

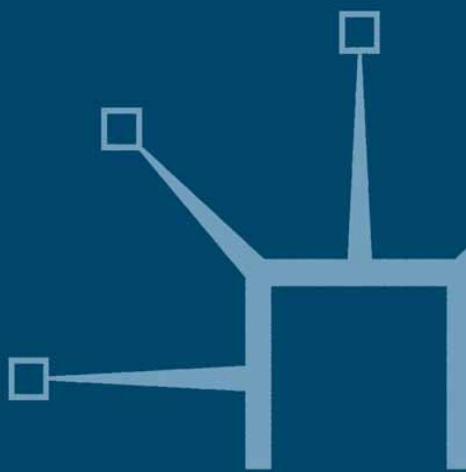
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# Politicians and Rhetoric

The Persuasive Power of Metaphor

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Jonathan Charteris-Black



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*Also by Jonathan Charteris-Black*

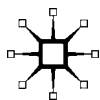
CORPUS APPROACHES TO CRITICAL METAPHOR ANALYSIS

# Politicians and Rhetoric

## The Persuasive Power of Metaphor

Jonathan Charteris-Black

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*For Pauline*



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# Preface

It has always been preferable for the governed to be ruled by the spoken word rather than by the whip, the chain or the gun. For this reason we should be happy when power is based – at least to some extent – upon language, at least when leaders are taking the trouble to persuade us we have the choice of accepting or rejecting their arguments. Leadership is a social act requiring individuals who are gifted in the arts of communication and self-representation as well as others who are ready to follow the visions offered by leaders. Their language of persuasion appeals both to our conscious rational judgements and to our unconscious emotional responses. It looks both outwards towards a better future based on our conscious knowledge of the world, but it also looks inwards and communicates this vision by activating our concealed ideas, values and feelings.

Successful politicians are those who effectively combine appeals to cognition and emotion by having credible stories to tell. Effective rhetoric involves us with the drama of the present by providing convincing explanations of what is right and wrong and convinces us that the speaker is both better and stronger than his or her opponents. Metaphor is a highly effective rhetorical strategy for combining our understanding of familiar experiences in everyday life with deep-rooted cultural values that evoke powerful emotional responses. However, the language of leadership integrates metaphor with a range of other linguistic features to divert attention from communication style. In this way it is in the nature of legitimisation not to arouse our defences but to lull us into a sense of security.

In this book I hope to explore the language of leadership by shifting the focus from message content to how it is communicated. I will do this by examining the rhetorical use of language by six politicians – three British and three North American – who have demonstrated great success in their ability to persuade. I hope to explain how their use of language created credible and consistent stories about themselves and the social world they inhabited. In particular, I hope to explore their use of metaphors to identify the nature of the myths they offered us and to show how linguistic analysis provides a very

clear insight into the nature of how power is gained and maintained in democracies.

This book is dedicated to all those who seek to persuade by peaceful means.

*Jonathan Charteris-Black, May 2004*

## **Style conventions**

As has become accepted practice in cognitive linguistics, upper case is used to show the abstract thoughts (or propositions) underlying metaphors that are usually known as conceptual metaphors. Excerpts from politicians' speeches are shown in smaller font size.

# 1

## Persuasion, Legitimacy and Leadership

### 1.1 Language and leadership

Within all types of political system, from autocratic, through oligarchic to democratic, leaders have relied on the spoken word to convince others of the benefits that arise from their leadership. The more democratic societies become, the greater the onus on leaders to convince potential followers that they and their policies can be trusted. As Burns (1978: 18) explains: 'Leadership over human beings is exercised when persons with certain motives and purposes mobilize, in competition or conflict with others, institutional, political, psychological, and other resources so as to arouse, engage, and satisfy the motives of followers.' The argument that I will develop is that the most important type of behaviour by which leaders mobilise their followers is their linguistic performance. In democratic frameworks it is primarily through language that leaders legitimise their leadership.

In democracies voters make decisions on the basis of overall impressions of the reliability, honesty, morality and integrity of politicians as much as on their actual policies. Multiple factors influence the impressions we have of politicians; we gauge their personality through aspects of appearance – physical features, dress etc. – and through visual aspects of their behaviour such as mannerisms and gesture. Indeed we are only partially conscious of how a bundle of interacting attributes contribute towards our judgements of a politician's credibility as a leader. Various media make different demands on human communication resources: dress and gesture are important in face-to-face communication; voice quality in radio communication and facial features and face and eye movements are particularly important in television because of the potential for close-ups. Though successful performance requires skill in all of these – as

confirmed by the political success of professional actors such as Ronald Reagan and, more recently, Arnold Schwarzenegger – it is *linguistic* performance that is common to *all* these communication media. This is why language is crucial in the gentle arts of persuasion and impression management through which leadership is performed.

In this book I will explore some of the linguistic performances of those who are recognised as highly successful political leaders in twentieth-century western societies. I will argue that choice of language in general and metaphor in particular is essential to their overall persuasiveness. Identification of the cognitive and affective basis of metaphor can explain why it is necessary for successful leadership. I will also argue that metaphor is systematically related to other linguistic strategies and propose that it is central to the creation of persuasive belief systems. This, I suggest, is because it exploits the subliminal resources of language by arousing hidden associations that govern our systems of evaluation. The subliminal potential of metaphor is not one that has previously been identified in relation to political discourse and is, I suggest, central to the performance of leadership.

I employ an empirical method to investigate the relation between language and leadership. First, I identify the rhetorical features used by some of the most reputed twentieth-century British and American political orators. I then identify their metaphors and classify these according to their linguistic content (i.e. their ‘source domain’) and according to what they describe (i.e. their ‘target domain’). Once I have collated metaphors in this way, I employ cognitive semantics to identify certain propositions or assumptions that underlie metaphor use. In simple terms this means inferring from a group of language uses an underlying proposition that seems to explain systematic correspondences between their linguistic choices and metaphorical meanings. An example may serve to make this approach clearer. The following metaphors were all chosen from Party Conference speeches of Margaret Thatcher and they concern different areas of policy such as inflation, home ownership and schools:

Inflation threatens democracy itself. We’ve always put its victory at the top of our agenda. For it’s a battle which never ends. It means keeping your budget on a sound financial footing.

Home ownership too has soared. And to extend the right to council tenants, we had to fight the battle as you know, the battle in Parliament every inch of the way. Against Labour opposition. And against Liberal opposition.

A new battle for Britain is under way in our schools. Labour's tattered flag is there for all to see. Limp in the stale breeze of sixties ideology.

In each case the use of the word 'battle' is a metaphor from the domain of conflict to describe a different type of political situation. This implies the underlying propositions:

OPPOSING INFLATION IS A BATTLE

OPPOSING POLITICAL OPPONENTS IS A BATTLE

In each case the metaphor 'battle' describes different political actions. The basis for this association can be represented with a general statement that captures an underlying assumption on which they are based to yield a 'conceptual' metaphor: POLITICS IS CONFLICT. As Burns notes in his classic study of leadership:

Leadership as conceptualized here is grounded in the seedbed of conflict. Conflict is intrinsically compelling; it galvanizes, prods, motivates people...Leadership acts as an inciting and triggering force in the conversion of conflicting demands, values, and goals into significant behaviour. (Burns 1978: 38)

There is also evidence in choices of words such as 'victory' and 'tattered' that there are strong evaluations associated with political actions. This value system is described with the language of military combat – of victory and defeat – and so linguistic choices communicate that this leader places a positive value on competitiveness. This value system reflects a general view of human and social relations that informs the use of language. In cognitive terms we can say that the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS CONFLICT describes the idea underlying Margaret Thatcher's conflict metaphors. Understanding the systematic nature of metaphor choices is therefore necessary if we are to understand how entire belief systems are conceived and communicated. This is because metaphor is a stylistic characteristic of the persuasive language of political leadership.

In this chapter I will first introduce some general ideas concerning the making of political speeches; I will then explain what I mean by 'persuasion' and its relationship to rhetoric. I will discuss the role of metaphor in developing political arguments, its relation to ideology and myth, origin in cognitive semantics and role in critical linguistics. I will consider how our understanding of the language of political leaders



may be enhanced by an investigation of the interrelatedness of persuasion, rhetoric, metaphor, ideology and myth. In the following chapters I will then illustrate how a number of famous twentieth-century political leaders have successfully exploited metaphor and myth in their use of rhetoric in the persuasive communication of ideology.

## 1.2 The art of speech making

Classical rhetoric identified three main contexts within which speeches could occur. First is the *genus deliberativum* – a speech that needs to be persuasive because it deals with an important controversial topic within a public setting; next is the *genus iudicium* for making judicial decisions. Finally, there is the *genus demonstrativum* – or epideictic address that is undertaken for some form of display (as in eulogies) (Sauer 1997). This book will necessarily concentrate on the first of these types of speech. However, all of these types assume that speeches are only given to live audiences who were present at the speech event.

Classical rhetoric also distinguished between issues of structure and style. Structure was concerned with the sequencing of components of a speech that govern the audience's ability to follow an argument. Initially there is a need to gain a hold on the audience through *heuresis*, 'discovery', and then to proceed according to a plan (*taxis*). Stylistic choices of language were known as *lexis* in classical terminology. Taken together *heuresis*, *taxis* and *lexis* were necessary in the conception of a speech but equally important were issues of performance or delivery; these included techniques of memorising and gesture. Persuasive rhetoric would be characterised by the fluency that comes from concealing the presence of a pre-existent text and accompanied by appropriate gestures.

The *taxis* or structure of an argument contained five stages: the first was an introduction (*exordium*) in which the speaker aims to ingratiate the audience. Techniques could be orientated towards the audience such as flattery or an appeal to their goodwill, or orientated towards the speaker – as in a confession of inadequacy. Alternatively they could appeal to the *sharing* of interests between speaker and audience – as in the use of first-person plural pronouns. The next stage was the outline of the argument (*narratio*); the following stage was support of the argument with examples, precedents or analogies (*confirmatio*). There was then anticipation of counter-arguments (*refutatio*) and finally the *conclusio* in which there would be some form of appeal to the better instincts of the audience. We will find that many of these features continue to be used in contemporary political speeches.

Early modern studies of speech making were concerned with the management of the interaction between leaders and followers; for example, Atkinson (1984) uses the term ‘claptrap’ to refer to a range of strategies used by political speakers that could be investigated by measuring audience applause. Atkinson identified linguistic strategies such as – when introducing a politician – saying a few words about the speaker before actually naming him or her; he also identified strategies such as three part lists and the use of contrastive pairs. While his approach is admirable, I will argue that metaphor is equally essential to a leader’s persuasive force. This is especially the case when these other rhetorical strategies interact with metaphor since it is the combined effect of various strategies that is most effective in political speeches. The overlapping of diverse rhetorical strategies creates a powerful interplay that ensures persuasive political communication.

I would like to illustrate some rhetorical strategies first with reference to Tony Blair’s 2002 Party Conference speech and then with reference to Margaret Thatcher’s 1987 Party Conference speech. A strategy favoured by Blair is the use of pairs of clauses in which the syntax and lexis are matched to produce what are known as ‘sound bites’ – short, memorable and quotable phrases that encapsulate arguments. These pairs of clauses are also known as parallelisms, and are shown in Table 1.1:

Matched clauses are selected by Blair because they communicate assertiveness and simplicity: two traits that correspond with the

*Table 1.1* ‘Sound Bites’ in Tony Blair’s 2002 Labour Party Conference Address

- 
1. We’ve never been more interdependent in our needs and  
We’ve never been more individualist in our outlook.
  2. They want Government under them not over them.  
They want Government to empower them, not control them.
  3. Out goes the Big State. In comes the Enabling State.  
Out goes a culture of benefits and entitlements. In comes a partnership of  
rights and responsibilities.
  4. We give opportunity to all.  
We demand responsibility from all.
  5. I don’t have all the answers.  
I don’t have all the levers.
  6. You’ve lost your love of discipline for its own sake.  
I’ve lost my love of popularity for its own sake.
  7. We haven’t just nailed the myths about Labour of old;  
we’ve created some legend of achievement about New Labour too.
-

intention of the speech: to persuade the conference to support his policy in relation to Iraq. There is extensive evidence that other rhetorical features are effectively combined with clause matching; half the examples are combined with *antithesis* or contrast (1, 2, 4 and 6). And – since the goal of party unity is an important rhetorical objective of this type of speech – another half are used in conjunction with the pronoun ‘we’ (1, 4 and 7). I suggest that the combined effect of these linguistic features is to produce phrases that will catch media attention.

A favoured strategy for Margaret Thatcher is the rhetorical question responded to by a three-part list:

Just why did we win? I think it is because we knew what we stood for, we said what we stood for. And we stuck by what we stood for.

Mr President, Labour’s language may alter, their presentation may be slicker, but underneath, it’s still the same old socialism.

Here the third element summarises and reinforces what has gone before. Without the third element the *parison* would be incomplete – with it there is a clear signal to the audience that this is an optional (and optimal) point for applause.

Various research into conversation (Tsui 1994), and other forms of spoken interaction such as classroom discourse (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975), have indicated that spoken discourse is typically organised in terms of three parts. A first part, or initiation, a response and then, a required third part; the role of the third part varies according to the discourse setting. The motivation of the third element is not so much to convey information (as with the first and second parts) but to make the interaction socially acceptable and well formed in terms of the social relations that exist between the participants. In political speaking I suggest that the function of the third part is to reinforce the meaning of the first two parts by repetition and to indicate completion. This type of signalling of discourse structure is important in speech making because it indicates a transitional point, where there is the option of applause. As Atkinson argues:

In the first place, the speaker must make it quite clear to them that he has launched into the final stages of delivering an applaudable message. Secondly, he has to supply enough information for them to be able to anticipate the precise point at which the message will be completed. (Atkinson 1984: 48)

Margaret Thatcher's speech contains an example of *antithesis* in which sequencing and comparison are combined to contrast the period of the last Labour government prior to 1979 with the period after the third Conservative victory. The contrast between the 'then' of Labour and the 'now' of Conservatism forms a leitmotif running through the speech – as in the following:

The old Britain of the 1970s, with its strikes, poor productivity, low investment, winters of discontent, above all its gloom, its pessimism, its sheer defeatism – that Britain is gone.

And we now have a new Britain, confident, optimistic, sure of its economic strength – a Britain to which foreigners come to admire, to invest, yes, and to imitate.

Here the contrast between old Labour that is associated with disharmonious industrial relations and low productivity is contrasted through pairs with a new, efficient and productive Conservative Britain.

Apart from figures that exploit sequencing and comparison Margaret Thatcher employed other rhetorical resources such as biblical allusion:

Far be it from me to deride the sinner that repenteth. The trouble with Labour is they want the benefit of repentance without renouncing the original sin. No way!

Sarcasm:

I have a feeling that, if Dr Owen didn't know it before, he knows now: six inches of fraternal steel beneath the shoulder blades.

Sarcasm and irony are stylistic choices that communicate the attitudes of the speaker towards the topic.

What is important, though, about discursive modes and figures of speech is that they *act in combination with one another* rather than in isolation; indeed we often isolate them solely for the purpose of analysing effective communication strategies. Atkinson (1984: 48) wishes to

stress from the outset that the successful claptrap always involves the use of more than one technique at a time. This is because of the difficulties involved in co-ordinating the activities of a large number

of individuals, not all of whom can be relied on to be paying full attention to what a speaker is saying.

Biblical allusions, modes of discourse such as irony and sarcasm, recounting anecdotes and rhetorical questions are all ways of arousing audience interest and retaining the attention of the hearer. Successful leaders do not take audience attention for granted and hail their potential followers through a rich and varied range of rhetorical strategies: it is the combined effect of a variety of rhetorical strategies that comprise the language of leadership.

Although politicians have frequently relied on ghostwriters in the past, in modern times increased reliance on speechwriters raises important issues of authorship. The use of speechwriters may be seen as part of a wider process of media management 'whereby political actors may seek to control, manipulate or influence media organizations in ways which correspond with their political objectives' (McNair 2003: 135). The role of speechwriters is to develop a rhetoric that reinforces the myths that assist in creating a politician's image. Speechwriters only choose words that fit the politician's image and what is important is how the politician is presented. In the world of contemporary political marketing, authorship relies on a team of skilled individuals – each with their own areas of expertise. But rhetoric can only communicate effectively when it complies with the myths of a unique political image that is 'owned' by the politician.

Though modern political speeches are generally the outcome of a collaborative effort, choices of language are intended to create the myths that will legitimise the individual politician who delivers them. The political speaker is more than a mere mouthpiece in this process because ultimately he or she has the opportunity to edit the content of the speech and to improvise in its style of delivery. Though the words he or she utters may originate in the minds of invisible others, the politician is ultimately accountable for them. What is said is recorded in official sources (e.g. *Hansard*) and may subsequently be quoted back to the source who cannot deny or disown it. The role of speechwriters is, then, to support the marketing of a 'brand' that is created by the individual politician and therefore it is the politician who must be considered as the author of his or her speeches.

### 1.3 Persuasion and rhetoric

Rhetoric is the art of persuading others, therefore rhetoric and persuasion are inseparable since any definition of rhetoric necessarily includes the idea of persuasion. The essential difference between the two is that rhetoric

refers to the act of communication from the hearer's perspective while persuasion refers both to speaker intentions and to successful outcomes. Hearers are only persuaded when the speaker's rhetoric is successful. In classical antiquity the definition of rhetoric was *ars bene dicendi*, the art of speaking well in public (Nash 1989). As Sauer (1997) notes, this definition requires a *comparative* judgement because it assumes that some people speak better than others do – this is evident from speech events such as debating competitions and parliamentary debates. The most rhetorically successful speech performance is the most persuasive one as measured by followers' responses. Rhetoric may therefore fail if it is not persuasive.

The classical tradition of rhetoric went beyond the orator's act of communication to his qualities of character, or *ethos*. A model orator was necessarily morally virtuous (*vir bonus*) and could only persuade if his behaviour met with social approval. So successful rhetoric entailed both an effective heuristic or *logos* (the content of a speech), *and* a speaker who was ethically beyond criticism. There is, then, an inherent tension between evaluation of *the linguistic choices* that form a text and evaluation of *the behaviour* of the speaker. It is failure to understand this tension that has historically led to the emergence of a negative sense of rhetoric as over-decorative use of language; this sense assumes that rhetoric is style alone and not also the values and behaviour, or *ethos*, of the speaker. We find it also in phrases such as 'empty rhetoric' or 'rhetorical ploy' that refer to language use independently of behaviour. It is because of the semantic colouring that has occurred in the historical evolution of the term rhetoric that we need to consider the more inclusive notion of persuasion.

Persuasion is an interactive communicative process in which a message sender aims to influence the beliefs, attitudes and behaviour of the message receiver (cf. Jowett and O'Donnell 1992: 21–6). It is important to distinguish the two roles in the communication process. In persuasion the active role of the sender is characterised by deliberate intentions: persuasion does not occur by chance but because of the sender's purposes. As Jamieson (1985: 49) argues:

Intention is a kind of focussing device in the imaginative consciousness; it concentrates and thus it excludes; it is a selective device, selecting an image to be raised into consciousness from a range of alternatives. Without intention, nothing has prominence, therefore one has to intend when one imagines.

Although the receivers' role is passive, if persuasion is to be successful the message needs to comply with their wants and needs, their desires

and imagination. In democratic political contexts the intention of aspirant leaders is to attract potential followers to themselves or to their policies. This occurs initially at the stage of election when the politician is seeking to gain votes, and subsequently when the politician is persuading other politicians to vote for their policies so they become law.

Jowett and O'Donnell (1992) argue that there are three ways in which the persuader may seek to influence the receiver of a persuasive message; these are response shaping, response reinforcing and response changing. However, I think these can be simplified to two: persuasion either seeks to *confirm* or to *challenge* existing beliefs, attitudes and behaviours – persuasion is never devoid of intention. However, in both cases persuasion involves exploiting *existing* beliefs, attitudes and values rather than introducing completely new ones. As Jowett and O'Donnell put it:

People are reluctant to change; thus, in order to convince them to do so, the persuader has to relate change to something in which the persuadee already believes. This is called an 'anchor' because it is already accepted by the persuadee and will be used to tie down new attitudes or behaviors. An anchor is a starting point for a change because it represents something that is already widely accepted by the potential persuadees. (1992: 22–3)

This is particularly true in political contexts where the majority is often unsure or uncommitted on the detailed content of policy. They respond more effectively to messages that explain proposed actions with reference to familiar experiences; successful politicians are those who can develop their arguments with evidence taken from beliefs about the world around them. Messages become persuasive when they evoke things that are already known or are at least familiar. As Jowett and O'Donnell go on to say:

A persuader analyses an audience in order to be able to express its needs, desires, personal and social beliefs, attitudes, and values as well as its attitudes and concerns about the social outcome of the persuasive situation. The persuader is a voice from without speaking the language of the audiences' voice within. (ibid.: 25–6)

Metaphor is a very effective means through which potential leaders can communicate with the 'voice within' because it creates evocative

representations of the speaker and their policies by arousing emotions and forms part of the process by which an audience reconstructs the causal relationships of an argument.

Central to classical rhetoric were the notions of ethos, logos and pathos. Aristotle argued that in addition to taking a stance that was morally worthy (ethos) and proofs to support argument (logos) the successful rhetorician should also be able to arouse the feelings (pathos). This could be done both through considering fundamental human experiences such as life and death and an argument that appealed to the feelings. I would like to illustrate how Tony Blair did this in his October 2002 conference speech. This was a difficult speech because of his stance in relation to the evolving crisis in Iraq where he was attempting to support a largely unpopular policy of direct military intervention by the USA. He is believed to have dispensed with the services of New Labour speechwriters and authored most of the text himself. Consider first the sections of the speech that establish his ethos:

The value of progressive politics – solidarity, justice for all – have never been more relevant: and their application never more in need of modernisation.

One of the goals of the speech was to integrate the international issue of Iraq and domestic issues such as reform of the public services and this explains the selection of broad notions such as ‘solidarity, justice for all’ that could apply equally to foreign and home policy. He openly addresses the key leader’s role of decision-making:

Let us lay down the ultimatum. Let Saddam comply with the will of the UN. So far most of you are with me. But here is the hard part. If he doesn’t comply then consider . . . Sometimes and in particular when dealing with a dictator, the only chance of peace is readiness for war.

He admits directly that from a leader’s perspective the decision is difficult but takes a firm and direct stance in relation to the issue. This is stated explicitly later on:

The right decision is usually the hardest one. And the hardest decisions are often the least popular at the time.

The rhetorical goal is to establish his ethos by convincing the audience that though difficult decisions may not be popular, they are, nevertheless,



right – and this accounts for the main argument of the speech which is introduced at the beginning and repeated at the end:

We are at our best when we are boldest.

This short alliterative statement introduced by the first-person plural pronoun indicates firmness of stance and reluctance to compromise or take half measures as regards domestic and international policies. The speech was well received because it appeared to be ethically motivated – although it entailed following the foreign policy of a right-wing government in the USA and involved the country in an unpopular war.

Other parts of the speech switch from ethos to pathos by shifting from broad abstract issues to particular personal ones; these are illustrated by recounting narratives drawn from personal experience:

From progress here to life and death, abroad, it is happening. A month ago I visited Beir district Hospital in Mozambique, there are as many doctors in the whole of Mozambique as there are in Oldham. I saw four children to a bed, sick with malaria. Nurses dying of AIDS faster than others can be recruited. Tens of thousands of children dying in that country needlessly every year. I asked a doctor: what hope is there? Britain is our hope, he said. Thanks to you we have debt relief. Thanks to you we have new programmes to fight AIDS and malaria.

Here it is the *particular* children that he saw and the *particular* conversation he had that evoke feelings that would probably not be aroused simply by descriptions of general social problems without cameos of personal experience.

Within the contemporary context, the media have a powerful influence on how persuasion is performed. Speeches are encountered in the domain of the home and therefore the tone and style of delivery need to be intimate and domesticated. Through his or her ubiquitous presence on television or radio the speaker becomes an intimate voice and while politicians may no longer need to kiss a baby, they must at least look like someone who we would readily invite into the private world of the home. Exposure is also crucial to politicians working with the media in mind: political speeches are now designed to contain phrases that are brief, topical and frequent so that they can be readily taken up as 'sound bites' to be constantly recycled through the broadcast media. Persuasive political phrases must necessarily be creative and appealing incantations in order to compete for attention with the ever-increasing artfulness of

advertisements through an ever-increasing number of media channels. One of the characteristics of successful politicians in the twenty-first century will be the ability to adapt their rhetorical method to different contexts and cultures of consumption.

Although the media may be novel there is nothing inherently novel about the communicative purpose of persuasion since this takes us back to the classical notion of *pathos*: the ability of the speaker to arouse the emotions of his audience. Aristotle's important development of Plato's thinking on rhetoric is that he clarified the relationship between cognition and emotional response; prior to Aristotle, emotion was seen as *opposed to* reason and as likely to *impair* judgements. However, Aristotle identified that – just as emotional responses could be influenced by reasoned persuasion – so reasoned persuasion could be influenced by the emotions. In this work I will argue that analysis of metaphor provides insight into the interdependency of emotion and cognition. I will also comment on how the demands of modern cultures of consumption entail that the persuasive potential of the medium of communication is necessarily taken into account.

## 1.4 Metaphor

In this section I will define and discuss some aspects of metaphor and in the following one I will define and discuss ideology and myth. However, it is important that we start with a general understanding of their interrelationships. I suggest that ideology, myth and metaphor are similar in that they share a common discourse function of persuasion and the expressive potential for cognitive and emotional engagement. They differ in the extent to which appeal is made to conscious cognition or to unconscious association. As with reasoned argument (or *logos*), ideology appeals through *consciously* formed sets of beliefs, attitudes and values while myth appeals to our emotions (or *pathos*) through *unconsciously* formed sets of beliefs, attitudes and values. Metaphor is an important characteristic of persuasive discourse because it mediates between these conscious and unconscious means of persuasion – between cognition and emotion – to create a moral perspective on life (or *ethos*). It is therefore a central strategy for legitimisation in political speeches.

Metaphor influences our beliefs, attitudes and values because it uses language to activate unconscious emotional associations and it influences the value that we place on ideas and beliefs on a scale of goodness and badness. It does this by transferring positive or negative associations of various source words to a metaphor target. These associations may not