

More than Words?
- An Analysis on the Language and Structure
of General Election Manifestos of the British
Labour Party 1983-2005

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The topic of this study is the language of the educational policies of the British Labour party in the General Election manifestos between the years 1983-2005. The twenty-year period studied has been a period of significant changes in world politics, and in British politics, especially for the Labour party. The emergence educational policy as a vote-winner of the manifestos of the nineties has been noteworthy. The aim of the thesis is two-fold: to look at the structure of the political manifesto as an example of genre writing and to analyze the content utilizing the approach of critical discourse analysis. Furthermore, the aim of this study is not to pinpoint policy positions but to look at what is the image that the Labour Party creates of itself through these manifestos. The analysis of the content is done by a method of close-reading. Based on the findings, the methodology for the analysis of the content was created. This study utilized methodological triangulation which means that the material is analyzed from several methodological aspects. The aspects used in this study are ones of lexical features (collocation, coordination, euphemisms, metaphors and naming), grammatical features (thematic roles, tense, aspect, voice and modal auxiliaries) and rhetoric (Burke, Toulmin and Perelman). From the analysis of the content a generic description is built. By looking at the lexical, grammatical and rhetorical features a clear change in language of the Labour Party can be detected. This change is foreshadowed already in the 1992 manifesto but culminates in the 1997 manifesto which would lead Labour to a landslide victory in the General Election. During this twenty-year period Labour has moved away from the old commitments and into the new sphere of "something for everybody". The pervasiveness of promotional language and market inspired vocabulary into the sphere of manifesto writing is clear. The use of the metaphors seemed to be the tool for the creation of the image of the party represented through the manifestos. A limited generic description can be constructed from the findings based on the content and structure of the manifestos: especially more generic findings such as the use of the exclusive we, the lack of certain anatomical parts of argument structure, the use of the future tense and the present progressive aspect can shed light to the description of the genre of manifesto writing. While this study is only the beginning, it proves that the combination of looking at the lexical, grammatical and rhetorical features in the study of manifestos is a promising one.

Subject headings: critical discourse analysis, political rhetoric, genre theory, manifesto

"The difference between the almost right word and the right word
is really a large matter -
'tis the difference between the lightning-bug and the lightning."

- Mark Twain

"Without knowing the force of words, it is impossible to know
men."

- Confucius

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Acronyms:

CL	critical linguistics
CDA	critical discourse analysis
EU	European Union
JPC	Joint Policy Committee
LEA	Local Education Authorities
NEC	National Executive Committee
PiP	Partnership in Power

1. Introduction

The study of rhetoric has in the recent years experienced something of a revival. The advent of powerful and popular rhetorics such as the “axis of evil” and “coalition of the willing” by George W. Bush, which have pervaded into public consciousness, have rightfully increased awareness of how we are persuaded through the power of words. This quite dramatic interest on rhetorics has produced countless scientific articles and books over the last two decades. These studies have, to a large extent, centered on public speeches, newspaper articles and so forth. Research on political manifestos in the field of linguistics has been fairly minimal. Research of manifestos in other fields of study, most typically in the field of political science, on the contrary, has been extensive. Researchers associated with the Comparative Manifestos Project (CMP) previously known as Manifesto Research Group (MRG) such as Michael Laver, Kenneth Benoit and John Garry (2000, 2003), have produced a Comparative Manifestos Data –set for estimating policy positions from the manifestos. Laver, Benoit and Garry (2003) have, for example, studied the political positions of manifestos by using words as data and their frequencies for estimation. This is in some ways similar to the approach of this study. The purpose of this study is not, however, to pinpoint policy positions from these manifestos. On the contrary, the main objective of this study is to look at the texts themselves: what are the implications and reflections of ideology that can be extracted from the manifestos.

The other aim of this study is to look at the election manifestos as a representative of certain genre of writing: what this genre embodies, does it bear resemblance to some other genres, has there been change in the genre during the past twenty or so years and finally and what would a successful manifesto look like.

In this study, I will be looking at the General Election manifestos of the British Labour party and in specific, the educational policies in these manifestos. The time span is from 1983 to the fairly recent election of 2005, ranging over a period of more than 20 years. It would be no overstatement to claim that the 20 years or so in question have seen periods of great change. Further integration of the European Union, disintegration of Soviet Union and emergence of new states, a new era of increasingly fast communications, Internet and globalization, increased salience of vast environmental

issues as well as increased international terrorism and radical activism, have all marked a profound break from the world we used to know. To investigate these matters further, I will now briefly look at the different backgrounds to this study: society, the Labour party itself and the history of education in England and Wales.

1.1. Background to the Study

“When reading a rhetorical text, the critic brings to it a store of knowledge, including the knowledge of history of rhetoric and oratory, of theories about language --- and of writings in various disciplines, including philosophy, sociology, linguistics, and political science” (Gill and Whedbee 1997: 160). Rhetoric must always be placed and analyzed in the context that it appears.

Until the 1960s the British society can rightfully be said to have been a class society. By the sixties, the established structures were shaking, new ideologies were emerging and the middle-class began to expand as the affluence rose in the society. Sevaldsen et al (2001:118-119) suggest several reasons for why British politics polarized from the mid-1960s onwards. First of them, he claims, was that the blame unsuccessful politics of the 60s was put on the unsatisfactory performance of the 1964-1970 Labour governments and the extremism that followed thereafter. Secondly, there was the decline in the social ideals of the sixties (peace, equality and economic justice). Lastly, it has been claimed that the fractures became apparent in social cohesion after the rise of the new middle class who saw little in common with either of the major parties, Labour or Conservatives.

The Conservative reign begun with the 1979 general elections, where the Conservative party took hold of 339 seats. The Labour party managed to win 269 seats. This marked the beginning of four consecutive Conservative governments. In 1997, the Labour returned to power by winning 43,2 per cent of votes against the Conservatives 30,7 per cent. Sevaldsen (2001: 119) considers the power shift to be due to the fact that “The Conservatives had been in power for 18 years, and to a large extent, their defeat could be explained by mental fatigue in the government and the natural workings of the democratic swing of the pendulum.”

Sevaldsen (2001: 120) also points out other factors that possibly contributed to the Labour victory. There were factors that welled from inside the Conservative party itself, such as splits in the Conservative Party on views about the European Union and, on the other hand, 'sleaze' stories connected to several Conservative Members of Parliament (MPs). Furthermore, important parts of the media ignored the Conservatives. One last factor was the successful launch of the New Labour Party, which culminated in the election of a new leader, Tony Blair, who “had accepted large parts of the Conservative reform programme, but also created a political discourse stressing “decency” and “community values” that suited to compete with the Conservative ones of “market control”, “choice”, “consumer rights etc. ”” (Sevaldsen et al 2001:120). Of these, the last claim is of particular interest in my thesis.

In the 1997 election, the Labour Party acquired its largest victory ever, becoming the largest party in England, Scotland and Wales, whereas the Conservatives lost all their seats in Scotland and Wales. The 2001 election saw a second Labour victory. “During the election campaign in 2001, it became clear that the Labour Party’s main problem was the quality of public services, and the government made extensive promises to improve the performance of especially health and education sectors” (Sevaldsen 2001: 122-123). The Conservatives only recovered one seat from 1997 and further reinforced their status as a party of rural areas. While the 2005 election was a Labour victory, it was nowhere near the previous two elections. One of the biggest issues at the time was the Iraq war.

John Gaffney (1991: 2) points out an important fact about the British electorate and public opinion. “We should note, however, that the exercise of the suffrage is consistently high in Britain, especially at the national level, compared with many other representative democracies, in spite of the perceived pervasive dislike of politics and politicians.” While the exercise of suffrage from the Scandinavian point of view cannot be considered to be high by any standards, it is in comparison with many other European democracies. Nonetheless, it must be concluded that the British politician sails in rather stormy waters against the cross-current. The fairly active electorate is critical of the whole political process and politicians.

What is important for the British electorate, according to Gaffney (1991), is the

immediacy of the politics of the center. Gaffney (1991:4) reports that “For most people the centre involves the family, local community, workplace and leisure and interpersonal relations and will include ideas concerning the maintenance or the incremental improvement of the conditions of life in the center.” Furthermore, he (1991:7) continues that “For leadership to be perceived as successful, the leader must be able to move back and forth across the line between the center and the periphery while retaining his or her morality, as well as the strength to act to see the proper and necessary relation between the center and the edge.” Therefore, these are the areas on which the manifesto, to be successful, should really focus on. My choice of studying the educational policies clearly falls into this center category and can thus be deemed important and worthwhile studying.

One last aspect of the British society is pointed out by Jordan and Richardson (1987:49), “It appears that the socialization process – whereby citizens acquire particular set of political beliefs from parents, fellow schoolchildren, neighbors and fellow workers – no longer produces a highly stable and predictable electorate.” This change also affects how the electorate sees the manifestos; if they are no longer going for the most obvious choice for their particular social class, this means that there may be real competition between different parties, keeping in mind the nature of the first-past-the-post (FPP) electoral system and the tendencies associated with the system.

I will not concern myself with the realities that these sometimes overtly idealistic manifestoes face. These manifestos are reflection of the times; they reflect what is considered important in a society at that particular time by a certain group of people. Therefore, I will briefly, address the state of the British society at the time of the manifestos being written. I will also note the changes in the party structure and leadership, but not in excess. This is done merely to give some perspective to the political manifesto and where it stands at the time.

1.1.1. A Brief History of the Labour Party

Labour Party was created by the establishment of Labour Representation Committee (LCR) in 1900 with the aim of establishing a distinct group alongside the Liberals and

the Conservatives. After the election of 1906 and the 29 seats won in Parliament, the group was renamed Labour Party. The Party was not formed because of a desire for radical social changes but because of the desire to negotiate with the employers on equal terms (Thorpe 1997: 5). The Conservative victory under Margaret Thatcher in 1979 began the period of long opposition during which, as often happens in two party systems, the achievements of the Labour Party were to a large extent undone. In the late seventies and early eighties, there appeared a drift in the ranks of the Labour Party. Many felt that “Labour was moving too far to the left to be a viable alternative to a government they deplored” (Thorpe 1997: 207). As a result, on the 26th of March, 1981 the Social Democratic party (SDP) was established.

The 1983 election was a crushing defeat for Labour as the party lost 60 seats in the election and the Conservative party gained nearly 60. According to Thorpe (1997: 211) “Labour’s performance at the 1983 general election had become the byword for inefficiency and incompetence.” The manifesto was bolted out before fine-tuning it, it was filled with idealistic proposals and few of the party leaders agreed with the proposed unilateral nuclear disarmament (ibid.). Furthermore, “The manifesto came out with the nonsensical formula that ‘Unilateralism and multilateralism must go hand in hand if either is to succeed’” (Thorpe 1997: 212). It has also been dubbed as “the longest suicide note in history” (Sevaldsen 2001: 167). Moreover, the newly elected leader, Michael Foot, lacked the professional appearance and credibility that the Conservative leader, Margaret Thatcher, portrayed. Even so, Thorpe (2001: 212) claims that no matter who the leader was, the 1983 election was an election, which the Labour could not have won.

The years between 1983 and 1987 election were the years of economic upheaval, despite the rising unemployment. As a result, Labour had a hard time attracting new voters as Thatcherite policies seemed to be successful. The party was still divided between the left and the right. Despite the aspiring hopes of regaining some of the lost power, the 1987 election ended in defeat and as Thorpe (1997: 222) points out, “many commentators expressed the view the Labour was probably finished in its present form.” The period between 1983 through 2005 has been described as a period of modernization (see Sevaldsen 2001, Thorpe 1997). After the defeat in 1987, an extensive review as called for and the party attempted to move towards the political

center.

Between 1987 and 1992 the party shifted further to the right in a desperate need of a more moderate image. Several policy changes followed (Thorpe 1997: 222-223). In the field of economy, the move was further away from national policy. Some new ideas were introduced, like the national minimum wage and Ministry for Women proposals. The European Community policy was modified, as well as industrial relations, welfare and unilateral disarmament policy. Image-wise, Labour had counted on attacking Thatcher and the image of her being “out of touch and dictatorial” (Thorpe 1997: 225). The defeat of Thatcher in the ballot for party leadership resulted in the victory of Chancellor of the Exchequer, John Major, as leader of the party. In a sense, the Conservatives were given a fresh start. Again, Labour had high hopes of victory in the 1992 election. Despite the fact that Labour did far better than previously, winning roughly 40 seats, Conservatives remained in power.

Labour's defeat led to the resignation of Neil Kinnock. He was replaced by John Smith but only after two years, just one day after the victorious local election results were presented, Smith suffered a massive heart attack and died. After Smith, the party leadership landed in the hands of Tony Blair, the youngest-ever leader of the Labour Party. Blair called for the updating of Clause IV of the party's constitution (thus scraping the ideals of common ownership and replacing them with a clause more suitable for open and mixed economy) in his first speech as a leader to party conference. In 1996, *New Labour, New Life for Britain* –draft manifesto was discussed and voted on by party members across the country. It centered on five pledges, those of education, crime, health, jobs and economic stability. He made a clear break from the “Old Labour’ associated with centralism, close ties with trade unions, ever-growing state interventionism, high taxation and high spending...‘New Labour’ stressed decentralization, bringing back the power to people and responsible economic policies” (Sevaldsen 2001: 167).

The 1997 election was a success for Labour Party, it gained 44,4 per cent (up from 34,5 per cent) of the total vote compared with Conservative share of 31,4 percent (down from 41,9 per cent). The election was described as a “landslide victory” by the media. Labour won the largest parliamentary majority of 179 seats to date. The Liberal

Democrats more than doubled their number of seats, which spelled disaster for the Conservatives. They lost all seats outside England, and several prominent members of the party were not re-elected. The trend continued in the 2001 election when Labour gained 40,7 per cent of the votes in comparison with the 31,7 per cent share of the Conservatives. Although a clear victory, the election was marked by voter apathy especially in strong Labour constituencies (BBC 2001, online). 2005 election was a historical third consecutive win for Labour. However, while victorious, the party nevertheless suffered a vastly reduced majority and the lowest ever percentage of votes (2,9 % above the Conservatives) to achieve a majority of seats in the Parliament. The result was believed by many, especially the media, to have been a direct result of the Iraq war (BBC 2005, online) and the speculations of the resignation of Prime Minister Tony began as soon as the votes were in.

1.1.2. Education in England and Wales

Publicly funded education in Britain began in 1883 with the Parliament vote in favor of church schools and their financial assistance. This assistance was on the condition that the schools could be subjected to inspection. School attendance became compulsory in 1880 for children between five and ten years of age, and the school leaving age was progressively raised to 14 by 1918. The Elementary Education Act of 1870 made possible the establishment of locally elected School Boards to raise funds for elementary schools in areas where provision was inadequate. These schools were required to provide Christian worship and instruction. Elementary school attendance was made compulsory in 1880 and by 1890 it was, by and large, free. The Education Act of 1902 established the local education authorities (LEAs), which assumed responsibility for elementary and secondary education. The Acts main objective was to promote the expansion of secondary education. The local authorities provided scholarships for those who could not pay for secondary education with the requirement that the scholarship recipients passed entrance examinations.

The Education Act of 1944 established three phases of education: primary, secondary and further (later named higher) education. Secondary education was made possible for all, based on aptitude and ability. The most able went to grammar schools. The selection

was made at the age of 11, when the students would take tests in arithmetic, English and intelligence. The exam was known as 11+. The Education Act 1944, which took effect in 1947, raised the compulsory school leaving age to 15. During the sixties, there was considerable support for comprehensive secondary education which was to cover all ability groups. In 1973, following the Raising of the School Leaving Age (RoSLA), compulsory school leaving age was raised to 16.

The Labour government introduced an Education Act in 1976 which was to establish the comprehensive school framework. In most areas, the comprehensive school was adopted but some retained the grammar schools.

In the 1980s, a wide range of legislation was introduced including the Education Act 1981 (special needs students), the Education Act 1986 (regarding the school's governing bodies and the power of LEAs) and the Education Reform Act 1988 (which introduced the national curriculum). The 1988 Act also allowed primary and secondary schools to opt out of local authority (LA) control as 'grant-maintained schools', and made important reforms to higher education, taking polytechnics and higher education colleges out of LA control. The Further and Higher Education Act 1992 allowed for further education institutions to opt out of LA control.

In 1996, the principles and frameworks laid down from 1944 onwards were consolidated in the Education Act 1996 and the Schools Inspections Act 1996. Since then, several major pieces of education legislation have been introduced in England and Wales including: School Standards and Framework Act 1998, Teaching and Higher Education Act 1998, Learning and Skills Act 2000, Education Act 2002, Higher Education Act 2004 and Education Act 2005.

Since September 1997, young people have been required to stay at school until the last Friday in June of the school year in which they attain the age of 16. Prior to the 1997 reform, some 16-year-olds could legally leave school before the end of the year – either at Easter or at the end of May, depending on their birth date. The vast majority attends public schools; in 2002 approximately 96 per cent attended public schools (Eurydice 2006). The inspection of the schools is the responsibility of non-ministerial government department, the Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted).

All schools have a high degree of autonomy. Primary and secondary schools are divided in England and Wales into community, voluntary and foundational schools. The majority are community schools funded by local authorities. Foundation schools are funded by local authorities but owned by the school's governing body or a charitable foundation. Voluntary schools were originally established by voluntary bodies like churches. Nowadays they are, for most part, funded by local authorities.

At present, the curriculum of compulsory education in England, Wales and Northern Ireland is divided into four key stages: KS 1 (5-7 yrs.), KS 2 (7-11 yrs.), KS 3 (11-14 yrs.) and KS 4 (14-16 yrs.). Education in Britain is divided into two parts: primary education (age 5-11, 4-11 in Northern Ireland) and secondary education (ages 11-16). Education is compulsory from age 5 (Northern Ireland age 4) until the age of 16. All primary schools accept pupils without regard to ability. Most secondary schools are comprehensive. Some are selective schools known as grammar schools. These kinds of schools account for approximately 5 per cent of the total (Eurydice 2006).

Post-compulsory education secondary schools and sixth form colleges offer general education; further education colleges place greater emphasis on vocational courses and tertiary colleges offer both vocational and general education. Higher education institutions are autonomous bodies and entry into such institutions is competitive.

The relative importance of education is highlighted by Sevaldsen et al (2001: 271): "education is not just an individual matter (and investment) but also an area of profound economic and political importance." This is no wonder as education may be the most efficient tool for social mobility and as such, an area where the power struggles can and will surface.

With the enlargement and further integration of the European Union, several educational targets have also been set. The most important European policies include the idea of lifelong learning; promotion of mobility of people within the Union member states, the Lisbon strategy and the Bologna process. Lisbon strategy means in basic terms that the role of vocational education is to be strengthened, the mobility of professions is enhanced by the recognition of qualifications directive, and the goals of

developing European centers of scientific excellence and the promotion of Lifelong Learning (LLL). The Bologna process, on the other hand, serves the purpose of creating the European higher education area by the process of harmonization of academic degree standards and quality assurance.

2. Theoretical and methodological approaches

In this study, I have two main goals: to look at the content of Labour's educational policies manifested in their general election manifestos; and to examine the structures of political writing. Thus, I have two distinct objectives in this thesis – content and structure. The structure of the text will provide us the framework that spans the genre of political writing. But this is not enough. It is equally important to look at the content of these texts. To some extent, these two aspects merge into one another, which is one more good reason for why they should be both examined simultaneously, but also separately.

Political manifestos constitute a clear genre of writing; they follow the frameworks of certain set rules that enable us to identify the piece of text as a manifesto and not, for example, a fiction novel. Therefore, a background theory of genre theory is, I believe, fertile grounds to the analysis of these manifestos. Political manifestos are perfect examples of texts which seek to influence people, or to put it more precisely, voters. Elections are, from a critical point of view, a popularity contest. Manifestos are vehicles used to lure those uncertain of their stance; those disillusioned with their former party of choice; and, on the other hand, strengthen the belief of dedicated party voters that the party is still serving to their beliefs and interests. This is the reason why political manifestos are perfect in terms of looking at the content via the theoretical frame of critical discourse analysis. They are manifestations of power, words of those at the handle of power and as such require a critical approach in analyzing them.

2.1. Genre theory

A point of interest in the study of political manifestos is that of *genre theory*. Kari Palonen (1997:21) proposes that political manifestos be studied as an example of a

specific literary genre. He claims that a manifesto is not so much a political program than a “text about the political context of parties.” (Palonen 1997: 21; my translation) As I have noted before, two aspects of political manifestos will be looked at in this thesis: that of structure and content. Genre theory offers a good, solid framework of theory which I will plunge into while looking for specific aspects of this genre of political writing.

The word *genre*, originally from French meaning ‘kind’ or ‘class’, has been a widely researched and used in literary, film, and media studies, to name a few; but not until fairly recently has genre theory entered into linguistics. In linguistic research, John M. Swales (1990: 33) has noted that genre “is a fuzzy concept”. He attempts to define genre through different traditions of use of the term ‘genre’ in folklore, literary studies, linguistics and rhetoric and found out that all the disciplines shared certain premises. His definition is quite extensive (Swales 1990: 58) but effectively paraphrased by Virtanen and Halmari (2005: 11) as “a class of communicative events with a common set of communicative goals shared by members of a given discourse community.” Virtanen and Halmari furthermore (2005: 10) note “that the emergence, maintenance, alteration, and disappearance of genres is made possible by the existence of intertextuality – the multiple voices that are to be found in their textual realizations: Consciously or subconsciously we continuously compare texts we encounter with other texts and detect similarities and differences between them.” In short, the existence of a genre is only made possible by the existence of collection of similar types of texts, sharing structures and content that resemble one another to such extent that they can be seen as representing a genre.

The study of genre then, concentrates in finding similarities in sets of texts and through that process describing a prototypical example of that genre. In addition to studying prototypical genres, it is possible to study what makes a particular text within that genre successful. Halmari (2005), for example, has studied the “successful” political tactics of presidents Clinton and Reagan by looking at the State of Union addresses from 1989 and 1998. As Halmari (2005:108) notes, political speech is subdivided into different genres, such as speech giving and press events, and these will use different rhetorical tactics. Political speech and writing is a subgenre of a larger genre, that of persuasive

speech/writing. A subgenre of political speech (or writing) is manifesto writing, on which my study is concentrated on. A manifesto follows a certain genre as well.

In her examinations, Halmari found out that certain features were common in both presidents' State of the Union speeches. Among these were rhetorical questions, appeals to authority, appeals to logic, use of alliteration, humor, unification via addressing the enemy and so forth. As both Clinton and Reagan have been described as excellent public speakers and the effects of these speeches even studied statistically, it would seem to be in order to look at these speeches as examples of successful speeches and the similarities between them as successful tactics.

On the other hand, what is political language if not promotional language? We are presented a program or an ideology which might not resemble our own. From the point of view of those writing the manifesto, the voters must be persuaded into believing that the program they offer is the best one available. But where do we draw the line between persuasive and promotional discourse? Does such line exist? Bhatia (2005: 219–223) claims that in the modern world, genre lines are extremely hard to hold and the language of advertising seems to have invaded the “territorial integrity of most professional and academic genres” (Bhatia 2005: 220). In this study, I shall treat the manifestos as the prime example of persuasive text. The point of comparison is the genre of promotional texts, which Vijay K. Bhatia has researched for several years now. He offers the following as a generic structure of advertisement in terms of rhetorical moves (Bhatia 2002: 214).

1. Headlines
2. Targeting the market
3. Justifying the product or service by establishing a niche
4. Detailing the product or service
5. Establishing credentials
6. Endorsement or testimonials
7. Offering incentives
8. Using pressure tactics
9. Soliciting response
10. Signature line and logo etc.

Naturally one single advertisement does not usually combine all of these moves, only some of them. The above structure will be a guideline when attempting to define a generic outline for manifesto writing. Other than structure, the text must also have a

certain communicative purpose for which it is intended for. Bhatia's (1993: 46) example is of a sales promotion letter.

The communicative purposes of a sales promotion letter are:

1. Main function is to be persuasive: a response is desired.
2. Capture the attention of the person reading the letter
3. These letters are usually addressed to those potential customers who are known to have a need for the service offered.
4. The recipients may be busy people who lack time and interest for long and winding sales promotion letter; thus, the letter must be short and effective.
5. They are the first contact between the buyer and the seller and may serve as basis for further business.

A similar kind of list can be made for the manifestos. The communicative purposes of a political manifesto are:

1. Main function is to be persuasive: a response in the form of voting for the party is desired.
2. Capture the attention of the person reading the manifesto.
3. Are usually addressed to all potential voters.
4. Recipients are all the adults who are eligible to vote in general elections.
5. Not likely to be the first contact between the party and the citizen, rather a later contact, after the initial interest of the voter has been attracted otherwise.
6. Provides more information on the program, not perhaps addressed in the first instances or in the media.

As seen from the above, the communicative purposes of a sales promotion letter and a manifesto do differ but they also share some common characteristics. These similarities will be dealt with later in this thesis; for the time being, it will be sufficient to say that these similarities, at the least, may imply that the promotional and political genres may not be as far apart as it may first seem.

2.2. The theorists on language, ideology and power

The ideas of language use as manifestation of power rely heavily on the ideas of the French sociologist Michel Foucault. Foucault's analysis states that power is situated among social practices and situations. The discourses within these social formations are manifested in an economy of discourse. For Foucault, power is directly tied into the economy of discourse itself. In his study on the birth of the modern prison, *Discipline*

and Punish (1979), Foucault further develops his ideas on power and discourse, already present in his previous works such as *L'archéologie du savoir* (*The Archaeology of Knowledge*) from 1969 and *L'ordre du discours* (*The Discourse on Language*) from 1971. Foucault claims (1980: 42):

Discourses are not once and for all subservient to power or raised up against it, any more than silences are. We must make allowance for the concepts' complex and unstable process whereby discourse can be both an instrument and an effect of power, but also a hindrance, a stumbling block, a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy. Discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it.

So in reverse, to have power is to have the ability to control and modify discourse and thus our knowledge and this, without a doubt, is the greatest power that exists.

Stuart Hall's ideas on ideology can be extended to the struggles apparent in manifestos. As I have stated previously, I see the general election policies as manifestations of ideology and therefore attempts at modifying on how we, the electorate, interpret the "truth".

It [ideology] provides the frameworks within which people define and interpret social existence. Not necessarily in a very learned or systematic way, but in terms of everyday practical social reasoning, practical consciousness. Events and their consequences can always be interpreted in more than one ideological framework. That is why there is always struggle over ideology: a struggle as to which definition of the situation will prevail. This is a struggle over particular kind of power – cultural power: the power to define 'to make things mean'. The politics of signification. (Hall 1988:188)

Basing itself on the previous work done on language and power, *critical discourse analysis* (CDA) emerged as a network of scholars in the early nineties including such researchers as Teun A. van Dijk, Ruth Wodak, Norman Fairclough, Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen. The start of CDA can also be pinned down to the publishing of such books as Teun A. van Dijk's *Discourse and Society* (1990), Ruth Wodak's *Language, Power and Ideology* (1989) and Norman Fairclough's *Language and Power* (1989).

What needs to be further acknowledged is the contribution to CDA made M.A.K Halliday and systemic functional grammar. As Wodak and Meyer (2001: 8) note: "This indicates that an understanding of the basic claims of Halliday's grammar and his approach to linguistic analysis is essential for a proper understanding of CDA." Other influences have been adopted from classical rhetoric, text linguistics and sociolinguistics, applied linguistics and pragmatics (Wodak and Meyer 2001:3).

The terms *Critical Linguistics* (CL) and *Critical Discourse Analysis* (CDA) are used interchangeably but recently the term CDA has been preferred. CDA regards language as a social practice and regards that the context of language is to be crucial. What is of special interest to CDA is the relation between language and power (See e.g. Wodak 1989, Wodak and Meyer 2001, Blommaert 2005).

[C]L and CDA may be defined as fundamentally concerned with analyzing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language...CL and CDA focus not only on texts, spoken or written, as objects of inquiry. A fully 'critical' account of discourse would thus require a theoretization and description of both the social processes and structures which give rise to the production of a text and of the social structures and processes within which individuals or groups as social historical subjects, create meanings in their interaction with texts.

(Wodak and Meyer 2001: 2)

To define precisely what critical discourse analysis boils down to is somewhat of a challenge. There are variety of approaches that deal with different levels of textual analysis and approaches that have their roots in a variety of disciplines. This produces an approach that is rich but, on the other hand, also problematic to define and categorize. Teun van Dijk tries (2001: 96) to explain what CDA is not. "CDA is not a direction of research among others...nor a subdiscipline of discourse analysis... It is not a method, nor a theory that can simply be applied to social problems. CDA can be conducted in, and combined with any approach and subdiscipline in the humanities and the social sciences."

Van Dijk (ibid.) sees CDA as a critical perspective on doing scholarship. Its focus is on social problems and the role of discourse as an element and manifestation of power. Furthermore, as I see it, it is reading against the grain, against the dominant readings of texts or of spoken discourse. He declares, "CDA is biased – and proud of it" (ibid.). There have been fierce critics that have attacked precisely this aspect of CDA. I however, cannot see this as a problem. First of all, what is feminist research if not biased? Secondly, any research can hardly claim to be completely unbiased. From the topic and methods chosen, these are all value choices: what is important enough that we should study it and how should we look at this particular question. If this 'bias' is kept in mind, while doing the research and if it is clearly pronounced, this should not cause any problems.

What must be kept in mind is the dependence of language on power. “For CDA, language is not powerful on its own – it gains power by the use of powerful people make of it. This explains why CL often chooses the perspective of those who suffer, and critically analyses the language use of those in power, who are responsible for the existence of inequalities and who also have the means and opportunity to improve conditions” (Wodak and Meyer 2001: 11).

Naturally, the description offered can be considered rather hazy and vague and it has indeed been met with great opposition and dismissal. But what must be kept in mind is that the object of study in CDA cannot be compared with pure linguistic analysis of grammar or laws of physics. The main points of criticism have been the problem of mediation, application of linguistic theory with no grammar theory in the background, the problematic notion of context, biased reading and the trouble of aiming at interdisciplinarity in text analysis (See Wodak and Meyer 2001, Blommaert 2005).

It is generally agreed that CDA must not be understood as a single method but rather as an approach, which constitutes itself at different levels – and at each level a number of selections must be made” (Wodak and Meyer 2001: 14). Another feature is prominent in CDA, the idea of multidisciplinary. “One important characteristic arises from the assumption of CDA that all discourses are historical and can therefore only be understood with reference to their context. In accordance with this, CDA refers to such extra linguistic factors as culture, society and ideology. In any case, the notion of context is crucial for CDA, since this explicitly includes social-psychological, political and ideological components and thereby postulates an interdisciplinary procedure” (Wodak and Meyer 2001: 15).

Van Dijk (2001: 96) also calls for the diversity and multiplicity of CDA. He does not offer clear methods – “I have no [such] method.” – (ibid) but instead formulates guidelines and principles for doing CDA. His view is shared by other CDA researchers (e.g. Fairclough, Wodak) and I fully agree with Fairclough’s claim (2001: 121) that method “can too easily be taken as a ‘transferable skill’ ... which can be resorted to when needed and then returned to the [tool] box”.

In conclusion, the theoretical umbrella for this study is the genre theory. As I feel a

study of genre must be also about content and this content must be looked at from a power struggle point of view, the approach that will be employed is that of critical discourse analysis. It is to the methods employed that I now turn to.

2.3. Methodological approaches

This lack of clear methodology in the chosen approach presents us with a problem: how to do analysis? My solution is to resort to a technique called close-reading which simply refers to the process of reading (and re-reading) the text several times, making notes simultaneously, looking for patterns and based on these examinations, solving the mystery – so to say.

This work is of qualitative nature. According to Alasuutari (1993), qualitative analysis can be divided into two distinct parts: reducing the findings and solving the mystery. The first stage, reducing the findings, means two things. First, the data is looked at from a certain theoretical perspective, which will condense the mass of text that is being analyzed, making it easier to command. Then, the findings are further reduced by combing the findings. This is achieved by finding a common denominator or by forming a rule which will be applicable to the entire data, no exceptions allowed. (Alasuutari 1993: 23) The second stage –solving the mystery– means making questions and generalizing the findings.

As has been stated above, the CDA ‘school’ does not follow any set of tried and tested methods for their studies. It has a more *grounded theory* approach which means that the text that is to be analyzed is read and re-read and different variables or approaches on how to begin to analyze the text are “discovered”. Based on these observations, a theory is formed. Founding figures in this field have been Glaser and Strauss, who in 1967 published their work *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*. Grounded theory, to some extent, resembles close-reading, a technique used in my study.

I have attempted to solve to question of what methods to use for my study by close-reading, explained shortly above. Based on the findings, the solution I have come up with is that of methodological triangulation.

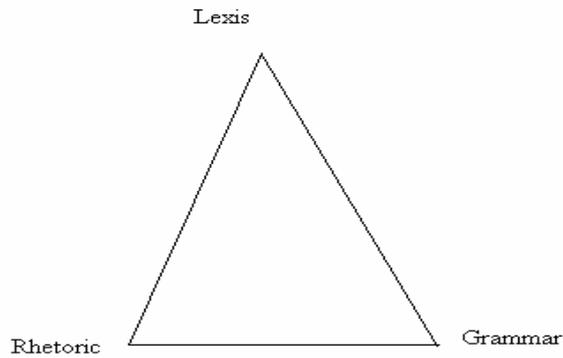


Figure 1. Methodological triangulation

Triangulation is commonly used in social sciences and several fields of humanities to increase the validity of the research. *Methodological triangulation* means that different methods are employed in order to increase the validity of the research. My three methodological tools are the three aspects of lexical, grammatical and rhetorical features. Looking at the texts from three different points of view will provide a more comprehensive picture into the study in question.

2.3.1. Lexical features

The analysis of lexical features is composed of several parts. The tools for these features are, for the most part, those that have been successfully used by CDA theorists in their studies.

2.3.1.1. Collocation and coordination of words

Jan-Ola Östman (2005: 184) explains *collocation* in broad terms as “the tendency for lexical words to repeatedly co-occur”. He continues (ibid.) that “collocations are concerned with how words get part of their meaning from the characteristic verbal company they keep.” As Fairclough (1989: 113) notes, what is ideologically significant about texts, is the words that occur in any text (because they can be willfully chosen) and with what other words they collocate with. Associations are drawn between certain collocated words and therefore they signify ideological statements. The main problem with collocations is, as Östman (2005: 185) points out, the trouble of defining what

counts as a collocation. How do we define the statistically relevant saturation, how close do the words have to be (next to each other, five words before and after et cetera) and should all words be accepted – interjections, conjunctions, adverbs and so forth – or do some word classes have special status? Östman (2005: 189) suggests the following features represent what the prototypical collocation should look like:

1. Consists of lexical-word categories: main verb, noun and adjective.
2. The typical number of words, five, although it can be justified in grounds of memory restrictions may prove important mainly as regards propositional meaning.
3. Generally, few interesting collocations cross a punctuation mark
4. Adjacent words have special status.
5. Pair of words constitute more prototypical collocations than larger groups.

Coordination is simply defined as is a complex syntactic structure that links together two or more conjuncts. The coordinated units they are on the same syntactic level (Randolph and Quirk 1990: 262). The coordinated items are in usually linked by coordinating conjunctions (*and, or, but*).

Keeping the above notions in mind, for the analysis of collocations and coordination in this study, I have used a freeware software called KWIC (key word in context) concordance. It is a corpus analytical tool for making word frequency lists, concordances and collocation tables by using electronic files. However, as I am engaged in a study that is qualitative in nature, the blind application of a corpus analytical tool will not be sufficient. Cross-checking the evidence by hand is needed in order for the results to be reliable.

2.3.1.2. Euphemisms

Euphemistic wording is chosen when there is desire to avoid negative wording (Fairclough 1989: 117), again a signifier of what is deemed an ideological choice. “Euphemism is characterized by avoidance language and evasive expression” (Allan and Burrige 1991: 3). Furthermore, “Euphemism and dysphemisms are not merely a response to a taboo: they also function where Speaker avoids using or, on the contrary, deliberately decides to use a distasteful expression and/or an infelicitous style of

addressing or naming” (Alan and Burridge 1991: 3). Such an example of avoidance is the current trend of politically correct language. For example, the term profession of the cleaner is replaced sometimes in overtly politically sensitive speech by sanitation technician, in order to avoid the negative associations with the word cleaner and also raise the profile (even if only short-term) of the profession. In addition, what must be remembered is that taboo terms are taboo in only certain contexts and not taboo at all in others. Therefore, they will reveal the nature the taboo areas in the society – what are we allowed to talk about and how and what are the areas that require tiptoeing around. Allen and Burridge (1991) further note that the function of euphemisms and dysphemisms is not only to avoid certain taboo subjects per se but the goal is, as is in most social interaction, of saving face and thus speaking with euphemisms and be considered the trademark of politicians and diplomats.

2.3.1.3. Metaphors

“Metaphor is a mean of representing one aspect of experience in terms of another” (Fairclough 1989: 117). *Metaphors* are usually associated with poetic or literary language but are by no means exclusive to those genres. They can signify an ideological stance as an event, for example, can be described with metaphorical language of disease or war, thus associating the speaker/writer with a certain position. Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 5) state that “the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another.” Furthermore, they stress that “metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action.” (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 3) On the function of metaphors, they note the following (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 10; examples added): “The very systematicity that allows us to comprehend one aspect of a concept in terms of another (e.g. comprehending an aspect of arguing in terms of battle) will necessarily hide other aspects of the concept. In allowing us to focus on one aspect of the concept (e.g. the battle aspects of arguing), a metaphorical concept can keep us from focusing on other aspects of the concept that are inconsistent with that metaphor.”

Lakoff and Johnson firmly believe in the power of metaphors. “Metaphors may create realities for us, especially social realities. A metaphor may thus be a guide for future

action. Such actions will, of course, fit the metaphor. This will, in turn, reinforce the power of the metaphor to make experience coherent. In this sense metaphors can be self-fulfilling prophecies” (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 156). Albeit an interesting claim, I cannot feel as strongly about the metaphor’s power for creation of social realities as Lakoff and Johnson do. I do, however, believe that metaphorical language can have strong rhetorical and persuasive effects as they are the very essence of our language use.

Riikka Kuusisto has examined the rhetoric of Western leaders during in the Gulf war and Bosnia. One of the aspects of her work handled the metaphors used in the statements made by the French, British and American political leaders. She comes to the conclusion that “By paralleling distant, strange and violent events by something closer, more familiar and dangerous in another way they gave the changing situations a certain perspective and the observers a clear perception. The metaphors concurrently created order and meaning for “the reality” as they covered up disarray and problems i.e. those features that did not fit into the logic and plot of the chosen metaphors” (Kuusisto 1998: 118; my translation).

Be as it may, the study of metaphors used in the manifestos may prove to be useful in terms of analysis.

2.3.1.4. Naming

Naming an entity signifies power. Whether a group of armed and organized individuals are named terrorists, freedom fighters or bandits, is of great significance. Names do not, however, have stable meanings but are more or less in flux and in a state of constant change. The war on meanings, according to Ball (1988), is political battle at its most genuine form. It is not merely a question of words but ways of perceiving the environment and state of being.

A fine example of this is looking at how the other political party is referred to in the manifesto. For example, while the term Tory is widely spread and used in everyday discourse, the etymology of the word tells a different story; even though both of below mentioned meanings are now obsolete.

1. a. In the 17th c., one of the dispossessed Irish, who became outlaws, subsisting by plundering and killing the English settlers and soldiers; a bog-trotter, a rapparee; later, often applied to any Irish Papist or Royalist in arms.

1. b. Extended to (a) robbers or bandits of other races, as Border moss-troopers, Scottish Highlanders, (b) Rajput marauders or outlaws. (OED Online)

The historical connotation of the word Tory is not flattering. The etymology of the word Tory itself is also interesting.

“Anglicized spelling of Irish **tóraidhe*, *-aighe* (t ri)je ‘pursuer’, implied in the derivative *tóraigheachd*, *tóraidheachd* pursuit: cf. the syncopated Sc. Gaelic *tòrachd* pursuit, pursuing with hostile intent.” (OED Online)

So, all in all, neither the historical meanings of the word Tory nor its etymology are flattering in the least sense and the use of the name Tory by the Labour can be seen as an distinctive choice between the infamous *Tory* and the more neutral *Conservative*.

2.3.1.5. Ideologically contested words and phrases

With ideologically contested words and phrases I mean certain words and phrases that signify an ideological stance or another. A simple phrase like *it treated every child the same* from a Conservative manifesto derives from the ideas of individualism, that everyone is an individual and thus to treat everyone the same means stomping on their rights. In a Labour manifesto this would be a good thing, as it stresses equality of all children.

Ideology, in very simplified terms is “a set of general ideas that can be used to understand and evaluate political, social and economic events” (Rose 1989: 259) The Oxford Concise Dictionary of Politics defines ideology as “Any comprehensive and mutually consistent set of ideas by which a social group makes sense of the world.” These definitions of ideology will be sufficient for the purpose of this study.

From time to time I will refer to socialist/conservative ideology or ideals. A distinction must be made. The following are not detailed accounts of any political ideology but

rather, a very broad description of what it generally means to refer to ‘conservative’ or ‘socialist’ ideas.

Conservatism rests on several principles (see e.g. Jones 2000: 118-122): social harmony i.e. enabling people to become a what they want to become; human nature as imperfect and corruptible, the rule of law as basis of all freedom, liberty as a highest political end, change only when it cannot be resisted, rule by elite and equality of opportunity, not of results.

Socialist ideas (see e.g. Jones 2000: 133-139), on the other hand, regard the capitalist market system as the root cause of all problems that promotes inequality, alienation of workers from their work and as a result, inefficiency. The principles stress the human nature as fundamentally good, equality of all people, collectivism, freedom (possibility to choose) and happiness, which does not base it self on material possessions as the ultimate goal.

2.3.2. Grammatical Structures

The second part of my study shall deal with sentence constructions and grammatical devices used in the manifestos. I shall concentrate on selected aspects for, naturally, practical reasons of limiting the aspects of the study. However, I have selected the aspects that are in my opinion most crucial in terms of the subject-object relationship. These are thematic roles, verbal collocations, voice, tense, aspect and modal auxiliaries.

2.3.2.1. Thematic roles

An interesting feature to look at is the question of agency: Who are the agents that do things and who are the objects of these actions? This is interesting because it will tell about the party’s division of labor. Are the voters in their different roles (as students, parents, teachers) active participants or passive recipients?

To approach this question, the thematic roles of the sentence will be looked at. There are a wealth of thematic roles (see e.g. Aarts 1997: 88) but sometimes very little

agreement on what should be regarded as thematic roles. To overcome this controversy, I will resort to looking at only major thematic roles. For the purpose of this study, such an approach will be sufficient. The major thematic roles employed in this study are:

- *Agent* (A) is the ‘doer’ of the action, denoted by the predicate.
- *Patient* (P) is the ‘undergoer’ of the action, denoted by the predicate.
- *Experiencer* (E) is a living entity experiencing the action or event
- *Instrument* (I) is whatever is being used to perform the action
- *Theme* (T) is the entity moved by the action or event denoted by the predicate
- *Goal* (G) the location towards which the entity moves
- *Benefactive* (B) the entity that benefits from the action
- *Source* (S) location or entity from which something moves
- *Locative* (L) the place of where the action or event denoted by predicate is situated

(Modeled after Aarts 1997: 88)

Other thematic roles exist in the literature, but many tend to be more controversial.

2.3.2.2. Verbal collocations

In my examinations I will not look at the verbs themselves nor will I categorize them by verbs types, although this could have been a viable option. Instead, I will look at what kinds of verbs are used when referred to for example party’s or governments actions. My hypothesis is that different types of verbs will be employed when referring to party’s own actions or the opposing political party’s actions. By looking at the verbs associated with different actors certain presuppositions and presumptions can be differentiated.

One more distinction needs to be made. On occasion, the Labour party refers to itself as Labour. However, most of the time, the reference is the word ‘we’. The interesting detail about this is the distinction between an *inclusive we* and an *exclusive we*. This division can roughly be equated with the I/we divide made by Halmari (2005) in her study of State of Union speeches by presidents Reagan and Clinton. Where as the on the surface, the choice of the word ‘we’ is used to create a collective feeling of involvement, a difference can be made what ‘we’ (all of us) and ‘we’ (the party and perhaps some other actors) can, will and is obliged to do. I will be looking at *inclusive*

we and verbal collocations versus *exclusive we* and verbal collocations as the pronoun I does not appear in a collectively written text such a manifesto.

2.3.2.3. Voice

“The distinction between active and passive applies only to sentences when the verb is transitive that is, it has an object. “ (Greenbaum and Quirk 1990: 44) A passive voice is formed by the auxiliary *be* and *-ed* participle of the main verb. Changing from active to passive has the following results (Greenbaum and Quirk 1990: 45):

- i) active subject, if retained in the sentence becomes the passive agent
- ii) active object becomes passive subject
- iii) preposition *by* is inserted before the agent (optional and often omitted)

As the use of active is the norm, we must regard the use of passive as an exception from this norm. Greenbaum and Quirk (1990: 45-46) identify seven reasons for the use of the passive (1-4 are cases where the agent is omitted).

1. Identity of the agent of the action is unknown.
2. The identification of the agent is avoided because of desire not to assign or accept responsibility.
3. There is a feeling that the agent need not be mentioned (unimportant or obvious from the context).
4. In scientific or technical writing the emphasis issued to avoid repetition of the subject and put the emphasis on the processes and experimental procedures. Provides an ‘objective’ tone.
5. Put emphasis on the agent of the action.
6. Avoiding a long subject.
7. Retaining the same subject in a long sentence. The passive voice also places the emphasis on the object instead of the subject of the sentence.

(Greenbaum and Quirk 1990: 416)

It is clear that the passive construction can easily be used to manipulate or shift responsibility the writer or speaker so wishes.

2.3.2.4. Tense

“Tense is a grammatical category that is realized by verb inflection.” (Greenbaum and Quirk 1990: 47). The three tenses in English language are reduced to two tenses of

present tense and past tense as there is no inflected form for the future tense. Past, present and future tense will be looked at in this study.

2.3.2.5. Aspect

In English, there are two aspects: the perfect and the progressive. According to Greenbaum and Quirk (1990: 51) “Aspect is a grammatical category that reflects the way in which the action of a verb is viewed with respect to time.” The aspects may combine in the following ways:

present perfect	<i>has studied</i>
past perfect	<i>had studied</i>
present progressive	<i>is studying</i>
past progressive	<i>was studying</i>
present perfect progressive	<i>has been studying</i>
past perfect progressive	<i>has been studying</i>

Further modifications into e.g. *state present perfect*, *event present perfect* et cetera do exist but this division will not be looked at in this study.

2.3.2.6. Modal auxiliaries

The study of modals will be included in this study. The frequency of the modals themselves will be looked at and changes taking place reported. However, the plain frequency of the modals as such will only reveal one aspect. To further analyze the nature of the modals, the meanings that the modals have will be looked at. Greenbaum and Quirk (1990: 60) distinguish between two kinds of meanings that the modal auxiliaries may have: intrinsic and extrinsic. *Intrinsic modality* “involves some intrinsic human control over events” (Greenbaum and Quirk 1990: 60) while *extrinsic modality* “involves human judgment of what is or is not likely to happen” (ibid.). Each modal auxiliary (can/could, may/might, shall/should, will/would, must, need/have got to) can have intrinsic and extrinsic uses. *Can/could* may express possibility, ability and permission; *may/might* possibility and permission; *must* (logical) necessity, and obligation or compulsion; *need* (logical) necessity and obligation or compulsion; *should* tentative inference and obligation; *will/would* prediction and volition; *shall* prediction and volition (Greenbaum and Quirk 1990: 60–65).

2.3.3. Rhetoric

To define rhetoric is problematic for there is often little consensus of what rhetoric actually is. Gill and Whedbee (1997: 157) point out that some definitions underline persuasion, some a broad, instrumental expression, some argumentation and some eloquent language. Gill and Whedbee recognize (ibid.) two themes that occur in all of them. Firstly, activities of rhetoric are located on the political stage and secondly, “rhetoric is discourse calculated to influence an audience toward some end” (ibid.). Theory on rhetoric can be divided, for example, into classical (Aristotle, Cicero, Plato) and new (Burke, Toulmin, Perelman) rhetoric.

Classical rhetoric theory dates back to the Ancient Greece and the works of Plato and Aristotle. Classical rhetoric was the rhetoric of speech: the study of speech. Speech was considered to be the primary, even only mode of societal influence and not until the 18th century did the writing replace spoken discourse. Even then the basic philosophy remained the same; the questions pondered were those of impressiveness of style, presentation, form and structure (see e.g. Puro 1998: 84).

The study of rhetoric had been declining in popularity for quite some time until a new generation of rhetoric researchers emerged in the 1950s (Puro 1998: 85–86). The most influential of these “new rhetoric”-branded frontiersmen were Kenneth Burke, Chaïm Perelman and Stephen Toulmin.

The three new rhetoric researchers –Kenneth Burke, Chaïm Perelman and Stephen Toulmin– began their study of rhetoric and argumentation in the 1950s at a time when there was little interest towards the field, and rhetoric had practically vanished as a scientific line of research and an academic field of education. They questioned the negative and belittling attitudes towards rhetoric and argumentation. Therefore, these three men can rightfully be considered the rehabilitators the study of rhetoric. Each one of them has a different approach to the study of rhetoric and argumentation (Burke: identification; Perelman: audience; Toulmin: structure of arguments), but as Gill and Whedbee note, there is a common characteristic that the new generation rhetorical researchers share. “The activities of rhetorical critics in the last thirty years have been quite varied; what they have in common is the explication of the dynamic interaction of

a rhetorical text with its context, that is, *how* a text responds to, reinforces, or alters the understandings of an audience or the social fabric of the community” (Gill and Whedbee 1997:159; italics in the original).

The new rhetoric no longer meant the repetitive study of different rhetorical tools or guidelines for how to become a great rhetoric. Instead, what was seen as worth studying, were what the effects of rhetorical activities in the communities were and societies, which ever way these activities were structured or what their content was. (Puro 1998: 86)

In my thesis, I will focus on selected aspects of the three rhetoricians work and will utilize these aspects as methods of this study. Understandably, each and every one of these researchers could provide enough insights for a study based entirely on their work. The aim of this thesis is, however, broad. Therefore the best way of utilizing these ideas is to pick and choose the most suitable aspects of their work, to provide a multifaceted description of the data.

2.3.3.1. Kenneth Burke

The works of Kenneth Burke (1897–1994) are hard to classify. In his work, the cross discipline approach materialized. He has been described as “the man without discipline” (Simmons 1989: 4) in both its connotations. His works cover linguistics, literature, religion economics and philosophy, to name a few. The role of rhetoric was not great in his work overall but he has been considered the front man of the “new rhetoric” and especially influential his work has been on the new approach by social sciences using a rhetorical approach (Simmons 1989: 5; Summa 1996: 52). *The Rhetoric of Motives* (1950) offers plenty of tools for analysis. Gusfield (1989: 30) considers four aspects of Burke’s work that have had an impact for later study. Firstly, he understands language as a form of action. Secondly, he sees the all human action in a dramatic form thus justifying it to the same critical framework as literary work. Third, he recognizes all human actions as rhetorical and lastly, a pluralistic and dialectical program of human behavior.

In this work I shall use two aspects from Burke. The first is his idea of the four master tropes introduced in *A Grammar of Motives* (1945) which he sees as not only purely figurative but as tools for understanding and thought process. These four master tropes are metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche and irony. *Metaphor* for Burke “is a device for seeing something *in terms of* something else” (Burke 1950: 503; italics in original). He suggests that perspective can be substituted for metaphor. Metaphor creates an analogy between two previously unanalogous things. For example ‘My brother is a real straight arrow’, means that he is very conventional, honest and moral. *Metonymy* he sees a sort of reduction, something immaterial or abstract that is realized through something material or concrete. An example of metonymy is using ‘heart’ for emotions, or ‘the Crown’ for the powers and authority of the monarchy. A *synecdoche* is a representation of a part for the whole. For example, in a political context, as Mickelsson (1999: 98) points out, the use of expression such as green (as in the Green party) and citizen (for all citizens) can be thought of as representations of a part for the whole. *Irony* means that the real meaning of the word or clause is hidden or denied, exaggerated or belittled. In speech, irony is easier to detect as it can be made clear for stress or pitch of the sentence part or from an obvious context. In writing, the use of irony is more difficult and even dangerous for the risk of being misunderstood is great. A great example of an ironic text is Jonathan Swift’s *A Modest Proposal* in which he introduces a way in which to prevent the children of the poor of being a baggage to their parents and the country. His solution was to feed the excess children as food to the other children on the brink of starvation.

Another approach I adopt from Burke is *identification*. Identification is the central concept for Burke, when it comes to his rhetorical theory. Identification is a process by which the speaker or writer attempts to convince his audience. For Burke, rhetorical identification is a process that compensates the separateness of people and therefore in an inevitable process. Rhetoric appears in situations where there is an opportunity for competing identifications and divisions (Burke 1950: 25). Identification is created by us/them disposition.

Burke identifies three ways of using identification: 1) as a way of achieving a desired target, 2) as a tool for juxtapositions (e.g. against a common enemy) and 3) as an unconscious and/or conscious means of communication (Burke 1962: 543–553 and

579–83). Burke's rhetoric is very recipient centered. When a person can identify with the offered identity (e.g. male) he will observe the world in a different way than if he identifies with a different identity (e.g. Finnish).

A rather humorous – yet thought-provoking (although perhaps ill-placed for the situation) – example of this is made by the former President of the United States, Ronald Reagan, who in his address at the 42nd General Assembly of the United Nations in 1987 proclaimed that:

In our obsession with antagonisms of the moment, we often forget how much unites all the members of humanity. Perhaps we need some outside, universal threat to make us recognize this common bond. I occasionally think how quickly our differences worldwide would vanish if we were facing an alien threat from outside this world.

(Reagan 1987)

The basic idea lying under the quirky alien threat is that of the unity of all human kind, identification to the human race as a defining entity instead of groups that represent only a fragment of that humanity e.g. Christian, Muslim, Chinese and so forth. The identity Reagan wanted us to adopt in his rhetoric was the one of universal membership of the human kind as opposed to the aliens.

One last aspect adopted from Burke is the idea of *god-terms*. The god-term refers to a concept after which all further explanations are unnecessary. In protestant theology, a god term would be a monotheistic god. In the business world, a god-term would probably be related to monetary affairs, such as the sustained economic growth.

Unlike Toulmin and Perelman, Burke is not interested in what good rhetoric or convincing argumentation is. He is much more interested in what the results are in the society; how are we influenced.

2.3.3.2. Chaïm Perelman

The essential consideration for the speaker who has set himself the task of persuading concrete individuals is that his construction of audience should be adequate to the occasion.---In real argumentation, care must be taken to form a concept of the anticipated audience as close as possible to reality. (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969: 19-20)

Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, in their book *The New Rhetoric* (1969), consider the importance of the audience as one of the key concerns of a speaker or a writer. Their

other considerations concern argumentation techniques and premises of argumentation, which all are interconnected. In this thesis, the attention will center on Perelman's notion of audience and will also briefly touch upon the issues of premises of the argumentation.

Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1969: 31) differentiate between universal audience and particular audience. *Universal audience* never refers to an actual audience of one mind, but in fact "to universality and unanimity imagined by the speaker, to the agreement of an audience which should be universal, since, for legitimate reasons, we need not take into consideration those which are not a part of it" (ibid.). Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (ibid.) state that argumentation which is addressed to a universal audience must convince the reader that the reasons given are self-evident, compelling and hold true in all circumstances. *Particular audiences*, on the other hand, are a particular group of people, different in their beliefs and values and social composition. These two types of audiences must be approached differently in order to claim acceptance.

Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1969: 28) apply "the term persuasive to argumentation that only claims validity for a particular audience, and the term convincing to argumentation that presumes to gain adherence of every rational being." They note that the distinction between persuasion and convincing is one of a fine line. They, however, propose the line be set, and associate persuasion with action and convincing with intelligence. The starting basis is the "Kantian notion" (ibid.) that *conviction* is a judgment grounded in objectivity, and is therefore valid for every rational being. Judgment grounded in the character of the subject is called *persuasion*.

The crossing point with critical discourse analysis is evident in the following:

Everyone constitutes the universal audience from what he knows of his fellow men, in such a way as to transcend the few oppositions he is aware of. Each individual, each culture, has thus its own conception of the universal audience. The study of these variations would be very instructive, as we would learn from it what men, at different times in history, have regarded *real, true* and *objectively valid*. (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969: 33; italics in the original)

Another point that relates to the status of the audiences made by Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1969) is that of premises of argumentation. "When a speaker selects and puts forward the premises that are to serve as foundation for his argument, he relies

on his hearer's adherence to the propositions from which he will start" (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969: 65). These premises may or may not be accepted by the members of the audience. The types of arguments that can serve as premises are divided into two classes: those that concern the real ("facts and truths" and "presumptions") and those that concern the preferable ("values", "hierarchies", and "loci of the preferable") (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969: 66). Premises that concern the real are characterized by agreement of the universal audience. *Fact* is defined as "an idea that is held of arguments of certain type relating to certain data, those which refer to an objective reality" (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969: 67). The status of the fact is common for the many and could be extended to all thinking beings, i.e. a universal audience. The status of a fact can be lost by mere questioning although, usually this is not sufficient. *Truth* holds similar qualities to fact. Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1969: 69) differentiate them only in that facts are "generally used to designate objects of precise, limited agreement" and truth "is preferably applied to more complex systems relating to connections between facts" e.g. scientific theories or religious conceptions. *Presumptions*, on the other hand, may enjoy universal agreement but "adherence to them falls short of being maximum, and hearers expect their audience to be reinforced at a given moment by other elements. In fact, those who admit a presumption ordinarily recon on this reinforcement" (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969: 70). Furthermore, "presumptions are connected with what is normal and likely" (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969: 71).

Objects of agreement that concern the preferable are values, hierarchies and loci of the preferable. *Value* arguments require that "an object, a being, or an ideal must have a specific influence on action and on disposition toward action and that one can make use of this influence in an argument, although the point of view represented is not regarded as binding on everybody" (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969: 74). Values may be abstract (e.g. justice, equality) or concrete (e.g. Britain, church). *Hierarchies* usually base themselves on values but such need for basis usually arises only when hierarchies need to be defended. Hierarchies come in two types: *quantitative* (greater or smaller amount of something) and *qualitative* (more valuable vs. less valuable) (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969: 80–83). *Loci* are premises of a very general nature and can be classified into a great number of specific loci. Loci are used often to consolidate values and hierarchies. Examples of *specific loci* are *loci of quantity* (whole is better than a

part) and *loci of quality* (brain over beauty) (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969: 83–95).

These objects of arguments serve as premises to an argument and it is through the utilization of the study of these objects of arguments that the constitution of an argument can be explored.

2.3.3.3. Toulmin's Argumentation Analysis

Stephen Edison Toulmin began his career as a mathematician but later turned to philosophy and was greatly influenced by the Ludwig Wittgenstein's thinking. In his work, he considers the shortcomings of formal logic as both descriptive and prescriptive argumentation tool (Toulmin 1958: 99). *The Uses of Argument* (1958) was shunned by the philosophical circles but later praised by rhetoricians. The most useful analytic tool is offered in *Uses of Argument* study. For Toulmin, argumentation means reasoning and the validity of reasoning. His fiercest critique is directed toward analytic syllogism which he considers to be to one dimensional and unrepresentative for the real uses and modes of argumentation. According to Toulmin (1958: 97-98), an argument, at the very minimum consists of *data*, *claim* and *warrant*.

For example,

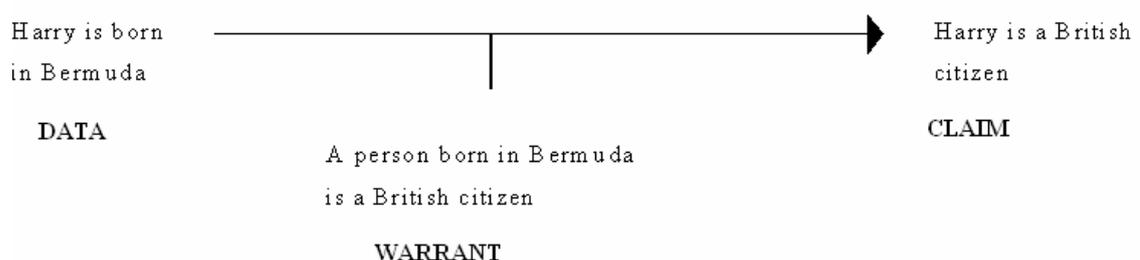


Figure 3. Argument structure

To investigate the logicity of arguments, Toulmin built a model by which the analysis of the rationality of the argument could be evaluated without resorting to logical tools. In addition to the above mentioned three basic parts of an argument, he came up with

three other parts. The “chief anatomical units of the argument” (Toulmin 1958: 94) are data (D), claim (C), warrant (W), rebuttals (R), qualifier (Q) and backing (B).

For example,

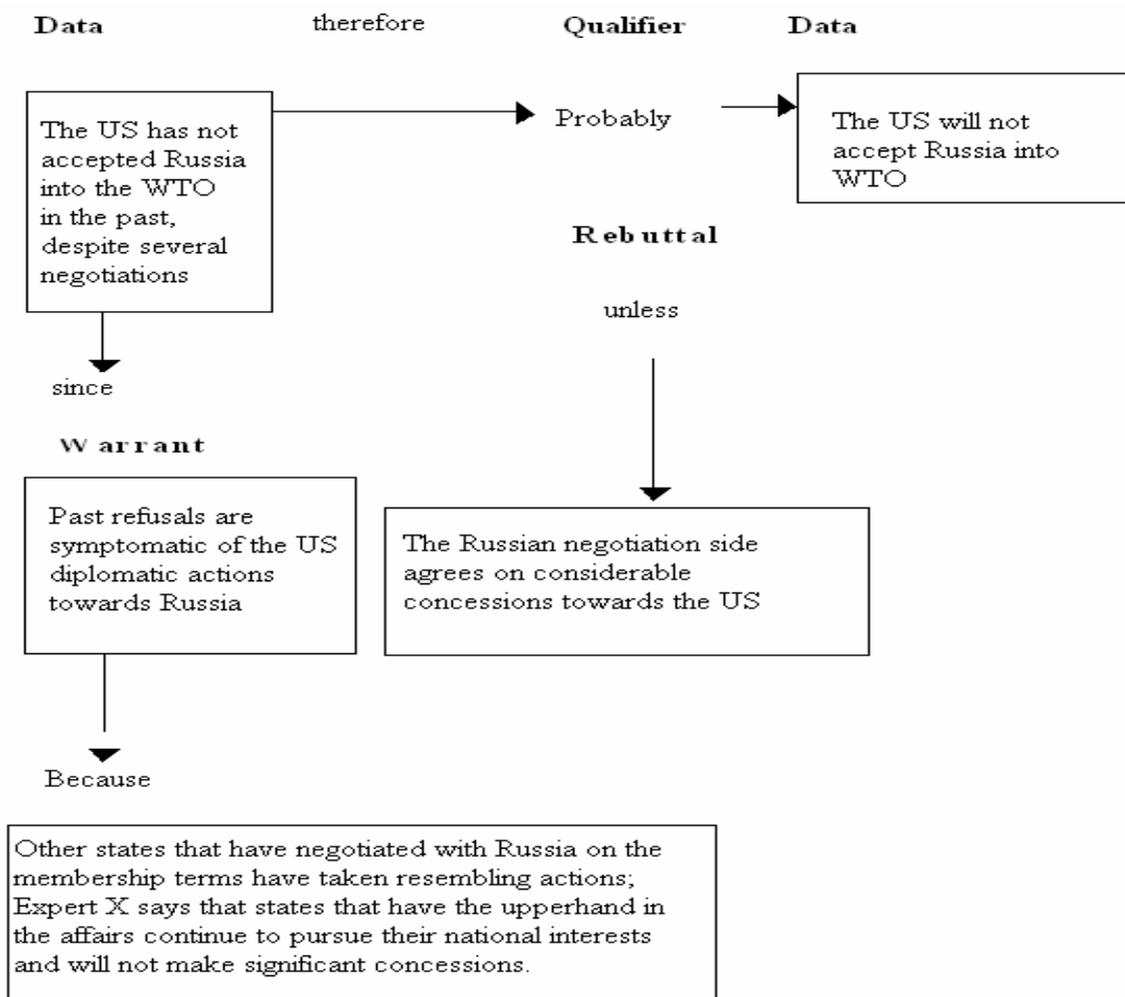


Fig. 3 An example of anatomical units of an argument

Summa (1996: 79) stresses that the division between data (D) and warrant (W) is crucial because they have differing functions in an argument. Data can be appealed to publicly where as warrant is the hidden part of the argument which can only surface when interpreted or by producing a counter-argument. Therefore, warrant is by its nature a common principle which must be presumed true for the argument to make sense at all.

Summa (1996: 81; my translation) reminds that Toulmin’s model “can clarify the bundle of facts, hidden presumptions, value systems and bases of legitimization

characteristic to all natural argumentation – not least of all in the field of political speech.”

The key concern in this study is not that of the rationality of arguments. As the other theoretical approach of this study is critical discourse analysis, what are deemed important are the warrants and backings used to support the claims made by the Labour party. In other words, I will use the Toulmin’s analytical tool for purposes perhaps slightly different for what was intended. This should not cause any problems in validity as the anatomy of the argument –tool was, in fact, meant to do exactly what is being done in this study: to open up the argument for a more critical examination.

Toulmin (1958: 132) further fine-tunes the warrants into three different types. *Motivational warrants* link the claim and data by expressing the benefit of the claim for the receiver. *Authoritative warrants* use the credibility of the author to make the claim stick. *Substantive warrants* are based on systematic relationships between concepts in the external world (e.g. generalizations). I will utilize these categories in my analysis.

3. The Policymaking Process

My choice of the Labour Party manifestos, ranging all the way from 1983, needs to be justified. The year 1983 marked the Labour moving further to the left than before, resulting in a crushing defeat, gaining 27,6 per cent of the votes; its lowest since 1918 and only a notch above the Liberal/SDP alliance. Another turning point was after the 1987 fourth successive election defeat of the Labour. Picking up from the untimely and unanticipated death of John Smith, a Scottish lawyer and leader of the party, the Labour Party was to reform under Tony Blair. The 1996 publication of *New Labour, New Life for Britain* marked the move of the Labour from the left to a center or even center-right party – by European standards anyhow. This new direction caught fire with the voters and ever since 1997, Britain has seen Labour governments in power, including the third consecutive historic win of spring 2005. It is thus clear that the period from 1983 to 2005 has been an era of significant changes. In addition to the changes within the party structure and ideology, the twenty-year period has been a period of rapid and significant changes in the society and world politics.

Naturally, these manifestos should not be seen as solid rock intentions of what is to come. They are first and foremost, political rhetoric and should be treated precisely as such. I will not assess the general direction of the party in more than linguistic terms nor will I register continuous occurrences of certain promises although in terms of further research, this could be worth exploring. Manifestos, as we know, depict a picture of a perfect party, one that does everything correctly. They are, if successful, motivating, even touching declarations of actions.

3.1. Policymaking

The first issue we need to touch upon is naturally the process of policymaking. David Easton has in his book *A Systems Analysis of Political Life* (1965) studied the political activities as a system. According to Easton, the political system is a system of interaction found in every society which produces binding decisions on sharing values and execution of these decisions. The political systems need the support of its citizens' to some extent and to some extent, the citizens must abide by the results of the policy process. The absence of either of these functions may result in the collapse on the entire political system. If the support of the citizens for the system is modest, this will result in a system that is under strain (Paloheimo and Wiberg 1996: 131–132).

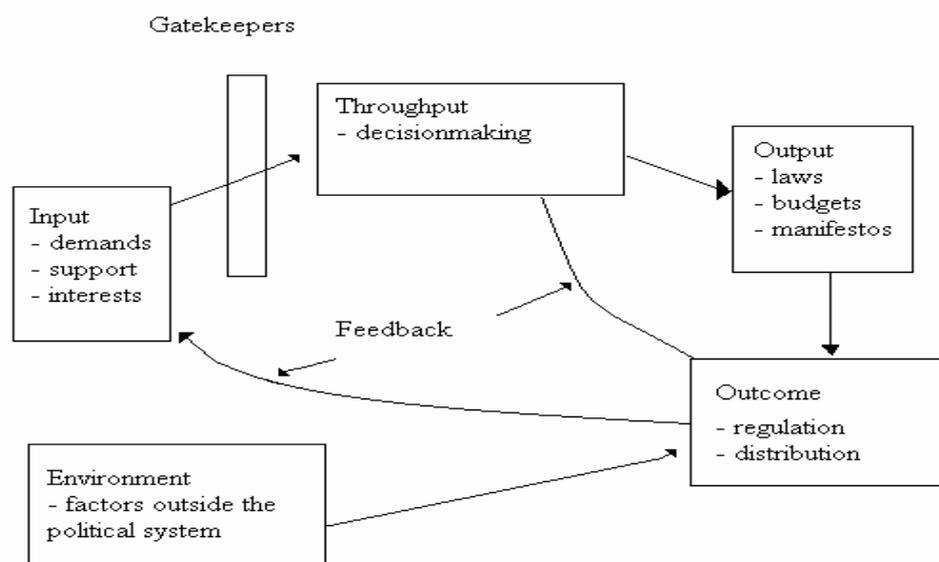


Fig 4. An example of political input-output model, modeled after Paloheimo and Wiberg (1996: 32)

Throughput happens inside the political system itself. Gatekeepers are elemental in deciding what the factors that influence the political system itself are. The political system, if it is seen as a system such as the above figure, it a sort of a self-regulatory system, which is in interaction with its surroundings and demands required from it at all times.

3.2. Policymaking in the Labour Party

According to Rose (1989: 264), “As a general election approaches, party leaders think in terms of tactical principles –how can we win votes? – rather than about ideological principles.” To some extent there is truth in Rose’s claim. I do not, however, wholeheartedly support his claim. By completely disregarding ideology, a sure defeat can be predicted. If parties were only after winning political goals and would turn their coats each time in order to win seats, the result would surely be disaster. Voters expect continuity in terms of political aspirations. As Klingemann, Hofferbert and Bugde (1994: 24) point out, “Past and present promises must be largely consistent to be believed.” Goals may change but they must be argued on some ideological basis. Voters will require answers to their ponderings. “Why should we allocate more money to refugee centers instead of military expenses?” requires explanations, often ones that are, in fact, ideological and must fit the political profile of the party. Furthermore, this study will not consider whether or not the political goals manifested in the policy programs are mere “how can we win votes” claims but will look at how these claims are in fact grounded and what is the political rhetoric used to justify these actions.

Labour Party was the offspring of trade unions and thus the party organization owed much to the legacy of decision making of the trade unions. As Sayd (1999: 387) points out, “The principle of delegatory democracy has been a paramount feature of trade unionism, with every member having the right to participate in union affairs and to help determine policies.” This was reflected in the Labour party as well as individual members were able to participate in branch meetings, to elect and mandate delegates of branches or trade unions to constituency general committees and from there to annual conferences. The party policy was to be confirmed at the annual party conference by the elected delegates (Sayd 1999: 387). Sayd (1999: 388) also claims that “Labour’s

abandonment of delegatory democracy came about in stages following the party’s savage electoral defeat in 1983, and then the subsequent electoral defeats in 1987 and 1992.” The problem seemed, at least in Kinnock’s and later Smith’s opinion, to be that the delegates we active “meeting-attenders” while the support base of the Labour party was more likely to be of “non-meeting-attenders” (Sayd 1999: 388). The selection of parliamentary candidates was partially opened to all local members in 1983 and by the year 1993, completely. This resulted in the one-member-one-vote –policy which diminished the collective role of the trade unions within the party. In 1994, the party’s National Executive Committee (NEC) was reformed to give all individual members the choice. Prior to that, the seven representatives of constituency parties on the Committee were elected by the votes of constituency party delegates attending the annual conference.

In 1997, the Labour party established a process called Partnership in Power (PiP), a policymaking process which was to include all party stakeholders such as party members, local parties, trade unions, socialist societies and Labour representatives. In addition, it was to include the wider community has well. This is process takes place via a rolling program of policy development for the next manifesto and year-round dialogue between the party and the government. The PiP develops policy over a three year cycle.

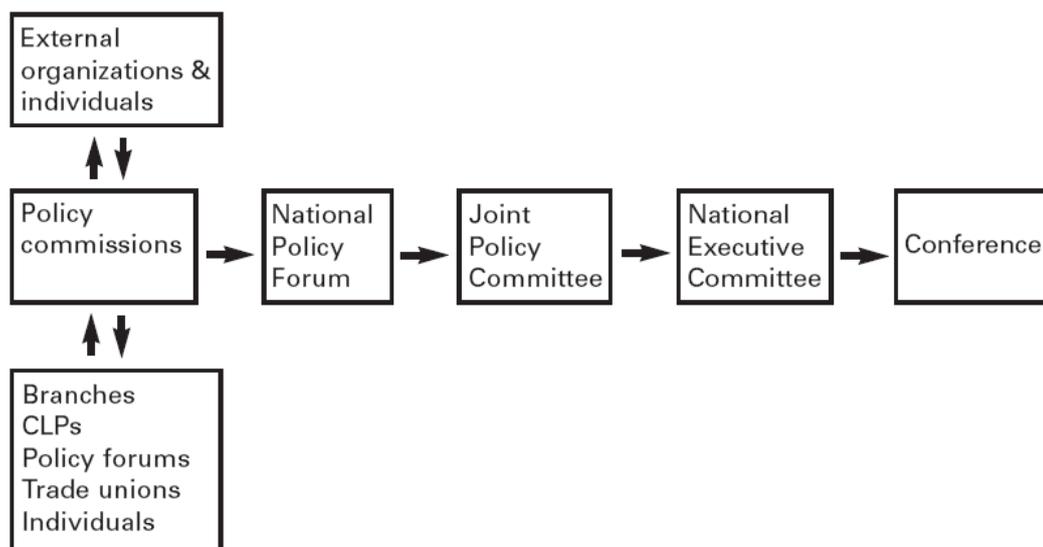


Figure 5. Partnership in Power –policymaking (Sayd 1999: 392)

In 2003, the process was set under review and in the 2005 annual conference it was agreed that the stakeholders should have a stronger say when deciding on future policies. Partnership in Power institutions are several. The National Policy Forum (NPF) is made up of 183 representatives from all major stakeholder groups in the party and it is responsible for the policy development work of the party. It draws together policy consultation of documents and oversees the consultation process. The NPF meets two or three weekends a year to discuss in detail the documents produced by the policy commissions. The submitted reports are one of the three types: consultative, final policy documents and an annual report on the work of the policy commissions.

In addition, there are six Policy Commissions which draw up policy reports for discussions by the Joint Policy Committee (JPC) and the NPF. The policy commissions are made up of 16-18 members representing the government, the National Executive Committee (NEC) and the NPF. The six groups are: Britain in the World; Creating Sustainable Communities; Crime, Justice, Citizenship and Equalities; Education and Skills; Health and Prosperity and Work.

The following program has been adopted for the development of the next election manifesto.

First stage (2006) – ‘Big Conversation’ style single document which considers the big challenges that faces the party as it develops policy.

Second stage (2007) – These documents will outline the policy choices emerging from the initial discussion. They will consider either specific policy areas, or where appropriate, cross-cutting themes. The total number of documents and the topics they cover will be decided closer to the time.

Third stage (2008) – The policy documents will be considered for amendment at a ‘Warwick type’ NPF. To enable party stakeholders (including CLPs) to have a say in the final drafting stage of these documents, the ‘final’ draft documents in 2008 will be circulated more widely. Working through their NPF representatives, each party unit will be entitled to submit amendments and have them considered at this ‘Warwick stage’ of the NPF.

(Labour 2006 online)

4. Analysis

The analysis is divided into three distinct parts based on my theoretical approaches: lexical, grammatical and rhetorical features. In this analysis, examples from the body of data are in *italics* to separate them from the running text.

I will look at certain key words in the texts. I have utilized the frequency lists using a Keyword in Context KWIC Concordance as well as produced the lists of collocations for the lexical items that belong to the field of lexical items such as *education*, *teach(ers)*, *pupils*, *curriculum* et cetera. The rest of the analysis is done manually.

4.1. Lexical features

In this part, the lexical items found in the manifestos will be analyzed. I will not, naturally, mention every single finding in any given category; firstly, because it would take up too much space and secondly, because it is utterly unnecessary. Instead, I will try to see the wood for the trees and sketch a comprehensive picture.

The vocabulary of any given piece of text can be broken down to several categories. I wish to concentrate on five such parts, the theoretical basis of which I have dealt with previously: collocation and coordination of words, euphemisms or ideologically contested words, metaphors and naming found in the manifestos.

4.1.1. The New Hope for Britain 1983

The 1983 manifesto, *The New Hope for Britain*, is 903 words in length. It is divided into four chapters: *Education for the future*, *Schools in the community*, *Post 16 education and Adult education*.

The manifesto of 1983 does not seem to deviate from what is generally expected of a Labour manifesto. In fact, it is not really saying much at all. What is clear is that there seems to be a lack of a clear plan. There are no statistics, no programs, and no plan of allocating any funds. The actions proposed seem to be unplanned; they are vague claims that are not specified in any sense or defined further and thus provide no information on how this program will be implemented. A good example of this is the following sentence: *[We will] require local education authorities to maintain a broad, balanced and comprehensive curriculum, providing genuinely equal opportunities for boys and girls, and for the ethnic minorities to meet the needs of our multi-cultural society*. What

broad, balanced and flexible means in real terms, is not explained. No explanation is offered on how this is achieved. Furthermore, it seems to embrace all groups: boys, girls and interestingly enough, ethnic minorities as a separate group. Besides the fact that the party wishes to emphasize the status of the ethnic minorities, it also tells us that this is deemed a delicate issue, the ethnic minorities are seen as a separate group from the rest of the boys and the girls and so far the needs of the ethnic minorities have not been met. Furthermore, Labour wishes to acknowledge the term *multi-cultural society*. The problem is that this is completely separate from the rest of the text and therefore looks odd and out-of-place.

The frequency of certain words can be revealing. Some words may be repeated several times in the manifesto, a through time, the ones that are most frequent, are likely to change. Lexical items belonging to the semantic field of educational policy (e.g. education [28], school/s [11]) and certain particles and conjunctions (e.g. and [47], the [40], to [29]) as well as the copulative and auxiliary verbs as these add little or no meaning to the semantics of a word or a phrase and therefore these will not be included in the study at this point. I have arranged the most frequent items according to their word class: verb, noun and adjective. The following words had the highest frequency.

NOUN	FREQ	ADJ	FREQ	VERB	FREQ
we	18	local	9	establish	4
our	9	higher	4	encourage	3
children	6	private	4	provide	3
system	6	whole	4	secure	3
authorities	5	comprehensive	3	phase out	3
adult(s)	7	financial	3	abolish	2
support	4	possible	3	achieve	2
authority	3	proper	3		
class	3	young	3		
people	3				
provision	3				
student	3				
year	3				

The key words in this manifesto are *authorities*, *adults*, *children* and *system*. These are the integral parts of the educational policies.

Collocation

I will look at what the words are that collocate with the lexical items from the semantic field of education. Such words include, for example, *schools*, *curriculum*, and *learning*. Furthermore, I will look at whether any other parties are referred to, how they are named and what words they collocate with. As I mentioned previously, due to the fact that the passages that cover educational policy in the manifesto are at the longest 2428 words long, the frequency of collocations will not be very high. Frequency tables based on the findings in these collocation tables will be presented below.

Education

1983
that they have no commitment to a free and fair in the most deprived areas. We will unify duty on local authorities to provide nursery wish it. Schools in the community Primary any parent knows. We will restore funds to local possible start in their schooling. Secondary which are essential parts of fully comprehensive comprehensive education. We will: Repeal the admission to secondary schools. Require local of developing a reformed system for funding

Education for the future If individuals are to **education** system. The fact is, however, that **education** and care services for the under-fives, **education**, as soon as possible, for all pre **education** is fundamental to all educational and **education** authorities to reduce class sizes; and **education** is a period during which all young **education**. We will: Repeal the Education Act **Education** Act 1979 and prohibit all forms of **education** authorities to maintain a broad, **education**. Whilst safeguarding local democracy in

School(s)

education, as soon as possible, for all pre-effort and accurately record achievement at so that teachers receive no less than one by increasing parental representation on bodies and increasing the links between home and between home and school. Re-establish the been denied educational opportunity on leaving receive the best possible start in their achievement at school. Throughout the whole of

school children whose parents wish it. Schools **school**. Throughout the whole of schooling, we **school** term of training in every five years of **school** governing bodies and increasing the links **school**. Re-establish the school meals and milk **school** meals and milk services, cut back by the **school**. We will: Give statutory backing to paid **schooling**. Secondary education is a period **schooling**, we will: Determine a supply of

Curriculum

to maintain a broad, balanced and comprehensive **curriculum**, providing genuinely equal

Teach*

should be over 30. The quality and frequency of Determine a supply of appropriately qualified in-service training must be improved so that

teacher in-service training must be improved so **teachers** to reduce class sizes. No class size **teachers** receive no less than one school term of

Stud*

and 17 year olds, we will introduce a two years' with a broader programme of study within the education. We reject the Tory proposals for proposals for student loans; and we will ensure 'A' level system with a broader programme of in their admissions procedures and methods of

student-traineeship within a third or 'tertiary', **student**-traineeship, thus preventing over **student** loans; and we will ensure students are **students** are given adequate financial support. We **study** within the student-traineeship, thus **study**. Establish a proper legal basis for adult

Pupil

a higher standard of achievement among all where necessary. Special schools for handicapped **pupils** in the variety of academic and other **pupils** will retain all current support and tax

Learn*

authorities to reduce class sizes; and improve and promoting flexibility and breadth in

learning materials and facilities in primary **learning.** Our policy for education after

	ITEM	FREQ		ITEM	FREQ		ITEM	FREQ
NOUN			ADJECTIVES			VERBS		
	we	17		local	6		reduce	4
	adult(s)	8		qualified	4		ensure	3
	service	4		comprehensive	3		improve	3
	system	4		higher	3		give	3
	support	4		young	3		have	3
	authorities	3		broad	2		maintain	3
	proposals	3		free	2		sizes	4
	children	2		fair	2		provide	3
	council	2		fundamental	2		require	3
	democracy	2						
	development	2						
	entitlement	2						

The Labour paints a picture of what a good educational system means to them. As this manifesto is not in fact a very long one, the frequencies, in particular of adjectives, are bound to be in the low side. Most frequently the items that appear are *local*, *qualified*, and *comprehensive*. They see it as something crucial to the human existence and an aspect of the future. It must be *broad*, *fair* and *free* (in economic terms). Education is also seen as an expanding issue area. It is also an opportunity for the individual to advance. These vocabulary choices are in accordance with what is traditionally thought of as left-wing. It stresses egalitarianism and democracy.

Verb choices are *encourage*, *establish* and *provide* and *secure*, none of which denote concrete actions with the possible exception of *establish*. Adjectives most frequently used are *local* and *whole*. *Comprehensive*, *private* and *higher* are also commonly occurring adjectives but they are used mainly as near-compound formations of *higher education*, *comprehensive school* or *private school*. The use of the determiner *all* is fairly frequent [9].

Corpus File: 1983

Tor*

educational provision and opportunity. The school meals and milk services, cut back by the is expansion with change. We will reverse the further and higher education. We reject the

Tories' cuts have shown that they have no **Tories**. This will help to offset the inequalities **Tory** cuts and restore the right for all qualified **Tory** proposals for student loans; and we will

Tories is collocated with *cuts* three times out of four when they are mentioned in the manifesto. This clearly signifies that the Tories in Labour language are indicated to be near synonymous with cuts. And cuts, as we all know, are bad.

I wish to make a distinction between private schools and other types of schools mentioned in the manifesto, as the age-old dislike of private schools by the Labour party as been at the core of educational policies for decades. Private schools are collocated with *obstacle, their children* (as opposed to our), *charitable status* and *integrate*.

Coordination

Next, I will look at words that are coordinated. Coordinating two (or more) items usually implies that there is a connection between them; they are either close in meaning or essentially seen as complementary to each other.

AND

are to achieve their full creative potential, must substantially improve educational provision shown that they have no commitment to a free system. The fact is, however, that economic the most deprived areas. We will unify education services for the under-fives, both nationally education is fundamental to all educational education authorities to reduce class sizes; class sizes; and improve learning materials people must prepare themselves as the workers among all pupils in the variety of academic We will: Repeal the Education Act 1979 authorities to maintain a broad, balanced providing genuinely equal opportunities for boys equal opportunities for boys and girls, for all 16 year olds which will encourage effort No class size should be over 30. The quality local democracy in education, this must secure essential areas. Abolish corporal punishment; corporal punishment; and help local authorities Positively encourage parental understanding representation on school governing bodies bodies and increasing the links between home home and school. Re-establish the school meals Private schools are a major obstacle to a free We will abolish the Assisted Places Scheme Places Scheme and local authority place buying; withdraw charitable status from private schools schools and all their other public subsidies paid to such schools; phase out fee charging; pupils will retain all current support and tax advantages. Post 16 education For 16 awards council' will be established to develop traineeship, thus preventing over specialisation over specialisation and promoting flexibility with change. We will reverse the Tory cuts expand opportunities for adults in both further We reject the Tory proposals for student loans;

and our society is to advance, we must **and** opportunity. The Tories' cuts have shown that **and** fair education system. The fact is, however, **and** social progress will depend on our success in **and** care services for the under-fives, both **and** locally. Our aim will be to introduce a **and** social development, as any parent knows. We **and** improve learning materials and facilities in **and** facilities in primary schools so that our **and** citizens of the future. We shall encourage a **and** other activities which are essential parts of **and** prohibit all forms of academic selection, **and** comprehensive curriculum, providing genuinely **and** girls, and for the ethnic minorities to meet **and** for the ethnic minorities to meet the needs **and** accurately record achievement at school. **and** frequency of teacher in-service training must **and** maintain improved national standards of **and** help local authorities and schools to develop **and** schools to develop other methods, already **and** participation in the education of their **and** increasing the links between home and school. **and** school. Re-establish the school meals and **and** milk services, cut back by the Tories. This **and** fair education system, able to serve the **and** local authority place buying; and we will **and** we will phase out, as quickly as possible, **and** all their other public subsidies and tax **and** tax privileges. We will also charge VAT on **and** integrate private schools within the local **and** tax advantages. Post 16 education For 16 **and** 17 year olds, we will introduce a two years' **and** validate a proper system of educational **and** promoting flexibility and breadth in learning **and** breadth in learning. Our policy for **and** restore the right for all qualified young **and** higher education. We reject the Tory **and** we will ensure students are given adequate

for those on non-advanced, part-time advanced, be more flexible in their admissions procedures a proper legal basis for adult education; create a development council to promote adult education. Establish machinery to plan and co ordinate all post 18-education together and ensure that the bodies funding universities, and planning local authority further, higher and continuing education, are more accountable

and Open University courses. Adult education and methods of study. Establish a proper legal and create a development council to promote adult and continuing education. Establish machinery and co ordinate all post 18-education together and ensure that the bodies funding universities, and planning local authority further, higher and continuing education, are more accountable and representative.

OR

a two years' student-traineeship within a third or 'tertiary', stage of education, as described

The coordinated words reveal the ideas that the ideas behind the manifesto are, in fact to large extent left-wing. For example, *economic and social progress*, and *educational and social development* seem to form a progressive trinity. Economic, social and educational aspects all need to be taken into consideration. Certain groups are grouped together as the key actors, namely *links between home and school* are both required from the education system, as well as *local authorities and schools*. Here again seems to arise a three actor network of schools, local authorities and homes. *Education and care services* are coordinated and *workers and citizens* are equated. The stress seems to be on that education is strongly felt to be a social right. Most of all, it should be an opportunity for all and an equal opportunity as well. Furthermore, Labour wishes to stress the adaptability of the education system; they claim that education should be *broad, balanced and flexible* as well as *free and fair*. *Provision and opportunity* are also coordinated. In addition, Labour wishes to stress that the actions need to be both *national(ly)* and *local(ly)* which would seem to indicate that there is desire and even need for decentralized government.

Additionally, there are items that occur together for quite logical reasons such as *further and higher education*, *adult and continuing education*, *higher and continuing education*, *16- and 17- year- olds*. These kinds of coordinated or collocated items can be considered as set phrases or as close to compounds as possible. As such, they do not count as significant semantic parts in the analysis and should therefore be excluded from this study.

Euphemisms and dysphemisms

Euphemisms are not abundant in this manifesto. A reference to poor neighborhoods is made (*most deprived areas*). *Charitable status* (charitable = “generous in giving to the needy”) is used to refer to private schools. This can be considered a dysphemism or even irony, rarely found in written text due to the difficulty of expressing it correctly, as the parents of students attending private schools can hardly be labeled ‘needy’. As there are very few instances at this point, I will not, for the time being, draw any conclusions. However, this finding is likely to be in line with the other manifestos and as such will be noted.

Metaphors

Metaphors are not abundant in this manifesto. In fact, only one is used in the course of this manifesto, is that of safeguarding. Safeguarding something means that the object is something that is deemed precious, in this case, *safeguarding local democracy in education*. It also implies that not only is this matter that is precious, it also suggests that it may be under threat.

Naming

The Conservative party is referred to four times. The name used for them is Tories. As previously pointed out, this name is used in many ordinary instances but the roots of it are not very flattering. Therefore, the decision to refer to the Conservatives as Tories can be considered as a conscious choice.

A further implication of the dislike of the private schools is implicated by lexical choices of the subsidy system. Private schools receive *public subsidies and tax privileges* whereas special schools for handicapped students receive *support and tax advantages*. This indicates that the subsidies that the private schools receive are bad whereas the subsidies meant for the handicapped students are good.

The fact that the fee-charging schools are called private schools by the Labour can be seen as significant as in the everyday language of the Britons these very schools are

public schools. Choosing to refer to these schools as private schools signifies an ideological stance.

4.1.2. Britain Will Win with Labour 1987

The 1987 manifesto is 564 words in length. This makes it considerably shorter than the 1983 one. What is significant is that none of the opposing parties are mentioned, not even once. The manifesto is all about what Labour will do what their values are and what are the facts of life according to the Labour views. It has a long introductory value statement at the beginning in which the party reveals its beliefs which guide its educational policies.

Again, the manifesto is clearly marked with the lack detailed program information – meaning that there are not timetables, no allocated funds and so forth – and plans of the funding reserved for program purposes are not explicated. Interesting is also the fact that there are no subheadings, instead, to signify a policy area, the target group is in bold in the running text.

The keywords found in the manifesto are in the table below.

NOUN	FREQ	NOUN	FREQ	VERB	FREQ
education	15	Britain	2	provide	4
we	14	curriculum	2	ensure	3
children	6	development	2	see	3
school(s)	8	equipment	2	foster	2
future	4	home	2	improve	2
our	4	Labour	2	invest	2
standards	4	opportunity	2	make	2
they	4	people	2	raise	2
parents	3	policies	2	secure	2
research	3	provision	2	ADJ	FREQ
science	3	resources	2	higher	4
system	3	service	2	necessary	2
teachers	3			qualified	2
achievement	2				
adults	2				

What seems striking from this table is the fact that the word *standard* seems to arise as one of the key words. Other key words include different actors (*teachers, parents, home*) that in the previous manifesto were not mentioned as frequently. The reference to

the nation *Britain* (or nationality) is mentioned, if only twice. The importance of the occurrence of nationality or certain population groups is significant (as is discussed in chapter 4.3.1.) as a tool for identification. One keyword that occurs more than might be expected is *future*.

The verbs *provide*, *secure*, and *foster* are first and foremost those of what I shall call parental language. Furthermore, verbs such as *improve* and *invest* have a more future oriented aspect to them. All in all, based on the vocabulary choices found in this 1987 manifesto a careful description could refer to this manifesto as parental in many ways. First of all, the actions of a concerned parent could be providing, securing and fostering the future the children. Furthermore, to stress this aspect of considering the future in the actions taken, such as improving and investing, implicate long-time planning and ability to see further that what is right in front of you.

There few adjectives that are used frequently. This does not, however, mean that there are no adjectives. The most likely explanation for lack of pattern is the fact that the 1987 manifesto is extremely short; shortest of the manifestos analyzed in this study. Other devices are used to create the image of the party.

Collocation

EDUCATION

1987
 future. They must be provided with a system of those objectives, Labour will invest in discovered and nourished. We will make nursery and in participation in the development of In addition we shall work with local would other wise impede their further a comprehensive tertiary system of post-school as we improve the quality of publicly provided teaching contribution made by Britain's higher for all qualified young people seeking higher ensure that more adults have access to higher We will also invest in research in higher and commercial application of research output. Education for life through a well-funded adult

Education for Britain's Future Our children are **education** that enables them to control that **education** so that the abilities of all children **education** available for all three- and four-year **education**. In addition we shall work with local **education** authorities to secure a flexible but **education**. We will spread the provision of a **education**. These policies will all contribute **education**, we shall end the 11 plus everywhere **education** system. We will ensure that our **education** to secure places. We will ensure that **education** to give them the 'second chance' of **education**, in order to provide the facilities and **Education** for life through a well-funded adult **education** service will help to provide the means

Total Occurrence(s): 15

TEACH*

of growing children. We will see that between schools and home so that parents and and examination, for improved supply of schools. Labour values the research and

teachers are recognised properly as well **teachers** act in partnership to foster the best **teachers** and equipment for science subjects so **teaching** contribution made by Britain's higher

Total Occurrence(s): 4

CURRICULUM

authorities to secure a flexible but clear core such as providing proper funding for the GCSE

curriculum agreed at national level, a School **curriculum** and examination, for improved supply

Total Occurrence(s): 2

PUPIL

individual progress through school for all

pupils. We will improve links between schools and

Total Occurrence(s): 1

SCHOOL

<for those essentials. The entitlement to free standards are, like the strengthening of the core curriculum agreed at national level, a recording individual progress through of a comprehensive tertiary system of post-for all pupils. We will improve links between to raising standards of performance in Scheme and the public subsidies to private

school meals and the restoration of nutritional **school** health service, commitments which are **School** Standards Council, and a new profile of **school** for all pupils. We will improve links **school** education. These policies will all **schools** and home so that parents and teachers act **schools**. At the same time as we improve the **schools**. Labour values the research and

Total Occurrence(s): 8

NOUN	FRQ	NOUN	FRQ	VERB	FRQ
we	14	Labour	2	ensure	3
all	6			see	3
children	6	opportunity	2	provide	3
future	4	people	2	improve	2
our	4	places	2	invest	2
standard(s)	4	policies	2	secure	2
they	4	provision	2	provide	3
parents	3	resources	2	foster	2
research	3	service	2	depend	2
science	3	ADJECTIVE	FRQ		
system	3	higher	4		
adult(s)	3	necessary	2		
achievement	2	qualified	2		
Britain	2	creative	2		
development	2	democratic	2		
equipment	2				
home	2				

From the above table it is easy to see that for the most part the lexical items defined as keywords are also the one found in collocation with education. The verbs offer very little anything new: the main weight lies on the parental, future oriented verbs. The nouns found in collocation are mainly different groups (*children, parents and adults*) that can claim an interest in the educational issues. *Future* is a frequent lexical item as is *standards*. The lexical choices seem to be a reflection of this 'parent-party'. Verbs reflect the parental image e.g. *foster, provide, secure* et cetera.

Coordination

AND

Our children are our future. We have a moral a moral and material duty to see that children

and material duty to see that children and young **and** young people are fully equipped to deal with

are fully equipped to deal with the complexities and challenges which face them now and which they will meet as citizens; parents that future. We must see that it is democratic it is democratic and just, that it is creative and just, that it is creative and compassionate, they can fully exploit the advantages of science of science and technology with confidence education so that the abilities of all children children and adults from all home back grounds and in every part of our country are discovered make nursery education available for all three- We will make provision for smaller classes that children have up-to-date books, equipment The entitlement to free school meals which are necessary to safeguard the physical for negotiation of their employment conditions at national level, a School Standards Council, pupils. We will improve links between schools links between schools and home so that parents providing proper funding for the GCSE curriculum and examination, for improved supply of teachers education, we shall end the 11 plus everywhere that occurs through the Assisted Places Scheme to private schools. Labour values the research system. We will ensure that our universities get the resources they need to restore education, in order to provide the facilities to sustain standards of excellence, to retain to retain and attract the highest talents highest talents and to encourage the industrial to provide the means by which rapid economic

and challenges which face them now and which they **and** which they will meet as citizens; parents and **and** workers in the future. They must be **and** just, that it is creative and compassionate, **and** compassionate, and that it is one in which **and** that it is one in which they can fully **and** technology with confidence and in safety. **and** in safety. In pursuit of those objectives, **and** adults from all home back grounds and in **and** in every part of our country are discovered **and** nourished. We will make nursery education **and** four-year-olds whose parents want this **and** ensure that children have up-to-date books, **and** buildings without having to depend on fund **and** the restoration of nutritional standards are, **and** social wellbeing of growing children. We **and** in participation in the development of **and** a new profile of achievement recording **and** home so that parents and teachers act in **and** teachers act in partnership to foster the **and** examination, for improved supply of teachers **and** equipment for science subjects so that girls **and** stop the diverting of precious resources that **and** the public subsidies to private schools. **and** teaching contribution made by Britain's **and** polytechnics get the resources they need to **and** expand the opportunity for all qualified **and** opportunities necessary to sustain standards **and** attract the highest talents and to encourage **and** to encourage the industrial and commercial **and** commercial application of research output. **and** social change can be embraced.

BUT

local education authorities to secure a flexible

but clear core curriculum agreed at national

Coordination of these words also reveals the underlying values of the party. The fact that the words *moral* and *material* are coordinated tells us a great deal of the ideology of the party. It is not only a very important aspect that we equip the children with necessary skills but it is also a matter of our consciousness and righteousness. Again, as in last manifesto, the coordination of *workers* appears, this time with the word *parent*. This can be interpreted as lending a hand and acknowledging that most parents have to balance between family and working life. It also implies that the normal status of a parent is employed. The different actors are coordinated e.g. *schools and homes, parents and teachers, children and adults*. By coordinating these, the aim is to stress that education in cooperation between different actors between institutions, persons and professions.

Democratic and just; creative and compassionate; discovered and nourished are again words that convey a caring. The party is seen as an organization which has the ability to spot talent and even more importantly, not just discover it but nourish it. This might be a clear signal of opposition to traditional conservative ideology where one is given the

opportunities but must climb up the ladder by themselves. Labour ideology, on the other hand, wishes to stress not only opportunity but also support.

By coordinating *free schools meals and restoration of nutritional standards*, it is clearly implied that these two are linked. By providing free school meals the nutritional standards will be restored as well. On the other hand, this also portrays a rather protective vision of the student and even of the students' parents. The implication would seem to be that these students or their parents are unable of providing a healthy nutritional school meal. In the case of the students, this is rather understandable but to imply that the parents are lacking in nutritional education can be seen as, if not offensive, then at least impolite.

By coordinating *physical and social wellbeing* it is shown that the human being is seen as a physical and social being and both of these aspects need to be in balance in order for the person to be healthy. Coordinating the two verbs, *restore and expand*, is significant because the Labour party so wishes to stress the importance of education as a policy area. It is an area which need not only be restored to but expanded as well. Restoring also implicates that previously, the state of the education system was good, then something bad happened (Conservative policies) and now, it needs to be restored to its former glory. Coordinating *providing facilities and opportunities* seems to signify the material basis of the provided opportunities. Without proper facilities, no opportunities emerge. *Rapid economic and social change* can be seen as a bad thing. The human being is by nature seen more adept to accommodating to slow and gradual changes. This is why the 'parent' party must protect the citizens of the country. Furthermore, this sentence conveys that the economic and social aspects of the changes are interlinked.

Euphemisms

Euphemisms are once again scarce. However, it seems that the monetary situation of families and individuals demands euphemisms. Examples of this are *children and adults from all home backgrounds, 16- to 18- year olds whose family circumstances would otherwise impede their further education*. Reference is to those that are less well-off, or in other words, poor.

Metaphors

The metaphors that are used deal with *equipping, nourishing, safeguarding, fostering and embracing*. They sketch an image of a concerned parent, preparing a child to face the world. The Labour Party is the safe provider, concerned parent and the subject of these actions; the voters need this kind of gentle care. Education is also about bringing up children and the choice of these metaphors clearly reflects this link. The down side, of course, can be that this also creates a very soft image of the party and considering where this fierce competition is fought, the role of gently protector may end up converting into out-of-touch idealism.

Naming

In this manifesto there are no instances of naming the opposition. It can be considered important however, is the fact that in this manifesto, no reference is made to the Conservatives or any other party. Whether a clear dismissal or just deemed unimportant, these kinds of occurrences need be noted.

4.1.3. It's Time to Get Britain Working Again 1992

The 1992 manifesto is considerably longer than the previous ones, a total of 1225 words. New items appear in the manifesto; several programs are mentioned, time tables are pronounced and figures are represented. There are plans to even the minutest details; a fine example of this is the following sentence: *we will invest £ 30 million to ensure that within 12 months, no child has to use an outside lavatory*. It is a bizarre sentence out of context but it points out that the party has put some real thought into their proposals and is actually informed of the educational situations and facilities or the lack there of. The emphasis seems to be on making sure that this manifesto is taken seriously. It can provide hard facts: figures, action plans and commissions.

Frequency table is beginning to look hugely different from the previous two elections.

NOUN	F	NOUN	F	VERB	F
we	28	investment	3	have	6
standards	9	Labour	3	help	5
year	9	needs	3	must	4
our	8	opportunities	3	end	4
parents	8	role	3	wish	3
their	7	scheme	3	ensure	3
Britain	6	targets	3	modernise	3
children/child	9	technology	3	want	3
nursery	5	ADJ.	F	establish	2
they	5	national	9	apply	2
childcare	4	all	8	achieve	2
programme	4	new	8	encourage	2
system	4	local	6	introduce	2
authority(ies)	4	able	5	invest	2
age	3	good	3		
commission	3	central	2		
conservatives	3	fairer	2		
		free	2		
		full	2		
		advanced	2		

Attention is first drawn into the frequency of *standards*. Outside of the semantic field of education this would seem to be one of the keywords in this manifesto. The word *Britain* is also employed rather frequently. Notable is also the occurrence of *nursery* and *childcare*. This would seem to indicate a policy change in how define the educational policy field. In this case, it would seem to include nursery services as well.

All new arrivals are *commission*, *programme*, *scheme* and *target*. These reflect the change of direction mentioned earlier. This manifesto differs from its predecessors in that it can provide tools and figures and plans to support the proposed actions. The emergence of *technology* into the rhetoric of educational policy signifies also an important turning point. The world is changing and to be modern is to go with the technological flow.

The choice of adjectives seems to have taken a turn as well. Previously the word *local* was at the top of the charts. This seems to have changed for in favor of *national*. Also the adjective *central* reflects this change. However, this is not a completely new direction taken, as the old rhetoric of adjectives like *free* and *fair* and determiners like *every* [7] and *all* [8] still prevail.

Collocation

EDUCATION

1992 Raising standards in our schools Good a smaller share of our national wealth in million will be made available for investment in share of Britain's national wealth invested in invested in education. We will offer nursery year olds will have the opportunity of nursery so wish. Within six months, every local extend a wide range of childcare and nursery and modern books and equipment we will raise the schools' inspectorate will be scrapped Our to manage their day-to-day budgets, with local are. If they are dissatisfied with the school or authority, they will be able to call in the and skills. Sixteen year olds not in full-time the right to Learn While You Earn. Labour's education targets We have set ourselves four progress will be judged. First, a nursery we will double the number of students in higher steps to safeguard standards throughout higher We will stop the Conservatives' adult local authorities to develop adult and community Return to Learn' grant towards further or higher 1992) and redirect the savings to meet wider

education is the best investment in Britain's **education** than in 1979. More and more parents are **education**. We will then continue steadily to **education**. We will offer nursery education to **education** to three and four year olds By the **education** if their parents so wish. Within six **education** authority will have to set targets for **education** services. The immediate investment in **education** standards. Teachers will be **Education** Standards Commission, together with her **education** authorities given a new strategic role. **education** authority, they will be able to call in **Education** Standards Commission and get action **education** will be entitled to a new traineeship **education** targets We have set ourselves four **education** targets. They are the basis for our **education** for all three and four year olds whose **education**, with at least one in three young **education**. We will stop the Conservatives' **education** cuts and encourage local authorities to **education** and access courses, particularly for **education**. **educational** needs. Because the national

SCHOOL

nationwide childcare strategy, including out-of-12 months, we will end the scandal of primary maximum limits on class sizes, until no primary they deserve. Nine out of ten secondary We will introduce a fairer system for all We will start to tackle the backlog of will monitor the performance of every monitor the performance of every school. If a Colleges into the mainstream of the local school system. New rights for parents Home-contracts will tell parents exactly what the are. If they are dissatisfied with the 1992 Raising standards in our that count. We need safe, disciplined be free. Labour will modernise Britain's Partnerships between councils, parents, children. We will raise standards in our information needed to help pupils, and to judge secondary school children are in comprehensive standards Conservative plans to privatise the Award for Industry, will encourage excellence in scheme for the local management of scheme for the local management of schools All given a new strategic role. Opted-out the key role of church and other voluntary-aided the national curriculum and apply it in all science, a modern language and technology. In

school and holiday provision as well as care for **school** classes of over 40 children. We will then **school** child is taught in a class of more than 30 **school** children are in comprehensive schools. We **school** reorganisations, with independent public **school** repairs. For instance, we will invest 30 **school**. If a school is under-performing, the **school** is under-performing, the commission, which **school** system. New rights for parents Home **school** contracts will tell parents exactly what **school** undertakes to deliver and what their **school** or education authority, they will be able **schools** Good education is the best investment in **schools**, where professional teachers work closely **schools**. Over the next 22 months, additional **schools**, local businesses and community groups **schools** By investing in better teaching, smaller **schools**' effectiveness, without wasting good **schools**. We will end selection at 11 where it **schools**' inspectorate will be scrapped Our **schools**. We will reform the Conservatives' **schools** All schools will be free to manage their **schools** will be free to manage their day-to-day **schools** will be freed from central government **schools** secured and available equally and on the **schools**. From the age of 14, pupils will study **schools** teaching in Welsh, the study of Welsh

PUPIL

the study of Welsh will be included. Every must provide the information needed to help (the Assisted Places scheme (without affecting and apply it in all schools. From the age of 14, of the views of parents, employers, teachers,

pupil will also be offered a wide range of **pupils**, and to judge schools' effectiveness, **pupils** currently on a place, or offered one from **pupils** will study five essential subjects. **pupils** and the commendations of the Higginson

STUDENT

adults participating by the year 2000. The We will replace it with a fairer system of Certificate. Open to art-time and full-time

student loan scheme deters many bright youngsters **student** grants and targeted help for housing and **students** of any age, it will include 'credits'

within 20 years, we will double the number of and access courses, particularly for mature

students in higher education, with at least one **students**. People over 50 who missed earlier

TEACH*

safe, disciplined schools, where professional equipment we will raise education standards. followed by proper support for newly-qualified service training programme will ensure that all account of the views of parents, employers, standards in our schools By investing in better a proper salary and career structure. A General are fully qualified in the subject they are schools' effectiveness, without wasting good a modern language and technology. In schools

teachers work closely with parents. Learning must **Teachers** will be guaranteed a proper salary and **teachers**. A national in-service training **teachers** are fully qualified in the subject they **teachers**, pupils and the commendations of the **teaching**, smaller classes and modern books and **Teaching** Council for England and Wales will help **teaching**. Within 12 months, we will end the **teaching** time. Children with special needs or **teaching** in Welsh, the study of Welsh will be

CURRICULUM

wider educational needs. Because the national to all religions. We will modernise the curriculum Labour will modernise the national

curriculum cannot be properly taught without new **curriculum** Labour will modernise the national **curriculum** and apply it in all schools. From the

CLASS

establish and steadily reduce maximum limits on until no primary school child is taught in a without new textbooks, we will earmark funds for By investing in better teaching, smaller we will end the scandal of primary school

class sizes, until no primary school child is **class** of more than 30. To make sure that **class** and library books. Every child needs a good **classes** and modern books and equipment we will **classes** of over 40 children. We will then

NOUN	F	NOUN	F	VERB	F
we	28	targets	4	teach	8
parents	10	time	4	modernise	4
standards	10	age	3	have	4
they	9	Britain	3	end	4
our	8	commission	3	apply	3
teachers	8	Conservatives	3	investing	3
pupils	7	equipment	3	manage	3
child(ren)	10			raise	3
nursery	5			ADJ.	F
primary	5			local	8
year	5			national	8
authority(ies)	8			new	7
books	4			every	5
investment	4			good	5
Labour	4			modern	5
months	4			higher	4
needs	4			smaller	4
scheme	4			able	4
students	4			better	3
system	4			free	3
				proper	3
				qualified	3

This manifesto is all about standards. It is clearly shown in the subsections of the education manifesto; three out of six subheadings have the word standard(s) in them. The nature of the words that collocate with education also changes. Education is collocated with *investment* and *investing* several times, as well as *standards* and *targets*. Education is seen as not just a social right but an investment into the individual as well as the society and this investment must be possible for all, to be a real opportunity.

The 1992 manifesto also seems to note the material basis of education as the words *books* and *equipment* emerge for the first time in frequent collocation. Another new dimension would seem to be modernization (*modern* 5, *modernize* 4). It must be noted at this time that the party is in the process of exuviating and the modernization as well as *new* ideas, processes and policies will be the back bone of this process.

Verbs that are most frequent are *teach* and *modernise*. The fact that *teach* is frequent reflects the importance that the party wishes to place on this issue area. Modernizing on the other hand, is a trend which is repeated throughout this manifesto.

An interesting point is the perhaps a little unlikely frequency of Welsh. This frequency would also seem to indicate a significant point either in the educational policies of the Labour party or as a response to the demands by the public.

The Conservatives are collocated with *investing a smaller share, forcing parents to pay for essentials*, therefore the Conservatives plans will be *scrapped* and *reformed*. Once again, Conservatives are collocated with *cuts*.

Coordination

AND

best investment in Britain's future. All girls must be able to discover their talents national wealth in education than in 1979. More We will offer nursery education to three year olds By the end of the decade, all three to set targets for steadily increasing nursery councils, parents, schools, local businesses will help extend a wide range of childcare childcare strategy, including out-of-school By investing in better teaching, smaller classes teaching, smaller classes and modern books Teachers will be guaranteed a proper salary A General Teaching Council for England of over 40 children. We will then establish provide the information needed to help pupils, on a place, or offered one from September 1992) new textbooks, we will earmark funds for class Every child needs a good grounding in science will introduce a programme to improve equipment will be freed from central government control exactly what the school undertakes to deliver to call in the Education Standards Commission taken. We wish to see the key role of church church and other voluntary-aided schools secured aided schools secured and available equally Labour will modernise the national curriculum English, mathematics, science, a modern language be offered a wide range of academic, technical

and boys, from every background, must be able to **and** fulfil their potential. We want every child **and** more parents are now being forced to pay for **and** four year olds By the end of the decade, **and** four year olds will have the opportunity of **and** childcare services. Childhood Partnerships **and** community groups will help extend a wide **and** nursery education services. The immediate **and** holiday provision as well as care for younger **and** modern books and equipment we will raise **and** equipment we will raise education standards. **and** career structure. A General Teaching Council **and** Wales will help them achieve the highest **and** steadily reduce maximum limits on class sizes **and** to judge schools' effectiveness, without **and** redirect the savings to meet wider **and** library books. Every child needs a good **and** technology. We will introduce a programme to **and** laboratories. We will start to tackle the **and** brought together with City Technology **and** what their responsibilities are. If they are **and** get action taken. We wish to see the key **and** other voluntary-aided schools secured and **and** available equally and on the same criteria to **and** on the same criteria to all religions. We **and** apply it in all schools. From the age of 14, **and** technology. In schools teaching in Welsh, the **and** other options. Taking account of the views

views of parents, employers, teachers, pupils Report, we will establish a five-subject A level our new Advanced Certificate. Open to art-time detailed structure of this new qualification, real opportunities to widen their experience targets. They are the basis for our strategy First, a nursery education for all three Certificate levels or the equivalent in BTEC it with a fairer system of student grants of student grants and targeted help for housing stop the Conservatives' adult education cuts and encourage local authorities to develop adult to develop adult and community education

and the commendations of the Higginson Report, we **and** bring it together with technical **and** full-time students of any age, it will **and** finalise proposals quickly. Young people **and** skills. Sixteen year olds not in full-time **and** the benchmark against which progress will be **and** four year olds whose parents wish by the year **and** other post-16 opportunities for study. **and** targeted help for housing and vacation **and** vacation hardship. We will take effective **and** encourage local authorities to develop adult **and** community education and access courses, **and** access courses, particularly for mature

OR

good teaching time. Children with special needs (without affecting pupils currently on a place, are. If they are dissatisfied with the school to achieve at least five GCSEs at grades A, B achieve at least five GCSEs at grades A, B or C, qualify at the new Advanced Certificate levels for a 'Return to Learn' grant towards further

or special abilities will receive the extra **or** offered one from September 1992) and redirect **or** education authority, they will be able to call **or** C, or their equivalent. Third, by the end of **or** their equivalent. Third, by the end of the **or** the equivalent in BTEC and other post-16 **or** higher education. 1997 We will make

BUT

That is our vision of a well-educated Britain.

But, under the Conservatives, Britain today

This manifesto coordinates the key groups that have a say in the educational policies: *parents, employers, pupils and the recommendations of the Higginson Report; parents, schools, local businesses and community groups*. In this way, the party gives out the impression that parents, schools and so forth are not merely at the receiving end of the line of command but that all of these people, at least in principle have a say in the matter.

By coordinating *safe and disciplined schools* the message is that they require one another. A disciplined school is a safe school. Furthermore, coordinating *better teaching with smaller classes and modern books and equipment* acknowledges the material basis of better teaching.

Euphemisms

In this manifesto, the euphemisms include those to do with money (*proper salary housing and vacation hardship*), age (*mature students*) and mental ability (*children with special needs or special abilities*). Interestingly enough the mention of *youngsters from poor families* is not sidestepped in anyway whereas previously the poverty issue has been expressed in paraphrases.

Metaphors

The metaphors of this manifesto are ones from the world of investment. E.g. *Good education is the best investment*. These phrases are a far cry from the parental language of the 1987 manifesto which stresses democracy and justice. The metaphors deal with the market economy; they reflect the tough action needed to be taken in order to bring the educational policies up to the standard. *Targets are set, funds earmarked, schools brought up to standards* and *progress measured against a benchmark*.

Furthermore, the Labour promises to *tackle the backlog of school repairs* and act as a liberator freeing schools *from central government control*. Thus, the image of liberator and protector is what can be conjured up.

Naming

In this manifesto the Conservatives are referred to by their actual name, the Conservatives. The disapproval of their policies is not done via naming but by collocation, dealt with earlier in this chapter.

4.1.4. New Labour: Because Britain Deserves Better 1997

The 1997 manifesto is again longer than the previous ones – a total of 1950 words. The goals of the party are clearly marked and separated from the running text. There are clear plans, clear statistics. Labour has clearly found its niche and states that *It [education] is Labour's number one priority*.

Corpus File: 97								
CLASS	ITEM	FREQ	ITEM	FREQ	CLASS	ITEM	FRE	
NOUN	we	40	university	4	ADJ.	new	17	
	Labour	10	cost	4		more	7	
	our	10	partnership(s)	4		good	5	
	standards	10	target(s)	4		local	5	
	teachers	10	access	3		private	7	
	their	10	age	3		public	5	
	children	9	authorities	3		independent	3	
	quality	9	basis	3		economic	3	
	they	9	child	3		lifelong	3	
	learning	8	class	3		low	3	
	skills	8	failure	3		VERB	support	7
	government	7	focus	3			promote	5
	parents	7	improvement	3	provide		5	
	industry	5	income	3	set		5	
	spending	5	job	3	improve		4	
	system	5	key	3	attack		3	
	teaching	5	LEA	3	bring		3	
	technology	5	make	3	cut		3	
	use	5	million	3	raise		4	
	individual(s)	7	needs	3	pilot		3	
	money	4	periods	3	develop		5	
	national	4	qualifications	3	enhance		3	
	people	4	responsibility	3	ensure		3	
	places	4	scheme	3	force		3	
	potential	4	support	7				
	state	4						
	training	4						

In general, the vocabulary choices are ones of market competition. There are sections on *economic necessity*, *target setting*, *baseline assessment*, *efficiency*, *quality and standardization*. The lexical choices, words found in collocation with education, seem to have a more individualistic tone. It is also a more market based vocabulary with the most frequent collocates being, for example, *standards*, *quality*, *industry*, *spending*. The determiners reflect two traditions with traditional Labour choices such as *all* and *every*. On the other hand, there are the New Labour choices like *new* (stressing modernity) and *more* (bigger, better system). Verbs continue in the same lines: *promote*, *set*, *improve*, *raise*, *develop* and *pilot* could all have come out of a company action plan or final report.

In addition, this manifesto gives us a very monochrome picture of the choices that we as voters have. *Education has been the Tories biggest failure. It is Labour's number one priority* The party wishes to express the significance of their education manifesto by contrasting their policies of prioritizing versus failure. In a little while, we will look at some examples of how this black and white approach is taken further in the coordinated lexical items.

While making confrontations by the choice of words, Labour has also attempted to reach out for new voters. *It is not just good for the individual. It is an economic necessity for the nation.* By combining economic necessity with what is good for the individual the party plays into the hands of those concerned of the national budget as well as those concerned with the so-called ESC-rights (economic, social and cultural) of the individual. These both phrases could have come out of a Conservative manifesto.

Collocation

EDUCATION

1997 We will make a new University for Industry More spending on education as the cost of unemployment falls share of 17 and 18 year-olds in full-time There are excellent schools in Britain's state behind us the old arguments that have bedevilled down. With Labour, the Department for Labour will never put dogma before children's We wish to build bridges wherever we can across the public/private divide diminishes the whole school has the capacity to succeed. All Local school on a new path. Quality nursery to pilot early excellence centres combining condition of school buildings. There will be greatest possible integration into mainstream are protected but these pupils are not lost to trained to accept the responsibility. Higher basis, from the career success to which higher at work and in the critical sector of further This will bring government, industry and be to use new technology to enhance skills and lifelong learning. Government spending on Conservatives have cut government spending on raise the proportion of national income spent on wherever we can across education divides. The interactive teaching for maths. Attacking into mainstream education of pupils with special their skills, and to children high-quality its plans, in particular the development of

education our number one priority Cut class **education** as the cost of unemployment falls **Education** has been the Tories' biggest failure. **education** than any major industrial nation. **education** system. But far too many children are **education** in this country. We reject the Tories' **Education** and Employment will become a leading **education**. Our approach will be to intervene **education** divides. The educational apartheid **education** system. Zero tolerance of **Education** Authorities (LEAs) must demonstrate **education** guaranteed for all four year-olds **education** and care for the under-fives. We will **education** action zones to attack low standards by **education** of pupils with special educational **education** or the country. New job description **education** The improvement and expansion needed **education** has contributed. The current system is **education**. In schools and colleges, we support **education** together to create a new resource whose **education**. The University for Industry will be a **education** The Conservatives have cut government **education** as a share of national income by the **education**. **educational** apartheid created by the public **educational** disadvantage No matter where a **educational** needs, while recognising that **educational** materials. We will use lottery money **educational** software through a grading system

SCHOOL

Our task is to raise the standards of every country. We reject the Tories' obsession with consistent lead to help raise standards in every Zero tolerance of underperformance Every Authorities (LEAs) must demonstrate that every ministers will order a 'fresh start' - close the side by side we will authorise LEAs to allow one take over the other to set the underperforming in every child an eagerness to learn. Every assessment of pupils when they enter the that within a decade every child leaves primary educational disadvantage No matter where a partnerships will improve the condition of periods for homework for primary and secondary prosper with Labour's proposals, as will every who cannot do the job. The strength of a for all four year-olds Attack low standards in vocational qualifications. There are excellent be offered real choice through good quality early an age. We must modernise comprehensive to intervene where there are problems, not where

school. We will put behind us the old arguments **school** structures: all parents should be offered **school**. Standards, more than structures, are the **school** has the capacity to succeed. All Local **school** is improving. For those failing schools **school** and start afresh on the same site. Where **school** to take over the other to set the **school** on a new path. Quality nursery education **school** needs baseline assessment of pupils when **school**, and a year-on-year target for improvement **school** with a reading age of at least 11 (barely **school** is, Labour will not tolerate under **school** buildings. There will be education **school** pupils. Teachers will be entitled to **school**. Tory claims that Labour will close **school** is critically dependent on the quality of **schools** Access to computer technology **schools** in Britain's state education system. But **schools**, each with its own strengths and **schools**. Children are not all of the same ability **schools** are succeeding. Labour will never force

Labour will never force the abolition of good changes in the admissions policies of grammar schools will be decided by local parents. Church every school is improving. For those failing and start afresh on the same site. Where good and bad want it. Where good schools and bad want it. New focus on standards in primary schools Primary focus on standards in primary schools Primary in the curriculum; and piloting literacy summer teachers and head teachers to under-achieving and the cable companies that they will wire up through a grading system which will provide within the family, through contracts between all to promote good attendance and sound discipline. however, pilot new pupil referral units so that to raising standards. LEAs are closer to send in an improvement team. Grant maintained an improvement team. Grant maintained schools Tory claims that Labour will close these will not discriminate unfairly either between cases. Teachers: pressure and support the critical sector of further education. In

schools whether in the private or state sector. **schools** will be decided by local parents. Church **schools** will retain their distinctive religious **schools** unable to improve, ministers will order a **schools** and bad schools coexist side by side we **schools** coexist side by side we will authorise **schools** Primary schools are the key to mastering **schools** are the key to mastering the basics and **schools** to meet our new target that within a **schools**; by supporting voluntary mentoring **schools**, libraries, colleges and hospitals to the **schools** with guarantees of product quality; and **schools** and parents, defining the **Schools** suffer from unruly and disruptive pupils. **schools** are protected but these pupils are not **schools** than central government, and have the **schools** Schools that are now grant maintained **Schools** that are now grant maintained will **schools** are false. The system of funding will not **schools** or between pupils. LEAs will be **Schools** are critically dependent on the quality **schools** and colleges, we support broader A-levels

TEACH*

dedicated, but some fall short. We will improve mandatory qualifications for the post. A head to attack low standards by recruiting the best by recruiting the best teachers and head public/private partnership, which will bring to lottery money to improve the skills of existing for primary and secondary school pupils. to an independent panel in disputed cases. on the quality of all staff. The majority of improve teacher training, and ensure that all in the profession. We will create a new grade of be speedy, but fair, procedures to remove will achieve this by improving the skills of the We will encourage the use of the most effective phonics for reading and whole class interactive first qualify, to ensure their suitability for for teaching. There will be a general

teacher training, and ensure that all teachers **teacher** will be appointed to a position only when **teachers** and head teachers to under-achieving **teachers** to under-achieving schools; by **teachers** up-to-date materials to enhance their **teachers** in information technology. In **Teachers** will be entitled to positive support **Teachers**: pressure and support Schools are **teachers** are skilful and dedicated, but some fall **teachers** have an induction year when they first **teachers** to recognise the best. There will, **teachers** who cannot do the job. The strength of **teaching** force; ensuring a stronger focus on **teaching** methods, including phonics for reading **teaching** for maths. Attacking educational **teaching**. There will be a general teaching **teaching** council to speak for and raise standards

STUD*

adults participating by the year 2000. The We will replace it with a fairer system of Certificate. Open to art-time and full-time within 20 years, we will double the number of and access courses, particularly for mature in all schools. From the age of 14, pupils will technology. In schools teaching in Welsh, the in BTEC and other post-16 opportunities for

student loan scheme deters many bright youngsters **student** grants and targeted help for housing and **students** of any age, it will include 'credits' **students** in higher education, with at least one **students**. People over 50 who missed earlier **study** five essential subjects. English, **study** of Welsh will be included. Every pupil will **study**. Fourth, within 20 years, we will double

CLASS	ITEM	FREQ	CLASS	ITEM	FREQ	
NOUN	we	20	ADJ.	new	10	
	teacher(s)	21		good	5	
	Labour	11		local	4	
	pupils	10		same	4	
	standards	10		best	3	
	Tory/Tories	10				
	quality	9	VERB	teach	8	
	government	7		improve	5	
	primary	7		spend	5	
	system	7		support	5	
	side	6		maintain	4	
	year	5		raise	4	
	children	4		ensure	3	
	country	4				
	cuts	4				
	grant	4				
	improvement	4				
	our	4				
	parents	4				
	skills	4				

The most prominent feature concerning collocations in this manifesto are the adjectives that describe *quality* or *standards* in this manifesto. The word *system* also seems to be frequently used. The role of parents does not seem to be great in this manifesto; instead the Labour has decided to go for *teachers*.

Verb-wise, Labour is clearly indicating that education is an expanding issue area. Collocated verbs signify amelioration to the situation: *spending*, *supporting*, *maintaining* and *improving* are all in order. *Teaching* is a key issue, it seems.

The chosen adjectives confer to quality (*good*, *best*) and also the adjective *new* is frequently employed. This is still a new party which is running for the government from the opposition and therefore the drawing up of new plans and ideas is needed.

The Conservative plans, on the other hand, are collocated with *cuts*, *obsession with school structures* and *failure*. So once again, we are told that by voting Conservative we choose obsessions, failure and endless cuts, not in anyway positive associations.

The Conservatives get quite a few mentions in this manifesto. This is mainly because as I stated above, this manifesto is about opposition; making contrasts. The Labour wishes to contrast its own policies to those of Conservatives to prove their own supremacy on the issue.

Coordination

AND

Cut class sizes to 30 or under for 5, 6 on the basis of quality or not at all. Nearly half of 11 year-olds in England fail to reach expected standards in English and maths. Britain has a smaller share of 17 quality schools, each with its own strengths the 11-plus. It divides children into successes progress, for the benefit of high-fliers With Labour, the Department for Education a leading office of state. It will give a strong will order a 'fresh start' - close the school afresh on the same site. Where good schools have been proven not to work. They are costly early excellence centres combining education schools are the key to mastering the basics assessment of pupils when they enter the school. We will reduce class sizes for five, six a stronger focus on literacy in the curriculum; teaching methods, including phonics for reading low standards by recruiting the best teachers one-to-one support for disadvantaged pupils; to enhance their studies by acquiring knowledge knowledge and experience within industry between central government, local government thinking. We have agreed with British Telecom they will wire up schools, libraries, colleges up-to-date materials to enhance their skills, schools with guarantees of product quality; The role of parents We will increase the powers parents. There will be more parent governors family, through contracts between all schools minimum periods for homework for primary support from parents to promote good attendance and sound discipline. Schools suffer from unruly New job description for LEAs The judge are closer to schools than central government, But they will be required to devolve power, power, and more of their budgets, to heads LEA performance will be inspected by Ofsted state may suspend the relevant powers of the LEA not control them. We support guidelines for open panel in disputed cases. Teachers: pressure all staff. The majority of teachers are skilful fall short. We will improve teacher training, will be a general teaching council to speak for Higher education The improvement The current system is badly administered life, to retain employment through new We will promote adult learning both at work sector of further education. In schools and colleges, we support broader A-levels underpinned by rigorous standards million of TEC money which could be better used potential. This will bring government, industry will be to use new technology to enhance skills private partnership, commissioning software 3 billion as spending on the bills of economic year Parliament, as we cut the costs of economic

and 7 year-olds Nursery places for all four And quality comes from developing the potential and Wales fail to reach expected standards in and maths. Britain has a smaller share of 17 and and 18 year-olds in full-time education than any and individual ethos. There should be no return and failures at far too early an age. We must and slower learners alike. The focus must be on and Employment will become a leading office of and consistent lead to help raise standards in and start afresh on the same site. Where good and bad schools coexist side by side we will and do not generate more quality nursery places. and care for the under-fives. We will set targets and developing in every child an eagerness to and a year-on-year target for improvement. We and seven year-olds to 30 or under, by phasing and piloting literacy summer schools to meet our and whole class interactive teaching for maths. and head teachers to under-achieving schools; by and by creating new opportunities for children, and experience within industry and commerce. To and commerce. To attack under-achievement in and football clubs, study support centres will be and the cable companies that they will wire up and hospitals to the information superhighway and to children high-quality educational and the provision for every child of an and responsibilities of parents. There will be and, for the first time, parent representatives and parents, defining the responsibilities of and secondary school pupils. Teachers will be and sound discipline. Schools suffer from unruly and disruptive pupils. Exclusion or suspension and jury of LEA performance will be their and have the authority of being locally elected. and more of their budgets, to heads and governors and governors. LEA performance will be inspected and the Audit Commission. Where authorities are and send in an improvement team. Grant and fair admissions, along the lines of the and support Schools are critically dependent on and dedicated, but some fall short. We will and ensure that all teachers have an induction and raise standards in the profession. We will and expansion needed cannot be funded out of and payback periods are too short. We will and improved skills. We will promote adult and in the critical sector of further education. and colleges, we support broader A-levels and upgraded vocational qualifications, and key skills. Employers have the primary and which would provide a contribution of 150, and education together to create a new resource and education. The University for Industry will and developing the links to extend lifelong and social failure has risen. We are committed to and social failure we will raise the proportion

OR

our number one priority Cut class sizes to 30 compete successfully on the basis of quality abolition of good schools whether in the private sizes for five, six and seven year-olds to 30 from unruly and disruptive pupils. Exclusion but these pupils are not lost to education not discriminate unfairly either between schools

or under for 5, 6 and 7 year-olds Nursery or not at all. And quality comes from developing or state sector. Any changes in the admissions or under, by phasing out the assisted places or suspension may sometimes be necessary. We will or the country. New job description for LEAs or between pupils. LEAs will be represented on

BUT

schools in Britain's state education system. referral units so that schools are protected and have the authority of being locally elected. LEAs will be represented on governing bodies, along the lines of those introduced in 1993; majority of teachers are skilful and dedicated, the best. There will, however, be speedy, training their workforces in job-related skills.

But far too many children are denied the **but** these pupils are not lost to education or the **But** they will be required to devolve power, and **but** will not control them. We support guidelines **but** we will also provide a right of appeal to an **but** some fall short. We will improve teacher **but** fair, procedures to remove teachers who **But** individuals should be given the power to

The coordinated items carry on the same juxtapositioned lines e.g. *high fliers and slow learners; successes and failures; good schools and bad schools*. By choosing these extremes it would seem that the Labour wishes to point out that extremes are not such a good thing and maybe something should and could be done about it. Interestingly enough, politically the New Labour began to move away from the left and towards a more center-right position especially after 1994.

Another aspect of coordinated items is groups such as *government, industry and education; central government, local government and football clubs; schools and parents*. These are groups that the Labour has designs for in terms of their educational policies. Furthermore, it is an implication that education is not merely a matter of central government or individual schools, but an interplay of several players who all can both benefit and contribute to the educational situation of the country.

A new aspect has risen in this manifesto and that is the issue of disruptive students. The Labour takes a stance and defines the limits of a *disruptive* student by coordinating it with *unruly*. Thus, to be disruptive is to be unruly. Old Labour slogans make an appearance, if only briefly: the admissions need to be *open and fair*, and the new educational policies are ones of *improvement and expansion* and in failing that, the result is *economic and social failure*. It would seem that the party wishes to honor its roots or, if we take a more ironic stand, it must include these phrases for the required continuity.

Euphemisms

There are several euphemisms used in this manifesto, which most frequently deal with either students with problems of one sort or another or the facilities intended for them

(*specialist facilities for students with particular needs; pupil referral units*); in other words for students that do not fit what is regarded as the normal frame. By doing this, the outcast students are politically correctly cast of from the rest of us, the normal people.

Metaphors

Metaphors are ones of building bridges e.g. *the three building blocks for the future; we wish to build bridges*. Building refers to an image of concrete, solid action and also continuity. By building on what has been done, it implies that the groundwork is already there, now we just need to keep going. The old Labour worker has diminished into a metaphor.

In this manifesto, there are also metaphors of warfare e.g. *Attack low standards; attack underachievement; taskforce*. This implicates that this is a question of serious battle; that the state of education in Britain is under threat and must be vigorously protected. The choice of metaphors also implicates that Labour takes educational issues seriously and that is why it is willing to concert to war metaphors. Using war metaphors in political texts in, in fact, quite understandable if we accept the view on war proposed by a theorist on war, Carl von Clausewitz. "War nothing but the continuation of policy with other means." (Clausewitz; quoted in Weltman 1995:59).

This manifesto is in many ways contradictory. This was already evident when the coordinated items were looked at previously. It seems that this manifesto, more than others is about a more black and white description of the situation. The Labour claims, for example that there exists an *educational apartheid created by public/private divide*. By contrasting the public/private divide as educational apartheid gives all new weaponry for attacking the funding of private schools; no one should fund apartheid because it divides people into two separate classes, those who have it all and those who have nothing.

Labour is the pioneer of new thinking. Referring the Labour party as a pioneer attaches several significant connotations to the party. A pioneer is associated with courage, freedom, independence thirst for experiences. Labour clearly wishes to say that this is a

completely new party, which thrives on new, modern ideas not the old, dusty Labour legacy.

Naming

This manifesto uses the terms Tory and Conservative interchangeably. In addition, there is an indirect reference to the Conservative party: *We will put behind us the old arguments that have bedevilled education in this country.* By doing this, the Labour intends to mark the Conservatives as an old, quarrelsome political party whose disunity has been at the core of all educational troubles. It also implies that the Labour intends to start on a fresh table without looking back to history. This is an implication that this truly is a new party, the New Labour.

4.1.5. Ambitions for Britain 2001

As I have noted previously, the educational policies have been claimed by some to have been the vote winner of the Labour party in the 1997 election. Undoubtedly, the party felt so as well. This manifesto is a total of 2193 words long.

The frequency of the words has somewhat changed.

NOUNS	FREQ	NOUN	FREQ	ADJ.	FREQ	VERBS	FREQ
we	47	leadership	5	more	23	teach	18
teachers	33	needs	5	new	13	improve	8
support	21	adult	4	better	9	develop	7
pupil(s)	30	authorities	4	higher	9	pay	7
university	15	children	4	extra	6	ensure	6
our	11	college	4	good	7	help	6
training	10	failing	4	national	7	extend	5
standards	9	funding	4	high	6	continue	5
they	9	further	4	right	6	achieve	4
access	8	headteachers	4	best	5		
areas	8	investment	4	local	5		
position	7	Labour	4	vital	5		
years	7	mission	4	able	5		
people	6	opportunities	4	appropriate	4		
summer	6	excellence	4	exceptional	4		
year	6			committed	4		

Adjective-wise it is safe to say that *more, more, more* seems to be in order. *Better, higher* and *extra* define the scene. Labour wishes to say that once we got started, it is not going to stop any time soon. Expansion seems to be the key aspect with *new*

developments. In fact, the manifesto is starting to look like a commercial advertisement: now bigger, better, more with your money!

Teachers seem to be a key issue still. A lot of emphasis is also placed on the *universities*. *Standards, access and training* form the basis of the education system. *Improving, developing and extending* the educational system are in order.

Collocation

SCHOOL

pay rise above the usual annual increase; every what OFSTED calls a 'transformation' in primary to early education. Primary schools Primary be satisfied until every child leaves primary among pupils in less advantaged areas. Strong in the first two years of secondary Just half of 16-year-olds currently gain good pupils will increasingly arrive at secondary comprehensive schools. In future every higher standards and better progression from A mission to achieve We want every secondary We will invest nearly 8 billion in and it is vital that every child leaves to ensure materials are available to pupils in education authorities will focus on supporting We will ensure better training and support for develop safe places for children to play outside hours and every pupil to have access to a summer for the weakest schools, learning mentors and in-behaviour. Where LEAs cannot effectively support Teaching Council and National College for training opportunities for teachers develop support, whether mainstream or special new investment and significant reforms: 17,000 have had vital repairs or refurbishment; 20,000 care linked to early education. Primary instruments and a foreign language. Secondary better teaching have turned around 700 failing best. We will radically modernise comprehensive the freedom and resources necessary to run their for headteachers and delegated more funding to further extend their freedom to manage their We will reduce the regulatory burden on all literacy and numeracy strategies in secondary mission and centre of excellence. Specialist way to making specialist status available to all encourage more church and other faith-sponsored promote greater innovation in the supply of new We will allow greater involvement in of free-standing sixth-form colleges. through the promotion of partnerships between of 650 new or completely refurbished use of the new technologies. Today, nearly all 1.8 billion over six years on equipping our at very low prices. The right support Good tackle disruption and unacceptable behavior in school improvement, especially weak and failing services that cannot be provided by individual training and support for school governors. learning, We will pilot "extended hours or special schooling most suits their needs. in Cities programme for urban secondary

school is getting additional grants of up to 110 **school** standards, thanks to smaller infant class **school** teachers have achieved excellent results, **school** with the basic skills they need. We are **school** leadership and better teaching have turned **school**. Just half of 16-year-olds currently gain **school**-leaving qualifications, and levels of drop **school** demanding the best. We will radically **school** must have: The right leadership **school** and college to university or work-based **school** to develop a distinct ethos, mission and **school** buildings and equipment over the next **school** able to make use of the new technologies. **school** and at home. We are committed to continue **school** improvement, especially weak and failing **school** governors. Schools should be used more **school** hours and every pupil to have access to a **school** programme, An Academy for Talented Youth **school** units to help manage pupil behaviour. **school** improvement, alternative provision will be **School** Leadership are both now up and running. **school** achievement awards that reward staff in 7 **schooling** most suits their needs. Schools in the **schools** have had vital repairs or refurbishment; **schools** are now connected to the internet; there **schools** Primary school teachers have achieved **Schools** Transforming secondary education is the **schools**. But the challenge ahead is immense. Too **schools**. In future every **school** must have: **schools** effectively. We have improved pay and **schools**. Where they demonstrate success, we will **schools** effectively. We will reduce the **schools**. High standards in the core curriculum **schools** with the right balance of targets and **schools** offer the full national curriculum to the **schools** ready for it. We will encourage more **schools**, where parents wish it, We will establish **schools** with local consultation. We will allow **schools** by outside organisations with a serious **Schools** with sixth forms will be guaranteed their **schools**. We will build on the partnerships **schools**, IT has enormous potential to raise **schools** are connected to the internet, Labour is **schools** for the information age. We will pioneer **schools** also depend on parents and the local **schools**. Local education authorities will focus **schools**, and delivering services that cannot be **schools**. We will ensure better training and **Schools** should be used more effectively as assets **schools**" to develop this resource. We will build **Schools** in the toughest areas, and the teachers **schools**, with extra help for the weakest schools,

schools, with extra help for the weakest alternative provision will be made. For teachers, particularly in high-cost areas and a stronger training mission for outstanding awards that reward staff in 7,000 fast-improving people from all backgrounds. University summer

Total Occurrence(s): 58

EDUCATION

2001 Education Labour's number one priority is our driving passion. Our goal is to develop to achieve a similar transformation in secondary Investment Money alone cannot guarantee a good increase the share of national income devoted to again increase the share of national income for is why we are doubling investment in early years to provide services which integrate early years as beacons of good practice providing care and places offering wraparound care linked to early cent in maths by 2002. The lowest-scoring Local support for teachers to meet them. Primary Secondary Schools Transforming secondary As part of our reform of the vital further and unacceptable behavior in schools. Local They should have access to the best possible groups where appropriate. Teachers Nothing in access to the latest technology. Higher Higher education a world leader Higher time for an historic commitment to open higher to extend the huge advantages that a university help drive up standards. Children with special are maintained. We are committed to expand

Total Occurrence(s): 24

TEACH*

new routes into teaching, including "train-to- We are conducting a strategic review of pupils in classes of more than 30; over 150,000 110,000 paid direct; and there are 11,000 more and classroom assistants. Our partnership with education. Primary schools Primary school and will provide further intensive support for continue to extend access to IT for pupils and needs. Schools in the toughest areas, and the the size of teaching groups where appropriate. in education is more important than having good in the profession and improve conditions for findings significantly to improve support for on their job. We will: recruit 10,000 extra and improve the adult: pupil ratio support boost recruitment and retention packages for improve in-service training opportunities for improving schools a year subsidise new PCs for infant class sizes and major reform in the areas. Strong school leadership and better in a broad range of subjects. Effective including significant reductions in the size of than having good teachers. We have made recognition and improved support. The General are both now up and running. We want teacher workload and the right balance between exceptional challenges create new routes into and excellence. We will strengthen research and for them. Reforms to the inspection system for

Total Occurrence(s): 32

PUPIL

to harness the individual talents of every

schools, learning mentors and in-school units to **schools** facing exceptional pressures, for example **schools** facing exceptional challenges create new **schools** further improve in-service training **schools** a year subsidise new PCs for teachers so **schools**, master classes and mentoring support

Education remains Labour's top priority. **education** to harness the individual talents of **education**, liberating the particular talent of **education**, but extra investment is indispensable **education**. Over this Parliament, we have **education**. Under-fives The early years of a **education**. There is now a free nursery place **education** with childcare. By 2004 we will have **education** for children from 0-5; we will set up **education**. Primary schools Primary school **Education** Authorities (LEAs) are now achieving **education** without the basics is a betrayal; but **education** is the critical challenge of the next **education** sector, we will encourage the **education** authorities will focus on supporting **education**, with appropriate support, whether **education** is more important than having good **education** a world leader Higher education brings **education** brings on average 20 per cent higher **education** to half of all young people before they **education** confers to able young people from all **educational** needs will have those needs **Educational** Maintenance Allowances so they cover

teach" courses accredited as part of **teacher** workload and the right balance between **teachers** are set to receive a 2,000 pay rise **teachers** and over 44,000 more support staff and **teachers** has achieved what OfSTED calls a **teachers** have achieved excellent results, In 1997 **teachers** to meet them. Primary education without **teachers**, including the possibility of a national **teachers** who work in them, need special support. **Teachers** Nothing in education is more important **teachers**. We have made teaching a far more **teachers**. High status, better salaries and proper **teachers** in the classroom and in administrative **teachers** and improve the adult: pupil ratio **teachers** in the classroom by employing more **teachers**, particularly in high-cost areas and **teachers** develop school achievement awards that **teachers** so that they have direct access to the **teaching** of literacy and numeracy skills. Our **teaching** have turned around 700 failing schools. **teaching** is the key. We will develop the literacy **teaching** groups where appropriate. Teachers **teaching** a far more attractive career, through **Teaching** Council and National College for School **teaching** to be a career of choice for the best **teaching** and administration, central direction **teaching**, including "train-to-teach" courses **teaching** excellence. It is vital that our world **teaching** will slash red tape for higher

pupil. Since 1997 rising standards have been

it from 4.7 per cent to 5 per cent 540 extra per children to play outside school hours and every mentors and in-school units to help manage exceptional pressures, for example very high 10,000 extra teachers and improve the adult: there are nearly half a million fewer primary rightly wants far more. We will provide primary risen in the past four years, particularly among But the challenge ahead is immense. Too many The dramatic advances at primary level mean to university or work-based training. All of targets and flexibility, particularly for achievement by the large majority of 14-year-old sixth forms will be guaranteed their funding for build upon them on the basis of the experience. Online to ensure materials are available to committed to continue to extend access to IT for

pupil in real terms and we are pledged to raise **pupil** to have access to a summer school programme **pupil** behaviour. Where LEAs cannot effectively **pupil** turnover, we will provide additional **pupil** ratio support teachers in the classroom by **pupils** in classes of more than 30; over 150,000 **pupils** with wider opportunities to learn sports, **pupils** in less advantaged areas. Strong school **pupils** fall back and become disillusioned in the **pupils** will increasingly arrive at secondary **pupils** should reach the age of 14 fully competent **pupils** not up to standard in the basics. We will **pupils** in English, maths, science and IT tests- **pupils** in real terms, provided numbers are **Pupils** will be given greater opportunities **pupils** in school and at home. We are committed to **pupils** and teachers, including the possibility of

Total Occurrence(s): 18

STUDENT

the next three years, we will continue to expand with new two-year foundation degrees to offer mentoring support will be offered to potential university finance ensures that 50 per cent of pay more than under the old system, and that

student numbers, taking us towards our 50 per **students** the option of a vocationally relevant, **students** from disadvantaged areas through a new **students** pay no tuition fees at all, that no **students** pay back loans progressively when they

Total Occurrence(s): 5

CURRICULUM

on all schools. High standards in the core core curriculum We will modernise the secondary Specialist schools offer the full national schools for the information age. We will pioneer

curriculum We will modernise the secondary **curriculum** to promote higher standards and better **curriculum** to the whole ability range while **Curriculum** Online to ensure materials are

Total Occurrence(s): 4

UNIVERSITY

better progression from school and college to be established in partnership with a leading the number of qualified people able to go to our 50 per cent target. We will maintain efforts to extend the huge advantages that a to able young people from all backgrounds. to prevent them. Since 1997 we have increased considerably more in research. Our new system of

university or work-based training. All pupils **university** to pioneer summer and other dedicated **university** was capped. Today, the numbers are **university** entry standards while intensifying **university** education confers to able young people **University** summer schools, master classes and **university** funding by more than a billion pounds **university** finance ensures that 50 per cent of

Total Occurrence(s): 8

CLASS

school standards, thanks to smaller infant best internationally. We will also support world- nearly half a million fewer primary pupils in backgrounds. University summer schools, master teachers and over 44,000 more support staff and to improve support for teachers in the the adult: pupil ratio support teachers in the them invest in rapid promotion and rewards for

class sizes and major reform in the teaching of **class** research and the development of public **classes** of more than 30; over 150,000 teachers **classes** and mentoring support will be offered to **classroom** assistants. Our partnership with **classroom** and in administrative tasks, so they **classroom** by employing more adults to help them **classroom** excellence boost recruitment and

Total Occurrence(s): 8

The lexical and collocation choices, once again are of market economy. In fact, the manifesto is beginning to sound like a marketing plan. We are offered produce *at very low prices. Compete, Investment, Ambition;* it is about competition, success,

effectiveness, setting targets and conducting reviews. These phrases sound like they could have come straight out of a company's yearly review. Schools are no longer the fundamental thing to all educational and social development; they are *assets* and *centres of excellence* that spur the economy.

One item that also occurs frequently is *efficiency* (and its derivatives) *Effective teaching is the key; More effective pathways and other ways of exhibiting efficiency*. In addition, the stress is on *setting targets* and *Children should be on track*. The party sets targets on education, stresses innovation, funding, competition and reform.

Coordination

AND

have been achieved through major new investment **and** significant reforms: 17,000 schools have had additional grants of up to 110,000 paid direct; **and** there are 11,000 more teachers and over 44 paid direct; **and** there are 11,000 more teachers **and** over 44,000 more support staff and classroom more teachers and over 44,000 more support staff **and** classroom assistants. Our partnership with **and** major reform in the teaching of literacy and **and** numeracy skills. Our task now is to achieve a **and** we are pledged to raise it to 5.3 per cent by 5.3 per cent by 2003-04. Investment in buildings **and** equipment has trebled. During the next **and** education for children from 0-5; we will set **and** we will provide an extra 100,000 places **and** maths tests. The figures are now 75 per cent **and** 72 per cent respectively, well on the way to **and** 75 per cent in maths by 2002. The lowest **and** maths, and will provide further intensive **and** will provide further intensive support for **and** a foreign language. Secondary Schools **and** equality of opportunity remain central to our **and** better teaching have turned around 700 **and** become disillusioned in the first two years **and** levels of drop-out remain too high. The **and** resources necessary to run their schools **and** training for headteachers and delegated more **and** delegated more funding to schools. Where they **and** better progression from school and college to **and** college to university or work-based training. **and** numeracy strategies in secondary schools with **and** flexibility, particularly for pupils not up **and** IT tests- the passport to future success. We **and** A-levels. We will ensure there is an **and** centre of excellence. Specialist schools **and** their rates of improvement outstrip the **and** other faith-sponsored schools, where parents **and** promote greater innovation in the supply of **and** build upon them on the basis of the **and** private sectors. Better infrastructure We **and** equipment over the next three years, **and** it is vital that every child leaves school **and** at home. We are committed to continue to **and** teachers, including the possibility of a **and** the local community, We will continue to **and** unacceptable behavior in schools. Local **and** failing schools, and delivering services that **and** delivering services that cannot be provided **and** support for school governors. Schools should **and** community learning, We will pilot "extended **and** every pupil to have access to a summer school

with a leading university to pioneer summer talents. We have significantly improved support their needs. Schools in the toughest areas, incentives to train including training salaries salaries and loan write-offs, more recognition improved support. The General Teaching Council College for School Leadership are both now up to be a career of choice for the best graduates will continue to invest more in the profession for teachers. High status, better salaries a strategic review of teacher workload workload and the right balance between teaching teaching and administration, central direction to improve support for teachers in the classroom job. We will: recruit 10,000 extra teachers adults to help them invest in rapid promotion for classroom excellence boost recruitment for teachers, particularly in high-cost areas accredited as part of undergraduate degrees brings on average 20 per cent higher earnings was capped. Today, the numbers are rising University summer schools, master classes of funding. We will not introduce "top-up" fees a billion pounds a year over the Parliament - no parents pay more than under the old system, the funding system continues to promote access and excellence. We will strengthen research We will also support world-class research to ensure that our universities have the freedom

and other dedicated provision for those with **and** provision for children with special needs or **and** the teachers who work in them, need special **and** loan write-offs, more recognition and **and** improved support. The General Teaching **and** National College for School Leadership are **and** running. We want teaching to be a career of **and** attractive to people making career changes. **and** improve conditions for teachers. High status, **and** proper professional support are all essential **and** the right balance between teaching and **and** administration, central direction and local **and** local discretion. We will build on its **and** in administrative tasks, so they can **and** improve the adult: pupil ratio support **and** rewards for classroom excellence boost **and** retention packages for teachers, particularly **and** schools facing exceptional challenges create **and** a stronger training mission for outstanding **and** a 50 per cent lower chance of unemployment. **and** universities have the funds to expand, with **and** mentoring support will be offered to **and** have legislated to prevent them. Since 1997 **and** invested considerably more in research. Our **and** that students pay back loans progressively **and** excellence. We will strengthen research and **and** teaching excellence. It is vital that our **and** the development of public-private **and** incentives to meet our ambitions for them.

OR

reforms: 17,000 schools have had vital repairs should be on track to achieve their best, a free nursery place in the private, voluntary from school and college to university years, including the construction of 650 new and provision for children with special needs with appropriate support, whether mainstream quality qualification as a way into skilled work guarantee of a sixth-form place, apprenticeship and young person, from pre-school to sixth-form will be created where standards are too low

or refurbishment; 20,000 schools are now **or** receiving extra expert help to catch up. **or** statutory sector. OfSTED will help drive up **or** work-based training. All pupils should reach **or** completely refurbished schools, IT has **or** disabilities. They should have access to the **or** special schooling most suits their needs. **or** further study. Over the next three years, we **or** further education at 16; sufficient quality **or** apprenticeship and beyond, the personalised **or** innovation is needed. Local authorities have a

BUT

Money alone cannot guarantee a good education, results than the national average in 1996. education without the basics is a betrayal; to liberate the potential of every child. teaching have turned around 700 failing schools.

but extra investment is indispensable to **But** Labour will not be satisfied until every **but** every parent rightly wants far more. We will **But**, on their own, they are not enough to **But** the challenge ahead is immense. Too many

Coordinated items once again are of key groups: *schools, home, parents, teachers* and for the first time, *local community*. *English and maths* is coordinated several times, thus stressing the importance of these two subjects, in addition there is an instance of coordinating *numeracy* and *literacy*, which are nearly synonymous to English and maths. Coordinated items include also values, but just once: *principles of inclusion and equality*. Also different options available are coordinated: *study, apprenticeship, work*. Also *freedom* is coordinated with *resources*, once again recognizing the material basis of freedom.

Euphemisms

Euphemisms that the party uses deal with wealth. Instead of clearly stating that there are areas that suffer from lack of money and face all kinds of other problems –mostly due to the fact that the financial resources are scarce– the manifesto uses other wordings. For example, there are no poor areas but *Disadvantaged areas* and even more euphemistic *less advantaged areas*. Pupils with less scholarly talent or ones that learn more slowly than the average student are *pupils not up to the standards in basics*. Mental ability, when referred to, seems to be a taboo issue.

Metaphors

In the 2001 manifesto, the metaphors seem to go back some steps into the old Labour days. There are the old protection metaphors: *Harness the individual talents; we nurture children's special talents liberating the particular talent of every child*. These are phrases that seem to be incremental in a Labour manifesto, and they come up each year, ever so slightly modified but so far, always there.

There are some metaphors that refer to travel. Education is seen as *a passport to future success* and *Early Excellence Centres as beacons of good practice* are guiding the way. Travel metaphors echo the European ideal of free movement of people which would seem to indicate some Europeanization of the educational policies of the Labour party. Furthermore, it indicates that Labour sees education not only as an abstract passport into working abroad but also a good guide on individual's life.

One last image that is portrayed via the use of metaphors is that of Labour as a strong protector and liberator. They will *tackle disruption and unacceptable behaviour; reduce the regulatory burden* and will to the task of *liberating the particular talent of every child*. The good old metaphor of building is also utilized frequently.

4.1.6. Britain: Forward not Back 2005

Having found their niche, the Labour reminds us that *Education is still our number one priority*. The manifesto records their achievements so far (transforming recruitment,

fundamental reforms in secondary provision and record results in primary schools). The manifesto continues on lines that have proved efficient: lots of numbers, action plans and timetables. The manifesto is their longest ever, a total of 2428 words.

This manifesto uses quite an amount of statistics. The use of statistics can serve many ends. It is used to demonstrate the success of the educational policies so far (need example). However, the use of statistics is always dubious without giving any reference to where these figures come from as is the case here. The program schedule is heavy. This manifesto, more than others, presents policy principles.

NOUN	FREQ	NOUN	FREQ	ADJ.	FREQ
we	38	building	6	more	18
pupil	23	curriculum	6	new	11
support	22	form	6	good	10
specialist	21	chapter	5	right	8
teachers	18	foundation	5	special	8
quality	14	level	5	higher	7
needs	13	money	5	independent	7
pupils	13	programme	5	better	6
our	12	services	5	national	6
provision	12			high	5
teaching	12			successful	5
become	11			entire	4
staff	11			local	4
students	11			VERBS	
their	11			state	7
child/children	18			want	7
parents	9			develop	5
help	7			see	5
programmes	7			tailor	5
standards	7			teach	5
				control	4

The keywords of the 2005 manifesto seem to offer something new. High on the frequency list is the word *specialist* (referring to specialist schools). Quality and standards continue to be of importance. Adjectives most frequently used can be divided into three groups: 1. ameliorative (*more, better, higher*), 2. all-encompassing (*entire*) and 3. descriptive (*special, successful*).

The use of verbs underlines the change in this manifesto: the Labour begins making demands (*state, want, control*) and on the other hand, a further claim of individualism is made. Labour will *tailor* the education system for individual pupil needs. This seems to be an interesting departure from the former demand of comprehensive education.

SCHOOL(S)

as well as English and maths in primary and maths in primary school; a good secondary gives every child and young person, from pre-true partners as we aim for the highest ever by more than 30 per cent. The remodelling of the as overall grades - of A-level students. Every more money and effective leadership Since 1997, with a guaranteed per pupil increase for every body is essential to the success of every good behaviour and raising the quality of chapter All schools should have good home-have good home-school links, building on the new of pupils succeeding at the basics. All primary to develop support programmes and modernise the the base for a massive expansion of out-of-with their parents. Every secondary Every secondary school an independent specialist quality leadership, good discipline (including non-specialist schools. We want every secondary every secondary school to become a specialist extended schools, with full programmes of after-week-long summer residential programme for level disruption. The number of places in out-of-direct control of the budgets for out-of-groups with expertise in this area, and no have a duty to get their children to attend provision, including special needs education, for inflation) during the next Parliament. As In addition they would allow a free-for-all in of teaching, with record results in primary and support staff, more money, specialist of the range of support staff now working in in the secondary curriculum to get them right: timescale. There will be a dedicated national and governors will be in control. Successful to deploy resources and develop their provision. unique talents of every child. But children and the quality of school meals (see chapter 4). All on the new school and pupil profiles. Some using ICT to make contact between parents and and better for both sides. We will encourage all complaints and where necessary to close failing replace failing management. Enriching primary sizes of more than 30, and almost all primary since 1997. We will now upgrade primary primary schools nationwide in a 15-year Building and childcare facilities where needed. Primary of-school provision (see chapter 6). Foundation schools operate within the local family of state staff directly. We will allow successful primary allow successful primary schools, like secondary like secondary schools, to become foundation specialist school We want all secondary secondary schools to be independent specialist It is to ensure that independent specialist system. There are over 2,000 specialist schools - There are over 2,000 specialist schools - improving faster than those of non-specialist a specialist school and existing specialist on a second specialism. Over time all specialist time all specialist schools will become extended benefit, over fifteen years, from the Building open five days a week, ten hours a day. Good their influence - by taking over less successful develop a system to create rights for successful state system, including church and other faith Seventeen of these independent non-selective be established by 2010 in communities where

school; a good secondary school for every child, **school** for every child, with modern buildings and **school** to sixth-form or apprenticeship and beyond **school** standards. Every pupil with better **school** workforce is benefiting staff and helping **school** with more money and effective leadership **school** funding has risen by 1,000 per pupil. **school**. Heads and governors will be in control. **school** and governors must be given support to **school** meals (see chapter 4). All schools should **school** links, building on the new school and **school** and pupil profiles. Some schools are using **school** children will have access to high-quality **school** workforce. We have abolished infant class **school** provision (see chapter 6). Foundation **school** an independent specialist school We want **school** We want all secondary schools to be **school** uniforms), setting by ability and high **school** to become a specialist school and existing **school** and existing specialist schools will be **school** activities. Every part of the country will **school** students. We support partnership between **school** units has almost doubled, and the quality **school** provision, so they can expand and improve **school** will become a dumping ground for such **school**. We have introduced parenting orders and **school** transport, and other support services. We **school** standards rise we maintain our aim for 50 **school** admissions - including an extension of **schools**. In our second term we have driven **schools** and the Academies programmes. Our plan **schools**, from learning mentors to music and arts **schools** will be judged on how pupils do in **schools** budget set by central government, with a **schools** and colleges will have the independence **Schools** will work together to raise standards. **schools** do best with real and effective parental **schools** should have good home-school links, **schools** are using ICT to make contact between **schools** easier and better for both sides. We will **schools** to follow suit. Ofsted now actively seeks **schools** or replace failing management. Enriching **schools** International studies show that our ten **schools** have gained improved facilities since **schools** nationwide in a 15-year Building Schools **Schools** for the Future programme, including under **schools** will become the base for a massive **schools** operate within the local family of state **schools**, and are funded in the same way as others **schools**, like secondary schools, to become **schools**, to become foundation schools by a simple **schools** by a simple vote of their governing body **schools** to be independent specialist schools with **schools** with a strong ethos, high-quality **schools** tailor education to the needs, interests **schools** which teach the entire national **schools** which teach the entire national **schools**. We want every secondary school to become **schools** will be able to take on a second **schools** will become extended schools, with full **schools**, with full programmes of after-school **Schools** for the Future programme. This is a once **schools** will be able to expand their size and **schools**. We will develop a system to create rights **schools** to establish sixth-form provision where **schools**. Where new educational providers can help **schools** are now open within the state system; **schools**; low aspirations and low performance are

are entrenched. We will encourage more small will encourage more small schools and boarding most disadvantaged children. We will make sure will not be tolerated. We are also working with in mainstream; for others, it will be in special to improve the vital services on which now is to take at least 1 billion from state

Total Occurrence(s): 76

EDUCATION

2005

programmes. Our plan now is to tailor our of a sixth-form place, apprenticeship or further at 16; sufficient quality and quantity in higher message - every child has a right to a good but no child has the right to disrupt the generations our country has been held back by an school funding has risen by 1,000 per pupil. to raise the share of national income devoted to parents. Parents as partners Our aim for the that independent specialist schools tailor to equip the whole country with modern secondary Parents should have access to the special dropping out at 16 The historic problems of our to raise the status and quality of vocational to apprenticeships, to further and higher stand in the way of young people staying in and support, including in the further centres for 16- to 19-year-olds. Further services on which schools and families rely. high-quality provision, including special needs other support services. We are reforming local and voluntary sectors. World-class higher prosperity. We need a bigger, better higher base, and increasing public spending on higher 50 per cent of young people to go on to higher more on unemployment and debt interest than on billion from state schools to subsidise private at GCSE and A-level, and reduce places in higher industry needs. Or back with the Tories to an church and other faith schools. Where new continue to advocate truancy sweeps. Special Special educational needs Children with special beyond the age of 16. We have rolled out
Total Occurrence(s): 34

PUPIL

is to tailor our education system to individual for the highest ever school standards. Every staff and helping to tailor provision to and arts specialists. The goal is clear: every in their strongest. We want to see every at the ages of 11, 14 and 16. We want every 1997, school funding has risen by 1,000 per set by central government, with a guaranteed per school links, building on the new school and to the needs, interests and aptitudes of each to establish sixth-form provision where there is divide between the two. Good discipline Every vocational programmes will be available to every routes into teaching, to help more teachers and to get them right: schools will be judged on how recognise the additional needs of disadvantaged and numeracy programme to help an extra 50,000 age 11, reaching our targets of 85 per cent of dedicated provision for disruptive and excluded no school will become a dumping ground for such - for five- and 11-year-olds, cap the number of The choice for 2010 is forward with new Labour:
Total Occurrence(s): 22

schools and boarding schools as ways of helping **schools** as ways of helping the most disadvantaged **schools** in deprived areas receive the resources **schools** and teacher organisations to implement a **schools**. Parents should have access to the **schools** and families rely. Education and social **schools** to subsidise private education for the

Education is still our number one priority. In **education** system to individual pupil needs, with **education** at 16; sufficient quality and quantity **education**. At each stage we send a clear message **education**, but no child has the right to disrupt **education** of other children. The new Labour case **education** system that excelled for the privileged **Education** spending that was 4.7 per cent of **education**. And we will continue to recognise the **education** system is to nurture the unique talents **education** to the needs, interests and aptitudes **education** facilities, open five days a week, ten **education** appropriate for their child. It is the **education** system at 14-plus have been an academic **education**. Beyond the age of 14, GCSEs and A **education** and to jobs with training. We will **education** beyond the age of 16. We have rolled out **education** sector. We will support sixth-form **education** is vital to vocational lifelong **Education** and social services should collaborate **education**, school transport, and other support **education** authorities to form Children's Trusts **education**, open to all Universities are critical **education** system. We are investing 1 billion more **education** by 34 per cent in real terms. But **education** by 2010. Two-year foundation degrees in **education**. Their priority now is to take at least **education** for the privileged few. In addition **education**. The choice for 2010 is forward with new **education** system designed to look after the few **educational** providers can help boost standards **educational** needs Children with special **educational** needs require appropriate resources **Educational** Maintenance Allowances, providing

pupil needs, with parents supporting teachers and **pupil** with better teaching There is no greater **pupil** need. We will now go further - to intensify **pupil** with extra support in their weakest **pupil** mastering the basics. If they are not **pupil** to be stretched, including the brightest, **pupil**. Education spending that was 4.7 per cent **pupil** increase for every school. Heads and **pupil** profiles. Some schools are using ICT to **pupil** within a fair admissions system. There are **pupil** and parent demand, extending quality and **pupil** has the right to learn without disruption; **pupil**. Designed in collaboration with employers, **pupils** get the benefit of the range of support **pupils** do in English and maths at the ages of 11, **pupils**. We will also ensure fundamental reform in **pupils** achieve high standards at age 11, reaching **pupils** succeeding at the basics. All primary **pupils**, including by charities and voluntary **pupils**. Parents have a duty to get their children **pupils** who can succeed at GCSE and A-level, and **pupils** with quality and opportunity through the

STUDENT

students. A quarter of the income from the new marks - as well as overall grades - of A-level demand, extending quality and choice for local long summer residential programme for school Maintenance Allowances, providing lower income fees and the creation of grants will help poorer student finance system will go to bursaries for poorer families. The maximum annual fee paid by disciplines have a key part to play. PhD

student finance system will go to bursaries for **students**. Every school with more money and **students**. Britain has a positive tradition of **students**. We support partnership between the state **students** with a 30-a-week staying-on allowance **students**. A quarter of the income from the new **students** from poorer families. The maximum annual **students** will not rise above 3,000 (uprated **students** are vital to universities and the nation

Total Occurrence(s): 9

TEACH*

over 2,000 specialist schools - schools which 000 more support staff than in 1997; graduate has the right to learn without disruption; no tolerated. We are also working with schools and fundamental reform in secondary provision - more individual pupil needs, with parents supporting than teaching the next generation. Head teachers, teaching the next generation. Head teachers, and respect. There are now over 28,000 more further - to intensify in-service training for widen further routes into teaching, to help more aside funds for this purpose, working with head to abuse or disrespect. We have given head of provision has been enhanced. We will give head is no improvement there will be intervention; transformed recruitment, training and methods of with modern buildings and excellent specialist ever school standards. Every pupil with better There is no greater responsibility than for teachers, to widen further routes into

teach the entire national curriculum and also **teacher** applications are up 70 per cent; average **teacher** should be subject to abuse or disrespect **teacher** organisations to implement a zero **teachers** and support staff, more money, **teachers** and support staff in further raising **teachers** and support staff deserve **teachers** and support staff deserve support and **teachers** and 105,000 more support staff than in **teachers**, to widen further routes into teaching, **teachers** and pupils get the benefit of the range **teachers** to develop support programmes and **teachers** the powers needed to maintain discipline **teachers** within each locality direct control of **teachers** knowing that quality will be supported **teaching**, with record results in primary schools. **teaching**; catch-up support for all children who **teaching**. There is no greater responsibility than **teaching** the next generation. Head teachers, **teaching**, to help more teachers and pupils get

Total Occurrence(s): 20

CURRICULUM

by 11, there will be extra time in the secondary - schools which teach the entire national review progress on the development of the 14-19

curriculum to get them right: schools will be **curriculum** and also have a centre of excellence **curriculum** in 2008. We will not let economic

Total Occurrence(s): 3

The key words in this manifesto are tailoring and individualism. The lexical items in collocation with education are ones that portray an individualistic view of the society and educational system. The parents of the students and students themselves are offered *tailored, personalized packages that nurture the unique talents* of the students. Furthermore, the system is *fundamentally reformed*. The vocabulary seems to still reminiscence corporate language. *Modernizing* of the school workforce takes place, *upgraded* products, and most crucial of all, all of this is *critical to prosperity*. The Labour education package is streamlined, upgraded, modernized and flexible, typical adjectives usually used when marketing a new product in the free market. It would seem

to signify a big change from the original equal and compassionate education system promoted in the 1980s.

This manifesto is spotted with words like *quality*, *upgrading*, *modernizing* which indicate that the party is still moving forward while demanding the ever-so-important concept of quality; a word which is never explained but enthusiastically repeated. The party also wishes to be seen as modern and progressive, in sync with the modern times and challenges present in the society. Modernity is furthermore stressed with the following sentence: *Britain has the positive tradition of independent providers within the state system*. As Labour has criticized the habits of sticking to old traditions and arguments it must, in this case, stress that this is a positive tradition; not the normal tradition which is potentially redundant.

In addition, this seems to be a much tighter campaign as the party must mention, not once but trice that the Conservative policies are for *the few but fail the many*.

TORY/IES

the skills that industry needs. Or back with the **Tories** to an education system designed to look

Total Occurrence(s): 1

CONSERVATIVE

choice for 2010 Under their last government the **Conservatives** spent more on unemployment and debt

Total Occurrence(s): 1

The two instances of the Conservatives and their collocates do not offer much. However, Tory means *going back* and *spending on unemployment* instead of education.

Coordination

AND

first term, we transformed recruitment, training reform in secondary provision - more teachers support staff, more money, specialist schools pupil needs, with parents supporting teachers raising standards. That means music, art, sport art, sport and languages as well as English school for every child, with modern buildings or further education at 16; sufficient quality few but let down the majority. Every child can with a reform programme which gives every child from pre-school to sixth-form or apprenticeship and beyond, the personalised package of learning

and methods of teaching, with record results in **and** support staff, more money, specialist schools **and** the Academies programmes. Our plan now is to **and** support staff in further raising standards **and** languages as well as English and maths in **and** maths in primary school; a good secondary **and** excellent specialist teaching; catch-up **and** quantity in higher education. At each stage **and** should be able to fulfil their potential. We **and** young person, from pre-school to sixth-form **and** beyond, the personalised package of learning **and** support they need. In a third term, we will

the flexibility of provision to meet all needs the next generation. Head teachers, teachers and support staff deserve support and respect. There are now over 28,000 more teachers of the school workforce is benefiting staff routes into teaching, to help more teachers in schools, from learning mentors to music with extra support in their weakest subjects will be judged on how pupils do in English do in English and maths at the ages of 11, 14 A-level questions to challenge the most able, A-level students. Every school with more money share of national income devoted to education. per pupil increase for every school. Heads governors will be in control. Successful schools to take decisions about how to deploy resources a vital role in championing the parent interest is essential to the success of every school the unique talents of every child. But children But children and schools do best with real engagement. Parents should have the information reading book to the key choices they make at 14 book to the key choices they make at 14 to the process of assessing school performance as their vital role in promoting good behaviour home-school links, building on the new school are using ICT to make contact between parents make contact between parents and schools easier new powers to respond to parental complaints third highest achievers in literacy in the world now reach high standards in reading, writing writing and maths. We will intensify our literacy high-quality tuition in the arts, music, sport with head teachers to develop support programmes abolished infant class sizes of more than 30, for the Future programme, including under-fives within the local family of state schools, same way as others, but manage their own assets (including school uniforms), setting by ability schools tailor education to the needs, interests which teach the entire national curriculum secondary school to become a specialist school Good schools will be able to expand their size sixth-form provision where there is pupil is pupil and parent demand, extending quality within the state system, including church educational providers can help boost standards system, subject to parental demand, fair funding system; their results are improving sharply, in communities where schools; low aspirations entrenched. We will encourage more small schools We support partnership between the state the powers needed to maintain discipline be tolerated. We are also working with schools in out-of-school units has almost doubled, for out-of-school provision, so they can expand more dedicated provision for disruptive and excluded pupils, including by charities voluntary groups with expertise in this area, school. We have introduced parenting orders We have introduced parenting orders and fines educational needs require appropriate resources been an academic track that has been too narrow too weak. We are determined to raise the status education. Beyond the age of 14, GCSEs economy, leading to apprenticeships, to further apprenticeships, to further and higher education learning, so we will expand sixth-form, college sixth-form, college and apprenticeship places, to 19-year-old should have dedicated supervision sector. We will support sixth-form colleges colleges requires both our increased investment will develop a centre for vocational excellence, skills academies led by leading entrepreneurs to improve the vital services on which schools on which schools and families rely. Education

and make parents true partners as we aim for the **and** support staff deserve support and respect **and** respect. There are now over 28,000 more **and** 105,000 more support staff than in 1997; **and** helping to tailor provision to pupil need. We **and** pupils get the benefit of the range of **and** arts specialists. The goal is clear: every **and** extra opportunities in their strongest. We **and** maths at the ages of 11, 14 and 16. We want **and** 16. We want every pupil to be stretched, **and** give universities the individual module marks **and** effective leadership. Since 1997, school **And** we will continue to recognise the additional **and** governors will be in control. Successful **and** colleges will have the independence to take **and** develop their provision. Schools will work **and** providing support services. A strong, **and** governors must be given support to help them **and** schools do best with real and effective **and** effective parental engagement. Parents should **and** support they need to encourage their children **and** 16. And parents should be central to the **and** 16. And parents should be central to the process of **and** driving improvement, as well as their vital **and** raising the quality of school meals (see **and** pupil profiles. Some schools are using ICT to **and** schools easier and better for both sides. We **and** better for both sides. We will encourage all **and** where necessary to close failing schools or **and** the fastest improving in maths. Three **and** maths. We will intensify our literacy and **and** numeracy programme to help an extra 50,000 **and** foreign languages. We have set aside funds for **and** modernise the school workforce. We have **and** almost all primary schools have gained **and** childcare facilities where needed. Primary **and** are funded in the same way as others, but **and** employ their staff directly. We will allow **and** high-quality facilities as the norm. The way **and** aptitudes of each pupil within a fair **and** also have a centre of excellence. Their **and** existing specialist schools will be able to **and** also their influence - by taking over less **and** parent demand, extending quality and choice **and** choice for local students. Britain has a **and** other faith schools. Where new educational **and** opportunities in a locality we will welcome **and** fair admissions. We strongly support the new **and** 50 more are in the pipeline. Within the **and** low performance are entrenched. We will **and** boarding schools as ways of helping the most **and** private sectors to bridge the unhealthy **and** the highest standards of conduct. Violent **and** teacher organisations to implement a zero **and** the quality of provision has been enhanced. We **and** improve it as needed. We will encourage more **and** excluded pupils, including by charities and **and** voluntary groups with expertise in this area, **and** no school will become a dumping ground for **and** fines and will continue to advocate truancy **and** will continue to advocate truancy sweeps. **and** support from trained staff. For some this **and** a vocational offer too weak. We are **and** quality of vocational education. Beyond the **and** A-levels will be the foundation of the system **and** higher education and to jobs with training. **and** to jobs with training. We will review **and** apprenticeship places, and ensure that all 16 **and** ensure that all 16- to 19-year-olds in **and** support, including in the further education **and** expect FE colleges to have dedicated centres **and** serious reform. Every FE college will develop **and** we will establish new skills academies led by **and** employers from the relevant skill sectors. **and** families rely. Education and social services **and** social services should collaborate to help

government should be the champion of parents special needs education, school transport, Trusts to provide seamless support to children seamless support to children and families and work in partnership with the private and work in partnership with the private and voluntary sectors. World-class higher investing 1 billion more in the science base, and increasing public spending on higher by 34 per cent in real terms. But graduates and employers must also play their part. Our funds by 2010; the abolition of up-front fees and the creation of grants will help poorer to play. PhD students are vital to universities and the nation's research base. The choice for the Conservatives spent more on unemployment and debt interest than on education. Their including an extension of selection - for five- and 11-year-olds, cap the number of pupils who cap the number of pupils who can succeed at GCSE and A-level, and reduce places in higher of pupils who can succeed at GCSE and A-level, and reduce places in higher education. The choice is forward with new Labour: pupils with quality and opportunity through the system from three to teachers knowing that quality will be supported and rewarded; and employers with a system that and that quality will be supported and rewarded; and employers with a system that gets the basics and provides the skills that industry needs. Or with a system that gets the basics right and provides the skills that industry needs. Or

Total Occurrence(s): 121

and high-quality provision, including special **and** other support services. We are reforming local **and** families and work in partnership with the **and** work in partnership with the private and **and** voluntary sectors. World-class higher **and** increasing public spending on higher **and** employers must also play their part. Our **and** the creation of grants will help poorer **and** the nation's research base. The choice for **and** debt interest than on education. Their **and** 11-year-olds, cap the number of pupils who **and** A-level, and reduce places in higher **and** reduce places in higher education. The choice **and** opportunity through the system from three to **and** rewarded; and employers with a system that **and** employers with a system that gets the basics **and** provides the skills that industry needs. Or

OR

to have smaller governing bodies, of ten members and where necessary to close failing schools to achieve this is not a return to the 11-plus no teacher should be subject to abuse and provides the skills that industry needs.

or less, to streamline management while **or** replace failing management. Enriching primary **or** a free-for-all on admissions policies. It is **or** disrespect. We have given head teachers the **Or** back with the Tories to an education system

BUT

every child has a right to a good education, system that excelled for the privileged few is to nurture the unique talents of every child. and are funded in the same way as others, higher education by 34 per cent in real terms. education system designed to look after the few

but no child has the right to disrupt the **but** let down the majority. Every child can and **But** children and schools do best with real and **but** manage their own assets and employ their **But** graduates and employers must also play their **but** fail the many.

The coordinated items, as previously are actors in the educational field. However, this field seems to widen each year. In 2005 it already includes *head teachers, teachers, support staff, governors, pupils, parents, schools and children*, and all of these interact with each other. Once again, *English and maths* arise as well as *literary and numeracy*. *Quality and opportunity, quality and quantity* are coordinated, thus producing a conceptual trinity. *Low performance and low aspirations* are connected as are *fair funding and fair admissions*; a mental connection is made between these lexical items.

Euphemisms

Euphemisms follow along the same lines as previously: mental ability and wealth e.g. *Children with special educational needs, special schools, deprived areas*.

Metaphors

Once again, the field of warfare is employed in the metaphorical field. This time the image portrayed is not of downright attack as such but preparation for such an event:

e.g. *Local government should be the champion of parents and high-quality provision equip the whole country and deploy resources.* On the other hand, metaphors such as *the remodeling of the schools workforce* and *streamline management* have their resonance in the institutionalized organizational jargon. Labour, in a way, suggests that this government, this party has achieved the status of an institutionalized organization already at the stage of some changes.

Despite the hard talk about quality and standards and preparation for a fight, the metaphors that the party employs are already familiar metaphors from their past such as *nurturing the unique talents of every child; Foundation schools operate within the local family of state schools.* One more interesting metaphor is that on entrenching e.g. *We will entrench the high expectations for every child; low aspirations and low performance are entrenched.* The image is of growth, perhaps a function of a gardener.

Gone is also the determination to put down private schools, instead the party stress *partnership* and their wish to *bridge the unhealthy historic divide* between them. By proclaiming this, the party wishes to appear as the modern unifier.

An interesting metaphor is the notion that Labour will not allow that any *schools will become a dumping ground for such pupils* [excluded and disruptive]. By doing this, the party seemingly wishes to exclude this group by comparing them unwanted trash, which would seem to strike against the gardener/unifier role. It would suggest that only the 'normal' have a place in the Labour plans, something which would be unheard of, say, 20 years back.

Naming

There are no straight-forward instances of naming. One such could be assigning the label *dumping ground* in association with schools where there is a significant number of students with problems of one sort or another.

4.1.7. Analysis of the trends and overall picture

YEAR	FEATURE		LABEL	
1983	Collocations	Nouns	service, system, groups	OLD LABOUR
		Adjectives	left-wing	
		Verbs	non-concrete actions	
		Conservatives	cuts	
	Coordination		groups, values,	
	Metaphors		Safeguarding	
	Euphemisms		Wealth	
	Naming		Tories, private schools	
Other		no clear plans, allocated funds		
1987	Collocations	Nouns	Future, standard, opportunity	PARENT PARTY
		Adj.	necessary, qualified	
		VERBS	Foster, provide, secure, and invest	
		Cons.	n/a	
	Coordination		groups, values, philosophy	
	Metaphors		Concerned parent	
	Euphemisms		Wealth	
	Naming		n/a	
Other		values, no details		
1992	Collocations	Nouns	standards, teachers, investment	MODERNIZATION
		Adjectives	modern	
		Verbs	Modernize, reform, creation	
		Conservatives	cuts, forcing parents	
	Coordination		Key groups, material basis	
	Metaphors		Market economy, investment	
	Euphemisms		Wealth, age, mental ability	
	Naming		n/a	
Other		clear plans, programs		
1997	Collocations	Nouns	quality, standards	BLACK AND WHITE
		Adjectives	modern	
		Verbs	market	
		Conservatives	cuts, obsession, failure	
	Coordination		contrasts	
	Euphemisms		mental ability, normalcy	
	Metaphors		building, warfare, pioneer	
	Naming		"old arguments"	
Other		black and white picture		
2001	collocations	Nouns	Market, advertising	MARKET LOVING PROTECTOR
		Adjectives	more, new, better	
		Verbs	amelioration, assisting	
		Conservatives	n/a	
	Coordination		key groups, values, freedom	
	Euphemisms		Wealth, mental ability	
	Metaphors		protection, travel, liberator	
	Naming		n/a	
Other		mixture of old and new		
2005	Collocations	Nouns	Individualism, market	TAILORED PRODUCT
		Adjectives	more, new, individual	
		Verbs	development and tailoring	
		Conservatives	going back	
	Coordination		groups, quality, quantity and oppor.	
	Euphemisms		mental ability, wealth	
	Metaphors		preparation, nurture, unity	
	Naming		"dumping grounds"	
Other		lots of statistics, heavy schedule		

Fig. 6 Conclusion table for the lexical features

Looking at this conclusion table (FIG. 6), a clear evolution pattern can be seen. From 1997 onwards Labour has found its vote winner issue area, and from 1997 it is clearly stated that this is Labour's number one priority. I have previously quoted Sevaldesen, who claimed that during the nineties the proposals by the two major parties began to

reminiscence one other to such an extent that the only issue where differences could be found was education. The Labour party must have realized after the 1992 election that educational policies were the once that received most support from the electorate.

Metaphorical language is always interesting to look at when we are looking at a policy text, which by definition is expected to be straightforward action plan of the party. The use of metaphors is an efficient way of creating images and conceptions. As there is no wrong or right, to be able to modify how people perceive things is the greatest power over them. Wrong and right are culturally and historically, even individually specific concepts. Those that have the power to control those ideas, have the power in the society.

The evolution of the use of metaphors is evident in these manifestos that span over twenty years. The truth is that the use of metaphors is not overtly extensive in any of these manifestos. However, they do appear to the extent as to be significant enough to analyze. The most likely explanation is that the use of metaphors varies and often thought to be a feature of fiction writing rather than that of factual writing. Overt use of metaphors could affect the voter to perceive the manifesto as an overly clever inside joke. The metaphors per se are not a feature to be very frequently used if the speaker or the writer wishes to be taken seriously. Nevertheless, where these metaphors do exist, they need to be analyzed because they have the power of modifying our ideas of how things seem to be and most importantly, they are effective means for creating an image of the party represented in the manifesto.

The manifestos of the eighties are both very parental. The party is seen as the parent or the older brother looking out for all the citizens with concern and care. The downside of the use of these kinds of metaphors is the feeling of being patronized and thus the use of these types of metaphors can also be very tricky and even risky. Labour seems to count on the fact that the people will vote for Labour values rather than proposed actions; in a way, this seems to imply that the Labour party wishes its supporters to blindly trust the party and its good will, based on the values pronounced in the manifesto.

During the nineties, the metaphors employed a change. This change clearly coincides with the changes that were going on inside the party at the time. The red from the party

is beginning to vanish as is the caring, perhaps a little patronizing attitude, of the manifestos. In 1992 the transition period is displayed in the use of metaphors. The fact that there are so many building metaphors is both absolutely necessary and ironic. Necessary it is because the party itself is ridden with ideological divides. Building bridges is necessary to keep the party together and it also to expresses the need for cooperation –bridge-building work is teamwork. Ironic, in retrospect at least, is the use of building metaphors is because in just two years the builder (or worker) will be wiped out of the party constitution and will from this one forward become nothing more than a metaphorical builder.

Most significant during the nineties and especially after the turn of the millennium is the pervasiveness of economic and financial language into the manifesto. The turn of the millennium is reflected in the 2001 manifesto. Metaphors of protection and liberation take us back to the old Labour days. However, a new aspect of use of the metaphorical language is evident. This metaphorical aspect is that of travel. Globalization is here to stay and this seems to be reflected in the manifesto as well. The same image of the protector is portrayed in the 2005 manifesto.

The euphemisms used in the manifestos do not really change from one year to another. In fact, the frequency of euphemisms is not as great as I would have expected. Perhaps the medium of written text has something to do with this finding. I have no factual evidence for this, but stemming from a gut feeling the use of euphemisms could be more of a feature of spoken political discourse. In written form, the euphemisms can be avoided altogether if so wished because there is much more time to modify the piece of text. In spoken interaction, the issues come up quickly and thus interactive situation may require resorting to euphemistic language as an option. The fact that there are so few euphemisms and for so few issue areas is to be expected because, as stated previously, euphemistic wordings often signify taboo elements of a given society. Such structures are not about to change very quickly. There are three groups of issue areas that require euphemistic wording in most cases. These are ones to do with wealth or money (or the lack there of); mental ability and age. Out of these, mental ability seems to have emerged as a new issue area in the beginning of the nineties but the breadth of my data is too narrow to make definitive statements.

Naming is not a standard procedure in the manifestos, it seems. On occasion, the Conservatives are called *Tories* (etymologically a little pejorative), or *old arguments*. More ideological flavor naming takes when it comes to making a difference between special schools and private schools in the 1983 manifesto (*support and tax advantages versus public support and tax privileges*).

The changes in society and ideology are reflected in the lexical items employed. Naturally, the frequency of words signifies certain aspects of the political campaign to be more pressing than others. But these are not only political decisions but they stem from the surrounding society. The most notable change seems to take place at the turn of the millennium as the language of market economy and competition enter into the political sphere. Another clear break seems to happen with the turn of the political tide, in 1997 when Labour was to win the first of their three consecutive general elections. The language of standards, quality and market seems to have emerged prior to the year 1997 but there is a clear change especially in the metaphorical aspect of the manifesto. As I have claimed above, the 1997 manifesto is one filled with confrontations. The metaphorical expressions support this claim: metaphors of warfare and pioneer spirit enter the picture.

One thing remains unchanged. Labour manifestos are spotted with determiners *all* and *every*. They are on the top of the most frequent lexical items in each and every manifesto. This stems from the Labour ideology of equality for every single one. So, one might even proclaim that although the political babble is what it is, the Labour party wishes to hold on to something, even if it is just the use of the two determiners.

4.2. Grammatical features

In the following, I will look at certain grammatical features that have an interesting contribution to the analysis of the manifestos as a whole.

4.2.1. Thematic Roles

In the eighties manifestos, the unchallenged ‘doer’, the *agent*, is the Labour party, for the most part referred to by an exclusive we. E.g. *We shall encourage a higher*

standard of achievement among all pupils in the variety of academic and other activities which are essential parts of fully comprehensive education (1983). Other potential actors such as parents or schools, employ the role of *patient* or the *benefactive*, e.g. *For 16 and 17 year olds, we will introduce a two years' student-traineeship within a third or 'tertiary', stage of education, as described in the section on young people*. Different groups of younger population groups (children, young people) employ almost exclusively the role of the *benefactive* e.g. *We will make nursery education available for all three- and four-year-olds whose parents want this opportunity* (1987). The themes include for example, *primary education* and *secondary education* (1983). The role of *Goal* and *Instrument* are reserved for the Labour policies and proposals.

In 1992, different institutions have the role of the agent for the first time. Such examples include e.g. *A General Teaching Council for England and Wales will help them achieve the highest professional standards*. Policies and abstract proposals also employ the role of the agent e.g. *Home-school contracts will tell parents exactly what the school undertakes to deliver and what their responsibilities are*. Otherwise, the role division remains roughly the same: Labour as the main agent, students, teachers and parents as patients, theme or benefactives.

In the 1997, the situation changes. The role of the agent is occupied by other actors as well such as *Nearly half of 11 year-olds in England and Wales fail to reach expected standards in English and maths*. However, what must be noted is that these agents are clumped into a mass that is semantically abstract. There are agents such as *local parents* but in many cases they are agents in a passive construction, which puts the role of the agent in the background and the actual action into the limelight. The Labour, or their policies, employ also the role of the *instrument* in this manifesto.

The 1997 manifesto for the first time assigns the role of the agent to the Conservative party as well: *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*. Furthermore, what is notable is the fact that the role of the agent is more widely employed by different actors such as *employers* and so forth.

The 2001 continues on the same lines, as well as the 2005 manifesto. This new casting of roles would seem to reflect the ideological change towards the stake-holder society that has been stamped the ideology of the New Labour. In short, this means that in order to benefit, one must also do one's part. This creates a more multifaceted question of agency, although, what must be kept in mind is that even though this change does take place, the main actor is still the Labour party.

4.2.2. Verbs

In 1983, The Conservatives are not seen as an active figure; the only time they surface as an agent the verb in association is cut back. Otherwise, the only mention of Tory is in a genitive form of *Tories' cuts*. The Conservative proposals and actions are *rejected* and *repealed* (dismissive action). It is made very clear that the Conservative actions are seen as undesirable; all they have done or wish to do have been undesirable.

Labour's actions, on the other hand, *unify, restore, re-establish* (healing action); *improve, expand* (amelioration) *encourage, introduce, and establish* (founding action). Naturally verbs such as *repeal, abolish, phase out* and *withdraw* (dismissive) occur, as these verbs refer to those values and policies that the Labour finds undesirable. An interesting finding is that the Labour party is never referred to as the Labour but as *we* (18) and all are instances of the use of an exclusive we. The use of *exclusive we* versus *inclusive we* is discussed more extensively in 4.3.1.

In other words, the Labour will correct the mistakes that the current government has been making by re-establishing and restoring; upgrade the current system by improving and expanding; and harmonize the system by unifying and encouraging. The verbs signify more than anything growth, improvement and harmony.

Special schools for handicapped pupils is subject of the sentence but the verb used in this occasion is *retain* which means passive recipient rather than an active actor.

1987

Unlike in the 1983 manifesto there are no rejections or restorations in the 1987 manifesto with only one exception. *Labour shall end the 11 plus everywhere and stop diverting precious resources through the Assisted Places Scheme and public subsidies to private schools.*

Other verbs that refer to Labour are *foster*, *ensure* and *value* which can be labeled nurturing verbs; *improve* and *invest* which ameliorate and verbs that I will call *empty action* as they do not indicate any concrete action (*see, make, work*). So, once again, the parental syndrome is apparent. Labour takes actions that nurture and ameliorate the situation.

Children and young people is the subject of a sentence once and the verb used is *exploit*. Thus this group of people is in fact given an active role. *These policies*, an abstract entity is a subject of the sentence and *will contribute* a rather vague form of action. These two are the only two other actors in the 1987 manifesto, the rest is about what Labour will do.

1992

Especially notable about the 1992 manifesto are the verbs that refer to Labour actions. *Modernize* seems to be an extremely useful in Labour rhetoric at this time. Updating the system seems to be a key priority. On the other hand, Labour wishes to be seen as able to take decisive action against policies it sees inept. Labour will *Replace, phase out, tackle* and *reform*. Besides the fact that old structures will be torn down, action is taken to *create, introduce* and *establish* new structures.

The Conservatives are allocated only one action, that of *privatisation*. In all other cases, the Conservatives are merely in genitive form. However, it can be concluded the in the sentence, *But, under the Conservatives, Britain today invests a smaller share of our national wealth in education than in 1979* that the Britain today refers to the Conservatives; thus the action is investing a smaller share.

Groups of people in the subject position, for most part indicate what the subject is entitled to and do not indicate action per se.

*Three and four year olds will have the opportunity
Young people must have real opportunities to widen their experience and skills.
Every child needs a good grounding in science and technology*

Institutions have the role of helping, not of straightforward autonomous action.

*Ministry for women will have a central role in helping to develop nation wide childcare strategy
A general teaching Council or England and Wales will help them to achieve the highest professional standards*

The verb choices for the Labour party exhibit a desire to portray the party as forward-looking and modern but at the same time decisive to end what they see as pitfalls in the current educational policies. The verbs choices for the other actors, albeit seemingly actors, designing roles and expectations and needs that these actors may have; they do not have responsibility assigned to them as such.

1997

Verbs referring to Labour actions in the 1997 manifesto can be divided into 3 categories: market (*compete, modernize, set targets, promote*), support (*support, encourage, recognise, ensure, secured, examine, committed*) and expansion (*increase, create*). They seem to offer a little bit of everything for everybody. *Market* for those concerned about the competitiveness of the education system, *support* for those that support a more humanistic view of the educational services as part of social services and *expansion* because in our society today, bigger is better.

Groups of people in actor positions are seen as devoid of something e.g.

*Nearly half of 11 year-olds in England and Wales fail to reach expected standards in English and maths.
Nearly two thirds of the British workforce lack vocational qualifications.*

Institutional actors related to Labour have active role and take actions such as *suspend* and *order*, with the exception of the Department for Education and Employment which is just evolving.

*With Labour, the Department for Education and Employment will become a leading office of state.
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
For these failing schools unable to improve, ministers will order a 'fresh start [-].*

Schools do not have an active role in this manifesto; they are seen as *needing, retaining* or *suffering*.

Every school need as baseline assessment of pupils when they enter the school, and year-on-year target for improvement.

Church schools will retain their distinctive religious ethos.

Schools suffer from unruly and disruptive pupils.

Abstract entities have an active role but the nature of the action naturally depends on what the Labour thinks of the concept.

Pubic/private partnerships will improve the condition of school buildings.

It [11-plus] divides children into successes and failures at far too early and age.

2001

The verbs referring to Labour actions in the 2001 manifesto to large extent refer to expansion e.g. *increase, double, build, develop* and *expand*. The other set of verbs are about progression e.g. *pioneer* and *modernize*. There seems to be a desire to offer trustworthiness as in many occasions proclamations such as *promise, pledge* and *being committed*, are offered. Finally the verbs referring to Labour actions are about solidifying actions taken previously e.g. *ensure, improve, strengthen* and *support*. In short, it could be said that the verb chosen for this manifesto proclaim expansion, progression, trustworthiness and amelioration.

Teacher verbs are ones of accomplishment such as *achieve* and *turn around*. Thus, Labour wishes to allocate some of their success to the ones actually doing the work.

Primary school teachers have achieved excellent results.

Strong schools leadership and better teaching have turned around 700 failing schools.

Head teachers must have the freedom and resources necessary to run their schools effectively.

Non-governmental institutions have the task of *aiding*, and *aiming*.

Ofsted will help to drive up the standards,

Local education authorities will focus on supporting schools improvement [,]

Schools are once again with verbs of *requirement* but also of *serving*.

Specialist schools offer the full national curriculum to the whole ability range while developing a centre of excellence – and their rates of improvement outstrip the national average.

Good schools also depend on parent sand the local community.

2005

Verbs that refer to Labour actions in the 2005 manifesto can be divided into three categories: 1) expansion (*expand, establish, develop*), 2) support (*encourage*), 3) change (*reform, transform*) and 4) values (*believe*). The theme of expansion has been at the Labour agenda ever since the nineties. The supportive actions as well as those stating values on the other hand, seem to be of an earlier legacy, dating back to the manifestos of the eighties. Also reform has been on the Labour agenda heavily ever since the elections of 1992.

Teachers and schools are on the one hand, required to *work together* and on the other, seen as *deserving respect*. This seems to reflect the stake-holder concept of the Labour.

*Head teachers, teachers and support staff deserve support and respect.
Heads and governors will be in control.
Successful schools and colleges will have the independence to take decisions about how to deploy resources and develop their provision.
Schools will work together to raise standards.*

Children are *offered* and *requiring*, thus they do not have decisive action assigned to them.

*All primary school children will have access to high-quality tuition in the arts, music, sport and foreign languages.
Children with special education need require appropriate resources and support from trained staff.*

For the first time, parents are assigned an action, a **duty**. It does not refer to concrete action as such but to a commitment and responsibility. Employers and, for the first time, graduates have to function as actions.

*Parents have a duty to get their children to attend school
But graduates and employers must also play their part.*

Overall

All in all, the actions referring to Labour actions are usually more straightforward actions and the verbs that refer to other actors are, by and large, verbs with little or no semantic meaning; and by no means allocating radical actions. However, a change in the verbs can be detected, even if is a slight one. It reflects the concept of the stake-holder society, often associated with Third Way politics. It involves other actors than

the party or the government by a way of saying “if you want to receive, you must give”. This is most clearly reflected in the 2005 manifesto where *parents have a duty and graduates and employers must also play their part*.

4.2.3. Voice

The majority of the writing in each manifesto is in active voice. This is only natural as the use of the passive voice, especially frequently used in scientific writing, distances the writer from the text. This results in a text that is seemingly more objective. However, the purpose of the manifestos is not to distance, on the contrary, the aim is to seek compassion and identify with the writer.

The 1983 and 1987 manifestos have only a couple of instances of passive use. In 1983 the passive use is restricted to a few instances. These are agentless passive constructions but the agent can be figured out.

*The quality and frequency of teacher in-service training **must be improved** so that teachers receive no less than one schools term of training in every five years of service.
A ‘tertiary awards council’ **will be established** to develop and validate a proper system of educational assessment for the whole of the age group.*

Who does the improving or establishing is never said out loud but it can be figured out from the context: Labour will complete these actions. However, as there is no agent involved, it makes these proclamations less bounding. In 1987, the ones who provide, discover and nourish, as well as who is actually doing the embracing are omitted.

*They **must be provided** with a system of education that is creative and compassionat[e]
In pursuit of those objectives, Labour will invest in education so that the abilities of all children and adults from all home backgrounds and in every part of our country **are discovered and nourished**.
Education for life through a well-funded adult education service will help to provide the means by which rapid economic and social change **can be embraced**.*

However, as noted previously, the use of passives is not frequent in these manifestos.

The 1992 manifesto, on the other hand, uses plenty of passives. In most cases, the subject of the sentence is omitted.

*More and more parents **are now being forced** to pay for essentials in a system which should be free.
Teachers **will be guaranteed** a proper salary and career structure.
Every pupil **will be offered** a wide range of academic, technical and other options.*

One should not draw too speculative conclusions on the use of passive; in many cases the use of the passive tense is an obvious choice, instead of an attempt to disguise something. However, there are instances in which the case is less so. For example, instead of saying “*Over the next 22 months, we will invest resources of at least £600 million in education*”, the choice was a passive construction of “*Over the next 22 months, additional resources of at least £600 million will be made available for investment in education*”, which is clearly less decisive than the first example.

In 1997, the use of passives is quite frequent as well. An example of an agentless passive is *But far too many children are denied the opportunity to succeed*. In this example, the agent is omitted. First of all, it is because it would be hard to pinpoint one single factor that has resulted in this situation. Naming this the Conservatives fault would be too straight forward; in politics, it is a virtue to beat about the bush. However, the implication clearly is that it is the fault of the current system, and the current system has resulted from the Conservative reign. The 1997 manifesto also includes passive constructions that have an agent.

*Any changes in the admissions policies of grammar schools **will be decided by local parents**.*

*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.*

By using the passive construction, the subject of the sentence becomes the object. In the first example, this is done to put stress of the action itself – changes in admissions policies. In the second example, the stress is also on the action itself but also it effaces the role of the graduate who is to pay for the charges; not a very pleasant role to take.

The 2001 and 2005 manifestos use passive constructions less frequently than the 1997 manifesto. In fact, there are only a few occasions. The 2001 manifesto uses an interesting tactic in the two of the passive constructions found in the manifesto.

*Pupils **will be given** greater opportunities through the promotion of partnerships between schools.*

*University summer schools master classes and mentoring support **will be offered** to potential students from disadvantages areas through a new Excellence Challenge programme, backed up by £190 million of funding.*

There seems to be an agent in both of these sentences. However, the agent is not implied by the by-construction usually employed. If we turn these sentences into the active voice, it is clear that the agents are *the promotion of partnership between schools*

and *a new Excellence Challenge*. The agency is constructed through the use of the preposition *through*. This implies a lesser agency as something must be achieved through something, which implies the possibility of something going wrong. If one were to play the devil's advocate, one might suggest that the *through-agency* might be a step between an agentless passive construction and the by-agent construction.

The 2005 manifesto uses some passive constructions but not many. These, as always, deal with allocating non-specific tasks such as *New provision will be created where standards are too low or innovation is needed*. The fact that what these new provisions are, is not specified, results in the fact that the agent cannot be specified. There are also constructions similar to the constructions in the previous manifestos, where the agent is implied but pronounced.

Overall, the use of the passive construction is not very frequent for reasons such as the need to bring closer rather than distance the writer from the text. Nevertheless, passives are used to some extent. The greatest advantage of the use of the passive in political language is that it saves the trouble of allocating a person or institution responsible for each proposal. This means that the readers can either draw the conclusions themselves e.g. the implied Conservative government agent in *But far too many children are denied the opportunity to succeed* or the implied Labour agent in *Ofstead will be given new powers to respond t parental complaints and where necessary to close failing schools or replace failing management*. The fact that the agent is missing, however, may offer the proposal maker, the Labour, a way to escape the responsibility of following through the proposal. All in all, considering that the use of passive has the potential of being the ideal way of making political promises that will not have to be kept, the use is minimal. This would seem to counter the claims sometimes made that the manifestos are nothing but word mongering. In fact, I would insist that most of the proposals made in these manifestos have, at least at the time they were written, made in good faith of actually achieving those goals.

4.2.4. Tense and aspect

The use of tense is quite straightforward in these manifestos. Proposed actions are in the future tense, past events are in the past tense. Present tense is used to make either statements on the current state of affairs or to proclaim 'eternal truths' e.g. *Our children are our future* (1987). In the manifestos where the place of policy making is government, the simple past is used, albeit extremely rarely. In the manifestos where the place of policymaking is in the opposition, the past tense is employed to actions of the current government (i.e. Conservatives). The manifestos of the eighties, for most part, employ the future tense as they concern mostly, what the party would do if it were to be victorious. From 1997 onwards the reference is also to what has already been done.

The aspect of verbs is an interesting one as well to look at. In 1983, there is only one case of aspect that of past aspect in *The Tories' cuts have shown*. In 1987, there are no cases of aspect use. In 1992, one sentence is in progressive aspect *parents are being forced to pay*. This progressive aspect is used to describe the system of education under the Conservative rule.

The 1997 manifesto breaks this mould. There past tense is used to describe what the party had done while in the opposition. E.g. *In opposition, Labour set up the independent Stevenson Commission to promote access for children to new technology*. The 1997 manifesto employs one progressive form (*we are urgently examining*) and four instances of past aspect, *present perfect* namely. These instances refer to the current state of the educational system e.g. *Education has been the Tories' biggest failure* but also to the actions already taken by the party, while in opposition e.g. *We have agreed with British Telecom and the cable companies*; and *We have also secured agreement to make access charges as low as possible*.

In the 2001 manifesto, the simple past is used only twice; to refer to what *in 1997 Labour promised*, and to the situation before the Labour government *in 1997 we inherited a system where the number of qualified people able to go to university was capped*. These are clearly issues that the Labour considers done and dealt with. The change of government solved the system problem and the promise was fulfilled. There is a change in the use of the aspect, due to the fact that the party is in power. Both the

past aspect and the progressive aspect are more frequently used. The progressive aspect is present progressive e.g.

*The lowest-scoring LEAs **are now achieving** better results*
*We **are conducting***
*Today, the numbers **are rising** (2001)*
*The remodelling of the school workforce **is benefiting** staff and **helping** to tailor provision to pupil need*
*We **are investing** £ 1 billion more*
*Their results **are improving** faster (2005)*

These progressive forms are referring to ongoing processes that the party has going on at the time. The past aspect takes the form of present perfect which implies action that has begun in the past but there has not yet ended e.g.

*Since 1997 standards **have been** achieved*
*Our partnership with teachers **has achieved***
*Over this Parliament, we **have increased***
*Primary school teachers **have achieved***
*Since 1997 we **have increased** university funding (2001)*
*In our second term, we **have driven** fundamental reform*
*Since 1997, school funding **has risen** by £1,000 per pupil*
*The number of places in out-of-school units **has almost doubled***
*The historic problem of our education system at 14-plus **have been** an academic track which is too narrow (2005)*

The 2005 manifesto has also just two instances of simple past.

In our first term, we transformed recruitment, training and methods of teaching, with record results in primary schools.
In their last government the Conservatives spent more on unemployment and debt interest than on education.

These tell what the Labour has achieved and what the Conservatives have achieved.

In terms of tense use in these manifestos, the most common tense is naturally the future tense; what will happen. Present tense is employed to state eternal truths. The use of the simple past tense is very rare. In most cases, reference to past time is in present perfect. By using the present perfect or simple past form instead of past perfect form, the implication is that the work is not yet over. For example, if the example sentence looked like this: *The historic problem of our education system at 14-plus **had been** an academic track which is too narrow*, the implication would be that this problem has been overcome, the actions effective and goal accomplished. It could also imply that the party is no longer needed to reach this goal. It is better for the party to use these present progressive and present perfect forms as it keeps the situation seem as an ongoing process.

4.2.5. Modal auxiliaries

The most frequently used modal is *will*. This is natural, as the function of the manifestos is to present actions that the party will take, once in power. However, an interesting tendency is revealed when looking at the actual frequencies of modal/per number of words. In 1983, 1987, 2001 and 2005 the frequency of *will* measured in the above fashion is 0,02. In the 1992 and 1997 manifestos, they are 0,04 and 0,03 respectively. This would seem to suggest that the *will*+verb ratio is somewhat of a constant. The 1992 and 1997 manifestos are the manifestos that are presenting the new party and offering suggestions on how to make the educational policies better. They would seem to have a larger ratio of suggestions than a standard manifesto. However, without a proper statistical analysis, definitive conclusions cannot be drawn.

		Modal				
		<i>will/would</i>	<i>shall/should</i>	<i>can/could</i>	<i>must</i>	<i>may/might</i>
1983	intrinsic	18	2	-	4	-
	extrinsic	2	1	-	-	-
1987	intrinsic	9	3	-	2	-
	extrinsic	4	-	-	-	-
1992	intrinsic	29	-	-	3	-
	extrinsic	22	1	-	2	-
1997	intrinsic	43	-	1	2	-
	extrinsic	18	4	3	2	3
2001	intrinsic	35	-	2	-	-
	extrinsic	15	4	1	1	-
2005	intrinsic	32	1	3	1	-
	extrinsic	23	9	-	1	-

The use of *may* is very rare. One reason for this might be that it implies a very tentative stance and is thus used together with issues that need, at least from the Labour point of view, extremely careful language such as in a case of *Exclusion or suspension may sometimes be necessary*. The use of intrinsic form of the modal auxiliary *will* is dominant. This is hardly surprising, as intrinsic implies human control over the issue at hand, rather than extrinsic prediction. However, in the 1992 manifesto, these two senses are almost equal. The use of the modal auxiliary *can* emerges in the 1997 manifesto, most of the time with the semantics of ‘being able to’.

One trend in the use of the modals would seem to be the moving away from the obligatory *must* into a more tentative *should*. This change can be pinpointed to the 2001

manifesto. The use of *should* is in the 1997 manifesto as frequent as the use of *must* (frequency of 5), where as in the manifestos of the eighties and the early nineties *must* is the most frequent modal after the modal *will*. This change would seem to indicate a softening of the ideology displayed in the manifestos, to the extent that it is providing recommendations as opposed to the absolute necessities that the earlier manifestos cry out for.

4.2.6. Analysis of the trends and overall picture

	Thematic Roles					Verbs	Voice	Tense	Aspect	Modals
	Agents	Themes	Instruments	Benefactives	Patients					
1983	Labour, exclusive we	policy issues	policies	students, schools, society	schools, students	Labour: heal, amelioration, founding; dismissive; Special schools: passive	active	values: present; actions: future; government action: past	1 past	use of <i>must</i> more frequent than in others
1987	Labour, exclusive we	policy issues	policies	students, schools, society	schools, students	Labour: nurture, amelioration, empty action; children and young people: active exploit; Policies: vague	active	present: eternal truths; actions: future	n/a	-
1992	Labour, exclusive we, institutions, abstract proposals	policy issues	Labour, Labour policies	students, schools, society	schools, students	Labour: renewal, creation, modernization; Conservatives: privatization; population groups: entitlement; Institutions: helping	more passives, agent omitted	present: eternal truths; future: actions	1 prog. (state)	extrinsic/ intrinsic <i>will/ would</i> roughly the same; <i>will</i> + verb ratio slightly higher
1997	varied	policy issues	policies	students, schools, society	schools, students	Labour: market, support, expansion; People: devoid of something, Institutions: active role; Schools: needing, retaining, suffering	some passives, with and without agent	past tense: actions while in opposition; actions: future; present: eternal truths	1 prog. (state); 4 past (actions taken)	emergence of <i>can; will + verb</i> ratio slightly higher
2001	varied; introduction of students and parents	policy issues	policies	students, schools, society	schools, students	Labour: expansion, progression, trustworthiness, amelioration; Teachers: accomplishment; Institutions: aiding, aiming; Schools: require, serve	passive use less frequent; through-agency	2 instances of simple past; actions: future; present: eternal truths	present progressive; present perfect	-
2005	varied (incl. Students and parents)	policy issues	policies	students, schools, society, prosperity	schools, students	Labour: expansion, support, change and values; teachers and schools: harmonizing; Children: requiring; Parents: duty	passive use less frequent	past: Labour and Conservative track record; present: eternal truths, future: actions	present progressive; present perfect	preference of <i>should</i> over <i>must</i>

Fig. 7 Conclusion table of the grammatical features

Figure 7. summarizes the grammatical aspects analysed. In terms of thematic roles, there seems to be a clear cut at the turn of the eighties as well as between 1992 and 1997. While the other roles, such as benefactives and patients, remain roughly the

same, the role of the agent does expand. Where as the manifestos of the eighties see Labour as the sole agent, the 1992 manifesto expands this to the institutions and abstract policies and from 1997 onwards other actors employ the role of the agent as well. However, as noted before, the vast majority of agent-roles are employed by the Labour.

The verbal collocations of the Labour much resemble the tone set by the metaphors. From the eighties nurture and creation into the 1992 modernization and into the last three victorious manifestos of market and especially expansion the verbs that refer to the actions of the Labour party are consistent.

The use of the passives seems to increase each year. Notable is the fact that where the agent roles are assigned to other actors than Labour, Labour policies or institutions the agent is often situated in a passive construction.

Where as the use of the future tense is typical for this genre of writing the manifestos from 1997 onwards also employ past perfect. Present tense is only really used to state something termed 'eternal truths'. The use of the present progressive is in the manifestos made while in government also frequent. In fact, the use of the present progressive began already in the 1997 manifesto, which seems quite the odd one out in this respect. The present progressive was used to point out the actions of the party while in opposition when this grammatical strategy did not appear in the manifestos of the eighties. The use of the present progressive over past progressive, as I have discussed previously, is probably a conscious one. By using the present progressive it is implied that the work is not yet over and by voting for Labour this work will continue.

The use of modals is an interesting one. The use of will+verb is a generic feature. The use of other modals, however, varies. Especially interesting seems to be the move from the modal *must* into a softer approach of *should*. While too conclusive remarks should be held at bay, this change should be an interesting change to look at if the study of the manifestos extended to the entire manifestos through the whole time period.

The analysis of grammatical features has revealed interesting generic features but also exceptions, especially in the 1997 manifesto, which could be signs of successful "in opposition made" – manifesto.

4.3. Rhetoric

This chapter will deal with the rhetorical features found in the manifestos during the years. In the last chapter, I analyzed in detail each and every manifesto, year by year. The rhetorical features do not have as detailed information to offer as the lexical features, due to the nature (or genre) of the texts. I will deal with the generic aspects of the data in chapter 6. Therefore, I have decided to approach this aspect of analysis rather by different aspects than chronologically. I have divided these aspects into three: identification, argumentation and audience. These subfields are more or less identical to the approaches by Burke (identification), Toulmin (argumentation) and Perelman (audience) explained above. Chronological approach has, however, been used in making the analytical table.

4.3.1. Identification

Manifestos do not demand identification to same extent as might be expected from a public speech. Different tools for identification are, however, used. The most notable of these is the use of first person plural *we*. Present-day English however makes a distinction between an *exclusive we* and an *inclusive we*. What this means in practice is that the inclusive *we* includes the speaker and the hearer where as the exclusive *we* includes the speaker, possibly some other participants but not the hearer.

In many other languages, this distinction is more visible as these two groups are assigned different personal pronouns. In English, although the same personal pronoun is used for both instances, the distinction remains. What this means is that although the distinction is made in English as well, it is more difficult to detect. The use of *we* is therefore significant in creating identification within a group.

We is used extremely often in these manifestoes. Mostly it is used as an exclusive *we*, referring mainly to the Labour party itself and not including the reader. The use of *we* is so frequent that it can be pointed out as a generic aspect of manifesto writing. Inclusive *we* is mostly used when referring to values or duties e.g.

We have a moral and material duty to see that children young people are fully equipped to deal with the complexities and challenges which face

them now and which they will meet as citizens; parents and workers in the future. (1987)

We will compete on the basis of quality or not at all. (1997)

All in all, the use of inclusive we is not that frequent.

In addition, the word *our* seems to be used frequently. It too, can be divided into exclusive and inclusive. Once again, the term is mostly used in the exclusive sense but especially in parts which I have labeled *immersion* and with which I shall deal with in chapter 6, the words *our* and *we* are used most likely in the inclusive sense (*our society, our children, we have a mortal and material duty*).

Another useful tool for identification is reference to the nation or nationality. In educational policies the word Britain or British does not make an appearance in the earlier manifestos of 1983 and 1987. In 1992, 1997 and 2005 reference is made to either Britain as a nation or the British as a nationality. The year 2001 seems to be the odd one out. Identification to a nationality as opposed to those outside of Britain is, on one hand, creating a common identity for all those that live in Britain. On the other hand, it dissolves other grouping within the society such as those living outside the big cities, workers, entrepreneurs and so forth. It is a similar kind of grouping as the earlier reference given to former President Reagan's speech and the call for a non-human threat.

On the other hand, Labour seems to use phrases as *Primary education is fundamental to all educational and social development as any parent knows* (1983) and *Primary education without basic is betrayal; but every parent rightly wants more* (2001) for means of identification. If you do not agree with the perambulatory clause, the reader will exclude themselves from the role of a parent.

The manifesto is also spotted with determiners such as *all, no, whole* and *every*. This serves as means for identification as well. It clumps the different groupings into one big mass (*all, no*) but also treats them as individuals within the mass (*every*). Just like words referring to nationality these little particles dissolve identification barriers and different

opposing groups. The Labour wishes to promote itself as the party who looks out after all the people equally.

One more notable feature of identification can be found in the manifestos, that of cultural references. By these cultural references within the text I mean references to, for example, historical circumstances or sayings, to point out a couple. These are references that may not be recognized or understood by someone coming out of a different culture or even those with relatively good knowledge of the target culture. Such examples are references to e.g. *Black Report* (1983) and *Higginson report* (1992). The fact of the matter is that these reports may be unfamiliar to even those from inside the cultural context. In this case, the named reports function mostly as evidence or authoritative statements. For those who actively engage in educational politics, these reports may be familiar. To those people, it provides a wink of an eye, i.e. you are one of us.

Another line of references are the references to historical events or backgrounds. Such examples include referring to *unhealthy educational divides* and *the historic problems of our education system at 14-plus* (2005). These demand specific historical knowledge on the society that members of the society are expected to have. Without this knowledge, claims such as these will be irrelevant.

One more type of reference is the idiomatic *the three r's* (1997) which refer to reading, writing and arithmetic. Again, these idioms provide a sense of a common cultural background.

Furthermore, identification can be done from behalf of the party. This means that the party identifies itself with a certain position or a topic. From 1997 onwards the Labour party has identified itself strongly with educational issues. The first heading from 1997 states that *We will make education our number one priority*. In addition the party has wanted to achieve an association of growth.

Burke defined the four master tropes as metaphors, synecdoques, metonyms and ironies. However, as I have already dealt with the metaphors in the lexical features analysis, only the three other tropes will be further investigated. The use of metonyms and synecdoques (part for whole or whole for part) is quite rare, and the use of irony is even

more so. However, the use of metonyms and synecdoches is quite ‘traditional’ in that it refers to things like (during the next) *Parliament* to mean the entire four years of working in government and all the actions taken during that time, or *schools* to refer to the entire infrastructure and the personnel in that school. In the same way different institutions like *Educational Commission* or *Ministry for Women* are used to cover the workings of the individual civil servants. The use of more figurative uses of either metonym or synecdoche do not seem to have a place in the manifestos.

The use of irony is non-existent. In fact, there is only one probable sentence, found in the 2005 manifesto: *The use of violence, including the use of knives will not be tolerated.* However, whether or not this is in fact an example of irony cannot be conclusively stated but classifying it as such is the only way to explain this otherwise bizarre sentence.

While no out of the ordinary cases of the use of master tropes cannot be detected, it can be concluded that the genre of manifesto writing has little or no place for figurative language outside of metaphor. Perhaps the genre of manifesto writing is considered too grave for such figurative speech. The lack of use of irony reflects the fact that irony is a difficult trope to use, especially in writing. The possibility of being misunderstood is too great.

In terms of god-terms, a definite change seems to appear during the nineties. From the all defining idea of equality of the eighties, the manifestos of nineties stress standards while from 2001 onwards the all encompassing term would seem to be investment resulting in economical profit.

4.3.2. Audience

I will first look at what the premises of the manifestos are. 1983 and 1987 manifestos resemble one another to a great extent. The premises are between presumptions and values with a truth or two added. Most of the time, the emphasis is on values. Therefore, the audience that the party is reaching at this time is, to a large extent, a particular

audience: those who agree with the value statements made by the Labour. Few examples of a value premise directed at a particular audience are:

The fact is, however, that economic and social process will depend on our success in making use of the abilities of the whole of our population. (1983)

The entitlement to free schools meals and the restoration of nutritional standards are, like the strengthening of the school health service, commitments which are necessary to safeguard the physical and emotional wellbeing of growing children. (1987)

In order for the reader to accept this premise as valid, means that they agree with the underlying values of the statements. As these are statements based on a certain ideology, that of social equality, it can be concluded that these views will not be shared by everyone but in fact, a particular audience.

The 1992 manifesto is somewhat different and utilizes different types of premises ranging from facts to loci of the preferable. It is quite balanced in terms of reaching out for universal and particular audiences incorporating value premises e.g. *All boys and girls, from every background, must be able to discover their talents and fulfil their potential*; facts e.g. *[U]nder the Conservatives, Britain today invest a smaller share of our national wealth in education than in 1979.* ; and presumptions e.g. *By investing in better teaching, smaller classes and modern books and equipment we will raise education standards.*

The 1997 manifesto begins with a cascade of value premises.

It (education) is not just good for the individual. It is an economic necessity for the nation. We will compete on the basis of quality or not at all. And quality comes from developing the potential of all our people. It is the people who are our greatest natural asset.

It is thereafter followed by number facts.

Nearly half of 11 year-olds in England and Wales fail to reach expected standards in English and maths. Britain has a smaller share of 17 and 18 year-olds in full-time education than any other major industrial nation. Nearly two-thirds of the British workforce lack vocational qualifications.

The 1997 manifesto is a mixture of presumptions and values. The presumptions are normally backed up by further explanations. They are directed at the universal audience. Value premises on the other hand, as they are directed towards a particular audience, need no confirmation.

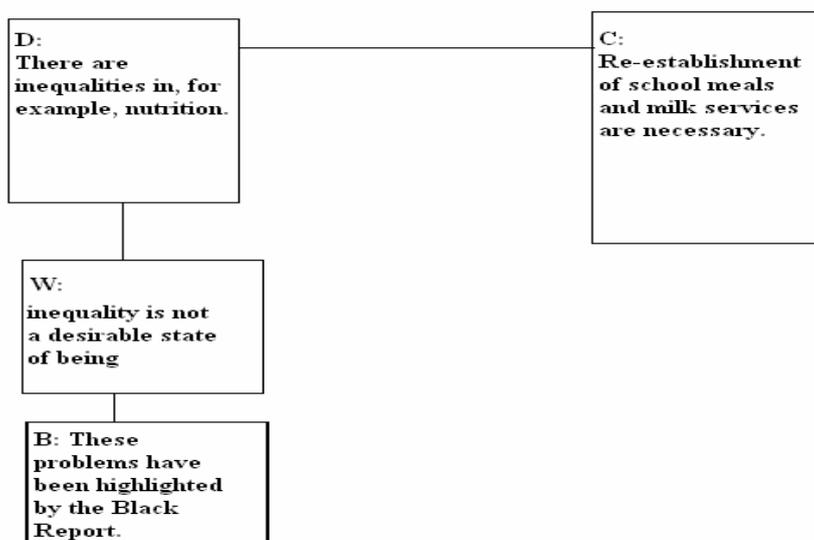
The same lining applies to the 2001 and 2005 manifestos. Where as there is a somewhat of an equal balance of presumption and value premises, there are facts and truths as well.

All in all, the scales would seem to tilt towards the universal audience. So therefore it can be claimed that from 1997 onwards the focus has been on the universal audience. However, it cannot be claimed that the party was counting on the constructed universal audience alone. In fact, the statements relying on value premises are several. Whether or not this value system is the same that it was in the manifestos of the eighties is not the point of this study. Instead, the conclusion is that, in fact, value premises remain important in the manifesto writing.

4.3.3. Argumentation

The application of Toulmin's structure of argumentation provides for the analysis of the argument structure. The warrants, in particular, will be looked at for the purpose of this study. As stated before, warrants may be divided into motivational, authoritative and substantive. Using the Toulmin model means opening up an argument for more thorough investigation.

An example from 1983:



The type of warrant in question is motivational: it is a value statement. The approval of the statement will depend on whether or not the audience accepts this value. However, the statement is backed by an authority, the Black Report which may increase the validity of the statement.

In this part of the analysis I will look at the warrants and backings that appear in the manifestos and see if there have been any changes to the argument structure over the years. I will give a brief description of each manifesto and the types of arguments used and give a few examples.

1983

authoritative	1
motivational	8
substantive	1

In 1983, the majority of the warrants of the arguments are motivational i.e. they are based on value systems. Some examples are *Education is advantageous to the society as a whole; inequality is not a desirable state of being and we believe in educational opportunities*. Besides the fact that these are motivational warrants, they are first and foremost associated with what is thought of as traditional socialist ideas. As any political ideologies, the starting point is that these ideologies are not accepted by the society as a whole. Therefore, the logical expectation would be that the argument is supported by some kind of backing (statistics, expert testimonials or practical examples), just like in the example sentence on page the warrant is backed by an authoritative document. In this manifesto, however, this is not the case.

The manifesto also uses some rather nonsensical arguments such as *The Tories' cuts have shown that they have no commitment to a free and fair education system*.

D: Tories have made some cuts.

W: A free and fair education system means no cuts.

C: Tories have no commitment to free and fair education system.

It is rather obvious that this kind of reasoning cannot hold as it is a circular argument. The next example, *We reject the Tory proposals for student loans; and we will ensure*

students are given adequate financial support, is also problematic as it would seem to need a backing in the form of defining what adequate financial support is.

1987

authoritative	0
motivational	9
substantive	0

The 1987 manifesto repeats these motivational warrants with such examples as *Education provides means by which economic and social change can be handled; We have a moral and material duty to protect and provide for; safeguarding physical and social wellbeing is the job of the government*. This manifesto provided even less backing than the previous one. Therefore, it can only be concluded that the assumption made by the party is that the ideology that they believe in the somewhat of a universal truth or at least a utopia that everyone wished they could reach. This would seem to indicate a degree of naivety when it comes to the field of political competition.

The 1987 manifesto provides even more examples of problematic arguments that the 1983 manifesto. One such example is *The entitlement to free school meals and the restoration of nutritional standards are, like the strengthening of the school health service, commitments which are necessary to safeguard the physical and social wellbeing of growing children*. What makes problematic is the fact that it only consists of a claim. It seems a very isolated sentence, as there is no mention of an action plan, of the current status of free school meals, no backing or no warrants. It is a pure value statement. This would suggest that the data is implicitly known which may be fine in a casual conversation but political discourse requires more.

1992

authoritative	1
motivational	7
substantive	0

In 1992, the argument structuring seems to take a turn for a more specific kind of reasoning.

- D: *Under the Conservatives, Britain today invests a smaller share of our national wealth in education than in 1979. More and more parents are now being forced to pay for essentials in a system which should be free.*
- W: *The current system is flawed and under-funded.*
- B: *Good education is the best investment in Britain's future and therefore we need to spend more on it. All girls and boys, from every background, must be able to discover their talents and fulfil their potential*
- C: *Labour will modernise Britain's schools. We need qualifications that count; safe and disciplined schools; professional teachers working with parents; learning as a lifetime opportunity. Over the next 22 months, additional resources of at least £600 million will be made available for investment in education. We will then continue steadily to increase the share of Britain's national wealth invested in education.*

The warrant type remains the same, motivational, but Labour attempts to defend its views as to why this underlying idea is the right one. However, the notably socialist views are challenged with more materialistic views, e.g.

- D: *Investment in better teaching, smaller classes and modern books and equipment means raising education standards.*
- W: *Material investment means better standards.*
- C: *Therefore, teachers will be guaranteed a proper salary and career structure. A General Teaching Council for England and Wales will help them achieve the highest professional standards. Higher quality training will be followed by proper support for newly-qualified teachers. A national in-service training programme will ensure that all teachers are fully qualified in the subject they are teaching.*

The changes within the party ideology are perhaps emerging. After all, the change to New Labour did not happen overnight but is gradual. As a manifesto is a compromise document by different groups, it is understandable that there will be different ideas behind each argument. Politics is trading to a large extent: you will get this proposition through, if I in return get this point through.

1997

authoritative	2
motivational	8
substantive	6

The 1997 manifesto seems to be a real turning point. Although the motivational warrants still are the primary type of warrants, there seems to be option of substantive warrants. These substantive warrants do not rely on values or convictions of the audience but such reasoning as cause-effect, generalizations and so forth. An example of this is:

- D: *The Conservatives have cut government spending on education.*
- W: *There is a causal relationship between educational spending and economic and social failure.*
- C: *The share of national income by the equivalent of more than £3 billion as spending on the bills of economic and social failure has risen.*

What this might signify is the fact that traditional ideology as such does not seem to be the only defining factor in voting politics. What is needed is the sound logical reasoning. This logical reasoning, however, is rarely backed up by any kind of statistics or research. The main reason for this is the nature of the genre. Manifesto is not a scientific essay which needs to pinpoint all of its sources and back up results with evidence such as previous study. These “facts” may be debated in public, if necessary.

The lack of backing in the arguments is striking. On one hand, as many of the warrants of the clauses are generalizations they may be felt to be effective as they are. On the other hand, has the Labour argumentation style is moving slightly towards a more comprehensive kind of arguing and so it could be expected that the warrants would be provided backing, especially as this election must have been a matter of life and death for the Labour, as they already tasted the victory just five years back and them had it slip away at the last minute.

2001

authoritative	0
motivational	10
substantive	8

The 2001 manifesto continues on the successful path of argumentation style. Motivational warrants are still the ones used most often clarify the data but substantitive warrants are a good second. Notable again is the lack of backing. In some cases the manifesto uses figures or statistics as backing but more often it is just making cause-effect claims, and not really justifying these causal relations by any means. E.g.

C: Headteachers must have the freedom and resources necessary to run their schools effectively.

D: We have improved pay and training for headteachers and delegated more funding to schools. Where they demonstrate success, we will further extend their freedom to manage their schools effectively. We will reduce the regulatory burden on all schools.

W: pay, training and freedom will result in effective running of the schools.

Where as this kind of reasoning may well be accurate and true, the from the supposition that the burden of proof is on the person that makes the claim, this line of argumentations is not all that convincing.

As in all the previous manifestos, the authoritative arguments are in the minority and in this case, lacking entirely. This just further goes to prove the point that the genre of manifesto writing is not scientific writing. However, if the views represented in the manifestos are defended in public, the assumption is that some authoritative warrants may be used.

2005

authoritative	3
motivational	8
substantive	10

In the 2005 manifesto, the tables have turned. The substantive warrants are the most common. However, the difference is not dramatic enough in itself, but by looking at the evolution of this type of argument, the results would seem to suggest a change. In fact, the most common substantive warrant is that “past actions are symptomatic of future actions”. E.g.

D: Since 1997, school funding has risen by £1,000 per pupil.

C: Education spending that was 4.7 per cent of national income in 1997 will rise to 5.5 per cent this year. We will continue to raise the share of national income devoted to education.

W: We promised this the last time and will fulfil the expectations this time too because past actions are symptomatic of future actions

This type of reasoning is applied to both the Labour party as well as the Conservatives. The main concern then seems to be on stressing continuity of action and the track record of each of the parties. Labour has brought peace and prosperity whereas the Conservatives have only made matters worse. It is impossible to change course, for better or for worse.

It must be kept in mind that the motivational warrants have not disappeared anywhere. Therefore, it can produce a counter argument to the claim that the modern parties have little or no ideological content in their policies, and only think in terms of winning votes as Rose (1983) has claimed. While the actions proposed may not be Labour or Conservative specific, the fact of the matter is that they are, by and large, grounded on value statements and therefore, are value bound.

Overall

What seems to be interesting is the fact that in many cases the *data* -part of the argument is missing or it is implicit. This would seem to be a generic feature of these manifestos. The implications of this are several. Firstly, the indication would be that manifestos are not the first contact between the voter and the party. The issues that the manifestos deal with have been brought up somewhere else, most likely media. This would seem to signal the interactive nature of the manifestos; they not in interaction with the individual as such but reflecting the discussions going on in the society - perhaps reflected via the media, the Fourth Estate.

Secondly, a generic feature of the manifestos is the use of motivational warrants. However, if we were to take the stand that the manifestos are the only thing affecting the results of the elections a following claim could be made. In order for the manifesto to be successful, the power of it all does not lay in the values it represents but on the logical reasoning it attempts to make, no matter if the reasoning is not actually very logical in real terms.

Third feature, a generic one as well, is the use of claims with no data or warrants. Manifestos are filled with promises and claims. Some will be more important than others. The presumption is that if the promise (proposed action) is important and if it is such that most people are expected to agree on, it will not need any more explanations.

5. The Genre of Political Manifestos

The question of the genre of political manifestos is an interesting one. So far I have not come across any generic descriptions of the genre of political manifestos as such. Therefore I will attempt to describe from the very limited mass of data, a simple framework of a political manifesto.

5.1. Communicative purposes

Below are the communicative purposes of political manifestos which is modelled after Bhatia's (1993) example of sales letters.

1. Main function is to be persuasive: a response in the form of voting for the party is desired.
2. Capture the attention of the person reading the manifesto.
3. Are usually addressed to all potential voters.
4. Recipients are all the adults who are eligible to vote in general elections.
5. Not likely to be the first contact between the party and the citizen, rather a later contact, after the initial interest of the voter has been attracted otherwise.
6. Provides more information on the program, not perhaps addressed in the first instances or in the media.

How are these targets reached out for then? Persuasion is first and foremost achieved through identification. In order to successfully persuade, one must be able to create a feeling of togetherness. Capturing the attention of the person reading the manifesto is done mostly through offering benefits to the reader. The benefactives –schools, students, teachers, parents– all have ideas and demands and needs that have to be met. These benefits offer attention hooks: what are we getting from this particular party? Addressing all potential voters is a different issue all together, as discussed before, this may be done through two different ways: by addressing each particular audience at one time or another or attempting to reach the imaginary universal audience. In practice, the manifesto reaches out for both types of audience, but the proportion changes. The fact that the manifesto is not the first contact between the party and the voter can be seen in the fact that the manifesto can disregard “essential” parts of the argument, such as data and even warrants. The pretext, the data, is provided else where. The fact that the manifestos also use plain claims supports this theory as well. however, not all goals are as clear, and the more through arguments provide the background and justification to the claims and policy proposals that the party makes, in order for them to be more acceptable, even desirable.

5.2. The structural elements

To make definitive conclusions on the genre of political manifestos based on one single political party and only one single policy area would be shooting oneself in the leg; the data is just too narrow in scope. To make a more comprehensive study would require a

much wider scope of manifestos from different parties. However, I am confident that rough sketches can be made which apply, at least, to the Labour party and their manifestos when educational policies are considered. On the other hand, the hypothesis is that there is a certain structure that any given manifesto follows and therefore it could be possible to extend these descriptions to cover an area which could be called the genre of political manifestos. At this point, however, I will conclude that these are just tentative results.

One feature seems to be in common with all the manifestos, excluding the 1997 manifesto. The main body of text starts with the description of the current situation and/or the values of the party. E.g.

*If individuals are to achieve their full creative potential, and our society is to advance, we must substantially improve educational provision an opportunity (1983).
Our children are our future. We have a moral and material duty to see that children and young people are fully equipped to deal with the complexities and challenges which face them now and which they will meet as citizens; parents and workers in the future (1987).
Education remains Labour's top priority. Excellence for the many, not just the few is our driving passion. Our goal is to develop education to harness the individual talents of every pupil (2001).*

This part will be labelled *immersion* as this part's function is to absorb the reader into the world of Labour, and accept these claims and values as valid. The 1997 manifesto puts the 6 *objectives* of the party first followed by the *immersion*. However, it can be speculated whether or not the placing of the objectives in the structure of the text has more to do with layout of the manifesto than the textual structure.

After the immersion comes the *policy* -part. What is significant is that all of these issue areas are arranged under a subheading which will introduce the topic area. This subheading defines one certain cluster of policy. Details and objectives are explicated. There is a clear difference in the content of the policy parts if we compare the manifestos of the eighties with the rest of the manifestos. The manifestos of the eighties give a value-bound justification for what they are about to say. E.g.

Schools in the community

Primary education is fundamental to all educational and social development, as any parent knows. We will restore funds... (1983)

Labour values the research and teaching contribution made by Britain's higher education system. We will... (1987)

In most of the cases *backing* is also provided to support the claims. Here again, we find a watershed that runs between the 1987 and 1992 manifestos. As the Toulmin's argumentation analysis pointed out, the kind of backing used in the manifestos of the eighties are ones of common sense and value. From the 1992 onwards the use of statistics and authorities such as different reports are used to support the claims.

In the case of the manifestos where the place of the policy-making is the government also testimonials on the progress are provided. E.g.

Teachers

Nothing in education is more important than having good teachers. We have made teaching a far more attractive career, through better pay, better incentives to train including training salaries and loan write-offs, more recognition and improved support. The General Teaching Council and National College for School Leadership are both now up and running. We want teaching to be a career of choice for the best graduates and attractive to people making career changes. We will continue to invest more in the profession and improve conditions for teachers. (2005)

The issue or the group, which is to be the benefactor of the actions taken, is put under one subheading e.g. *primary schools, secondary schools, parents, adult education*. Under the subheading the issue will be introduced and the solution i.e. the policy stand of the party is given. Sometimes (e.g. 1983) the objectives are also given under the appropriate subheadings. In 1992 and 1997 the objectives are explicated also outside of the subheadings; in the 1997 manifesto this is the first thing, in the 1992 the absolute last one. Therefore, the status of the objectives is clear but their place in the structure of the manifesto is fluid.

The 2001 and 2005 manifestos have been written while the party has been in government. Therefore, it is only natural that they will stress their *track-record*. This track-record is for most part situated after the immersion. However, they are also included in the running text alongside the *policies*.

Most of the manifestos end their manifestos on educational policies abruptly. The reason for this is that the educational policies form only one issue area within a manifesto and in the cases handled in this study education has not been the last chapter on the manifesto. Therefore, there is nothing peculiar about listing the policy areas one

after another and then moving on to the next policy area. However, the 1992, 1997 and 2005 manifestos employ a part which will be labelled *signing off*. It is like a concluding chapter of an essay which draws conclusions on the findings. The content of these signing offs varies but the function is the same. In 1992 the manifesto ends with a conclusion on the party's educational policy objectives. In 1997 the conclusion offers pressure tactics (threat that the Conservatives will cut spending on education) and the future alternative (*we will cut the costs of economic and social failure*). In 2005 the manifesto sums up the proposed actions by the Conservative party and the Labour party and ends with a downright threat: *Or back with the Tories to an education system designed to look after the few but fail the many*. Interestingly enough these *signing off*–parts occur at times of struggle. In 1992 Labour was ahead on the polls and predicated a slight winner (BBC 1992 Online) but ended up in opposition once again. In 1997 the political tide was about to turn and Labour was campaigning harder than ever after the poignant defeat of 1992 and in 2005, Labour's star was starting to fade.

Structure of the manifestos can be roughly sketched as follows:

1. Immersion
2. Track-record
3. Policies
 - a. heading
 - b. details and objectives
 - c. backing (statistics, authorities, common sense)
 - d. testimonials
4. Signing off
 - a. objectives
 - b. pressure tactics

At the minimum the manifesto seems to include *immersion* and *policies* and if the place of the policymaking is government, *track-record* is included. If we compare this structure with Bhatia's (1993) analysis of the generic structure of promotional writing, the congruency is notable.

1. Headlines
2. Targeting the market
3. Justifying the product of service by establishing a niche

4. Detailing the product or service
5. Establishing credentials
6. Endorsement or testimonials
7. Offering incentives
8. Using pressure tactics
9. Soliciting response
10. Signature line and Logo etc.

Points 1—6 are more or less congruent with the points used in this study. The points 7 and 9 on the other hand, are not independent points as such but are sown into the policies and the political language of the policies. As pointed out previously, in some cases pressure tactics are used in political manifestos. Soliciting response is the nature of these manifestos. There is not clear “Vote for us” –plea as the electorate does realize with out saying that this is the purpose of these types of texts. One might say that a generic feature of a manifesto is *soliciting response*. Surely, point number 10 –logo– can be found in each and every manifesto.

If we then compare the nature of political writing and promotional writing, one might say that there are clear congruencies. On one hand, this is natural. The objective of political manifestos the objective is to ‘sell’ the manifesto to the electorate. It could be said that political manifesto writing **is** promotional writing. On the other hand, these similarities should not however, be overwhelming to the extent that we equate promotional sales letters and political manifestos. First of all, manifesto must be more discrete. The ‘product’ sold must be promoted using other tactics than “go, buy, vote” –rhetoric. Political manifestos are second generation advertising: image advertising. The produce is not for sale as such, what they sell is an ideology, a world view, a better society that can be achieved via voting the party into power.

5.3. What is the genre of manifesto writing?

From this study, certain guidelines for the definition of manifesto writing can be sketched. In terms of argument structure a generic feature is the clear instances of missing data. As I have speculated previously, it could be do to the fact that the communicative nature of the manifesto, as suggested in the previous chapter, is that the manifesto is a response to issues that are deemed salient in the society. Therefore, the

data is implicit in that everyone who has followed the public debate more or less actively will know the issue at hand. Another feature is the plain claim of the manifestos, by which I mean claims that are not preceded by data or backed by warrants or backing. The type of warrants most often used are either motivational or substantive (e.g. cause-effect). Authoritative warrants are used, but they are much rarer.

Manifestos are, to a large extent, written in the future tense. This is not surprising as the function of the manifesto is to be an action plan of the party. To a large extent, the party refers to itself by an exclusive *we*. The use of inclusive *we* is much less common and it is limited to voicing value statements. The reason for using exclusive *we* instead of Labour (or some other party for that matter) is the utilization of the idea of *we* as a tool for identification. Although, by definition, the exclusive *we* does not include the reader, this line is not as distinguishable as it may first appear.

For Labour, some features are consistent in every manifesto under examination here. One is the use of determiners such as *every*, *whole* and *all*. By using these, the Labour seems to be eager to highlight the fact that their policies aim at the greatest possible good for the greatest number of people. Consistent is also the phrase, *if back with the Tories to an education system designed to look after the few but fail the many* (2005). This is a clear policy objective for the Labour and an aspect that they see is crucially different from the Conservatives, or any other parties for that matter.

5.4. What would a successful (educational) manifesto look like?

The data used in this study is too narrow to make definitive statements. Is it ever possible, remains unanswered. However, based on the findings of this study, I will speculate on the 'possible formula for success' in manifesto writing. The manifestos from 1997 can be described as successful. In fact, I would extend this to cover the 1992 manifesto as well, as it was the manifesto to draw Labour out of its darkest slump and actually gained a considerable number of seats.

As noted before, the cleat change took place in 1992. A new kind of vocabulary was emerging, the metaphors evolved. However, 1997 manifesto can perhaps be said to be the most successful and different from its predecessors. The Labour was to win by a

landslide. What makes the 1997 manifesto so different from the others? First of all, it was new. Education emerged as **the** issue of the elections. Labour no longer referred to what the Government had done in the past years, it concentrated on what the Labour had done while in opposition. The claims were enhanced by data and supported by warrants and backing. Furthermore, the type of warrants –explanations of their actions– took a turn from the traditional motivational warrants into a more balanced mixture of motivational and substantive warrants. These may or may not be more accurate or “truthful” but they appear to be so to a larger proportion of the audience.

Secondly, it would seem that by directing the manifesto towards universal audience, instead a just plain particular audience is more promising. The line between presumption and value premises is not a great one; in fact, I would suggest that the only difference is that presumptions are based on more popular values than pure value premises.

Thirdly, the manifesto needs to be detailed and look convincing. Use of numbers, statistics and allocated funds gives a more thought-out kind of image that just plain laying out values.

Is this the formula for a successful manifesto? Yes, and no. What can be said, it that this is a formula that may be successful in a British society at the turn of the century. It is reflective of the times and values that seem to popular in this time. The vocabulary reflects the invasion of the promotional language which has taken place not just in manifesto but in other genres as well. Universities seeking employees, university prospectuses (see e.g. Fairclough 2003), CVs, all of these have to a lesser or greater extent been undergone a process of productization.

6. Discussion on the results

The purpose of this study was to examine the possible changes in the language use of the Labour Party in their general election manifestos. As discussed before, the period of roughly twenty years has been one of turmoil in the British society as well as worldwide, due to, for most part different kinds of innovations and changes in the

political climate. The twenty year period has been eventful for the Labour Party as well. The disasters of the elections during the eighties resulted in a policy change and rewriting of the Clause IV, which had for long been the constructive basis of the party and the voter base. As the world around changed, so did the language employed.

Most clearly this could be seen in the lexical features of the manifestos. The clear break is in many ways dated 1992. The rise of standards, modernization and at the end, the 2005 manifesto, individualization and tailoring marked a clear break from the “manifesto that said nothing” from 1983 and the parental concerns of 1987. The change was evident in the use of the metaphors as well. In fact, it could be claimed that the use of the metaphors clearly indicated the underlying ideas of the time in question.

Euphemisms employed, on the other hand, have not really changed during this time. The possible exception is that of mental ability or fitting the standard student frame, but the data is not sufficient enough to make such a claim wholeheartedly.

The grammatical features showed some evolving as well. From the sole Labour agent towards a more stake-holder society through the use of more varied agents seems to be a trend. One of the most interesting finding was in the use of the modal auxiliaries where, if excluding will, the shift from a more obligatory *must* towards a more tentative *should* seemed to take place.

The use of tenses was quite generic. From the prevailing future tense, the employment of present tense to voice ‘eternal truths and the use of present progressive all seem to serve a distinct and well founded purpose in the manifesto language.

Rhetorical features do not change as radically. In fact, in terms of identification, the tactics employed hardly change. Prominent is the use of *exclusive we*. On the level of audiences and premises of the arguments the shift takes place from addressing several particular audiences towards an audience that for the most part means universal audience. A shift also appears in the use of the premises of the argument from values towards grounded presumptions. It must be remembered, however, that this does not mean the complete disappearance of the value premises, quite the contrary. They exist in each and every manifesto under examination in this study and can, therefore, be

rightfully considered a generic feature of premises of argumentation used in the manifestos.

The use of the Burkean master tropes, outside of the use of metaphors, is very conventional and not extremely frequent. Most notable, the absence of ironies is apparent. I have suggested before that this has to do with the genre of manifesto writing. It seems that this type of business is deemed to grave to be garnished with figurative language.

As my main interest did not really lie in whether or not the party was contradicting itself or using illogical arguments, this matter will not be dealt with. Instead, my interest lay in the warrants of the arguments which form the basis for argumentation. As previously discussed, the change seemed to be on the way. What seems to be interesting is the fact that in many cases the *data* -part of the argument is missing or it is implicit. This would seem to be a generic feature of these manifestos. A further generic feature of the manifestos is the use of motivational warrants.

The argument anatomy revealed that the genre of manifesto writing can in fact disregard some parts of the argument, such as the data. This is because the manifesto claims stem from the discussions in the societies, which provide the pretext for the arguments.

All these findings have contributed towards a description of the genre of manifesto writing. The medium, written text, is sensitive to figurative language. The audiences that the manifesto has attempted to reach out for, consist of particular and universal audiences, and the ratio of which is the audience that the manifesto attempts to reach has varied.

In conclusion, through looking at the different features, comprising of lexical, grammatical and rhetorical features, a genre of manifesto writing can be constructed and the changes thought out the years made more visible.

7. Conclusions

What can be concluded from this study is that there exists a genre of manifesto writing? This genre has in the recent years undergone a process of being penetrated by promotional language. The question of whether or not there exists a successful formula for manifesto writing remains thus far unanswered. The study of the content of these manifestos by utilizing the aspects of lexical, grammatical and rhetorical features is a promising one.

In the field of linguistic and rhetorical study of political manifestos, this is only a beginning. As noted before, the material at hand is too narrow to make definitive statements. What must be kept in mind is the purpose of this thesis as the first practice on serious academic writing and thus one must not reach for the moon, sun and stars all at the same time. However, I stand firmly behind these results in the restricted area they do apply. What has been done so far is groundwork on which to build further research on.

The first step would be to compare the manifestos analyzed here with the manifestos of the Conservatives and even of Liberal Democrats. This would provide intertextuality which would bring more dimensions into the study. Interplay between the Labour and the Conservatives can be expected. The position of the Liberal Democrats is interesting. Largely shunned (at least by the Labour party manifestos) from the political battle field, aspects and the strategies of the Liberal Democrats should be very interesting to study. By looking at Labour or Conservatives means looking at the grand old established parties whose arguments will be heard. By taking along Liberal Democrats, or better yet, the Green Party, might give all new hues to the manifesto rhetoric.

Another aspect of comparison would be to look at the entire manifestos, not just one policy area. Comparing the policy areas, analyzing the content and the structure, place of certain policies within the manifesto (first, second, last), the breadth of each issue area and making a comparative study of manifestos of the parties in the running towards the government should be an interesting topic to research. But that will be a whole new study.

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APPENDIX 1

1983

Education for the future

If individuals are to achieve their full creative potential, and our society is to advance, we must substantially improve educational provision and opportunity. The Tories' cuts have shown that they have no commitment to a free and fair education system. The fact is, however, that economic and social progress will depend on our success in making use of the abilities of the whole of our population.

For the under-fives, our goal is to achieve comprehensive provision, with priorities for children in the most deprived areas. We will unify education and care services for the under-fives, both nationally and locally. Our aim will be to introduce a statutory duty on local authorities to provide nursery education, as soon as possible, for all pre-school children whose parents wish it.

Schools in the community

Primary education is fundamental to all educational and social development, as any parent knows. We will restore funds to local education authorities to reduce class sizes; and improve learning materials and facilities in primary schools so that our children receive the best possible start in their schooling.

Secondary education is a period during which all young people must prepare themselves as the workers and citizens of the future. We shall encourage a higher standard of achievement among all pupils in the variety of academic and other activities which are essential parts of fully comprehensive education. We will:

- Repeal the Education Act 1979 and prohibit all forms of academic selection, such as the eleven plus, as a condition of admission to secondary schools.
- Require local education authorities to maintain a broad, balanced and comprehensive curriculum, providing genuinely equal opportunities for boys and girls, and for the ethnic minorities to meet the needs of our multi-cultural society.
- Establish a common system of assessment for all 16 year olds which will encourage effort and accurately record achievement at school.

Throughout the *whole of schooling*, we will:

- Determine a supply of appropriately qualified teachers to reduce class sizes. No class size should be over 30. The quality and frequency of teacher in-service training must be improved so that teachers receive no less than one school term of training in every five years of service.
- Discuss with the local authorities ways of developing a reformed system for funding education. Whilst safeguarding local democracy in education, this must secure and maintain improved national standards of provision in essential areas.
- Abolish corporal punishment; and help local authorities and schools to develop other methods, already successfully practised in many schools, for dealing with bad behaviour.
- Positively encourage parental understanding and participation in the education of their children by increasing parental representation on school governing bodies and increasing the links between home and school.

- Re-establish the school meals and milk services, cut back by the Tories. This will help to offset the inequalities, for example in nutrition, highlighted by the Black Report.

Private schools are a major obstacle to a free and fair education system, unable to serve the needs of the whole community. We will abolish the Assisted Places Scheme and local authority place buying; and we will phase out, as quickly as possible, boarding allowances paid to government personnel for their children to attend private schools, whilst ensuring secure accommodation for children needing residential education.

We shall also withdraw charitable status from private schools and all their other public subsidies and tax privileges. We will also charge VAT on the fees paid to such schools; phase out fee charging; and integrate private schools within the local authority sector where necessary. Special schools for handicapped pupils will retain all current support and tax advantages.

Post 16 education

For 16 and 17 year olds, we will introduce a two years' student-traineeship within a third or 'tertiary', stage of education, as described in the section on young people. A 'tertiary awards council' will be established to develop and validate a proper system of educational assessment for the whole of the age group. Our aim is to replace the rigid 'A' level system with a broader programme of study within the student-traineeship, thus preventing over specialisation and promoting flexibility and breadth in learning.

Our policy for *education after eighteen* is expansion with change. We will reverse the Tory cuts and restore the right for all qualified young people seeking higher education to secure places. We will also substantially expand opportunities for adults in both further and higher education.

We reject the Tory proposals for student loans; and we will ensure students are given adequate financial support. We will also provide proper financial support for those on non-advanced, part-time advanced, and Open University courses.

Adult education

We are determined to give priority to adults who have been denied educational opportunity on leaving school. We will:

- Give statutory backing to paid educational leave for workers.
- Phase in a new, adult educational entitlement that will provide one year of education, backed by financial support for adults who have never received education after eighteen.
- Require educational institutions to be more flexible in their admissions procedures and methods of study.
- Establish a proper legal basis for adult education; and create a development council to promote adult and continuing education.
- Establish machinery to plan and co ordinate all post 18-education together and ensure that the bodies funding universities, and planning local authority further, higher and continuing education, are more accountable and representative.

Education for Britain's Future

Our children are our future. We have a moral and material duty to see that children and young people are fully equipped to deal with the complexities and challenges which face them now and which they will meet as citizens; parents and workers in the future.

They must be provided with a system of education that enables them to control that future. We must see that it is democratic and just, that it is creative and compassionate, and that it is one in which they can fully exploit the advantages of science and technology with confidence and in safety.

In pursuit of those objectives, Labour will invest in education so that the abilities of all children and adults from all home back grounds and in every part of our country are discovered and nourished.

We will make **nursery education available for all three- and four-year-olds** whose parents want this opportunity. We will make provision for smaller classes and ensure that children have up-to-date books, equipment and buildings without having to depend on fund-raising for those essentials.

The entitlement to free school meals and the restoration of nutritional standards are, like the strengthening of the school health service, commitments which are necessary to safeguard the physical and social wellbeing of growing children.

We will see that teachers are recognised properly as well qualified professionals, in their systems of rewards, in the procedures for negotiation of their employment conditions and in participation in the development of education.

In addition we shall work with local education authorities to secure a flexible but clear core curriculum agreed at national level, a School Standards Council, and a new profile of achievement recording individual progress through school for all pupils. We will improve links between schools and home so that **parents and teachers act in partnership** to foster the best interests of children.

We shall foster achievement with other policies such as providing proper funding for the GCSE curriculum and examination, for improved supply of teachers and equipment for science subjects so that girls as well as boys increase science learning. There will be maintenance allowances for 16- to 18-year- olds whose family circumstances would otherwise impede their further education.

We will spread the provision of a comprehensive tertiary system of post-school education. These policies will all contribute to **raising standards of performance in schools**. At the same time as we improve the quality of publicly provided education, we shall end the 11 plus everywhere and stop the diverting of precious resources that occurs through the Assisted Places Scheme and the public subsidies to private schools.

Labour values the research and teaching contribution made by Britain's higher education system. We will ensure that our universities and polytechnics get the resources they need to restore and expand the opportunity for all qualified young people seeking higher education to secure places. We will ensure that more adults have access to higher education to give them the 'second chance' of personal development

We will also invest in research in higher education, in order to provide the facilities and opportunities necessary to sustain standards of excellence, to retain and attract the highest talents and to encourage the industrial and commercial application of research output.

Education for life through a well-funded adult education service will help to provide the means by which rapid economic and social change can be embraced.

Raising standards in our schools

Good education is the best investment in Britain's future. All girls and boys, from every background, must be able to discover their talents and fulfil their potential.

We want every child to get qualifications that count. We need safe, disciplined schools, where professional teachers work closely with parents. Learning must become a lifetime opportunity, with new chances to update skills at work.

That is our vision of a well-educated Britain.

But, under the Conservatives, Britain today invests a smaller share of our national wealth in education than in 1979. More and more parents are now being forced to pay for essentials in a system which should be free.

Labour will modernise Britain's schools. Over the next 22 months, additional resources of at least £600 million will be made available for investment in education. We will then continue steadily to increase the share of Britain's national wealth invested in education.

We will offer nursery education to three and four year olds

By the end of the decade, all three and four year olds will have the opportunity of nursery education if their parents so wish.

Within six months, every local education authority will have to set targets for steadily increasing nursery and childcare services. Childhood Partnerships between councils, parents, schools, local businesses and community groups will help extend a wide range of childcare and nursery education services.

The immediate investment in childcare described earlier (see page 10) is only the beginning. Our Ministry for Women will have central role in helping to develop a nationwide childcare strategy, including out-of-school and holiday provision as well as care for younger children.

We will raise standards in our schools

By investing in better teaching, smaller classes and modern books and equipment we will raise education standards.

Teachers will be guaranteed a proper salary and career structure. A General Teaching Council for England and Wales will help them achieve the highest professional standards. Higher quality training will be followed by proper support for newly-qualified teachers. A national in-service training programme will ensure that all teachers are fully qualified in the subject they are teaching.

Within 12 months, we will end the scandal of primary school classes of over 40 children. We will then establish and steadily reduce maximum limits on class sizes, until no primary school child is taught in a class of more than 30.

To make sure that children are reading by the age of seven, we will create a national Reading Standards Programme, with a national Reading Recovery Programme to help those in difficult. £20 million will be invested in reading recovery in the first year. National tests must provide the information needed to help pupils, and to judge schools' effectiveness, without wasting good teaching time. Children with special needs or special abilities will receive the extra attention they deserve.

Nine out of ten secondary school children are in comprehensive schools. We will end selection at 11 where it still exists. We will introduce a fairer system for all school reorganisations, with independent public enquiries. We will phase out the Assisted Places

scheme (without affecting pupils currently on a place, or offered one from September 1992) and redirect the savings to meet wider educational needs.

Because the national curriculum cannot be properly taught without new textbooks, we will earmark funds for class and library books. Every child needs a good grounding in science and technology. We will introduce a programme to improve equipment and laboratories. We will start to tackle the backlog of school repairs. For instance, we will invest £30 million to ensure that within 12 months, no child has to use an outside lavatory.

Guaranteed standards

Conservative plans to privatise the schools' inspectorate will be scrapped. Our Education Standards Commission, together with her Majesty's Inspectors, will monitor the performance of every school. If a school is under-performing, the commission, which will be answerable to Parliament, will have the powers to ensure that it is brought up to standard.

National Awards, similar to the Queen's Award for Industry, will encourage excellence in schools.

We will reform the Conservatives' scheme for the local management of schools. All schools will be free to manage their day-to-day budgets, with local education authorities given a new strategic role. Opted-out schools will be freed from central government control and brought together with City Technology Colleges into the mainstream of the local school system.

New rights for parents

Home-school contracts will tell parents exactly what the school undertakes to deliver and what their responsibilities are. If they are dissatisfied with the school or education authority, they will be able to call in the Education Standards Commission and get action taken.

We wish to see the key role of church and other voluntary-aided schools secured and available equally and on the same criteria to all religions.

We will modernise the curriculum

Labour will modernise the national curriculum and apply it in all schools. From the age of 14, pupils will study five essential subjects. English, mathematics, science, a modern language and technology. In schools teaching in Welsh, the study of Welsh will be included. Every pupil will also be offered a wide range of academic, technical and other options.

Taking account of the views of parents, employers, teachers, pupils and the commendations of the Higginson Report, we will establish a five-subject A level and bring it together with technical qualifications into our new Advanced Certificate. Open to art-time and full-time students of any age, it will include 'credits' which can be transferred between different institutions. We will consult widely about the detailed structure of this new qualification, and finalise proposals quickly.

Young people must have real opportunities to widen their experience and skills. Sixteen year olds not in full-time education will be entitled to a new traineeship lasting for up to two years, with an option of a further two years. Every young person in employment will be guaranteed the right to Learn While You Earn.

Labour's education targets

We have set ourselves four education targets. They are the basis for our strategy and the benchmark against which progress will be judged.

First, a nursery education for all three and four year olds whose parents wish by the year 2000.

Second, within five years, we want four out of five 16 to 18 year olds to be able to achieve at least five GCSEs at grades A, B or C, or their equivalent.

Third, by the end of the decade, we want half of Britain's 16 to 19 year olds to be able to qualify at the new Advanced Certificate levels or the equivalent in BTEC and other post-16 opportunities for study.

Fourth, within 20 years, we will double the number of students in higher education, with at least one in three young adults participating by the year 2000.

The student loan scheme deters many bright youngsters from poor families. We will replace it with a fairer system of student grants and targeted help for housing and vacation hardship. We will take effective steps to safeguard standards throughout higher education.

We will stop the Conservatives' adult education cuts and encourage local authorities to develop adult and community education and access courses, particularly for mature students. People over 50 who missed earlier opportunities will be able to apply for a 'Return to Learn' grant towards further or higher education.

1997

We will make education our number one priority

- Cut class sizes to 30 or under for 5, 6 and 7 year-olds
- Nursery places for all four year-olds
- Attack low standards in schools
- Access to computer technology
- Lifelong learning through a new University for Industry
- More spending on education as the cost of unemployment falls

Education has been the Tories' biggest failure. It is Labour's number one priority.

It is not just good for the individual. It is an economic necessity for the nation. We will compete successfully on the basis of quality or not at all. And quality comes from developing the potential of all our people. It is the people who are our greatest natural asset. We will ensure they can fulfil their potential.

Nearly half of 11 year-olds in England and Wales fail to reach expected standards in English and maths. Britain has a smaller share of 17 and 18 year-olds in full-time education than any major industrial nation. Nearly two thirds of the British workforce lack vocational qualifications.

There are excellent schools in Britain's state education system. But far too many children are denied the opportunity to succeed. Our task is to raise the standards of every school.

We will put behind us the old arguments that have bedevilled education in this country. 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. There should be no return to the 11-plus. It divides children into successes and failures at far too early an age.

We must modernise comprehensive schools. Children are not all of the same ability, nor do they learn at the same speed. That means 'setting' children in classes to maximise progress, for the benefit of high-fliers and slower learners alike. The focus must be on levelling up, not levelling down.

With Labour, the Department for Education and Employment will become a leading office of state. It will give a strong and consistent lead to help raise standards in every school. Standards, more than structures, are the key to success. Labour will never put dogma before children's education. Our approach will be to intervene where there are problems, not where schools are succeeding.

Labour will never force the abolition of good schools whether in the private or state sector. Any changes in the admissions policies of grammar schools will be decided by local parents. Church schools will retain their distinctive religious ethos.

We wish to build bridges wherever we can across education divides. The educational apartheid created by the public/private divide diminishes the whole education system.

Zero tolerance of underperformance

Every school has the capacity to succeed. All Local Education Authorities (LEAs) must demonstrate that every school is improving. For those failing schools unable to improve, ministers will order a 'fresh start' - close the school and start afresh on the same site. 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.

Quality nursery education guaranteed for all four year-olds

Nursery vouchers have been proven not to work. They are costly and do not generate more quality nursery places. We will use the money saved by scrapping nursery vouchers to guarantee places for four year-olds. We will invite selected local authorities to pilot early excellence centres combining education and care for the under-fives. We will set targets for universal provision for three year-olds whose parents want it.

New focus on standards in primary schools

Primary schools are the key to mastering the basics and developing in every child an eagerness to learn.

Every school needs baseline assessment of pupils when they enter the school, and a year-on-year target for improvement.

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.

We must recognise the three 'r's for what they are - building blocks of all learning that must be taught better. 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).

Our numeracy taskforce will develop equally ambitious targets. We will encourage the use of the most effective teaching methods, including phonics for reading and whole class interactive teaching for maths.

Attacking educational disadvantage

No matter where a school is, Labour will not tolerate under-achievement.

Public/private partnerships will improve the condition of school buildings.

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.

To attack under-achievement in urban areas, we have developed a new scheme with the Premier League. 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. The scheme will be launched on a pilot basis during the 1997/8 season.

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.

Realising the potential of new technology

Labour is the pioneer of new thinking. 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. We have also secured agreement to make access charges as low as possible.

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. We will use lottery money to improve the skills of existing teachers in information technology.

In opposition, Labour set up the independent Stevenson Commission to promote access for children to new technology. Its recent report is a challenging programme for the future. 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. An independent standing committee will continue to advise us on the implementation of our plans in government.

The role of parents

We will increase the powers and responsibilities of parents.

There will be more parent governors and, for the first time, parent representatives on LEAs.

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. National guidelines will establish minimum periods for homework for primary and secondary school pupils.

Teachers will be entitled to positive support from parents to promote good attendance and sound discipline. Schools suffer from unruly and disruptive pupils. Exclusion or suspension may sometimes be necessary. We will, however, pilot new pupil referral units so that schools are protected but these pupils are not lost to education or the country.

New job description for LEAs

The judge and jury of LEA performance will be their contribution to raising standards.

LEAs are closer to schools than central government, and have the authority of being locally elected. But they will be required to devolve power, and more of their budgets, to heads and governors. LEA performance will be inspected by Ofsted and the Audit Commission. 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.

Grant maintained schools

Schools that are now grant maintained will prosper with Labour's proposals, as will every school.

Tory claims that Labour will close these schools are false. The system of funding will not discriminate unfairly either between schools or between pupils. LEAs will be represented on governing bodies, but will not control them. 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.

Teachers: pressure and support

Schools are critically dependent on the quality of all staff. The majority of teachers are skilful and dedicated, but some fall short. We will improve teacher training, and ensure

that all teachers have an induction year when they first qualify, to ensure their suitability for teaching.

There will be a general teaching council to speak for and raise standards in the profession. We will create a new grade of teachers to recognise the best. There will, however, be speedy, but fair, procedures to remove teachers who cannot do the job.

The strength of a school is critically dependent on the quality of its head. We will establish mandatory qualifications for the post. A head teacher will be appointed to a position only when fully trained to accept the responsibility.

Higher education

The improvement and expansion needed cannot be funded out of general taxation. Our proposals for funding have been made to the Dearing Committee, in line with successful policies abroad.

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. The current system is badly administered and payback periods are too short. We will provide efficient administration, with fairness ensured by longer payback periods where required.

Lifelong learning

We must learn throughout life, to retain employment through new and improved skills. We will promote adult learning both at work and in the critical sector of further education.

In schools and colleges, we support broader A-levels and upgraded vocational qualifications, underpinned by rigorous standards and key skills.

Employers have the primary responsibility for training their workforces in job-related skills. But individuals should be given the power to invest in training. 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. 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. Employers will be encouraged to make voluntary contributions to these funds. We will also promote the extension of the Investors in People initiative into many more small firms.

Our new University for Industry, collaborating with the Open University, will bring new opportunities to adults seeking to develop their potential. 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. The University for Industry will be a public/private partnership, commissioning software and developing the links to extend lifelong learning.

Government spending on education

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. We are committed to reversing this trend of spending. 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.

2001

Education

Labour's number one priority

Education remains Labour's top priority. Excellence for the many, not just the few is our driving passion. Our goal is to develop education to harness the individual talents of every pupil.

Since 1997 rising standards have been achieved through major new investment and significant reforms: 17,000 schools have had vital repairs or refurbishment; 20,000 schools are now connected to the internet; there are nearly half a million fewer primary pupils in classes of more than 30; over 150,000 teachers are set to receive a £2,000 pay rise above the usual annual increase; every school is getting additional grants of up to £110,000 paid direct; and there are 11,000 more teachers and over 44,000 more support staff and classroom assistants.

Our partnership with teachers has achieved what OfSTED calls a 'transformation' in primary school standards, thanks to smaller infant class sizes and major reform in the teaching of literacy and numeracy skills. Our task now is to achieve a similar transformation in secondary education, liberating the particular talent of every child. Our pledge to parents is clear: children should be on track to achieve their best, or receiving extra expert help to catch up.

Investment

Money alone cannot guarantee a good education, but extra investment is indispensable to achieving our ambitions. We pledge a further step-change in investment in return for a further step-change in standards.

In 1997 Labour promised to increase the share of national income devoted to education. Over this Parliament, we have increased it from 4.7 per cent to 5 per cent £540 extra per pupil in real terms and we are pledged to raise it to 5.3 per cent by 2003-04. Investment in buildings and equipment has trebled. During the next Parliament, we will again increase the share of national income for education.

Under-fives

The early years of a child's life are vital. That is why we are doubling investment in early years education. There is now a free nursery place available for every four-year-old. Our new Foundation Stage provides a distinct phase of learning appropriate for the early years.

By 2004 every three-year-old will be entitled to a free nursery place in the private, voluntary or statutory sector. OfSTED will help drive up standards. Children with special educational needs will have those needs identified earlier. We will continue to provide services which integrate early years education with childcare.

By 2004 we will have 100 Early Excellence Centers as beacons of good practice providing care and education for children from 0-5; we will set up 500 Sure Start Centres in disadvantaged areas to support children's early development; and we will provide an extra 100,000 places offering wraparound care linked to early education.

Primary schools

Primary school teachers have achieved excellent results, In 1997 barely half of 11-year-olds were up to standard in English and maths tests. The figures are now 75 per cent and 72 per cent respectively, well on the way to meeting our targets of 80 per cent in English and 75 per cent in maths by 2002. The lowest-scoring Local Education Authorities (LEAs) are now achieving better results than the national average in 1996.

But Labour will not be satisfied until every child leaves primary school with the basic skills they need. We are setting targets for an 85 per cent success rate for 11-year-olds in English and maths, and will provide further intensive support for teachers to meet them. Primary education without the basics is a betrayal; but every parent rightly wants far more. We will provide primary pupils with wider opportunities to learn sports, musical instruments and a foreign language.

Secondary Schools

Transforming secondary education is the critical challenge of the next decade. We reject a return to the 11-plus. The principles of inclusion and equality of opportunity remain central to our commitment to liberate the potential of every child. But, on their own, they are not enough to guarantee high standards.

Standards have risen in the past four years, particularly among pupils in less advantaged areas. Strong school leadership and better teaching have turned around 700 failing schools. But the challenge ahead is immense. Too many pupils fall back and become disillusioned in the first two years of secondary school. Just half of 16-year-olds currently gain good school-leaving qualifications, and levels of drop-out remain too high.

The dramatic advances at primary level mean pupils will increasingly arrive at secondary school demanding the best. We will radically modernise comprehensive schools.

In future every school must have:

The right leadership

Headteachers must have the freedom and resources necessary to run their schools effectively. We have improved pay and training for headteachers and delegated more funding to schools. Where they demonstrate success, we will further extend their freedom to manage their schools effectively. We will reduce the regulatory burden on all schools.

High standards in the core curriculum

We will modernise the secondary curriculum to promote higher standards and better progression from school and college to university or work-based training. All pupils should reach the age of 14 fully competent in a broad range of subjects. Effective teaching is the key. We will develop the literacy and numeracy strategies in secondary schools with the right balance of targets and flexibility, particularly for pupils not up to standard in the basics. We will set demanding targets for high achievement by the large majority of 14-year-old pupils in English, maths, science and IT tests- the passport to future success. We will promote more effective pathways beyond 14, including high-quality vocational routes that build on the new vocational GCSEs and A-levels. We will ensure there is an apprenticeship place for every young person who reaches the required standard.

A mission to achieve

We want every secondary school to develop a distinct ethos, mission and centre of excellence. Specialist schools offer the full national curriculum to the whole ability range while developing a centre of excellence - and their rates of improvement outstrip the national average. Having trebled their number since 1997, we have pledged to expand their numbers to at least 1,500 by 2006, on the way to making specialist status available to all schools ready for it. We will encourage more church and other faith-sponsored schools, where parents wish it. We will establish more City Academies, and promote greater innovation in the supply of new schools with local consultation. We will allow greater involvement in schools by outside organisations with a serious contribution to make to raising standards. We will extend provision for gifted children as we nurture children's special talents. As part of our reform of the vital further education sector, we will

encourage the development of free-standing sixth-form colleges. Schools with sixth forms will be guaranteed their funding for pupils in real terms, provided numbers are maintained. We are committed to expand Educational Maintenance Allowances so they cover 30 per cent of the country, and build upon them on the basis of the experience. Pupils will be given greater opportunities through the promotion of partnerships between schools. We will build on the partnerships established between the state and private sectors.

Better infrastructure

We will invest nearly £8 billion in school buildings and equipment over the next three years, including the construction of 650 new or completely refurbished schools, IT has enormous potential to raise standards, and it is vital that every child leaves school able to make use of the new technologies. Today, nearly all schools are connected to the internet, Labour is committed to spend £1.8 billion over six years on equipping our schools for the information age. We will pioneer Curriculum Online to ensure materials are available to pupils in school and at home. We are committed to continue to extend access to IT for pupils and teachers, including the possibility of a national leasing scheme to make top-quality hardware available at very low prices.

The right support

Good schools also depend on parents and the local community, We will continue to ensure that headteachers have the powers they need to tackle disruption and unacceptable behavior in schools. Local education authorities will focus on supporting school improvement, especially weak and failing schools, and delivering services that cannot be provided by individual schools. We will ensure better training and support for school governors.

Schools should be used more effectively as assets for the whole community, including for childcare and community learning, We will pilot "extended hours schools" to develop this resource. We will build on the success of more than 40 study centres based in leading football clubs by extending community involvement to other sports. Over time we want to develop safe places for children to play outside school hours and every pupil to have access to a summer school programme, An Academy for Talented Youth will be established in partnership with a leading university to pioneer summer and other dedicated provision for those with special talents. We have significantly improved support and provision for children with special needs or disabilities. They should have access to the best possible education, with appropriate support, whether mainstream or special schooling most suits their needs. Schools in the toughest areas, and the teachers who work in them, need special support. We will expand the Excellence in Cities programme for urban secondary schools, with extra help for the weakest schools, learning mentors and in-school units to help manage pupil behaviour. Where LEAs cannot effectively support school improvement, alternative provision will be made. For schools facing exceptional pressures, for example very high pupil turnover, we will provide additional support, including significant reductions in the size of teaching groups where appropriate.

Teachers

Nothing in education is more important than having good teachers. We have made teaching a far more attractive career, through better pay, better incentives to train including training salaries and loan write-offs, more recognition and improved support. The General Teaching Council and National College for School Leadership are both now up and running.

We want teaching to be a career of choice for the best graduates and attractive to people making career changes. We will continue to invest more in the profession and improve conditions for teachers. High status, better salaries and proper professional support are all essential. We are conducting a strategic review of teacher workload and the right balance between teaching and administration, central direction and local discretion. We will build on its findings significantly to improve support for teachers in the classroom and in administrative tasks, so they can concentrate on their job. We will:

- recruit 10,000 extra teachers and improve the adult: pupil ratio
- support teachers in the classroom by employing more adults to help them
- invest in rapid promotion and rewards for classroom excellence
- boost recruitment and retention packages for teachers, particularly in high-cost areas and schools facing exceptional challenges
- create new routes into teaching, including "train-to-teach" courses accredited as part of undergraduate degrees and a stronger training mission for outstanding schools
- further improve in-service training opportunities for teachers
- develop school achievement awards that reward staff in 7,000 fast-improving schools a year
- subsidise new PCs for teachers so that they have direct access to the latest technology.

Higher education a world leader

Higher education brings on average 20 per cent higher earnings and a 50 per cent lower chance of unemployment. It is time for an historic commitment to open higher education to half of all young people before they are 30, combined with increased investment to maintain academic standards.

In 1997 we inherited a system where the number of qualified people able to go to university was capped. Today, the numbers are rising and universities have the funds to expand, with new two-year foundation degrees to offer students the option of a vocationally relevant, high-quality qualification as a way into skilled work or further study. Over the next three years, we will continue to expand student numbers, taking us towards our 50 per cent target.

We will maintain university entry standards while intensifying efforts to extend the huge advantages that a university education confers to able young people from all backgrounds. University summer schools, master classes and mentoring support will be offered to potential students from disadvantaged areas through a new Excellence Challenge programme, backed up by £190 million of funding.

We will not introduce "top-up" fees and have legislated to prevent them. Since 1997 we have increased university funding by more than a billion pounds a year over the Parliament - and invested considerably more in research. Our new system of university finance ensures that 50 per cent of students pay no tuition fees at all, that no parents pay more than under the old system, and that students pay back loans progressively when they are earning. We will ensure that the funding system continues to promote access and excellence.

We will strengthen research and teaching excellence. It is vital that our world-leading universities are able to compete with the best internationally. We will also support world-class research and the development of public-private partnerships. We are determined to ensure that our universities have the freedom and incentives to meet our ambitions for them. Reforms to the inspection system for teaching will slash red tape for higher performing departments.

2005

Education: More children making the grade
Forward to personalized learning, not back to mass failure

1997: 42nd in the World Education League
2005: Third best in the world for literacy at age ten and fastest improving for maths
2010: Every 16-year-old offered school, college, training or apprenticeship

Education is still our number one priority. In our first term, we transformed recruitment, training and methods of teaching, with record results in primary schools. In our second term we have driven fundamental reform in secondary provision – more teachers and support staff, more money, specialist schools and the Academies programmes. Our plan now is to tailor our education system to individual pupil needs, with parents supporting teachers and support staff in further raising standards. That means music, art, sport and languages as well as English and maths in primary school; a good secondary school for every child, with modern buildings and excellent specialist teaching; catch-up support for all children who need it; the guarantee of a sixth-form place, apprenticeship or further education at 16; sufficient quality and quantity in higher education. At each stage we send a clear message – every child has a right to a good education, but no child has the right to disrupt the education of other children.

The new Labour case

For generations our country has been held back by an education system that excelled for the privileged few but let down the majority. Every child can and should be able to fulfil their potential. We will achieve this by uniting our commitment to equal opportunities for all children with a reform programme which gives every child and young person, from pre-school to sixth-form or apprenticeship and beyond, the personalised package of learning and support they need. In a third term, we will entrench high expectations for every child, ensure the flexibility of provision to meet all needs and make parents true partners as we aim for the highest ever school standards.

Every pupil with better teaching

There is no greater responsibility than teaching the next generation. Head teachers, teachers and support staff deserve support and respect. There are now over 28,000 more teachers and 105,000 more support staff than in 1997; graduate teacher applications are up 70 per cent; average salaries are up by more than 30 per cent. The remodelling of the school workforce is benefiting staff and helping to tailor provision to pupil need. We will now go further – to intensify in-service training for teachers, to widen further routes into teaching, to help more teachers and pupils get the benefit of the range of support staff now working in schools, from learning mentors to music and arts specialists. The goal is clear: every pupil with extra support in their weakest subjects and extra opportunities in their strongest. We want to see every pupil mastering the basics. If they are not mastered by 11, there will be extra time in the secondary curriculum to get them right: schools will be judged on how pupils do in English and maths at the ages of 11, 14 and 16. We want every pupil to be stretched, including the brightest, so we will develop extended projects at A-level, harder A-level questions to challenge the most able, and give universities the individual module marks – as well as overall grades – of A-level students.

Every school with more money and effective leadership

Since 1997, school funding has risen by £1,000 per pupil. Education spending that was 4.7 per cent of national income in 1997 will rise to 5.5 per cent this year. We will continue to raise the share of national income devoted to education. And we will continue to recognise the additional needs of disadvantaged pupils. We will also ensure fundamental reform in the way the money is spent. Funding will be allocated on a multi-year timescale. There will be a dedicated national schools budget set by central government, with a guaranteed per pupil increase for every school. Heads and governors will be in control. Successful schools and colleges will have the independence to take decisions about how to deploy resources and develop their provision. Schools will work together to raise standards. New provision will be created where standards are too low or innovation is needed. Local authorities have a vital role in championing the parent interest and providing support services.

A strong, effective governing body is essential to the success of every school and governors must be given support to help them play this role. We will allow more flexibility in the structure of governing bodies, including the ability to have smaller governing bodies, of ten members or less, to streamline management while strengthening the position of parents.

Parents as partners

Our aim for the education system is to nurture the unique talents of every child. But children and schools do best with real and effective parental engagement. Parents should have the information and support they need to encourage their children, from the first reading book to the key choices they make at 14 and 16. And parents should be central to the process of assessing school performance and driving improvement, as well as their vital role in promoting good behaviour and raising the quality of school meals (see chapter 4). All schools should have good home-school links, building on the new school and pupil profiles. Some schools are using ICT to make contact between parents and schools easier and better for both sides. We will encourage all schools to follow suit. Ofsted now actively seeks the views of parents when undertaking inspections. Ofsted will be given new powers to respond to parental complaints and where necessary to close failing schools or replace failing management.

Enriching primary schools

International studies show that our ten-year-olds are the third highest achievers in literacy in the world and the fastest improving in maths. Three-quarters of 11-year-olds now reach high standards in reading, writing and maths. We will intensify our literacy and numeracy programme to help an extra 50,000 pupils achieve high standards at age 11, reaching our targets of 85 per cent of pupils succeeding at the basics. All primary school children will have access to high-quality tuition in the arts, music, sport and foreign languages. We have set aside funds for this purpose, working with head teachers to develop support programmes and modernise the school workforce. We have abolished infant class sizes of more than 30, and almost all primary schools have gained improved facilities since 1997. We will now upgrade primary schools nationwide in a 15-year Building Schools for the Future programme, including under-fives and childcare facilities where needed. Primary schools will become the base for a massive expansion of out-of-school provision (see chapter 6). Foundation schools operate within the local family of state schools, and are funded in the same way as others, but manage their own assets and employ their staff directly. We will allow successful primary schools, like secondary schools, to become foundation schools by a simple vote of their governing body following consultation with their parents.

Every secondary school an independent specialist school

We want all secondary schools to be independent specialist schools with a strong ethos, high-quality leadership, good discipline (including school uniforms), setting by ability and high-quality facilities as the norm. The way to achieve this is not a return to the 11-plus or a free-for-all on admissions policies. It is to ensure that independent specialist schools tailor education to the needs, interests and aptitudes of each pupil within a fair admissions system. There are over 2,000 specialist schools – schools which teach the entire national curriculum and also have a centre of excellence. Their results are improving faster than those of non-specialist schools. We want every secondary school to become a specialist school and existing specialist schools will be able to take on a second specialism. Over time all specialist schools will become extended schools, with full programmes of after-school activities. Every part of the country will benefit, over fifteen years, from the Building Schools for the Future programme. This is a once in a generation programme to equip the whole country with modern secondary education facilities, open five days a week, ten hours a day. Good schools will be able to expand their size and also their influence – by taking over less successful schools. We will develop a system to create rights for successful schools to establish sixth-form provision where there is pupil and parent demand, extending quality and choice for local students. Britain has a positive tradition of independent providers within the state system, including church and other faith schools. Where new educational providers can help boost standards and opportunities in a locality we will welcome them into the state system, subject to parental demand, fair funding and fair admissions. We strongly support the new Academies movement. Seventeen of

these independent non-selective schools are now open within the state system; their results are improving sharply, and 50 more are in the pipeline. Within the existing allocation of resources our aim is that at least 200 Academies will be established by 2010 in communities where

schools; low aspirations and low performance are entrenched. We will encourage more small schools and boarding schools as ways of helping the most disadvantaged children. We will make sure schools in deprived areas receive the resources they need. To enable all young people to enjoy the opportunities previously enjoyed by the few, we are developing a nationwide week-long summer residential programme for school students. We support partnership between the state and private sectors to bridge the unhealthy historic divide between the two.

Good discipline

Every pupil has the right to learn without disruption; no teacher should be subject to abuse or disrespect. We have given head teachers the powers needed to maintain discipline and the highest standards of conduct. Violent behaviour, including the use of knives will not be tolerated. We are also working with schools and teacher organisations to implement a zero tolerance approach to lower-level disruption. The number of places in out-of-school units has almost doubled, and the quality of provision has been enhanced. We will give head teachers within each locality direct control of the budgets for out-of-school provision, so they can expand and improve it as needed. We will encourage more dedicated provision for disruptive and excluded pupils, including by charities and voluntary groups with expertise in this area, and no school will become a dumping ground for such pupils. Parents have a duty to get their children to attend school. We have introduced parenting orders and fines and will continue to advocate truancy sweeps.

Special educational needs

Children with special educational needs require appropriate resources and support from trained staff. For some this will be in mainstream; for others, it will be in special schools. Parents should have access to the special education appropriate for their child. It is the role of local authorities to make decisions on the shape of local provision, in consultation with local parents.

No more dropping out at 16

The historic problems of our education system at 14-plus have been an academic track that has been too narrow and a vocational offer too weak. We are determined to raise the status and quality of vocational education. Beyond the age of 14, GCSEs and A-levels will be the foundation of the system in which high-quality vocational programmes will be available to every pupil. Designed in collaboration with employers, specialised diplomas will be established in key areas of the economy, leading to apprenticeships, to further and higher education and to jobs with training. We will review progress on the development of the 14-19 curriculum in 2008. We will not let economic disadvantage stand in the way of young people staying in education beyond the age of 16. We have rolled out Educational Maintenance Allowances, providing lower income students with a £30-a-week staying-on allowance. We believe that everyone up to the age of 19 should be learning, so we will expand sixth-form, college and apprenticeship places, and ensure that all 16- to 19-year-olds in employment get access to training. We believe that every 16- to 19-year-old should have dedicated supervision and support, including in the further education sector. We will support sixth-form colleges and expect FE colleges to have dedicated centres for 16- to 19-year-olds. Further education is vital to vocational lifelong learning. Achieving a transformation of FE colleges requires both our increased investment and serious reform. Every FE college will develop a centre for vocational excellence, and we will establish new skills academies led by leading entrepreneurs and employers from the relevant skill sectors. Sir Andrew Foster's review will help shape the reform process.

Children's Trusts

Ofsted reports show that local government is continuing to improve the vital services on which schools and families rely. Education and social services should collaborate to help youngsters, especially the most vulnerable, achieve their potential. Local government should be the champion of parents and high-quality provision, including special needs education, school transport, and other support services. We are reforming local education authorities to form Children's Trusts to provide seamless support to children and families and work in partnership with the private and voluntary sectors.

World-class higher education, open to all

Universities are critical to Britain's future prosperity. We need a bigger, better higher education system. We are investing £1 billion more in the science base, and increasing public spending on higher education by 34 per cent in real terms. But graduates and employers must also play their part. Our funding reforms will generate £1 billion of extra funds by 2010; the abolition of up-front fees and the creation of grants will help poorer students. A quarter of the income from the new student finance system will go to bursaries for students from poorer families. The maximum annual fee paid by students will not rise above £3,000 (uprated annually for inflation) during the next Parliament. As school standards rise we maintain our aim for 50 per cent of young people to go on to higher

education by 2010. Two-year foundation degrees in vocational disciplines have a key part to play. PhD students are vital to universities and the nation's research base.

The choice for 2010

Under their last government the Conservatives spent more on unemployment and debt interest than on education. Their priority now is to take at least £1 billion from state schools to subsidise private education for the privileged few. In addition they would allow a free-for-all in school admissions – including an extension of selection – for five- and 11-year-olds, cap the number of pupils who can succeed at GCSE and A-level, and reduce places in higher education. The choice for 2010 is forward with new Labour: pupils with quality and opportunity through the system from three to 18; parents with the confidence that where there is no improvement there will be intervention; teachers knowing that quality will be supported and rewarded; and employers with a system that gets the basics right and provides the skills that industry needs. Or back with the Tories to an education system designed to look after the few but fail the many.

APPENDIX 2

Table of General Election Results 1983 - 2005

				% of votes		
				% of votes		
	Leader	Place of policy making	Result	Labour	Conservatives	Lib. Dem.
1983	Foot	opposition	lose	27,6	42,4	25,4
1987	Kinnock	opposition	lose	30,8	42,2	22,6
1992	Kinnock	opposition	lose	34,4	41,9	17,8
1997	Blair	opposition	win	45	30,7	16,8
2001	Blair	government	win	40,7	31,7	18,3
2005	Blair	government	win	35,3	32,3	22,1

APPENDIX 3

Viime vuosina retoriikka on noussut pinnalle niin monilla tieteen aloilla kuin julkisuudessakin. Yksi viimeaikaisimmista syistä on voimallisen retoriikan esiinmarssi maailmanpolitiikan näyttämöillä, jossa retoriikalla on ollut suuri rooli. Esimerkiksi George W. Bush on käyttänyt hyvin mahtipontisita retoriikkaa puheissaan, jotka ovat liittyneet muun muassa terrorismiin ja Irakin sotaan. Termit kuten 'pahuuden akseli' (axis of evil) ja 'halukkaiden koalitio' (coalition of the willing) ovat saaneet paljon palstatilaa päivälehdissä.

Retorinen käänne, erityisesti yhteiskuntatieteissä, on ollut merkittävä. Lingvistiikan ja humanististen tieteiden puolella uuden retoriikan tutkimus ei ole ollut yhtä voimakkaasti esillä. Lehtien palstoilla ja julkisissa puheissa käytettyä retoriikkaa on analysoitu paljon. Siksi olen halunnut valita aiheen, joka ei ole samalla tavalla ollut yleisen mielenkiinnon kohteena. Tässä tutkielmassa tarkastelen Britannian Labour-puolueen puolueohjelmia vuosien 1983–2005 ajalta niin retoriikan kuin perinteisempien lingvististen keinojenkin avulla.

Tutkielmani tarkoituksena on tarkastella puolueohjelmia niin tekstigenrenä kuin eritellä puolueohjelmissä käytettyjä vaikutuskeinoja, kielellisiä konstruktioita, puolue-ohjelman rakenteita sekä sisältöä. Rakennetta tarkastellaan genreteorian valossa, sisällön tutkimuksessa näkökulmaksi valikoitui kriittinen diskurssianalyysi.

Sana 'genre' on ranskalaista alkuperää ja se suomeksi käännettynä tarkoittaa lähinnä (tyyppi)luokkaa. Genreteoria on ollut useilla tieteenaloilla kiinnostuksen kohteena; muun muassa kirjallisuustiede, elokuva- ja mediatutkimus ovat perinteisesti olleet vahvaa genreteorioiden soveltamisalaa. Kielitieteeseen genreteoria on kuitenkin rantautunut vasta verrattain hiljan. John M. Swales ja Vijay K. Bhatia ovat tutkineet tahoillaan genreteorian soveltamista myös ei-kaunokirjallisiin tuotoksiin. Swales (1990) on yrittänyt muodostaa kielitieteeseen istuvan genren määritelmän tutkimalla genren käsitettä niin folkloristiikassa, kirjallisuustieteessä, kielitieteissä kuin retoriikassakin. Näiden pohjalta hän päätyi hyvin kattavaan määritelmään, jonka Virtanen ja Halmari (2005) onnistuneesti tiivistävät seuraavasti: "Genre on kommunikatiivisten tapahtumien

luokka, jolla on yhteinen kommunikatiivinen tavoite, jonka jonkin diskurssiyhteisön jäsenet jakavat.” (Virtanen ja Halmari 2005:11, oma suomennos) Virtanen ja Halmari myös muistuttavat, että genre on olemassa vain intertekstuaalisuuden kautta, että on olemassa joukko tekstejä jotka muistuttavat toisiaan siinä määrin, että ne voidaan määritellä genreksi. Genretutkimus onkin pääasiallisesti näiden yhteisten piirteiden paikantamista tekstistä, joiden perusteella voidaan prototyypinen genre määritellä.

Vijay K. Bhatia on puolestaan tutkinut muun muassa myynninedistämässä käytettyä kieltä. Hän on päätenyt tutkimuksissaan tulokseen, jonka mukaan nykyaikana genererajat ovat helposti ylitettäviä. Lisäksi hän on tutkimuksissaan havainnut, kuinka mainosten kieli on tunkeutunut myös akateemiseen ja ammattispesifiin kielenkäyttöön. Yhtymäkohta mainostamisen sekä poliittisen kielenkäytön kohdalla on mielenkiintoinen, sillä mitä muuta poliittinen kieli on kuin mainoskieltä. Puolueohjelmat tarjoavat potentiaalisille äänestäjille ’etuja’ ja ’tarjouksia’, ja toisaalta myös myyvät omaa ideologiaansa, joka voi olla hyvinkin erilainen kuulijan omasta katsomuksesta. Päämääränä on kuitenkin tarkoitus saada kuulija tai lukija uskomaan, että tarjolla oleva ideologia tai näkemys on paras mahdollinen ja ennen kaikkea lukijan oman edun mukainen.

Tutkielmassa puolueohjelmien sisältöä lähestytään kriittisen diskurssianalyysin näkökulmasta. Kriittisen diskurssianalyysin voidaan katsoa juontavan juurensa jo ranskalaisen sosiologin Michel Foucault'n ajatuksiin vallan ja diskurssin yhteydestä. Varsinaisen kriittisen diskurssianalyysin synty sanan nykyisessä merkityksessä voidaan sijoittaa 80- ja 90-luvun vaihteeseen, jolloin kriittinen diskurssianalyysi nousi yleiseen tietoisuuteen sellaisten tutkijoiden kuten Teun A. van Dijk'n, Ruth Wodakin, Norman Fairclough'n, Gunther Kressin ja Theo van Leeuwenin julkaistessaan töitään kriittisen diskurssianalyysin saralta. Tärkeää on ollut myös M.A.K. Halliday'n luoma funktionaalinen kielioppi, jonka pohjalle moni tutkija on rakentanut oman lähestymistapansa. Kriittisen diskurssianalyysin taustalla on ajatus kielenkäytön ja vallan yhteydestä ja tämän prosessin keskeisyydestä modernissa yhteiskunnassa. Ongelmalliseksi kriittisen diskurssianalyysin tekee kuitenkin se, että se ei ole varsinainen teoria, vaan ennen kaikkea lähestymistapa – tapa tehdä tutkimusta. Kriittinen diskurssianalyysi ei myöskään tarjoa varsinaisia metodeja tutkimuksen

tekoon, sillä koulukunnan mukaan tapa tehdä tutkimusta riippuu hyvin pitkälti tarkasteltavan tekstin luonteesta.

Kriittistä diskurssianalyysiä on arvosteltu paljon myös puolueettomuuden vaatimuksen hylkäämisestä. Itse en kuitenkaan koe tätä ”puolueellisuutta” ongelmallisena niin kauan kuin se tiedostetaan ja ilmaistaan selkeästi. Puolueetonta tutkimusta tuskin on olemassa; arvovalinnat ovat mukana jo kun päätetään tutkimuksen aiheesta ja metodeista: mikä on tarpeeksi kiinnostavaa, että sitä kannattaa tutkia ja miten tätä aihetta kannatta lähestyä. Eri maailmankatsomuksen omaavat tutkijan aivan varmasti valitsevat erilaiset aiheet tai vähintäänkin päätyvät tarkastelemaan kyseistä ilmiötä erilaisista näkökulmista.

Retoriikan tutkimus oli pitkään kunniakkaan historiansa jälkeen tieteellisessä tutkimuksessa paitsiossa. 1950-luvulla, aikana jolloin retoriikan tutkimus oli minimissään, loivat Kenneth Burke, Chaïm Perelman ja Stephen Toulmin omat lähestymistapansa retoriikan tutkimukseen ja uudistivat samalla perinpohjaisesti retoriikan tutkimuksen luonnetta. Uudelle retoriikalle tyypillistä oli siirtyminen pois retoriikan sääntöjen ja muotojen tutkimuksesta, tutkimukseen, jonka keskiössä olivat ennemminkin retoriikan vaikutusmahdollisuudet ja vaikuttamisen keinot, sen yhteiskunnallinen ulottuvuus. Näin jälkeinpäin niin Toulmin, Perelman kuin Burke on nostettu niin sanotun uuden retoriikan perustajiksi.

Koska niin kriittinen diskurssianalyysi sen enempiä kuin genreteoriakaan ei tarjoa selkeitä analyysin välineitä, on tässä tutkimuksessa otettu metodivalinta pitkälti omiin käsiin. Metodien kehittelyn taustalla on kvalitatiivisessa tutkimuksessa paljon käytetty lähilukeminen, joka tarkoittaa tekstin lukemista useaan kertaan, samalla muistiinpanoja tehden. Useaan kertaan tekstiä lukemalla voidaan havaita tutkimuksen kannalta tärkeitä piirteitä ja malleja, joita voidaan lähteä analysoimaan ja, joiden pohjalta niin teoreettinen kuin metodinenkin lähtökohta voidaan muodostaa.

Lähiluennan pohjalta muodostettu metodinen lähestymistapani on kolmiosainen. Tutkielmassa lähdin tarkastelemaan niin leksikaalisia, kieliopillisia kuin retorisia piirteitä. Tarkoituksena oli luoda mahdollisimman kattava katsaus melkoisen suppeaan aineiston, tarkoituksena tuottaa mieluummin syväluotaava analyysi kuin pinnallisempi mutta laajemman kirjallisen materiaalin kattava selvitys.

Leksikaaliset piirteet, joita tutkielmassa tarkastellaan, sisältävät eufemismit eli kiertoilmaukset, metaforat, kollokaatiot, rinnastukset sekä erilaiset nimeämiset. Kieliopillisista rakenteista tarkasteltiin temaattisia rooleja, verbejä (kollokaatiot, pääluokka, aikamuoto ja aspekti) sekä modaaliapuverbejä. Retorinen analyysi perustuu Burken, Perelmanin ja Toulminin ajatuksiin ja kirjallisessa tuotannossaan tarjoamiin metodeihin. Tutkielmassa päädyttiin omaksumaan Burkelta ajatus neljästä päätroopista (metafora, synokdokee, metonymia ja ironia) sekä ajatus retoriikasta identifikaation välineenä. Perelman puolestaan tarjosi lähestymistavan yleisölähtöiseen analyysiin sekä argumenttien esioletuksiin, Toulmin puolestaan argumentin rakenteeseen.

Aineiston analyysissä erityisesti leksikaalinen ulottuvuus oli johtopäätösten teon kannalta antoisaa. Metaforisella kielenkäytöllä sekä leksikaalisilla valinnoilla rakennettiin teema jokaisen vuoden puolueohjelmalle. Tekstissä, joka lähestyy enemmän faktaa kuin fiktiota, metaforien käyttö jää yleensä vähäiseksi. Siksi oli yllättävää löytää tässä määrin metaforia tekstistä. Kahdeksankymmentälukua leimasi huolenpito. Sanavalinnat ja metaforat voivat loivat kuvan lämpimästä ja välittävästä vanhemmasta, mutta taktiikalla on myös omat loukkunsa. Tämänkaltainen metaforisuus voidaan nähdä ylihuolehtivana, jopa holhoavana. Tämän tyyppisessä ohjelmassa pääpaino jää arvoille ja ideologialle, joita ohjelmassa painotetaan enemmän kuin konkreettisia poliittisia tavoitteita.

1990-luvulla puolueen metaforien käyttö heijasti selkeästi puolueessa tapahtuvia muutoksia. Vanha punaisuus ja aatteellisuus oli haalistumassa. Vuoden 1992 ohjelmasta löytyi suhteessa paljon rakentamiseen liittyviä metaforia. Puolueen ollessa jakautunut uuden suunnan suhteen, rakentaminen luo mielikuvan jatkuvuudesta. Ironista siinä on se, että hyvin pian, tämä metaforinen rakentaja on ainoa mikä jää jäljelle puolueen heittäessä romukoppaan peruskirjansa neljännen lauseen. Vuoden 1997 puolueohjelma on monella tavalla vedenjakajan asemassa. Niin metaforissa kuin leksikaalisissa valinnoissa korostui mustavalkoisuus ja vastakkainasettelu, oli aika valita uuden ja vanhan välillä. Merkittävintä kuitenkin oli talouden ja markkinakielen tunkeutuminen 2000-luvun puolueohjelmiin. Metaforat heijastavat globalisaatiota, mutta myös vanhat tutut suojelun ja vapautuksen metaforat löytävät tiensä 2000-luvun ohjelmiin.

Kiertoilmaukset eivät juuri vuosien saatossa ole muuttuneet. Tämä kertoo myös siitä, että yhteiskunnan arvopohja muuttuu hitaasti. Ainoa uusi tulokas näiden kahdenkymmenen vuoden aikana oli lahjakkuuden ja normien ulkopuolisuuden kiertäminen sanakääntein. Muuten viittaukset varallisuuteen, tai sen puutteeseen, sekä ikään ovat pysyneet vuodesta toiseen kiertoilmausten kohteena.

Nimeäminen ei ollut varsinainen strategia tarkastelluissa puolueohjelmissa. Jossain määrin tätä taktiikkaa käytettiin. Valinta sanojen *Conservative* ja *Tory* välillä on ainakin etymologisesti merkittävä. Myös viittaus konservatiivipuolueeseen termillä *old arguments* on mielenkiintoinen ja varmasti tietoinen valinta.

Selvin muutos tapahtuu 1997 vuoden puolueohjelmassa. Standardit, investoinnit ja laatu edustivat markkinasanaston esiinmarssia. Pysyvää puolueohjelmissa on determinanttien, kuten *all* ja *every* ilmeneminen. Vaikuttaa siltä, että Labour haluaa pitää kiinni vanhasta perimästään, olkoonkin, että se on kahden pikkuisen determinantin kautta. Myös slogan ”*Excellence for the many, not just the few*”, hieman eri muodoissaan, kulkee punaisena lankana tarkastelluissa puolueohjelmissa.

Kieliopillisten piirteiden analyysi paljastaa myös monia geneerisiä piirteitä puolueohjelmista. 1980-luvun ohjelmissa agentin temaattinen rooli oli varattu vain ja ainoastaan puolueelle itselleen. Muut mahdolliset toimijat kuten opettajat, oppilaat, koulut ja niin edelleen, olivat vastaanottavina osapuolina. Vuoden 1992 puolueohjelma nosti agentin rooliin myös erilaiset instituutiot ja vuodesta 1997 agentin rooliin saattoi päästä myös paljon muita toimijoita. On kuitenkin huomattava, että suurin osa agentin rooleista pysyi edelleen joko puolueella itsellään tai erilaisilla institutionaalisilla toimijoilla.

Passiivin käyttö puolueohjelmissa lisääntyi vuodesta toiseen. Huomattavaa oli, että usein puolueen ulkopuoliset toimijat olivat agenteina passiivirakenteissa, jolloin pääpaino siirtyy toimintaan, ei toimijaan itseensä. Aikamuodoista futuurin käyttö on hyvin tyypillistä. Mennyttä aikamuotoa, imperfektiä, ei paljon käytetä. Sen sijaan tyypillistä on pluskvamperfektin käyttö, silloin kun se viittaa tavoitteisiin, jotka Labour on saavuttanut. Kestoinfinitiiviä puolestaan käytetään voitokkaissa puolueohjelmissa viittaamaan menestyksekkääseen, mutta edelleen kesken olevaan työhön. Huomattava

poikkeus tähän sääntöön oli vuoden 1997 ohjelma, jossa kestoinfinitiivillä viitattiin puolueen toimiin oppositiossa.

Modaaliapuverbien tarkastelu tarjoaa myös mielenkiintoisen näkökulman kielenkäytön muutokseen. Siinä missä *will+verbi* -konstruktio tulevaisuuteen viittaavana lauserakenteena on geneerinen piirre, modaaliapuverbien muutos *must-*modaaliapuverbin käytöstä lievemmin velvoittavaan *should*-modaaliapuverbiin on analyysin kannalta kiintoisa käänne. *May* ja *might* modaaliapuverbien käyttö puolestaan oli vähäistä.

Retorisia piirteitä lähestytään tässä tutkimuksessa kolmen eri tutkijan luomien lähestymistapojen kautta. Kenneth Burkelta omin ajatuksen retoriikan funktiosta identifikaation välineenä. Vaikka kirjoitettu teksti ei olekaan samalla tavalla identifikaatiota etsivää ja taivutteluun pyrkivää, kuten esimerkiksi televisioitu puhe, ovat nämä kaksi tavoitetta genren kannalta tärkeitä. Yksi tyypillisimmistä retorisisista identifikaation keinoista on *eksklusiivisen* ja *inklusiivisen me* -sanana käyttö. Vaikka puolueohjelmissä käytettävä *me*-muoto on yleensä poissulkeva, eksklusiivinen, luo *me*-sanana käyttö myös yhteenkuuluvuutta. Tämä johtuu lähinnä siitä, että englannissa, kuten suomessakin niin eksklusiiviset kuin inklusiiviset *me* -sanat ovat kirjoitus- ja ääniasultaan identtisiä. Semanttinen ero ei lukijan näkökulmasta ole suuri. Inklusiivista *me* -sanaa näissä puolueohjelmissä käytetään lähinnä silloin kun puhutaan velvollisuuksista tai yhteisestä arvopohjasta. Toiminnallinen *me* oli lähes poikkeuksetta eksklusiivinen.

Samaan tyyliin käytetään *meidän*-sanaa, johon pätee samanasteinen inklusiivisen ja eksklusiivisen käytön ero. Myös maahan tai kansalaisuuteen viittaaminen identifikaation lähteenä on tyypillinen. 80-luvun puolueohjelmissä viittauksia kansallisuuteen tai kansaan ei tehdä. 90-luvulta lähtien, lukuun ottamatta vuotta 2001, sana *Britain* tai *British* esiintyy jokaisessa puolueohjelmassa. Kansalaisuuden käyttö identifikaationa on tärkeä, sillä sillä luodaan *me*/*muut* -jakoja. Viittaamalla kansalaisiin tai kansaan kokonaisuudessaan, hävitetään myös rajoja kansalaisten välillä jakoina eri yhteiskuntaluokkiin, sukupuoleen, ammattiin tai maantieteelliseen sijaintiin

Labour käyttää myös seuraavanlaisia lauseita identifikaation välineinä: *Primary education is fundamental to all educational and social development as any parent knows* (1983) ja *Primary education without basic is betrayal; but every parent rightly wants more* (2001). Jos lukija ei ole yhtä mieltä yllä olevien väitteiden kanssa, hän myös samalla rajaa itsensä käsitteen 'vanhempi' ulkopuolelle.

Puolueohjelma vilisee determinantteja kuten *all, no, whole and every*. Näillä pikkusanoilla on myös identifikaation kannalta merkitystä. Samoin kuin kansalaisuus hävittää jaot yksiöiden välillä, nämä pikkusanat toimittavat samaa funktiota, jolla luodaan äänestäjäkunnasta yhtä yhtenäistä kansaa. Myös kulttuuristen viitteiden käyttö voidaan nähdä identifikaation välineensä. Kulttuuriset viitteet toimivat ikään kuin sisäpiirin vitseinä, kulttuurisina vinkkeinä brittiläisessä yhteiskunnassa eläville. Puolueohjelmissa käyttävät erilaisia kulttuurisia viitteitä: historiallisia, auktoritatiivisia tai idiomaattisia sanontoja. Identifikaatiota voidaan harjoittaa myös puolueen taholta. Vuodesta 1997 Labour identifioituu vahvasti koulutukseen ja koulutuksen kehittämiseen.

Burken päätroopeista metonymiat, synokdokeet ja ironiat ovat metaforia huomattavasti harvinaisempia trooppeja puolueohjelmien kielessä. Metonymiat ja synokdokeet, joita näissä puolueohjelmissa käytetään, ovat melko lailla perinteisiä, esimerkiksi 'parlamentilla' viitataan koko parlamenttiin, siinä toimiviin ihmisiin ja neljän vuoden aikana tehtyihin poliittisiin päätöksiin. Samalla tavalla käytetään sanaa 'koulu' viittaamaan koko koulukompleksiin: niin rakennuksiin, henkilökuntaan kuin oppilaskuntaankin. Kuvainnollisemmilla metonymioilla ja synokdokeilla ei tunnu olevan paikkaa puolueohjelmissa. Vielä harvinaisempaa on ironian käyttö. Puolueohjelmissa on yleisesti ottaen vähän tilaa kuvainnolliselle kielenkäytölle, pois lukien metaforien käyttö. Yksi syy saattaa olla se, että politiikan suuntaviivoista keskustelun koetaan olevan sen verran vakava asia, että sinne ei korukielisyys suuremmassa määrin sovi. Ironian puute puolestaan kuvastaa sen käytön vaikeutta. Kirjoitetussa kielessä ironinen kielenkäyttö on riskialtista tekstin kommunikatiivisen luonteen takia. Erehdysten korjaaminen on hidasta ja väärinymmärrysten mahdollisuus suuri.

Jumaltermien käytössä suurin muutos ilmenee 1990-luvulta eteenpäin. Siinä missä 80-luvun jumaltermi tuntui olevan tasa-arvo, siirtyy se 1990-luvulla standardeihin ja 2001 eteenpäin kaikenkattava selitys on sijoitus, joka tuottaa taloudellista voittoa.

Perelmanin käsitteet universaalista ja erityisestä yleisöstä sekä argumentin esioletuksista ovat analyysin kannalta hedelmällisiä. Vuosina 1983 ja 1987 pääpaino oli oletuksiin ja arvoihin nojaavilla esioletuksissa. Puolueohjelmien pääasiallisena kohteena olivat mitä suurimmissa määrin erilaiset erityisyleisöt. Vuoden 1992 ohjelmassa esioletukset olivat vaihtelevampia ja ohjelma suunnattiin jokseenkin tasapuolisesti sekä universaali- että erityisyleisöille. Vuoden 1997 ohjelma oli sekoitus ennakko-oletuksia sekä arvoja, mutta poiketen kahdeksankymmenluvun ohjelmista, ennakko-oletuksille usein tarjottiin taustatukea. Nämä oletukset suunnattiin universaalille yleisölle ja antamalla taustatukea, ovat argumentin lähtökohdat, esisopimus, helpommin hyväksyttävissä. Arvo-oletukset puolestaan suunnataan erityisyleisölle, jolloin tuen tarvetta ei ole, sillä oletuksena on, että kohdeyleisö jakaa kyseessä olevat arvot. Sama trendi jatkuu myös vuosien 2001 ja 2005 ohjelmissa, mutta mukana on myös jossain määrin erityyppisiä esioletuksia kuten faktoja ja totuuksia.

Kaiken kaikkiaan voidaan sanoa, että vuodesta 1997 eteenpäin pääpaino on ollut universaaliyleisön tavoittamisessa. Olisi kuitenkin väärin sanoa, että puolue on muuttunut vain kaikkia kosivaksi puolueeksi ja unohtanut omat erityisyleisönsä. Tämä ei pidä paikkaansa, vaan esimerkiksi arvoihin perustuvilla esioletuksilla on edelleen paikkansa puolueohjelmien kirjoittamisen saralla.

Toulminin argumenttianalyysin avulla on mahdollista tarkastella argumentin anatomiaa. Tämän tutkimuksen erityisen mielenkiinnon kohteena ovat olleet perusteet (warrants), jotka Toulmin jakoi motivationaalisiin, auktoritatiivisiin ja substantiivisiin perusteihin. Analyysin pohjalta kävi selväksi, että usein lähtötieto (data) osa saatettiin jättää mainitsematta. Syitä tähän on monia. Ehkä tärkein syy juontaa juurensa genren kommunikatiiviseen luonteeseen: puolueohjelma on harvoin, jos koskaan, ensimmäinen kontakti äänestäjän ja puolueen välillä. Puolueohjelma ei itsessään ole interaktiivinen media, vaan interaktiivisen median tuote, joka vastaa muualla esitettyihin kysymyksiin ja vaatimuksiin.

Toinen geneerinen piirre on puolenohjelmissa käytetyt motivaationaaliset perusteet. Labour-puolueen koulutuspoliittisessa puolueohjelmassa trendi tuntuu olevan kohti substantiivisia perusteita. Täten ollen suuntaus olisi siirtyä arvoperustaisista perusteluista kohti loogista argumentointia ja syy-seuraus tyyliä perusteluita. Kolmas geneerinen argumenttirakenteen piirre on pelkkien johtopäätösten (claim) käyttö ilman lähtötietoja ja perusteita.

Kysymys puolueohjelmakirjoittamisen genrestä on mielenkiintoinen. Tähän mennessä tielleni ei ole osunut kuvausta puolueohjelmasta kirjallisen ilmaisun lajina. Sen vuoksi yksi tämän tutkielman tavoitteista oli yrittää luoda jonkin asteinen kehikkovastaus sille, millainen on puoluepoliittinen ohjelma genrenä.

On otettava huomioon, että tässä tutkielmassa on tarkasteltu vain yhtä puoluetta, vain yhden politiikan alueen saralla ja rajoitetun ajanjakson ajan. Täten ollen johtopäätösten teko siten, että päätelmät kattaisivat koko puolueohjelmakirjoittamisen genren, olisi riskialtista. Silti, uskon, että tulosten pohjalta voidaan hahmotella tietty rakenne, joka pitää paikkansa ainakin Britannian työväenpuolueen kohdalla, koulutuspolitiikan osalta ja tietyntyyppisen ajan jaksena. Suurelta osin tulokset on kuitenkin mahdollista laajentaa koskemaan koko genreä itseään. Tuloksien pohjalta formuloin seuraavan kaltaisen rakennekehikon:

5. Immersio
6. Ansioluettelo
7. Poliitiikka
 - a. otsikko
 - b. yksityiskohdat ja tavoitteet
 - c. taustatuki (tilastot, auktoriteetit, maalaisjärki)
 - d. todistukset
8. Loppukaneetti
 - a. tavoitteet
 - b. painostus

Lukuun ottamatta vuoden 1997 puolueohjelmaa, jokainen ohjelma alkaa immersioilla, jolla viittaa lähinnä sellaiseen tekstiin, jonka funktiona on vetää lukija mukaan Labour-puolueen maailmaan joko esittelemällä nykyistä tilannetta tai kuvailemalla puolueen

arvoja. Tarkoituksena on, että lukija uppoutuu Labourin maailmaan ja hyväksyy johdanto-osan. Vuoden 1997 puolueohjelma alkaa muista poiketen puolueen kuudella tavoitteella. On kuitenkin mahdollista, että ratkaisu sijoittaa tavoitteet heti alkuun, on seurausta pikemminkin tekstin layoutista kuin tekstuaalisesta rakenteesta.

Immersiota seuraa politiikkaosuus. Lähes jokainen ohjelma on ryhmitelty alaotsikkojen alle. Vuoden 1987 ohjelma poikkeaa tästä muotista. Sen sijaan, että siinä käytettäisiin erillisiä alaotsikoita, otsikot on korvattu käyttämällä tekstissä lihavoitteja osoittamaan ikään kuin eräänlaista alaotsikkoa. Funktio on kuitenkin sama, toteutus vain hieman erilainen.

Niinä vuosina kun puolue on ollut hallituksessa puolueohjelman teon aikaan, kuluu rakenteeseen olennaisena osana niin sanottu ansioluettelo. Tämä ansioluettelo sijoittuu heti immersion jälkeen, mutta on osittain myös siroteltuna eri politiikka osioiden alle.

Suurin osa ohjelmista päättyy äkillisesti, ikään kuin kesken. Syy siihen on se, että koulutuspolitiikka, jota tässä tutkimuksessa tarkasteltiin, on vain yksi osa puolueohjelmaa eikä tarkastelluissa ohjelmissa suinkaan koko puoluepoliittisen ohjelman viimeinen osa.

Vuosien 1992, 1997 ja 2005 ohjelmat käyttävät loppukaneetin taktiikkaa. Loppukaneetti muistuttaa esseenomaista loppuyhteenvedoa, jossa kerätään kaikki löydökset yhteen. Vuonna 1992 loppukaneettiin sijoitetaan puolueen tavoitteet, vuonna 1997 ja 2005 puolue otti käyttöönsä painostuskeinot, joiden tarkoituksena on motivoida ohjelman lukevia ryntäämään äänestysuurnille. Vuonna 2005 mukana ovat myös tavoitteet, viimeinen lause on lähes suoranainen uhkaus: joko äänestätte meitä tai edessä on paluu synkkiin konservatiivivuosiin. Mielenkiintoista on, että nämä loppukaneetit ilmenevät silloin kun kilpailu äänistä on tiukkaa. Vuonna 1992 näytti jo siltä, että valta vaihtuu ja lehdet ennustivatkin Labourille niukkaa voittoa. Vuosi 1997 oli poliittisen vallanvaihdon aika ja Labour kampanjoi kovemmin kuin koskaan aikaisemmin vuoden 1992 kirvelevän tappion jälkeen. Vuonna 2005 ja Irakin sodan pyörteissä Labourin aika parrasvaloissa näytti olevan ohi, ja vaalit päättyivätkin historian niukimpaan enemmistöön parlamentissa.

Vähimmillään puolueohjelmaan sisältyy immersio, politiikka ja, jos ohjelma on tehty hallituspuolueen asemassa, myös ansioluettelo on mukana. Yhteneväisyys Bhatian (1993) myynninedistämisgenreen on huomattava. Eroja kuitenkin löytyy ja suurin ero onkin ns. myynnin suoruudessa. Puolueohjelmia ei voida myydä suoralla ”hae omasi nyt”- retoriikalla, vaan tuloksena on ennemminkin toisen polven mainontaa, mielikuvamainontaa, jonka tarkoituksena ei ole vain jonkun tietyn tuotteen myyminen, vaan identifioituminen tiettyyn maailmankatsomukseen.

Millainen sitten on puolueohjelma genrenä? Argumenttirakenteessa on huomattavissa tiettyjä tyypillisiä piirteitä. Hyvin usein argumenteissa voidaan jättää huomioimatta sekä lähtötiedot sekä perusteet, ja rakentaa puolueohjelma monien eri johtopäätösten varaan. Olen tutkimuksessani aiemmin jo pohtinut syitä tähän ja tullut siihen lopputulokseen, että pelkkien johtopäätösten hyväksyttävyyden johtuu hyvin pitkälti genren kommunikatiivisesta luonteesta. Puolueohjelma tuskin on ensimmäinen kontakti puolueen ja lukijan välillä, ja siinä käsiteltävät aihealueet ovat tuttuja jo muista medioista tai käsiteltävät aiheet ovat nousseet yhteiskunnallisen keskustelun seurauksena huomion kohteeksi. Erityisesti tämä oletus pitää paikkansa lähtötietojen osalta. Silloin kun perusteita argumentissa käytetään, tyypillisimmät argumentin peruslun tyypit ovat joko motivationaalisia tai substantiivisia (syy-johtopäätös tyyppisiä). Jonkin verran myös auktoriteetteihin nojaavia perusteita käytetään, mutta ne ovat selkeästi harvinaisempia.

Puolueohjelmalle on tunnuksenomaista, että se on kirjoitettu futurissa. Tämä tulos tuskin on yllättävä, sillä puolueohjelman funktio on esittää ratkaisuja yhteiskunnallisesti tärkeiksi koettuihin ongelmiin tai ajankohtaisiin kysymyksiin. Yleensä puolue viittaa itseensä Labour-sanana sijasta eksklusiivisella *me* -sanalla. Inklusiivista *me* -sanaa käytetään lähinnä silloin, kun kyse on arvoista. *Me*-sanana käyttö kuitenkin mahdollistaa pinnallisen identifikaation puolueen kanssa ja sen ensisijainen tarkoitus on häivyttää rajoja lukijan ja kirjoittajan välillä.

Labourille tyypillistä on tiettyjen sloganien käyttö sekä determinanttien, kuten *kaikki ja jokainen* viljely. Labourin tunnusmerkki on hieman muunneltuna suurin piirtein sama jokaisessa ohjelmassa, ”excellence for the many, not just the few”. Tarkoituksena on korostaa oman puolueen tavoitetta pyrkiä suurimpaan mahdolliseen hyvään

suurimmalle mahdolliselle ihmisjoukolle sekä korostaa tätä ideologista eroa Labourin ja muiden puolueiden välillä.

Kysymys menestyksekkäästä puolueohjelmasta on myös mielenkiintoinen. Tutkielmassa käsitellyistä ohjelmista ainakin vuosien 1997, 2001 ja 2005 voidaan lukea menestyksekkäiksi. Itse laskisin mukaan myös vuoden 1992 ohjelman, sillä tällä ohjelmalla Labour nousi syvimmästä suostaan, jopa lähelle voittoa. Suurin suunnanmuutos tapahtui juuri vuoden 1992 ohjelmassa: uudenlainen sanasto otettiin käyttöön, sama muutos on nähtävissä metaforien käytössä. Silti vuoden 1997 ohjelman voidaan kuitenkin sanoa olevan kaikkein onnistunein siinä mielessä, että vuoden 1997 vaaleissa Labour saavutti kaikkien aikojen äänivyöryn ja nousi parlamenttiin historian suurimmalla paikkaenemmistöllä.

Vuoden 1997 ohjelmalle oleellisinta oli, että se oli uudentyyppinen niin poliittiselta painopisteeltään kuin käytetyiltä taktiikoiltaan. Koulutuspolitiikka nousi vaalien suurimmaksi valttikortiksi. Myös Labourin oma asenne myös muuttui. Sen sijaan, että ohjelmassa olisi muistutettu kaikesta siitä, mitä vallassa oleva hallitus (Conservatives) oli valtakautensa aikana tehnyt väärin, siirtyi pääpaino siihen, mitä Labour tekisi toisin ja mikä tärkeintä, mitä puolue oli tehnyt jo oppositiossa olonsa aikana. Puolueen aktiivisuus oppositiossa oli tämän ohjelman keskiössä. Myös ohjelmassa esitetyt johtopäätökset saivat tavallista enemmän perustelua ja taustatukea. Puolue siirtyi jo vuonna 1992 motivationaalisten perustelujen perinteestä substantiivisten sekä motivationaalisten perusteluiden tasapainoon. Tavoitteena oli saavuttaa entistä suuremman yleisön hyväksyttävyyttä, jolloin huomio siirtyi erityisyleisöstä kohti universaaliyleisöä.

Kolmas muutos on jo vuonna 1992 käyttöön otetut tarkat suunnitelmat, luvut ja tilastot. Tämänkaltaisten piirteiden käyttäminen luo mielikuvan hyvin suunnitellusta ohjelmasta. Yllämainitut piirteet eivät ehkä riitä kattamaan yleispätevästi menestyksekkään puolueohjelman vaatimusta. Tämä malli on kuitenkin pätevä tietyssä yhteiskunnassa, tietyssä ajanjaksona, tietyn politiikan osa-alueella. Laajempi pätevyys vaatii kattavampaa tutkimusotetta. Puolueohjelmat heijastavat oman aikansa arvoja, ja mitä lähemmin ne vastaavat koko yhteiskunnan arvoja, sitä varmemmin menestys on taattu. Selkeää on ollut talousmaailman kielen tunkeutuminen myös puoluepoliittiseen

kielenkäyttöön. Yhteiskunnan muutos, arvomaailman muutos sekä muutokset puolueen sisäisessä organisaatiossa heijastuvat myös puolueohjelmiin.

Puolueohjelma on genrenä selkeästi oma alagenrensä, osa politiikan tekstien genreä. Huomattavaa on ollut myynninedistämisen kielen ja mallien yhteneväisyys puolueohjelmissä. Miltä menestyksekkäs puolueohjelma näyttää, jää jossain määrin vielä vaille vastausta. Joka tapauksessa tutkimuksessa käytetty tutkimusote, joka yhdistelee leksikaalisia, kieliopillisia ja retorisia analyysin välineitä, vaikuttaisi olevan hedelmällinen tutkimusote lähestyttäessä puolueohjelmia niin sisällön kuin rakenteenkin kannalta. Vaikka tutkimustulokset ovat päteviä vain hyvin rajatulla alueella johtuen pitkälti lähdemateriaalin kapeudesta, on tämä kuitenkin hyvä alku. Tästä on kuitenkin hyvä jatkaa eteenpäin.