



New Labour and globalization: Globalist discourse with a twist?

Discourse & Society
21(4) 355–376

© The Author(s) 2010

Reprints and permission: sagepub.co.uk/journalsPermissions.nav

DOI: 10.1177/0957926510366212

<http://das.sagepub.com>



Emilie L'Hôte

Lille 3 University, France

Abstract

This article presents a qualitative and quantitative corpus study based on a collection of new Labour texts (1994 to 2007), as an analysis of the party's discourse on globalization. In addition to providing a detailed description of the multi-faceted concept of globalization, I show that new Labour discourse on globalization is an instance of globalist discourse with a twist. An analysis of the conceptual metaphors related to globalization confirms that it is understood as an inevitable phenomenon, whose causes are unknown and which is almost impossible to predict or stop. However, the link between globalization and progress is more complex: the promise of progress often includes a threat which aims at rendering unpopular policies palatable. I relate this argumentative technique to the emergence of Mouffe's (1998) 'politics without adversary', and argue that it is a characteristic of new Labour discourse beyond the single topic of globalization.

Keywords

Britain, cognitive linguistics, conceptual metaphors, corpus linguistics, discourse analysis, globalization, new Labour, political discourse, quantitative analysis

Introduction: 'Stop. I want to get off'¹

This plea for the world to come to a halt was a response to Tony Blair's description of globalization as an unstoppable process that seemed to have a life of its own.² Traditionally a neo-liberal economic construct, the inevitable nature of globalization has become highly characteristic of new Labour discourse. This is far from surprising, considering the transformations undergone by the party since 1994–5 under the leadership of Tony Blair and Gordon Brown, which included the party's move to the right of the political spectrum and its acceptance of market economy.

Corresponding author:

Emilie L'Hôte, Lille 3 University, 218B rue Saint Denis, 75002 Paris, France.

Email: emilie.lhote@univ-lille3.fr

Fairclough identifies these processes and uses them to argue that new Labour discourse is an instance of what has been termed globalist (neo-liberal) discourse (Fairclough, 2005, 2006). In this article, his hypotheses are combined with cognitive linguistic models as they have been applied to the field of politics, for a linguistic analysis concentrating on the frames and the conceptual metaphors at work in the discourse (Lakoff, 2002; Lakoff and Johnson, 2003).

Thanks to careful qualitative and quantitative analysis of an extensive corpus of new Labour texts, I show how the framing of globalization is achieved in language and then go on to detail Fairclough's globalist hypothesis. After analysing the semantic environment within which the concept of globalization occurs, I concentrate on the processes used in the framing of globalization as inevitable: from the agent–patient distinction to the various conceptual metaphors involving globalization as a target domain. But I identify a new Labour twist to the globalist model because globalization is also used as a threat to legitimize policy choices ranging from the liberalization of the party to the war in Iraq. This leads me to the argument that the party's framing of globalization is part of a larger new Labour discourse strategy which relates to what Mouffe (1998) has termed the emergence of 'politics without adversary': if you have a choice between new Labour and disaster, do you really have a choice?

But before going into the analysis itself, it is essential to describe the corpus and methods used.

Concepts and methods

Theoretical framework

One of the major aims of this article is to bridge the gap between discourse analysis (or discourse studies) and cognitive linguistics. As Van Dijk writes (2007: xxii): 'It is within the study of discourse that ... an integration of cognitive and interactional approaches is most fruitful. The last decades have seen extraordinary advances in both the study of interaction and that of cognition, and the time has come to integrate these results.' Several cognitive models – such as Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003), Blending Theory (Coulson and Oakley, 2000; Fauconnier, 1994) and George Lakoff's work on political discourse, framing and conceptual systems (2002, 2004) – have a clear methodological common ground with the cross discipline of discourse analysis: they share an interest in 'naturally occurring' language by real language users, they extend the scope of linguistics far beyond mere grammar issues and they analyse 'a vast number of hitherto largely ignored phenomena of language use: coherence, anaphora, ... mental models and many other aspects of discourse' (Van Dijk, 2007: xxi). All in all, this article shows how cognitive linguistics can provide discourse studies with innovative tools that give more depth to the analysis of texts in general, and to political discourse in particular.

As a corpus-based study of political discourse, this article also combines qualitative and quantitative analyses, both in cognitive linguistics and discourse studies. Lakoff himself admits to a lack of empirical proof for the two models of moral/political systems he presents in *Moral politics* (2002: 158): '... it does not have the degree of confirmation

that one would expect of more mature theories'. He also remarks that '[s]urvey research has not yet developed an adequate methodology to test for the presence of complex metaphorical cognitive models such as these' (p. 158). Thus, this article offers one possible method for testing both cognitive and discourse analysis theories against a specific set of carefully collected data.

Corpus

All qualitative hypotheses in this article are validated by a quantitative analysis of my new Labour corpus (henceforth *CNL*), which is a collection of texts dating from 1994 to 2007 and consisting of 234,387 words. It includes three manifestoes (1997, 2001 and 2005) and 49 speeches and theoretical articles spread evenly over the entire time period. Its themes are as wide-ranging as possible, from general party policy and values, domestic policy (economy, education, crime, health) and foreign policy (economy, diplomacy and war).

As the type of quantitative analyses I conduct make most sense as part of statistical comparisons (Rayson, 2008), secondary corpora are essential to the significance of my results. I put together a corpus of Conservative texts ranging over the same period and consisting of 110,885 words (henceforth *CCP*). It includes three manifestos (1997, 2001, 2005) and the 12 Leader's Party Conference Speeches from the time period. I am also using 25 pre-reform Labour manifestos dating from 1900 to 1992 (henceforth *CLP*). The texts over the 1900–35 period have been grouped together for significance reasons: indeed, they only consist of 11,030 words all together. The rest of the texts are studied individually for diachronic purposes.³

The British National Corpus' written sampler (henceforth *BNC*) will be used as my baseline corpus.⁴ This allows me to identify general tendencies of political discourse, as the primary corpus will be checked against a more standard collection of written data. The comparison with the secondary corpora highlights tendencies that are characteristic of new Labour in particular.

Quantitative methods – data analysis and WMatrix

My analysis combines a microscopic approach with a macroscopic (Biber, 1988) approach; while examining 'the characteristics of whole texts', I also focus on particular linguistic features (Rayson, 2008: 520).

Software support for this method is provided by WMatrix (Rayson, 2008), an online tool for corpus analysis and corpus comparison. It allows for corpus annotation using USAS⁵ and CLAWS, and produces frequency lists, collocations and concordances.

The initial semantic tagset for USAS was loosely based on the Longman Lexicon of Contemporary English (McArthur, 1981). It was then revised and classified according to 21 'discourse fields' (Archer et al., 2002: 16) which branch out into 232 category labels⁶ (2002: 2). Table 1 shows the 21 'discourse fields' at the top of the USAS hierarchy; Figure 1 provides a detailed visual representation of one of these 'fields'. This type of analysis provides several advantages over simple word analysis, as testified in the rest of this article.

Table I. 'Discourse fields' at the top of the USAS hierarchy

A general and abstract terms	B the body and the individual	C arts and crafts	E emotion
F food and farming	G government and public	H architecture, housing and the home	I money and commerce in industry
K entertainment, sports and games	L life and living things	M movement, location, travel and transport	N numbers and measurement
O substances, materials, objects and equipment	P education	Q language and communication	S social actions, states and processes
T time	W world and environment	X psychological actions, states and processes	Y science and technology
Z names and grammar			

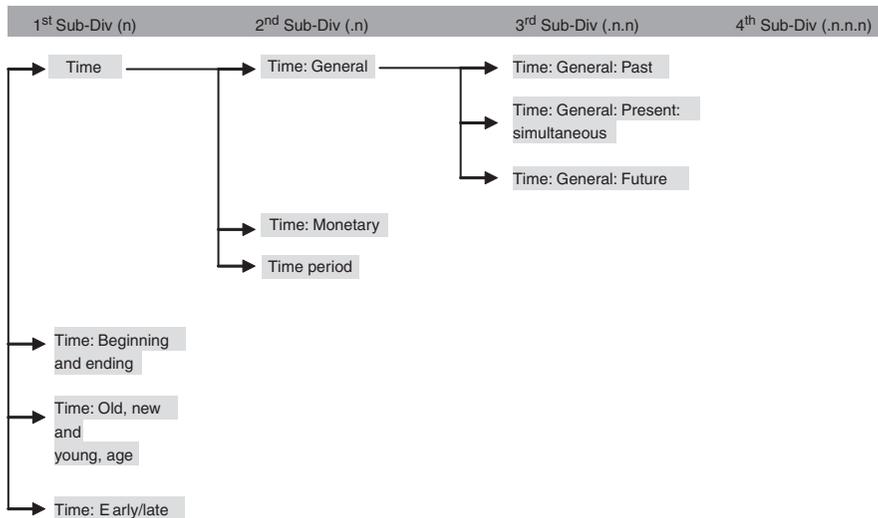


Figure I. Visual representation of the TIME 'discourse field' in USAS

However, the USAS semantic tagger still has an accuracy rate of 91 percent, which means that some of its results should be taken with caution. My data suggests that its use for the analysis of metaphors may still require some adjustments (cf. Koller et al., 2008 for similar comments). In my opinion, similar reservations are in order when it is being

used as a primary source of quantitative data. However, in this article, the semantic tagger is used for confirming or broadening elements of analysis which were primarily identified thanks to qualitative and key-word analyses. As such, it is an undeniably reliable tool which is very likely to be refined further still in the future.

The definitions of what WMatrix's semantic tags refer to have actually evolved from 'discourse fields' and 'category labels' (Archer et al., 2002: 16) to 'semantic fields' and 'semantic domains' (Rayson, 2008), to 'semantic concepts' (Rayson, 2009). This article will use the latter, most recent term for two reasons. First of all, the changing terminology underlines the dynamics of a true reflection on semantic taggers and their proper usage; as such, the term *concept* seems most accurate for describing the conception and use of USAS and WMatrix. But, most importantly, referring to key *concepts* instead of key *domains/fields* is more in keeping with the definitions offered by cognitive linguistics in this area. Langacker (1987) describes a concept as a unit of mental representation; Croft and Clausner summarize the distinction between concept and domain as follows: 'A concept is a mental unit, a domain is the background knowledge for representing concepts' (1999: 3). As will become clear in the rest of the article, neither WMatrix's tags nor my analyses refer to basic domains of cognition, i.e. 'domains which are footed in fundamental human bodily experiences, such as space, time, various sensations, emotions and perceptions, and certain basic social-interpersonal phenomena' (1999: 6). However, one should keep in mind that the distinction between a concept and a domain is not etched in stone and that '[t]he nature of the concept-domain relation is such that any concept can in turn function as the domain for other concepts' (1999: 6). As such, some of the concepts identified in this article may then serve as part of a domain matrix (1999: 7) for other concepts.⁷

One of WMatrix's strongholds is that it allows for what is called key analysis (Rayson, 2003). Each word/semantic tag/POS tag in the primary corpus is compared with its equivalent in the baseline/secondary corpus; then the software evaluates whether the difference between the frequencies in the two corpora is statistically significant or not and finally reorders the word/tag list according to the statistical score obtained. The 'positive' elements in the resulting list occur with unusual frequency in the primary corpus in comparison with the baseline/secondary corpus (a '+' sign meaning overuse); the 'negative' elements are on the contrary unusually infrequent in the primary corpus as opposed to the baseline/secondary corpus (a '-' sign meaning underuse). Comparisons between two sets of data and key analysis provide information that a standard frequency list simply cannot yield (Rayson, 2008), as the words appearing at the very top of the latter are usually of no great interest to the ensuing data analysis (Rayson, 2008).

Rayson (2008) remarks that a comparison between two frequency lists using log-likelihood scores (LL) not only includes normalization as part of the expected value formula, but also testifies to the relevance of the output. Likelihood ratio (G^2) is calculated from the natural log of the ratio of observed and expected frequency⁸ – in our case, it represents the deviation from the baseline/secondary corpus for each word/tag in the primary corpus. The null hypothesis is that there is no significant difference in word frequency between the primary corpus and the baseline/secondary corpus. As likelihood ratio (G^2) and chi-square (χ^2) have a similar distribution (Johnson, 2008: 164), especially for large corpora (Rayson, 2003), a chi-square table provides the critical *p*-values for WMatrix's LL scores⁹ (see Table 2).

Table 2. Chi-square table of critical p-values at 1 degree of freedom

d.f.	$p = 0.05$	$p = 0.01$	$p = 0.001$	$p = 0.0001$
1	3.84	6.63	10.83	15.13

Rayson (2003: 97) recommends to set the cut-off at $LL = 6.63/p = 0.01$, though he remarks that because of the nature of the corpora and the problem of multiple comparisons being carried out on the same data, results yielding a p -value inferior to 0.001 and 0.0001 are actually more accurate. This article will thus concentrate on LL scores equal or superior to 10.83.

Let us take, for example, the word *new*. It occurs 1097 times in CNL (relative frequency of 0.47) and 355 times in CCP (relative frequency of 0.32). WMatrix yields a LL score of 41.10, which means that $p < 0.0001$ at 1 degree of freedom. We can safely reject the null hypothesis and conclude that the difference in the frequency of *new* between CNL and CCP is statistically significant.

All in all, WMatrix is a very useful software package for corpus analysis and statistical comparisons which provides convincing results as far as discourse analysis is concerned.

Towards a new Labour definition of globalization

Held et al. (1999: 16) describe globalization as ‘a process (or set of processes) which embodies a transformation in the spatial organization of social relations and transactions ... generating transcontinental or interregional flows and networks of activity, interaction, and the exercise of power’. This definition identifies a change in the scale at which different types of connections and relations are established – from the local, regional and national levels to international to global level. This rescaling process affects a variety of areas – a thorough definition of globalization will include economic, technological, socio-cultural and political factors, though it is sometimes understood in purely economic terms (see ‘A globalist discourse?’ section below). Globalization also has two different historical descriptions: it is either conceptualized as a modern phenomenon involving the breakdown of borders, the emergence of new technologies and a mix of different cultures, or as a phenomenon with a long history, which dates back to the first known connexions between countries and people in the world (Frank, 1998).

In an analysis of new Labour’s conception of globalization, Fairclough (2005: 45) identifies a tripartite classification of globalization processes: ‘economic, political and security’. While this remark is based solely on the study of four speeches by Tony Blair, I take a closer look at how the elaboration of such a definition is achieved in a larger set of data. After quantifying the importance of globalization in CNL, I determine what contexts it appears in, so as to propose a data-driven new Labour definition of globalization.

Quantifying globalization

The frequencies for *globalization* and *global* in CNL, CCP and BNC are given in Table 3. Frequencies in CNL are significantly higher than in CCP – with a clearer difference for the

Table 3. Frequency comparisons for *globalization* and globalization-related words

Word	Freq. CNL N/%	Freq. CCP N/%	+/- CNL vs CCP	LL CNL vs CCP	Freq. BNC N/%	+/- CNL vs BNC	LL CNL vs BNC
<i>globalization</i>	37/0.02	3/0.00	+	25.76	0/0	+	121.01
<i>global</i>	152/0.06	28/0.03	+	14.17	22/0.00	+	374.59
<i>21st century</i>	59/0.03	2/0.00	+	32.65	3/0.00	+	170.24

noun than for the adjective (LL 25.76, $p < 0.0001$ for *globalization*, LL = 14.17, $p < 0.001$ for *global*) – as well as in BNC (LL = 121.01, $p < 0.0001$ for *globalization*, LL = 374.59, $p < 0.0001$ for *global*). The very low frequencies for these two words in BNC, as well as the pre-eminence of the phrase *21st century* in CNL, suggest that the new Labour definition of globalization is a ‘modern-day’ one and does not reference a historical process dating back to the 17th century. A diachronic comparison of Labour manifestos from 1900 to 2005 confirms this. Indeed, *globalization* is not mentioned before the 1997 manifesto.¹⁰ As for the adjective *global*, its first occurrence dates back to 1974:

1. We are, more than ever, one world and Labour’s foreign policy will be dedicated to the strengthening of international institutions and global cooperation in response to the threats to the peace and prosperity of us all.

Global does not occur again until the 1992 manifesto, where it clearly refers to the economic aspect of globalization:

2. They are also down-to-earth aims – essential objectives in a country hit by recession, suffering run-down public services and facing the intensifying pressures of European and global economic competition.

In short, new Labour discourse is significantly more concerned with the process of globalization than Conservative discourse. Furthermore, a new Labour definition of globalization is necessarily a contemporary one.

The semantic environment of globalization

Globalization. In order to identify the different factors at play in a new Labour definition of globalization, I started with a manual analysis of the concepts with which the word *globalization* occurs in CNL.

The economy (3, 4) is without a doubt the most prominent in CNL:

3. Globalization is most obvious in the economic sphere. We live in a completely new world.
4. Globalization has brought us economic progress and material well-being.

Other concepts include: politics (7), ethics and values (6), technology (5) and, quite characteristically for new Labour discourse, security (7) (Fairclough, 2005, 2006).

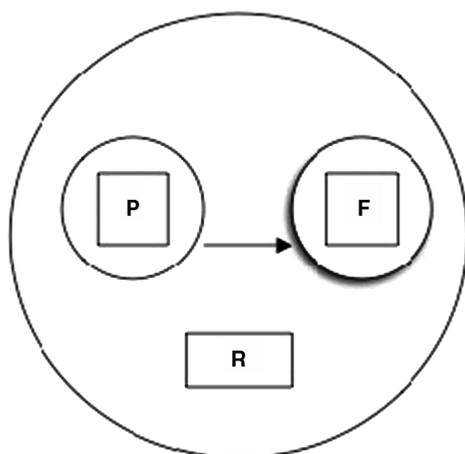
5. But globalization is a fact ... Not just in finance, but in communication, in technology, increasingly in culture, in recreation.
6. Today I want to set out my view as to the ethical values that should guide us in the era of globalization.
7. Globalization has transformed our economies and our working practices. But globalization is not just economic. It is also a political and security phenomenon.

Most of the preceding examples show that it is impossible to come up with a clear-cut division of the occurrences in terms of semantics, as several concepts may be activated for a single mention of globalization. Often, the economy is in the background when the main argument is actually related to politics or ethics:

8. In this way globalization in money, travel, communication, technology can extend to a global ethic as well.
9. ... the world has changed in a more fundamental way. Globalization has transformed our economies and our working practices. But globalization is not just economic. It is also a political and security phenomenon ...

This is achieved either as a list of priorities (8), or as part of what Fairclough identifies as Third Way discourse (9) (2000: 45). According to him, the main function of the 'not only but also' technique is dialectic – it gives the impression that prior contradictions have been resolved by Third Way politics. In our case, there would then be a prior assumption that globalization in economics and globalization in politics are incompatible. While this is not an unrealistic claim to make considering the various competing definitions of globalization, Mental Space Theory provides an interesting complement to the analysis (Fauconnier, 1994). Let us look at: 'It is not only about A, but also about B.' While the focus is B, A is still being activated in the reality space (see Figure 2). The existence of A is a preconstruction in the sentence – it is taken for granted and not to be questioned. If we go back to (9), this means that while the foci of the sentence are the political and security elements of globalization (Space F), the economic aspect is already taken for granted and presented as unquestionable (Space P). In this case, a simple Mental Space analysis of the structure has helped complement CDA for a more thorough understanding of this new Labour technique. It also highlights how concepts linked with *globalization* are often activated together, providing a seemingly multifaceted definition of the concept which goes beyond Fairclough's tripartite classification.

Global. Because adjectives are necessarily qualifying another element in the sentence, an analysis of concepts occurring in relation to the adjective *global* yields much clearer results (see Figure 3) which confirm the above findings. The economy is the most prominent companion for *global* too. I suggest merging technology into economy, as they tend to overlap in the texts ('the market of new technologies'). Ethics and values, social justice and security/terrorism have very similar frequencies of occurrence, which points to the construction of the 'doctrine of the international community' (Fairclough, 2005; Tyler, 2008)



Space P: 'Not only ...'
 Preconstruction – non-problematic existence.
Space F: '... but also ...'
 Focus – statement of existence.
Space R: Reality within discourse

Figure 2. Mental Space representation of 'It is not only about A but also B'

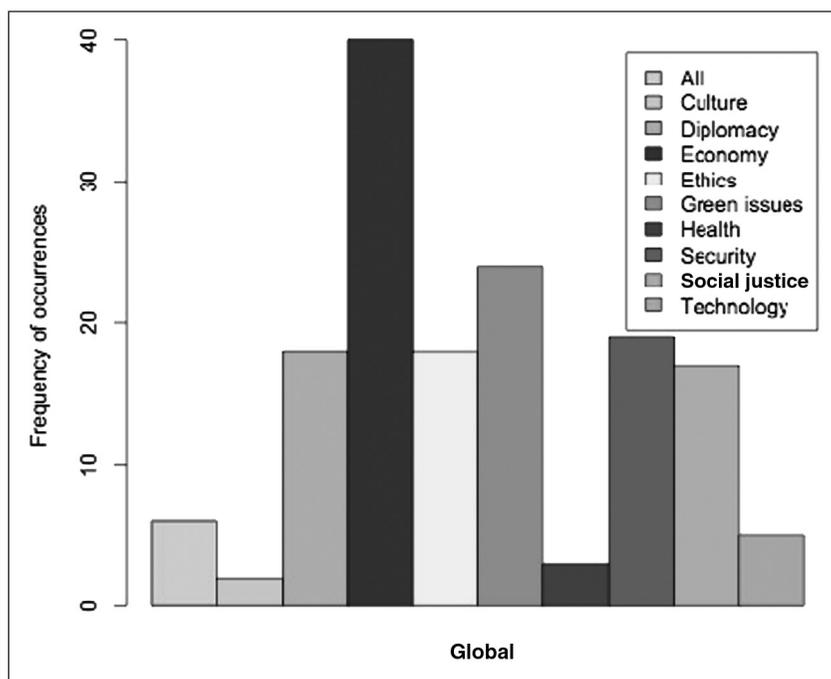


Figure 3. Concepts related to the occurrences of *global* (from left to right in legend)

Table 4. Frequency comparisons for globalization-related key concepts

CONCEPT NAME (tag)	Freq. CNL N/%	Freq. CCP N/%	+/- CNL vs CCP	LL CNL vs CCP	Freq. BNC N/%	±/- CNL vs BNC	LL CNL vs CCP
SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY IN GENERAL (Y1)	298/0.13	39/0.04	+	77.95	78/0.08	±	42.16
INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY AND COMPUTING (Y2)	122/0.05	29/0.03	+	12.66	1126/0.12	-	88.17
GOVERNMENT (G1.1)	2875/1.23	1766/1.59	-	72.89	3381/0.35	+	2112.31
POLITICS (G1.2)	2323/0.99	1417/1.28	-	55.57	4064/0.42	+	986.00
MONEY: LACK (I1.1-)	271/0.12	59/0.05	+	34.07	242/0.02	+	281.73
WORK AND EMPLOYMENT: GENERALLY (I3.1)	1598/0.68	595/0.54	+	25.74	3381/0.35	+	442.85
GREEN ISSUES (W5)	242/0.10	63/0.06	+	19.89	225/0.02	+	281.73
ETHICAL (G2.2 (+))	280/0.12	82/0.07	+	15.83	411/0.04	+	170.51
BUSINESS: SELLING (I2.2)	566/0.24	208/0.19	+	10.07	2738/0.28	-	12.10
HEALTH AND DISEASE (B2)	123/0.05	73/0.07	-	2.31	129/0.01	+	109.01

in discourse. The only clear difference with the above analysis is the relative prominence of the environment, which is at least partly due to the phrase 'global warming'. The two most under-represented concepts are those of health and culture, which confirms the claim that new Labour tends to miss the cultural angle of globalization (Fairclough, 2005: 45).

Key concepts in CNL. Finally, the key-concept analysis provided by WMatrix is used as a test (see Table 4).

It confirms a number of elements, such as the importance of social justice (MONEY: LACK AND WORK AND EMPLOYMENT: GENERALLY), green issues (GREEN ISSUES), and ethics and values (ETHICAL). HEALTH AND DISEASE is, as expected, under-represented in CNL. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY occurs significantly more often in CNL than in CCP or BNC (LL = 77.95, $p < 0.0001$ for CNL vs CCP; LL = 42.16, $p < 0.0001$ for CNL vs BNC), suggesting that the concept is highly characteristic of new Labour discourse in general and not just of the contexts surrounding *global* and *globalization*.

However, the analysis also puts into question a few elements previously highlighted as part of new Labour globalization.¹¹ The significant frequency of INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY AND COMPUTING in BNC is explained by the nature of the corpus – newspaper articles and magazines may be more concerned with internet and digital technologies

Britain . It is a great	country	with a great history . T	1
, of building a modern	welfare state	, of equipping ourselves	2
t a Britain that is one	nation	, with shared values and	3
e . I want to renew our	country	's faith in the ability	4
h in the ability of its	government	and politics to deliver	5
h in politics through a	government	that will govern in the	6
n a way that brings our	country	together , that unites o	7
ether , that unites our	nation	in facing the tough and	8
e than just a change of	government	. Our aim is no less tha	9
s are strewn across the	country	's memory . The Conserva	10

Figure 4. Extract from the concordance table for GOVERNMENT in CNL

than political discourse in general. As for the other differences, I argue that they are mostly due to the USAS semantic tagset itself and the definitions of what constitutes a given concept in WMatrix. Let us take, for example, GOVERNMENT (G1.1). Its significant prominence in CCP is at odds with the very ideals of privatization of the Conservative party. A quick look at the concordance tables for the concept (see Figure 4) confirms that its scope is extremely narrow.

The same argument is valid for the lack of significant overuse of BUSINESS: SELLING, CULTURE and SECURITY/TERRORISM are not mentioned in the key-concept analysis, for lack of a specific tag in the USAS tagset. The only available tags: SAFETY/DANGER (A15), and FEAR/SHOCK (E5-) were not significantly represented in CNL. Once more, this may be due to the definitions of the tags.

After thorough analysis, the new Labour definition of globalization still reaches further than Fairclough's tripartite classification. It gives clear preference to an economic interpretation, and focuses both on politics and diplomacy, and security and terrorism; but it also includes ethics and values, social justice, and the environment. Culture and health are under-represented in new Labour's definition of globalization.

A globalist discourse?

Given these results, I move on to compare new Labour discourse on globalization to the definition of globalist discourse and show how the former is an instance of globalist discourse with a twist.

Definitions

According to Steger (2005) and Fairclough (2006), four main points can be identified in the definition of globalist discourse. First of all, globalization means liberalization and global integration of markets (i): it is primarily an economic phenomenon. It is inevitable (ii) and benefits everyone, as it spreads progress and democracy throughout the world (iii). Finally, globalization requires a war on terror (iv) (Fairclough, 2006: 40). Though my first set of analyses have identified (i) and (iv) as elements of CNL, they suggest that a new Labour definition of the phenomenon is not restricted to them. So let us concentrate on (ii) and (iii) to determine whether the party's discourse on globalization can be labelled as globalist or if a new terminology has to be found.

The inevitability of globalization

Inevitability is a complex concept, and before attempting any type of quantitative analysis, it is necessary to determine how it is built in discourse. While several methods were tried, the study of conceptual metaphors yields the most convincing results.

The unsuitability of the agent–patient distinction. Except for one very obvious example (10), lexical realizations of the concept of inevitability in connexion with occurrences of *globalization* are hard to come by in CNL. So the most straightforward method of analysis seemed to be looking at semantic and syntactic roles in sentences dealing with globalization. My contention was that if *globalization* occurred more frequently as an agent than as a patient, it was possible to identify the construction of inevitability semantically, and even syntactically in the text.

10. The inevitability of globalization demands a parallel globalization of our best ethical values.
11. Globalization has transformed our economies and our working practices.
12. Our aim is to shape globalization so that it works better for the world's poor.
13. The issue is not how to stop globalization.
14. Because the alternative to globalization is isolation.
15. Globalization means that events elsewhere have a direct impact at home.
16. With new Labour, Britain can seize the opportunities of globalization.
17. I want to set out my view as to the ethical values that should guide us in the era of globalization.

However, for most occurrences of the term, the distinction does not directly apply and cannot yield significant results. I count only five clear occurrences of globalization as an agent – as in (11), and five clear occurrences of the term as a patient (12, 13). Moreover, the patient roles for *globalization* in (12) and (13) are not sufficient to disprove its inevitability. As for the other 27 occurrences of the term, they cannot be divided along agent–patient lines. *Globalization* frequently occurs as the subject of BE or MEAN in the present tense (14, 15) so as to give a definition of the concept, or as an element of a noun phrase which denotes neither agentivity nor passivity (16, 17). Note that the recurrent use of BE and MEAN points to the fact that globalization is not to be questioned in discourse. Indeed, to give a definition of a concept, it is necessary to presuppose its existence. The same argument applies for the NPs in (16) and (17).¹² But proof of the existence of a concept is not proof of its inevitability. Thus, the agent–patient distinction proves unsuitable for the analysis of the concept of inevitability with relation to occurrences of *globalization* in new Labour discourse.

Globalization is an independent entity. This is why I move on to the analysis of conceptual metaphors related to *global* and *globalization*. Indeed, one of the main principles of human cognition is that the abstract and the complex are understood in terms of the concrete and the simple (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003: 3). As globalization is a multifaceted concept (cf. p. 3), it is a perfect candidate for a metaphorical analysis. It is by looking at how globalization is conceptualized in CNL, regardless of syntactic or semantic roles in the sentence, that the construction of inevitability in discourse is uncovered.

A manual analysis signals 34 occurrences of GLOBALIZATION IS AN INDEPENDENT ENTITY in CNL, versus five occurrences in CCP.¹³ Following Grady's theoretical remarks (1997), the main metaphor is a general one, and consists of three subcases – the first of which is GLOBALIZATION IS AN ANIMATE BEING:

18. Globalization has brought us economic progress and material well-being.
19. Globalization and technology open up vast new opportunities.
20. The new world rewards those who are open to it.
21. So the change is fast and fierce, replete with opportunities and dangers.
22. The inevitability of globalization demands a parallel globalization of our best ethical values.
23. If globalization works only for the benefit of the few, then it will fail and will deserve to fail.
24. How we collectively respond to globalization in many ways will determine whether we can bridge that gap between these aspirations and today's reality.

It is directly linked to the concept of inevitability. As an animate being, globalization performs actions: it brings metaphorical gifts to the British people (18) and opens metaphorical doors (19). It has a mind of its own, and even a value-system: it rewards deserving citizens (20). It has human-like qualities (21) and is entitled to its own demands (22). It even runs the risk of failing in its goals if it makes mistakes (23). As such, globalization cannot be easily eradicated and its existence cannot be questioned. The only thing that can be done is to react and respond to the animate being (24).

In the second subcase, GLOBALIZATION IS A FORCE:

25. Our aim is to shape globalization so that it works better for the world's poor.
26. The issue is: do we shape it or does it shape us? Do we master it, or do we let it overwhelm us?
27. They are even developing their capacity to teach degrees in English, so they can tap into the global market.
28. ... globalization becomes a battering ram for Western commerce and culture.

29. ... the anvil of forces, global in nature, sweeping the world.
30. ... the choice is either to cling on to the European social model of the past; or be helpless, swept along by the flow ...
31. We will continue to work at international level to minimize global economic turbulence.
32. The roots of the current wave of global terrorism and extremism are deep ...
33. ... the dam holding back the global economy burst years ago ...

At times, it is raw force that needs to be shaped (25) for fear that it will be more powerful than human beings (26). At times, it is even presented as a source of energy (27). When it is more clearly defined, globalization can be a force of aggression (28, 29). But most often it becomes a natural force: running water (30) or wind forces (31). At times, the 'naturalness' of the force is more important than its definition, as in (32), where global terrorism is at the same time an unstoppable wave and an undesirable weed. All of these forces have elements in common: they have immense though untamed power, which can have highly beneficial or very dangerous consequences. They are very hard to predict and impossible to stop (33). As natural forces, their causes are very difficult to interfere with. As such, globalization in new Labour discourse is framed as inevitable: just as you can't stop a huge wave about to wash you away, you cannot stop the independent forces of globalization.

Finally, the third subcase states that GLOBALIZATION IS A MOVING ENTITY:

34. The pace of change can either overwhelm us, or make our lives better and our country stronger ...
35. I hear people say we have to stop and debate globalization ...
36. In a fast changing global economy, government cannot postpone or prevent change ...
37. ... the global pursuit of new knowledge ...
38. ... an international movement that we should take pride in leading ...
39. I hear people say we have to stop and debate globalization. You might as well debate whether autumn should follow summer.

Globalization has a fast pace (34, 35, 36) that the world is trying to keep up with (37, 38). Because globalization is a series of events and actions occurring through time, occurrences of GLOBALIZATION IS A MOVING ENTITY combine GOING THROUGH TIME IS MOVING ALONG A PATH (a basic conceptual metaphor used in the conceptualization of the time sequence) with FULFILLING A GOAL IS MOVING ALONG A PATH (a basic conceptual metaphor used in the conceptualization of the event sequence). This is theoretically possible because there is a common source domain between the event–sequence metaphor and the time–sequence metaphor (MOVING ALONG A PATH). So although globalization prototypically belongs to an

event sequence (which theoretically allows for alternative directions on the line of events), it becomes strongly related to time–sequence metaphors (where there is no alternative direction on the line of time): just as you can't stop time, you can't stop globalization (39).

CNL only contains one instance of an alternative metaphor, namely GLOBALIZATION IS A VEHICLE:

40. But globalization is a fact and, by and large, it is driven by people.

Contrary to the main metaphors identified in new Labour discourse, in (40) globalization is a non-independent entity, whose motion depends on the choices of the people – the drivers of the vehicle; as such, it becomes possible to stop globalization, or to change its direction. However, the frequency of occurrence of this alternative metaphor is so low that it is in no way representative of new Labour discourse.

Thus, it is safe to conclude that GLOBALIZATION IS AN INDEPENDENT ENTITY is the most prominent metaphor for globalization in new Labour discourse. The entailments of all three sub-cases allow for globalization to be framed as an inevitable phenomenon in new Labour discourse. This proves that the second component of globalist discourse (ii) is an essential part of new Labour discourse on globalization. If a phenomenon is inevitable, you don't have to take sides for or against it, or even discuss it and put it into question. Because you cannot do anything against it, all you can do is react to it and be pragmatic about your choices.¹⁴

Globalization in NL discourse: A blessing or a curse?

The last element of globalist discourse under scrutiny is the concept of progress: CNL shows that while new Labour discourse definitely links up globalization and progress, there are many instances where it chooses to profile the negative sides of the phenomenon as well.

Global contexts. In order to determine the importance of progress in new Labour discourse on globalization, I analyse the various contexts in which the adjective *global* occurs in CNL and CCP. A negative context is defined either by an explicit mention of a major issue such as poverty (41), environmental issues (42) or terrorism (43), or by association with negatively connoted words with a more general meaning (44, 45):

41. ... we will focus on Africa and the global fight against poverty ...
42. ... the practical measures necessary to slow down and stop global warming.
43. The other view is that this is a wholly new phenomenon, worldwide global terrorism based on a perversion of the true, peaceful and honourable faith of Islam ...
44. ... it is a global struggle and it is a battle of ideas ...
45. There is a global financial crisis ...

As for positive contexts, they either explicitly mention progress and opportunities (46, 47), or simply describe globalization from a neutral point of view:

46. Around these values, we build our global partnership ...
47. British talent is gaining global recognition ...
48. ... we accept the global economy as a reality ...

Table 5 (see also Figure 5) gives exact figures for the comparison. In CNL as in CCP, positive contexts for *global* outnumber negative ones, which points to the importance of progress in both parties' discourses on globalization. But there is no significant difference in the frequency of occurrences of positive contexts (LL = 5.66, $p > 0.01$) between the two parties. Negative contexts actually yield more interesting figures and are worth enquiring into: the ratio of negative contexts vs positive contexts in CNL is very high (45 percent), and their frequency of occurrence is significantly higher in CNL than in CCP (LL = 28.21, $p < 0.0001$).

Table 5. Frequency comparisons for *global* in positive and negative contexts

Word	Freq. CNL N/%	Freq. CCP N/%	+/- CNL vs CCP	LL CNL vs CCP
<i>Global</i> +	83 / 0.04	23 / 0.02	+	5.66
<i>Global</i> -	69 / 0.03	5 / 0.00	+	28.21

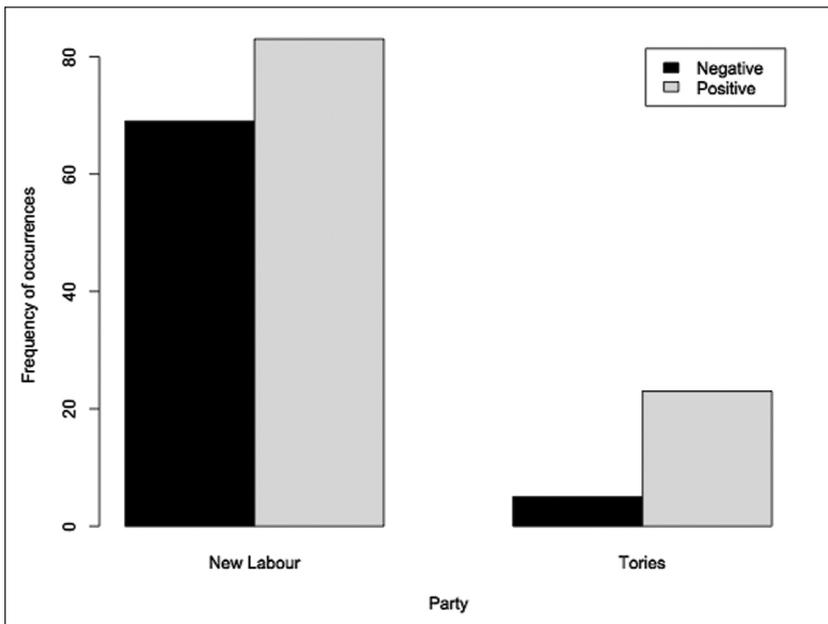


Figure 5. Frequency of positive and negative occurrences of *global* per party

Globalization – ‘with wonder and foreboding’. A detailed analysis of *globalization* in CNL confirms the hypothesis of the importance of negative contexts. In 43 percent of the cases, mentions of progress are either dependent on certain conditions (a), or clearly balanced out by the profiling of the negative aspects of globalization (b). In some cases, only negative aspects of globalization are profiled (c):

49. With new Labour, Britain can seize the opportunities of globalization, creating jobs and prosperity for people up and down the country. We can only do so if we build a clear sense of shared national economic purpose.
50. It [globalization] is replete with opportunities, but they only go to those swift to adapt, slow to complain, open, willing and able to change. Unless we own the future, unless our values are matched by a completely honest understanding of the reality now upon us and the next about to hit us, we will fail.
51. And the greatest error progressive politics can make is to think that ... the choice is either to cling onto the European social model of the past; or be helpless, swept along by the flow. On the contrary, social solidarity remains the only way to secure the future of a country like Britain.
52. Globalization has brought us economic progress and material well-being. But it also brings fear in its wake. Children offered drugs in the school playground; who grow up sexually at a speed I for one find frightening; parents who struggle in the daily grind of earning a living, raising a family, often with both parents working, looking after elderly relatives; a world where one in three marriages ends in divorce; where jobs can come and go because of a decision in a boardroom thousands of miles away ...
53. We used to feel we could shut our front door on the problems and conflicts of the wider world. Not anymore. Not with globalization. Not with climate change. Not with organized crime. Not when suicide bombers born and bred in Britain bring carnage to the streets of London.

Progress under conditions (a) occurs with *only if* structures, as in (49); this allows for a restriction of possibilities – the solution presented in discourse is the only possible one. Restriction turns into warning with systematic framing of other alternatives as failures (50). In those cases, new Labour becomes a shield against the evils of globalization. Instances of three-fold choices present new Labour as the ‘Third Way’ (Giddens, 1998) out of rough liberalism or protectionism (51).

‘A, but also B’ arguments are characteristic of instances when progress gets balanced out or even overtaken by negative aspects of globalization (b). In (52), A is progress and B is fear. Fear being the focus of the extract, it is expanded on with an almost Dickensian list of everyday hardships, some of which relate only loosely to globalization (‘one marriage in three ends in divorce’). However, because progress is the topic of the extract, it is not to be questioned or even analysed. Lakoff remarks that arguments of the ‘A, but B’ type are ‘used to mark a situation which is in contrast to some model that serves as a norm’ (1987: 81). Thus, the order in which new Labour makes its argument

about globalization shows that progress (A) is part of the prototypical definition of globalization, whereas ‘fear and problems’ (B) are added elements. This is confirmed by the fact that there is no instance of the reverse order, i.e. ‘globalization brings fear, but also progress’, in CNL. In cases when negative aspects occur on their own (c), they are often associated with globalization by juxtaposition or even parataxis. The effect is strengthened by parallelisms of structure highly characteristic of new Labour discourse in general (53).

The analysis of contexts for *global* and *globalization* confirms that globalization is framed as an agent of progress in new Labour discourse, but that progress is only one side of the coin, as its acknowledgement comes with the profiling of the dangers of globalization. The prototypical new Labour argument on globalization is: ‘Globalization will have positive effects, but only if you do as we say. If you don’t, you are in serious danger.’ Throughout CNL, this argumentative technique is used to render unpalatable policies acceptable both in domestic policy – regarding, for instance, the renovation of the party and the liberalization of Labour politics, and in foreign policy – with the involvement of Britain in the war in Iraq (Fairclough, 2005).

Beyond globalization: New Labour’s no-alternative politics

Using threat as an argument is actually part of a wider trend in new Labour discourse, which relates to what Mouffé has termed ‘politics without adversary’ (1998). As a rule in the discourse of the party, new Labour is the only possible solution to whatever problem is being described. Any other alternative is usually dismissed ‘as objectively wrong on the grounds that they impeded the natural course of history’ (Clohesy, 2002: 51). Thus, the choices that new Labour gives to Britain aren’t real choices:

54. The choice is to go forward to economic stability, rising prosperity and wider opportunities with new Labour. Or go back to the bad old days of Tory cuts, insecurity and instability.

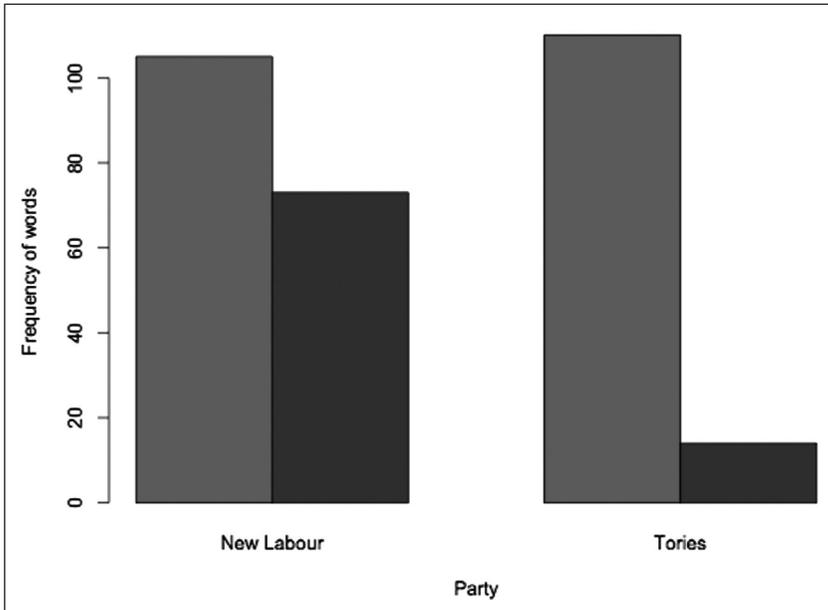
A key-word analysis for *choice* does not yield any significant difference in frequency between CNL and CCP – the word is in slight though not yet significant overuse in the Conservative corpus (LL = 10.63, $p > 0.001$). These figures make sense in terms of the general economic and political philosophy of the Conservative party in England. According to them, the individual should be able to make decisions for themselves and not let the government interfere, as for example in the area of health:

- Giving people a real choice of GPs, giving GPs control over their budgets and allowing GPs to choose between whatever hospital they like (CCP).

But the distribution changes dramatically once the distinction between ‘no-alternative choices’ and ‘prototypical choices’ is introduced (see Table 6). Prototypical choices (lighter grey in Figure 6) include at least two equally desirable possibilities, while no-alternative choices (darker grey in Figure 6) only ever offer one desirable possibility, however many others there are. Prototypical choices are significantly more frequent in CCP than CNL (LL = 33.29, $p < 0.0001$), while no-alternative choices are significantly

Table 6. Frequency comparisons for *prototypical choice* and *no-alternative choice*

Word	Freq. CNL N/%	Freq. CCP N/%	+/-CNL vs CCP	LL CNL vs CCP
<i>Prototypical choice</i>	105/0.04	110/0.10	-	33.29
<i>No-alternative choice</i>	73/0.03	14/0.01	+	11.59

**Figure 6.** Frequency of choice-type per party

more frequent in CNL than CCP (LL = 11.59, $p < 0.001$). This gives empirical weight to Mouffe's and Clohesy's claims, as no-alternative choices are indeed a significant element of new Labour discourse overall.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this article has shown how the framing of globalization occurs in new Labour discourse, and why the latter is an instance of globalist discourse with a twist. The qualitative analysis of the texts using Conceptual Metaphor Theory was combined with a quantitative analysis using the software WMatrix. This allows for an increased accuracy of the results of this study, and is one of its important innovations.

Globalization is mainly framed as an economic phenomenon (i), but there are enough other concepts at work in discourse to talk of a multifaceted definition, which includes the factor of terrorism and security issues (iv). One significant addition is the concept of

environmental issues. Globalization is also presented as an inevitable phenomenon (ii), mainly thanks to a set of metaphors grouped under GLOBALIZATION IS AN INDEPENDENT ENTITY. Globalization cannot be predicted, stopped or argued against. It can only be reacted to. Finally, while globalization is clearly framed as an agent of progress (iii), its negative aspects are significantly profiled in new Labour discourse. They are used as a rhetorical threat to agree with new Labour policies, domestically as well as internationally. This offers an empirical basis for Mouffe's (1998) claim that new Labour aims at creating politics without an adversary.

All in all, this article's dual aim – bridging the gap between cognitive linguistics and discourse studies, on the one hand, and between qualitative and quantitative analyses on the other, has led to more reflection on research methods in both fields. On a more practical note, it has also identified that new Labour discourse on globalization is part of a much wider trend in the discourse of the party, which relates to recent changes in its constitution and ideology.

Notes

1. See M. Bunting, 'Stop. I want to get off', *The Guardian*, Monday 29 November 1999. Available at www.guardian.co.uk/world/1999/nov/29/wto.comment (accessed 16 April 2009).
2. I would like to thank Eve Sweetser for her insightful seminar on Conceptual Metaphor Theory, and the productive discussions of the 2009 financial crisis that took place in her sections; this is where the ideas for this article were born. I would also like to thank my advisor Maarten Lemmens for his valuable remarks on the first draft of the article, and Paul Rayson for his help with WMatrix access and use. Finally, many thanks to the anonymous *Discourse & Society* reviewer for their comments. All remaining inaccuracies are my own responsibility.
3. Except for the 1950 and 1951 manifestos, which are grouped together, as well as the two 1974 manifestos.
4. See http://langbank.engl.polyu.edu.hk/corpus/bnc_sampler.html
5. UCREL Semantic Analysis System.
6. See <http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/usas/semtags.txt> for the entire tagset.
7. For these last two reasons, I have chosen to use small caps to refer to these concepts in my analyses, as opposed to actual words which appear in italics.
8. See Rayson (2003) for a detailed calculation of G^2 .
9. A code yielding p -values for each LL score will be added to WMatrix, thus allowing for more precision in the determination of test significance (Rayson, personal communication).
10. Mayaffre (2004), in his analysis of presidential discourse in France during the fifth Republic, comes to similar conclusions; the first occurrence of *mondialization* in Chirac's discourse dates back to 1996.
11. See bolded elements in Table 4.
12. Similar conclusions were reached in the analysis of occurrences of *global*.
13. The lack of a significant difference in frequency between CNL and CCP ($LL = 7.83, p < 0.01$) does not affect my analysis. It goes to show that this metaphor is shared by both parties – and it is not surprising that the Conservatives should adopt it, as it is linked to globalist discourse, which is originally a neo-liberal construct.
14. Mayaffre (2004: 138) reaches similar conclusions in his analysis of Jacques Chirac's presidential discourse.

References

- Archer, D., Wilson, A. and Rayson, P. (2002) Introduction to the USAS Category System, Benedict Project Report, October. Available at: <http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/usas/usas%20guide.pdf>
- Biber, D. (1988) *Variation Across Speech and Writing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Clohesy, A.M. (2002) 'New Labour Ideology: Assessing the Post-Marxist Critique', *Journal of Political Ideologies* 7(1): 39–56.
- Coulson, S. and Oakley, T. (2000) 'Blending Basics', *Cognitive Linguistics* 11(3–4): 175–96.
- Croft, W. and Clausner T. (1999) 'Domains and Image Schemas', *Cognitive Linguistics* 10(1): 1–31.
- Fairclough, N. (2000) *New Labour, New Language?* London and New York: Routledge.
- Fairclough, N. (2005) 'Blair's Contribution to Elaborating a New "Doctrine of International Community"', *Journal of Language and Politics* 4(1): 41–63.
- Fairclough, N. (2006) *Language and Globalization*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Fauconnier, G. (1994) *Mental Spaces: Aspects of Meaning Construction in Natural Language*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Frank A.-G. (1998) *ReOrient: Global Economy in the Asian Age*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Giddens, A. (1998) *The Third Way: The Renewal of Social Democracy*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Grady, J. (1997) 'THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS revisited', *Cognitive Linguistics* 8(4): 267–90.
- Held, D., McGrew, A., Goldblatt, D. and Perraton, J. (1999) *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Johnson, K. (2008) *Quantitative Methods in Linguistics*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Koller, V., Hardie, A., Rayson, P. and Semino, E. (2008) 'Using a Semantic Annotation Tool for the Analysis of Metaphor in Discourse', *Metaphorik.de* 15: 141–60.
- Lakoff, G. (1987) *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal About the Mind*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Lakoff, G. (2002) *Moral Politics: How Liberals and Conservatives Think*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Lakoff, G. (2004) *Don't Think of an Elephant! Know Your Values and Frame the Debate: The Essential Guide for Progressives*. White River Junction, VT: Chelsea Green Pub.
- Lakoff, G. and Johnson, M. (2003) *Metaphors we Live by*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Langacker, R.W. (1987) *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- McArthur, T. (1981) *Longman Lexicon of Contemporary English*. Harlow: Longman.
- Mayaffre, D. (2004) *Paroles de président: Jacques Chirac, 1995–2003, et le discours présidentiel sous la Ve République*. Paris: H. Champion.
- Mouffe, C. (1998) 'The Radical Centre: A Politics without Adversary', *Soundings*, September.
- Rayson, P. (2003) Matrix: A Statistical Method and Software Tool for Linguistic Analysis through Corpus Comparison. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Lancaster.
- Rayson, P. (2008) 'From Key Words to Key Semantic Domains', *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 13(4): 519–49.
- Rayson, P. (2009) *WMatrix: A Web-based Corpus Processing Environment*. Computing Department, Lancaster University. Available at: <http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/wmatrix/>

- Steger, M. (2005) *Globalism: Market Ideology Meets Terrorism*, 2nd edn. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Tyler, C. (2008) 'Citizenship, Rights and Tony Blair's Doctrine of International Community', in M. Mullard and B. Cole (eds) *Globalization, Citizenship and the War on Terror*, pp. 124–44. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Van Dijk, T. (ed.) (2007) 'The Study of Discourse: An Introduction', *Discourse Studies, Sage Benchmarks in Discourse Studies*: xix–xlii. London: Sage.

Emilie L'Hôte is currently a fifth-year graduate student in English studies at Lille 3 University. She is writing her PhD dissertation on an analysis of new Labour discourse from a cognitive point of view, with Professor Maarten Lemmens. She is a former student of the École Normale Supérieure – Lettres et Sciences Humaines in Lyon (France) and was a Fulbright Visiting Scholar at the University of California at Berkeley (Linguistics) in 2008–9.