436. We will implement an effective sentencing system for all the main offences to ensure greater consistency and stricter punishment for serious repeat offenders.
- L437. The courts will have to spell out what each sentence really means in practice.
- L438. The Court of Appeal will have a duty to lay down sentencing guidelines for all the main offences.
- L439. The attorney general's power to appeal unduly lenient sentences will be extended.
- L440. The prison service now faces serious financial problems.
- L441. We will audit the resources available, take proper ministerial responsibility for the service, and seek to ensure that prison regimes are constructive and require inmates to face up to their offending behaviour.
- L442. Disorder
- L443. The Conservatives have forgotten the 'order' part of 'law and order'.
- L444. We will tackle the unacceptable level of anti-social behaviour and crime on our streets.
- L445. Our 'zero tolerance' approach will ensure that petty criminality among young offenders is seriously addressed.
- L446. Community safety orders will deal with threatening and disruptive criminal neighbours.
- L447. Labour has taken the lead in proposing action to tackle the problems of stalking and domestic violence.
- L448. Child protection orders will deal with young children suffering neglect by parents because they are left out on their own far too late at night.
- L449. Britain is a multiracial and multicultural society.
- L450. All its members must have the protection of the law.
- L451. We will create a new offence of racial harassment and a new crime of racially motivated violence to protect ethnic minorities from intimidation.
- L452. Drugs
- L453. The vicious circle of drugs and crime wrecks lives and threatens communities.
- L454. Labour will appoint an anti-drugs supremo to co-ordinate our battle against drugs across all government departments.
- L455. The 'drug czar' will be a symbol of our commitment to tackle the modern menace of drugs in our communities.
- L456. We will pilot the use of compulsory drug testing and treatment orders for offenders to ensure that the link between drug addiction and crime is broken.
- L457. This will be paid for by bringing remand delays down to the national targets.
- L458. We will attack the drug problem in prisons.
- L459. In addition to random drug testing of all prisoners we will aim for a voluntary testing unit in every prison for prisoners ready to prove they are drug-free.
- L460. Victims
- L461. Victims of crime are too often neglected by the criminal justice system.
- L462. We will ensure that victims are kept fully informed of the progress of their case, and why charges may have been downgraded or dropped.
- L463. Greater protection will be provided for victims in rape and serious sexual offence trials and for those subject to intimidation, including witnesses.
- L464. Prevention
- L465. We will place a new responsibility on local authorities to develop statutory partnerships to help prevent crime.
- L466. Local councils will then be required to set targets for the reduction of crime and disorder in their area.
- L467. Gun control
- L468. In the wake of Dunblane and Hungerford, it is clear that only the strictest firearms laws can provide maximum safety.
- L469. The Conservatives failed to offer the protection required.
- L470. Labour led the call for an outright ban on all handguns in general civilian use.
- L471. There will be legislation to allow individual MPs a free vote for a complete ban on handguns.
- L472. Labour is the party of law and order in Britain today.
- L473. We will strengthen family life
- L474. Help parents balance work and family
- L475. Security in housing and help for homeowners
- L476. Tackle homelessness using receipts from council house sales
- L477. Dignity and security in retirement
- L478. Protect the basic state pension and promote secure second pensions
- L479. We will uphold family life as the most secure means of bringing up our children.
- L480. Families are the core of our society.
- L481. They should teach right from wrong.
- L482. They should be the first defence against anti-social behaviour.
- L483. The breakdown of family life damages the fabric of our society.
- L484. Labour does not see families and the state as rival providers for the needs of our citizens.
- L485. Families should provide the day-to-day support for children to be brought up in a stable and loving environment.

- L486. But families cannot flourish unless government plays its distinctive role: in education; where necessary, in caring for the young; in making adequate provision for illness and old age; in supporting good parenting; and in protecting families from lawlessness and abuse of power.
- L487. Society, through government, must assist families to achieve collectively what no family can achieve alone.
- L488. Yet families in Britain today are under strain as never before.
- L489. The security once offered by the health service has been undermined.
- L490. Streets are not safe.
- L491. Housing insecurity grows.
- L492. One in five non-pensioner families has no one working; and British men work the longest hours in Europe.
- L493. The clock should not be turned back.
- L494. As many women who want to work should be able to do so.
- L495. More equal relationships between men and women have transformed our lives.
- L496. Equally, our attitudes to race, sex and sexuality have changed fundamentally.
- L497. Our task is to combine change and social stability.
- L498. Homelessness
- L499. Homelessness has more than doubled under the Conservatives.
- L500. Today more than 40,000 families in England are in expensive temporary accommodation.
- L501. The government, in the face of Labour opposition, has removed the duty on local authorities to find permanent housing for homeless families.
- L502. We will impose a new duty on local authorities to protect those who are homeless through no fault of their own and are in priority need.
- L503. There is no more powerful symbol of Tory neglect in our society today than young people without homes living rough on the streets.
- L504. Young people emerging from care without any family support are particularly vulnerable.
- L505. We will attack the problem in two principal ways: the phased release of capital receipts from council house sales will increase the stock of housing for rent; and our welfare-to-work programme will lead the young unemployed into work and financial independence.
- L506. Older citizens
- L507. We value the positive contribution that older people make to our society, through their families, voluntary activities and work.
- L508. Their skills and experience should be utilised within their communities.
- L509. That is why, for example, we support the proposal to involve older people as volunteers to help children learn in pre-school and after-school clubs.
- L510. In work, they should not be discriminated against because of their age.
- L511. The provision of adequate pensions in old age is a major challenge for the future.
- L512. For today's pensioners Conservative policies have created real poverty, growing inequality and widespread insecurity.
- L513. The Conservatives would abolish the state-financed basic retirement pension and replace it with a privatised scheme, with a vague promise of a means-tested state guarantee if pensions fall beneath a minimum level.
- L514. Their proposals mean there will be no savings on welfare spending for half a century; and taxes will have to rise to make provision for new privately funded pensions.
- L515. Their plans require an additional £312 billion between now and 2040 through increased taxes or borrowing, against the hope of savings later, with no certainty of security in retirement at the end.
- L516. We believe that all pensioners should share fairly in the increasing prosperity of the nation.
- L517. Instead of privatisation, we propose a partnership between public and private provision, and a balance between income sourced from tax and invested savings.
- L518. The basic state pension will be retained as the foundation of pension provision.
- L519. It will be increased at least in line with prices.
- L520. We will examine means of delivering more automatic help to the poorest pensioners - one million of whom do not even receive the Income Support which is their present entitlement.
- L521. We will encourage saving for retirement, with proper protection for savings.
- L522. We will reform the Financial Services Act so that the scandal of pension mis-selling - 600,000 pensions mis-sold and only 7,000 people compensated to date - will not happen again.
- L523. Too many people in work, particularly those on low and modest incomes and with changing patterns of employment, cannot join good-value second pension schemes.
- L524. Labour will create a new framework - stakeholder pensions - to meet this need.
- L525. We will encourage new partnerships between financial service companies, employers and employees to develop these pension schemes.
- L526. They will be approved to receive people's savings only if they meet high standards of value for money, flexibility and security.
- L527. Labour will promote choice in pension provision.
- L528. We will support and strengthen the framework for occupational pensions.
- L529. Personal pensions, appropriately regulated, will remain a good option for many.
- L530. Labour will retain SERPS as an option for those who wish to remain within it.
- L531. We will also seek to develop the administrative structure of SERPS so as to create a 'citizenship pension' for those who assume responsibility as carers, as a result lose out on the pension entitlements they would otherwise acquire, and currently end up on means-tested benefits.
- L532. We overcame government opposition to pension splitting between women and men on divorce.
- L533. We will implement this in government.
- L534. We aim to provide real security for families through a modern system of community care.
- L535. As people grow older, their need for care increases.
- L536. The Conservative approach is to promote private insurance and privatisation of care homes.
- L537. But private insurance will be inaccessible to most people. And their policy for residential homes is dogmatic and will not work.
- L538. We believe that local authorities should be free to develop a mix of public and private care.
- L539. We recognise the immense amount of care provision undertaken by family members, neighbours and friends.
- L540. It was a Labour MP who piloted the 1995 Carers Act through Parliament.
- L541. We will establish a Royal Commission to work out a fair system for funding long-term care for the elderly.
- L542. We will introduce a 'long-term care charter' defining the standard of services which people are entitled to expect from health, housing and social services.
- L543. We are committed to an independent inspection and regulation service for residential homes, and domiciliary care.
- L544. Everyone is entitled to dignity in retirement.

- L545. Under the Tories, the earnings link for state pensions has been ended, VAT on fuel has been imposed, SERPS has been undermined and community care is in tatters.
- L546. We will set up a review of the central areas of insecurity for elderly people: all aspects of the basic pension and its value, second pensions including SERPS, and community care.
- L547. The review will ensure that the views of pensioners are heard.
- L548. Our watchword in developing policy for pensions and long-term care will be to build consensus among all interested parties.
- L549. We will give Britain leadership in Europe
- L550. Referendum on single currency
- L551. Lead reform of the EU
- L552. Retain Trident: strong defence through NATO
- L553. A reformed United Nations
- L554. Helping to tackle global poverty
- L555. Britain, though an island nation with limited natural resources, has for centuries been a leader of nations.
- L556. But under the Conservatives Britain's influence has waned.
- L557. With a new Labour government, Britain will be strong in defence; resolute in standing up for its own interests; an advocate of human rights and democracy the world over; a reliable and powerful ally in the international institutions of which we are a member; and will be a leader in Europe.
- L558. Our vision of Europe is of an alliance of independent nations choosing to co-operate to achieve the goals they cannot achieve alone.
- L559. We oppose a European federal superstate.
- L560. There are only three options for Britain in Europe.
- L561. The first is to come out.
- L562. The second is to stay in, but on the sidelines.
- L563. The third is to stay in, but in a leading role.
- L564. An increasing number of Conservatives, overtly or covertly, favour the first.
- L565. But withdrawal would be disastrous for Britain.
- L566. It would put millions of jobs at risk.
- L567. It would dry up inward investment.
- L568. It would destroy our clout in international trade negotiations.
- L569. It would relegate Britain from the premier division of nations.
- L570. The second is exactly where we are today under the Conservatives.
- L571. The BSE fiasco symbolises their failures in Europe.
- L572. The third is the path a new Labour government will take.
- L573. A fresh start in Europe, with the credibility to achieve reform.
- L574. We have set out a detailed agenda for reform, leading from the front during the UK presidency in the first half of 1998: Rapid completion of the single market: a top priority for the British presidency.
- L575. We will open up markets to competition; pursue tough action against unfair state aids; and ensure proper enforcement of single market rules.
- L576. This will strengthen Europe's competitiveness and open up new opportunities for British firms.
- L577. High priority for enlargement of the European Union to include the countries of central and eastern Europe and Cyprus, and the institutional reforms necessary to make an enlarged Europe work more efficiently.
- L578. Urgent reform of the Common Agricultural Policy.
- L579. It is costly, vulnerable to fraud and not geared to environmental protection.
- L580. Enlargement and the World Trade talks in 1999 will make reform even more essential.
- L581. We will seek a thorough overhaul of the Common Fisheries Policy to conserve our fish stocks in the long-term interests of the UK fishing industry.
- L582. Greater openness and democracy in EU institutions with open voting in the Council of Ministers and more effective scrutiny of the Commission by the European Parliament.
- L583. We have long supported a proportional voting system for election to the European Parliament.
- L584. Retention of the national veto over key matters of national interest, such as taxation, defence and security, immigration, decisions over the budget and treaty changes, while considering the extension of Qualified Majority Voting in limited areas where that is in Britain's interests.
- L585. Britain to sign the Social Chapter.
- L586. An 'empty chair' at the negotiating table is disastrous for Britain.
- L587. The Social Chapter is a framework under which legislative measures can be agreed.
- L588. Only two measures have been agreed - consultation for employees of large Europe-wide companies and entitlement to unpaid parental leave.
- L589. Successful companies already work closely with their workforces.
- L590. The Social Chapter cannot be used to force the harmonisation of social security or tax legislation and it does not cost jobs.
- L591. We will use our participation to promote employability and flexibility, not high social costs.
- L592. The single currency
- L593. Any decision about Britain joining the single currency must be determined by a hard-headed assessment of Britain's economic interests.
- L594. Only Labour can be trusted to do this: the Tories are riven by faction. But there are formidable obstacles in the way of Britain being in the first wave of membership, if EMU takes place on 1 January 1999.
- L595. What is essential for the success of EMU is genuine convergence among the economies that take part, without any fudging of the rules.
- L596. However, to exclude British membership of EMU forever would be to destroy any influence we have over a process which will affect us whether we are in or out.
- L597. We must therefore play a full part in the debate to influence it in Britain's interests.
- L598. In any event, there are three pre-conditions which would have to be satisfied before Britain could join during the next Parliament: first, the Cabinet would have to agree; then Parliament; and finally the people would have to say 'Yes' in a referendum.
- L599. Strong defence through NATO
- L600. The post-Cold War world faces a range of new security challenges - proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, the growth of ethnic nationalism and extremism, international terrorism, and crime and drug trafficking.
- L601. A new Labour government will build a strong defence against these threats.
- L602. Our security will continue to be based on NATO.

- L603. Our armed forces are among the most effective in the world.
- L604. The country takes pride in their professionalism and courage.
- L605. We will ensure that they remain strong to defend Britain.
- L606. But the security of Britain is best served in a secure world, so we should be willing to contribute to wider international peace and security both through the alliances to which we belong, in particular NATO and the Western European Union, and through other international organisations such as the UN and the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe.
- L607. Labour will conduct a strategic defence and security review to reassess our essential security interests and defence needs.
- L608. It will consider how the roles, missions and capabilities of our armed forces should be adjusted to meet the new strategic realities.
- L609. The review we propose will be foreign policy led, first assessing our likely overseas commitments and interests and then establishing how our forces should be deployed to meet them.
- L610. Arms control
- L611. A new Labour government will retain Trident.
- L612. We will press for multilateral negotiations towards mutual, balanced and verifiable reductions in nuclear weapons.
- L613. When satisfied with verified progress towards our goal of the global elimination of nuclear weapons, we will ensure that British nuclear weapons are included in multilateral negotiations.
- L614. Labour will work for the effective implementation of the Chemical Weapons Convention and for a strengthening of the Biological Weapons Convention.
- L615. Labour will ban the import, export, transfer and manufacture of all forms of anti-personnel landmines.
- L616. We will introduce an immediate moratorium on their use. Labour will not permit the sale of arms to regimes that might use them for internal repression or international aggression.
- L617. We will increase the transparency and accountability of decisions on export licences for arms.
- L618. And we will support an EU code of conduct governing arms sales.
- L619. We support a strong UK defence industry, which is a strategic part of our industrial base as well as our defence effort.
- L620. We believe that part of its expertise can be extended to civilian use through a defence diversification agency.
- L621. Leadership in the international community
- L622. A new Labour government will use Britain's permanent seat on the Security Council to press for substantial reform of the United Nations, including an early resolution of its funding crisis, and a more effective role in peacekeeping, conflict prevention, the protection of human rights and safeguarding the global environment.
- L623. The Commonwealth provides Britain with a unique network of contacts linked by history, language and legal systems.
- L624. Labour is committed to giving renewed priority to the Commonwealth in our foreign relations.
- L625. We will seize the opportunity to increase trade and economic co-operation and will also build alliances with our Commonwealth partners to promote reform at the UN and common action on the global environment.
- L626. Britain has a real opportunity to provide leadership to the Commonwealth when we host the heads of government meeting in Britain at the end of 1997.
- L627. Promoting economic and social development
- L628. Labour will also attach much higher priority to combating global poverty and underdevelopment.
- L629. According to the World Bank, there are 1.3 billion people in the world who live in absolute poverty, subsisting on less than US\$1 a day, while 35,000 children die each day from readily preventable diseases.
- L630. Labour believes that we have a clear moral responsibility to help combat global poverty.
- L631. In government we will strengthen and restructure the British aid programme and bring development issues back into the mainstream of government decision-making. A Cabinet minister will lead a new department of international development.
- L632. We will shift aid resources towards programmes that help the poorest people in the poorest countries.
- L633. We reaffirm the UK's commitment to the 0.7 per cent UN aid target and in government Labour will start to reverse the decline in UK aid spending.
- L634. We will work for greater consistency between the aid, trade, agriculture and economic reform policies of the EU.
- L635. We will use our leadership position in the EU to maintain and enhance the position of the poorest countries during the renegotiation of the Lomo Convention.
- L636. We will support further measures to reduce the debt burden borne by the world's poorest countries and to ensure that developing countries are given a fair deal in international trade.
- L637. It is our aim to rejoin UNESCO.
- L638. We will consider how this can be done most effectively and will ensure that the cost is met from savings elsewhere.
- L639. Human rights
- L640. Labour wants Britain to be respected in the world for the integrity with which it conducts its foreign relations.
- L641. We will make the protection and promotion of human rights a central part of our foreign policy.
- L642. We will work for the creation of a permanent international criminal court to investigate genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity.
- L643. A new environmental internationalism
- L644. Labour believes that the threats to the global climate should push environmental concerns higher up the international agenda.
- L645. A Labour government will strengthen co-operation in the European Union on environmental issues, including climate change and ozone depletion.
- L646. We will lead the fight against global warming, through our target of a 20 per cent reduction in carbon dioxide emissions by the year 2010.
- L647. Labour believes the international environment should be safeguarded in negotiations over international trade.
- L648. We will also work for the successful negotiation of a new protocol on climate change to be completed in Japan in 1997.
- L649. Leadership, not isolation
- L650. There is a sharp division between those who believe the way to cope with global change is for nations to retreat into isolationism and protectionism, and those who believe in internationalism and engagement.
- L651. Labour has traditionally been the party of internationalism.
- L652. Britain cannot be strong at home if it is weak abroad.
- L653. The tragedy of the Conservative years has been the squandering of Britain's assets and the loss of Britain's influence.
- L654. A new Labour government will use those assets to the full to restore Britain's pride and influence as a leading force for good in the world.
- L655. With effective leadership and clear vision, Britain could once again be at the centre of international decision-making instead of at its margins.

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