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PRIME MINISTER TONY BLAIR'S SPEECH AT THE ANNUAL LABOUR PARTY
CONFERENCE 2003: AN ANALYSIS OF EXIGENCE AND TRANSITIVITY
BASED ON CDA AND SFL

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I dedicate this work to my wife Helana, my son Adriel, my daughters Ana R bia and Alaiane, and to my parents who always supported me in my initiatives.

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ABSTRACT

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This research analyzes the written version of the political speech given by the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, Tony Blair, in September 30, 2003, at the annual Labour Party Conference. The speech contains 5,778 words representing approximately 55 minutes of address. It was retrieved from the electronic UK's Guardian newspaper. The research proposes to identify and classify the microexigences in the speech based on Bitzer's (1968) and Gill and Whedbee's (1997) definition of exigence. It also proposes to perform an analysis of the microexigences based on Fairclough's Critical Discourse notions in connection with Halliday and Matthiessen's 2004 transitivity system based on systemic-functional linguistics. Opinions of journalists of the main UK newspapers about the speech are taken into account in the analysis. The journalists' opinions were retrieved from the Internet up to seven days after the speech. The research aims to answer the following three research questions: a) What are the exigences in the speech given by the Prime Minister Tony Blair at the Annual Labour Party Conference 2003?; b) What are the transitivity choices in terms of processes and main participants that Blair made in the speech when dealing with the exigences to try to achieve his intentions?; c) What does the analysis based on transitivity and on Fairclough's notions of language, as an element of social practice, reveal in terms of political intentions in Blair's speech? The suggestion is that 30 microexigences could be found in the speech. Within these 30 microexigences, eleven are considered more important and are analyzed in a more detailed way. 840 clauses were identified and classified regarding their process types and their main participants. Material processes and participants referring to Blair, his party, his government, and Britain predominate in the speech. This work was developed to contribute to the understanding of what is behind political speeches, their author's intentions.

Key words: microexigence, Systemic Functional Linguistics, Critical Discourse Analysis, transitivity, processes, participants, speech.

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RESUMO

Esta pesquisa analisa a versão escrita do discurso político proferido pelo Primeiro Ministro do Reino Unido, Tony Blair, em 30 de setembro de 2003, na conferência anual do Labour Party (Partido Trabalhista). O discurso contém 5.778 palavras e equivale a, aproximadamente, 55 minutos de fala e foi capturado do jornal eletrônico The Guardian do Reino Unido. A pesquisa propõe identificar e classificar as microexigências do discurso tomando por base as definições que Bitzer (1968) e Gill e Whedbee (1997) apresentam para exigência. A pesquisa também propõe realizar análise das microexigências levando em conta noções de Fairclough sobre Análise Crítica do Discurso em conexão com a Gramática Sistêmico-funcional de Halliday e Matthiessen (2004) no que tange à transitividade. Opiniões de jornalistas dos principais jornais do RU sobre o discurso de Blair são observadas na análise, as quais foram capturadas da Internet até sete dias após o discurso. A pesquisa busca responder às seguintes perguntas de pesquisa: a) Quais são as exigências presentes no discurso proferido pelo PM Tony Blair na conferência anual de 2003 do Labour Party?; b) Quais são as escolhas de transitividade em termos de processos e principais participantes feitas por Blair no seu discurso ao tratar das exigências para tentar alcançar suas intenções?; c) O que a análise baseada em transitividade e nas noções de Fairclough sobre linguagem, como elemento de prática social, revela quanto às intenções políticas no discurso de Blair? Sugere-se que 30 exigências/microexigências podem ser encontradas no discurso. Dentre as 30 microexigências detectadas, onze são consideradas de maior importância e são analisadas de forma mais detalhada. 840 orações são identificadas e classificadas quanto aos tipos de processos e quanto aos principais participantes. Processos materiais e participantes referindo-se a Blair, ao seu partido, ao seu governo e à Grã-Bretanha predominam no discurso. Este trabalho foi desenvolvido visando contribuir à compreensão do que está por trás dos discursos políticos, as intenções dos seus autores.

Palavras-chave: microexigência, Linguística Sistêmico-funcional, Análise Crítica do Discurso, transitividade, processos, participantes, discurso.

Número de páginas: 129

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Communication and political relations have been present in daily activities of men and women for a long time, and they are influenced by these relations, and through them, they exercise power over their fellows.

Politics has always occupied the minds of thinkers, philosophers, and people in general, who are worried about and try to understand people's relations with each other. This was what the ancient Greek Aristotle, in the fourth century before Christ, made in reflecting and discussing life in the *polis* (Greek word for city-state) with its existing organizations and needed implementations. For him, *politheia* (politics) should be concerned with the community's (the *polis*) welfare and how to achieve it; politicians should study how to do and promote politics (Sinclair, 1992).

Political relations have always occurred and evolved during the centuries. Political relations are present in all cultures of our times through the most diversified types of expressions. One of these types of expressions is political speech, which is given by members (to whom we denominate politicians) of groups known as parties.

Political speeches are used by politicians to argue, reason, sustain their ideas, to continue in power, to oppress people and nations, to establish and perpetuate ideas, and or to defend people in their needs, to promote civil rights, and peace.

One aspect of political speeches is that their main mark is persuasion, that is, they aim at convincing somebody of something (Fairclough, 2000). When political speeches are analyzed, this characteristic (persuasion) can be discovered and explained, promoting awareness both for the analyst and for those who become interested in the

subject.

In this sense, the scope of this work is to analyze a political speech given by the Prime Minister of United Kingdom, Tony Blair, on September 30, 2003, in the city of Bournemouth, England, at the annual Labour Party conference. It was given at a political and historical moment after Blair's public image had faded due to allies' failure to find weapons of mass destruction (WMD) in Iraq, the main argument repeatedly claimed as irrefutable, used by him to support and take part in Iraq's invasion.

Blair's speech was given based on an *exigence* (or *exigences* because there can be more than one in a text as it will be seen in chapter IV), an issue within a rhetorical situation demanding a response (Bitzer, 1968; Gill & Whedbee, 1997), which will be better defined in the review of literature.

Once there are reasons (*exigences*) why Blair gave his speech, there are also features that may evidence how he gave it. One of the features of how he gave his speech are the specific lexical choices he made. Lexical choice is one of the aspects in political speeches that, if put under scrutiny, can help the analyst to understand the orator's objectives.

Concerning lexical choices, Heberle (1999) says that "[t]he study of vocabulary plays a crucial role in discourse, since it reveals world's views, values and systems of beliefs of the participants in discourse. It is considered a fundamental tool to observe ideological, social or political issues in any given text" (p. 325). One possible alternative to analyze lexical choices is by means of Halliday's SFL, more specifically through the system of transitivity (Eggs, 1994; Stubbs, 1998; Wodak, 2001).

Therefore, this thesis aims to analyze Blair's speech at the Labour Party Conference 2003 regarding its *exigences* and also Blair's transitivity choices, more

specifically the processes and the main participants he used when dealing with the exigences.

1.1 Objectives of the study

The overall research aim is to contribute to the debate on thorny issues such as political speeches and to contribute to the understanding of how political texts are organized in order to try to achieve their author's goals.

Along with this main objective, the research also intends specifically to:

- Analyze Tony Blair's speech given at the Annual Labour Party Conference 2003 in relation the exigences in the speech.

- Identify Blair's lexical choices in terms of transitivity (SFL)¹ in order to communicate his political intentions.

- Demonstrate by analyzing Blair's speech that political speeches are given, as part of a social practice, to sustain political intentions in specific political moments.

This objective will be sustained by Fairclough's ideas of CDA.

1.2 Research Questions

My research will be guided by the following questions:

A) What are the exigences in the speech given by Prime Minister Tony Blair at the Annual Labour Party Conference 2003?

B) What are the transitivity choices in terms of processes and main participants

¹ It is appropriate to say that SFL (Systemic Functional Linguistics) and CDA (Critical Discourse Analysis) are theoretical rationales used by NUPDISCURSO, a group of research investigating and discussing issues pertaining to Text, Discourse and Social Practice, coordinated by Doctor José Luiz Meurer and Doctor Viviane Maria Heberle (www.cce.ufsc.br/~nupdiscurso/index-english.htm) from UFSC.

that Blair made in his speech when dealing with the exigences in order to try to achieve his intentions?

C) What does the analysis based on transitivity and on Fairclough's notions of language, as an element of social practice, reveal in terms of political intentions in Blair's speech?

1.3 Method

The research involves rhetoric, which is in connection with Critical Discourse Analysis. The critical analysis is based on Fairclough's argumentations and concept of language as an element of social practice, discussed in the Review of Literature, Chapter II.

1.3.1 The Data

The text I analyzed is the written version of Blair's speech given at the Annual Labour Conference in 2003, containing approximately 5,700 words, and representing 55 minutes of address.

I also examined journalists' commentaries about Blair's speech in my interpretation of the data, firstly, in order to demonstrate that his text fosters specific political intentions such as to convince his audience that he did the right thing in going to war against Iraq; secondly to sustain my identification of what I call *macroexigence* (defined in Chapter II). The commentaries were retrieved from the electronic version of the following UK's newspapers: The Guardian, The Mirror, The Independent, and the BBC News. They were retrieved up to seven days after the speech was given.

1.3.2 Procedures for Data Analysis

It is a qualitative research, which also includes quantitative analysis. Thus, I present results in terms of number, tables, and I present some “meanings, motives, aspirations, beliefs, values and attitudes” (Minayo, 1994, p. 21), which are characteristics of a quantitative research.

Despite the fact that Blair’s speech was given orally, I analyzed it as a written text, the version published in the electronic Guardian Newspaper from the UK (see appendix, page 135).

The analysis took place according to the following sequence:

Firstly, based on journalists’ opinions concerning the task Blair was facing, I came up with the macroexigence for the speech (see in chapter II what I mean by macroexigence).

Secondly, I detected the exigences in the speech (which I will call *microexigences* - see chapter II) and labeled them according to the idea, that in my point of view, they suggested. To classify a part of the speech as a microexigence, I took into account the subject discussed at that part, which was verified through lexical characteristics such as verbs and nominal groups (the wording). This detection was done manually after I read the speech as many times as necessary to detect them. The next step was to classify the microexigences in a rank of importance from 1st to 30th (the number of microexigences encountered) based on the number of words each of them comprised.

Only the most important microexigences (eleven of them) were discussed more accurately (chapters V and VI) due to lack of space. They were elected the most important microexigences in the speech due to their number of words (and consequently the percentage of space each occupied in the speech) in comparison with the other

nineteen. To elect eleven microexigences as the ones deserving a more comprehensive analysis, I used as criterion the Iraq War issue which was treated by several journalists, mentioned in this paper, as indispensable in the speech. The microexigences to which Blair reserved fewer words than the one referring to the Iraq War were considered less important and were discussed briefly in chapter VI. The discussion about the microexigences was based on Bitzer's (1968) and on Gill and Whedbee's (1997) definition of exigence.

Thirdly, I dealt with Blair's transitivity choices. I analyzed the participants and processes used by Blair in the construction of the microexigences, based on Halliday and Matthiessen's (2004) transitivity system. 840 clauses were detected, analyzed and classified concerning their process types and their main corresponding participants.

Fourthly, based on the transitivity analysis and on CDA notions, I came up with a set of suggested political intentions in the speech.

In order to count the frequency of participants and processes I used the Wordsmith Concordance and the Antconc computer program.

1.4 Significance of the Research

The justification for this research lies in the fact that with the analysis I developed, I can contribute to the understanding of the implicit persuasions political speeches encompass. In studying and analyzing this kind of text, we can have a better understanding and interpretation of the relations of power we are involved in as citizens, we can better understand the interests of those who govern society, which not always coincide with our community's interests. In becoming aware of these relations, we gain voice, we have what to say, and we can agree or disagree with them, since we become

aware interpreters of the reality in progress.

In addition, Tony Blair's speeches have been taken as very important in that he is one of the most influential leaders of the world nowadays, in his third term as Prime Minister, and President G. Bush's main ally. Blair is also the leader of one of the most influential nations in the world, and his decisions influence great part of the world including Latin America, and consequently Brazil. Brazil is a country inserted in and following the international order of globalization and, to an extent, suffered and has been suffering economical consequences due in part to the decision of the main leaders of the world. For instance, after Iraq's invasion, the price of gasoline went up in Brazil, unleashing price rise of several essential products, affecting Brazilians' everyday life.

1.5 Organization of the thesis

The thesis is divided into seven chapters. Chapter one, the Introduction; chapter two, Review of Literature, where the concepts that guide this thesis and sustentations to my arguments are displayed. In the Review of Literature, I present the concept of Critical Discourse Analysis – CDA; Systemic Functional Linguistics – SFL, encompassing Transitivity and the types of processes. I also bring forth, in the Review of Literature, the concept of exigence based on Bitzer (1968) and on Gill and Whedbee (1997), and for the purpose of this work, my concepts of macroexigence, microexigence and lack of exigence. I also present in the Review of Literature an understanding of what political speech is; and finally four important concepts of audience for this research.

In chapter three, Contextualization of the Data, I accommodate Blair's speech in the three variables of the Context of Situation: *field*, *tenor* and *mode*. I present a brief

biography of the rhetor, Tony Blair; a depiction of who was his audience; and a picture of the circumstance surrounding his speech.

In chapter four, *Exigences in the Speech*, I present the macroexigence for the speech and present some journalists' opinions in order to sustain what I understand is the macroexigence for Blair's speech; and still in this chapter four, I deal with the answer for the first research question: *What are the exigences in the speech given by PM Tony Blair at the Annual Labour Party Conference 2003?*

In chapter five, *Analyzing The Microexigences I*, I deal with six of the main eleven microexigences (out of a number of thirty). The microexigences are analyzed in an attempt to answer the second research question: *What are the transitivity choices in terms of processes and main participants that Blair made in the speech when dealing with the exigences in order to try to achieve his intentions?* The analysis is performed considering, mainly, the recurrence of process types and, secondarily, the main participants involved in.

Along with the analysis of the processes and the main participants, I also suggest possible political intentions behind the use of the processes and the participants, which it is an attempt to answer the third research question: *What does the analysis based on transitivity and on Fairclough's notions of language, as an element of social practice, reveal in terms of political intentions in Blair's speech?*

In chapter six, *Analyzing the Microexigences II*, I deal with the other five microexigences of the main eleven microexigences, and I also present a brief discussion of the other nineteen microexigences, demonstrating the percentage of the most recurrent types of processes and the most recurrent participants and their implications.

I decided to divide the analysis of the main eleven microexigences into two chapters for the sake of organization and readers' understanding, since maintaining the

analysis of all microexigences together could cause readers difficulty to follow and to understand the discussion.

In chapter seven, The Conclusion, I summarize the answers for the three proposed research questions; present the final remarks and further research suggestions.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

On the following pages, I present the review of literature and definitions of essential aspects for this research such as *CDA*, *SFL* and *transitivity*, *exigence*, *political speech*, and *audience*. In the topic *exigence*, I also explain the meaning of *macroexigence*, *microexigence*, and *lack of exigence*.

2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis - CDA

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), that has the Englishman Fairclough (1992, 1995, 1989, and 2000) as one of its main proponents, studies language and its connection with ideology and power. It is engaged with justice issues, and consequently deals with oppression of poor people, minorities, ethnic, religious, and cultural differences (Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 1995, 2000; van Dijk, 1986; Coffin, 2001; Burns 2001; Heberle, 1997; Meurer, 2005). This is also sustained by Caldas-Culthard (1997, p. 23) when she says that analyses based on critical discourse “show how discourse is shaped by relations of power and ideologies”.

In addition, CDA “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” (van Dijk, 1986, p. 04); and, according to Wodak (2001), “CDA is useful in disclosing the discursive nature of much contemporary social and cultural change” (p. 06).

Concerning the exercise of power through language, Fairclough (1995, p. 219) says that

[I]t is an age [this moment in history] which the production and reproduction of the social order depend increasingly upon practices and processes of broadly cultural nature. Part of this development is an enhanced role for language in the exercise of power: it is mainly in discourse that consent is achieved, ideologies are transmitted, and practices, meanings, values and identities are taught and learnt.

And still, the CD analyst understands language as being an element of social practice; language is not apart from physical, sociological and psychological elements, but all of them affect each other.

Regarding these four elements of social practice, Fairclough (2000, p. 114) briefly explains that *physical elements* encompass “bodily actions of people and the physical environments within which they take place”; *sociological elements* comprise “institutional and organizational structures, procedures, rituals, and so forth – such as institutional aspects of the political system”; *psychological elements* include “bodies of knowledge, beliefs, attitudes, feelings, etc.”; and *language comprises* “semiotics of, for instance, bodily movement and gesture and visual images, as well as language” in its spoken or written form.

The focus of this research is on language, in the form of a political speech, encompassing the other aspects of social practice since the speech was given by a representative of an institution (the government), of an organized political structure (a party), a politician attempting to deal with ideas, beliefs, attitudes, feelings and challenges, trying to change them if necessary and possible to achieve his purposes.

Language in the political arena is used as a way of convincing, of persuasion, what can consequently result in the maintenance of the sameness or in social change. Governments use spoken or written language to communicate and shape their intentions. Furthermore, language appears in texts, and texts, as political speeches, “are part of creating sociocultural contexts that explain and validate actions to be taken” (Butt, Lukin, & Matthiessen, 2004). And specifically when the matter is defending bellicose intervention, Smith (2005, p. 11) says: “[...] public discourse operates to make

the option of war more or less attractive for administrations”.

In that sense, “language is centrally involved in power and struggles for power”, and, thus, it means that people use language as an instrument to try to achieve their purposes (Fairclough, 1989, p. 17).

For Fairclough (2000), a political speech is never given apart from a previous elaboration, trying by persuasion to achieve political performance:

Rhetorical work cannot ultimately be separated from intellectual work because any public elaboration of a political discourse is also working to persuade people. A great deal of preliminary talking and thinking goes on behind the scenes [...]. But as soon as political discourse goes public, it is rhetorically constructed, part of political performance (p. 86).

CDA will be a tool in this research to bring forth the necessary awareness regarding power relations and the role that language plays in these relations as an element of social practice, an element Blair used attempting to sustain his power.

2.2 Systemic Functional Linguistics – SFL – The Context of Situation

To understand why and how something was said, it is necessary to understand that meaning can be constructed through linguistic choices. For Stubbs (1998), there is not any term which is neutral, and an ideological position can be identified by the choice of words, therefore SFL is a tool the analyst can use to detect the lexical choices.

SFL was mainly developed by M. A. K. Halliday (1978, 1994; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004), a former Professor of Linguistics at the University of Sydney, Australia. Halliday was influenced by J.R. Firth who passed on the anthropologist Malinowski’s notion of Context of Situation that a language and its meanings is better understood within its context. Possible misinterpretations can be avoided in an analysis when the context is taken into account. Later, the concept of Context of Situation was linked to the concept of register by Firth’s followers, and then register was divided by

them into three variables: *field*, *tenor*, and *mode* (Martin, 2001).

Field encompasses the many areas of human activities. “It involves people doing things with their lives” (Martin, 2001, p. 163). Practicing sports, computation, trading, shopping, family life, job, political activities, and cooking out of many others are examples of field. Field answers the question ‘what is going on?’ (Heberle, 1997, p. 14).

Tenor is concerned with personal interaction, with their relationship of hierarchy, where respect, love, hate, power, and solidarity are present. According to Martin (2001) there are two dimensions in tenor. The dimension of *status* when there is a relation where a person or people exercise power over others, which is a relation of domination – for instance, a hierarchical relation. The second one is the dimension of *contact* that represents a relation of affinity or not, of shared characteristics or not. Tenor answers the question ‘Who is taking part?’ (Heberle, 1997, p. 14).

Mode concerns with the channel of communication used by the participants of a communicative situation. Some kinds of mode are: face to face interaction (aural or visual), telephone (aural), TV (one way communication – aural and visual), radio (one way communication – aural), letter (delayed communication – visual or not), book (delayed communication – visual or not), e-mail, notes, films, messengers (Based on Martin, 2001). Mode answers the question ‘What’s the role language is playing?’ (Heberle, 1997, p. 14).

Halliday noticed that there was a correlation between the three categories of register, field, tenor and mode, respectively, and the “structure of language itself”, which he divided into three groups: transitivity, mood, and theme (Martin, 2001, p. 154).

Transitivity concerns with “the structure of clauses in terms of the way they map reality – the difference between verbs [called in SFL processes] of doing, and

happening, reacting, thinking and perceiving, saying, and describing and identifying, along with the voice (active/passive) potential associated with each.” (Martin, 2001, p. 153).

Mood deals with “distinguishing statements from questions from commands from exclamations as well as expressing the possibility, probability or certainty of some meaning” (Martin, 2001, p. 153).

Theme is concerned with “the way in which speakers order constituents in a clause, putting first a theme which connects with the overall development of a paragraph or text, and last something that contains information which is new to the listener” (Martin, 2001, p. 153).

Later, Halliday passed to use “more semantically oriented terms to generalize these three broad areas [transitivity, mood and theme] of meaning potential”. He passed to use the terms ideational, interpersonal and textual (Martin, 2001, p. 154), called the three metafunctions.

The three metafunctions can be understood this way:

The **ideational metafunction** relates to human experience transformed into meaning (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). It deals with the reality representations brought out by the transitivity system and its six processes along with “their participants and the circumstances in which they unfold” (Praxedes Filho, 2004, p. 216), building “a picture of the world” (Coffin, 2001, p. 95). It also correlates with the register variable *field*.

The **interpersonal metafunction** relates to “our personal and social relationships with the other people around us” being represented by language (Halliday, 2004, p. 29). In this semantic component of language, social relationships are linked to the register variable *tenor*.

The **textual metafunction** relates to text itself and its construction. For Painter (2001, p. 177), it is “concerned with making the text coherent by making connections with both the co-text and the physical context.” The textual metafunction correlates with the Register variable *mode*.

Halliday’s SFL is considered an important tool to explain linguistic choices. Halliday has “stressed the relationship between the grammatical system and the social and personal needs that language is required to serve” (Wodak, 2001, p. 08). For Christie and Unsworth (2000, p. 03), “A fundamental premise of SFL is the complete interconnectedness of the linguistic and the social. The focus is on how people use language to make meanings with each other as they carry out the activities of their social lives.”

SFL is not only concerned with traditional questions related to the structure of language, but also with the social role of language and tries to respond to questions about social identity. It is also about how language is used in the construction of ideologies and the relations of power, therefore its combination with CDA is welcome (Coffin, 2001).

Thus, language (spoken or written) is seen not as a mere set of rules, but as a resource for relationships (expressing feelings, aspiration, exercising power) people use in different contexts and cultures.

2.2.1 Transitivity

Concerning transitivity, Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) defines it as the system that “construes the world of experience into a manageable set of process types [verb types]” (p. 170), and “reality is made up of PROCESSES” (Halliday & Matthiessen,

1994, p. 106). Transitivity fits in with the ideational (also called experiential) language metafunction, as I said before, “expressing what is going on – the content of what is talked about” (Painter, 2001, p. 177).

Eggins (1994, p. 228), says that it “is a system of grammatical choice”. It can be also said that transitivity is a system of grammatical choice through which ideas, beliefs, suppositions and intentions are manifested. And Praxedes Filho (2004, p. 216) complements this review when he says that “At the layer of the transitivity system, the clause is analyzed for its potential to represent both the outer and the inner worlds of human beings, which is what the ideational metafunction does.”

Transitivity, this “system of grammatical choice”, this “system of process types” (Eggins, 1994, p 228), is composed, according to Halliday (1994), Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), of six types of processes, and for each process type, there may be more than one participant playing a functional role in the clause. The six types of processes are: Material, Relational, and Mental, (which are considered by Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) the main types of processes because they are the most recurrent in the majority of texts), Verbal, Behavioural, and Existential, treated by Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p. 248) as “subsidiary process types” which are much less recurrent in comparison to the first three ones. The six process types are briefly explained next:

• **Material processes** (called processes of doing) convey what is going on, what is happening, and are related to participants called Actor (performing the action), Goal (impacted by the action), and Beneficiary, the participant which is benefited from the doing (Eggins, 1994). See the following example:

But how do	we	finance	Education ...
	Actor	Material process	Goal

we	build	a fair future	for all
Actor [together]	Material process	Goal	Beneficiary

• **Mental processes** “encode meanings of thinking or feeling”, of perception (Eggins, 1994, p. 240). They are “concerned with our experience of the world of our own consciousness” (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 197) and are related to participants called *Senser* and *Phenomenon*. See the following example:

They	hate	us even more ...
<i>Senser</i>	<i>Mental process</i>	<i>Phenomenon</i>

• **Relational processes** carry meanings concerning the state of existential beings and things. They “serve to characterize and to identify” (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 210) things and people. They are related to participants called *Carrier*, *Attribute*, *Possessor*, *Possession*, *Identified (Token)*, and *Identifier (Value)*. See the following examples:

The values	are	unchangeable
<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Relational process</i>	<i>Attribute</i>

[W]e	must have	a Party in touch with the people
<i>Possessor</i>	<i>Relational process</i>	<i>Possession</i>

[T]he North of England	Is not	natural Tory territory.
<i>Identified (Token)</i>	<i>Relational process</i>	<i>Identifier (Value)</i>

• **Verbal processes** convey meanings about how entities communicate, express what they perceive, feel and think. “They contribute to the creation of narrative by making it possible to set up dialogic passages [...]” (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004, p. 252). Characterized as subsidiary types, they are “at the boundary between mental and relational” processes (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 248). The participants used with this type of process are classified as *Sayer*, *Verbiage*, and *Receiver*.

I	've been trying to say	this	to you ...
<i>Sayer</i>	<i>Verbal process</i>	<i>Verbiage</i>	<i>Receiver</i>

• **Behavioural processes** convey meanings of behavior, attitudes, and conduct. “These are processes of (typically human) physiological and psychological behavior,

like breathing, coughing, smiling, dreaming and staring [...]” (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 248). As subsidiary types, they come true “at the boundary between material and mental” (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 248) processes. Normally these processes have only one participant, called Behaver. In many cases behavioural processes are followed by circumstances. See the following example:

I	Look	at Saddam’s country
Behaver	Behavioural process	Cir: place

- **Existential processes** represent beings and things existing or happening in the world. As subsidiary types, they are “at the boundary between relational and material” processes (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 248). The existing entity is called Existent.

There is	One piece of unfinished business
Existential process	Existent

In analyzing the participants and their pertaining processes, the analyst deals with the meanings (ideas) conveyed by the writer or the speaker, revealing ideational characteristics of the text. Thus, studying Blair’s transitivity choices in the speech will help me to understand how Blair responded to the exigence(s), that is, how he constructed his ideas to meet the political demands he was facing. It will also help me, in connection with CDA perspectives, to understand the way language as a social practice is used, in this case, by a politician, attempting to achieve his purposes.

2.3 Exigence

Exigence is a term used in rhetoric and is one of the essential elements of the rhetorical situation (explained ahead), that precedes the discourse along with *audience* and *constraints* (Bitzer, 1968).

Exigence is defined by Bitzer (1968, p. 62) as “an imperfection marked by

urgency; it is a defect, an obstacle, something waiting to be done, a thing which is other than it should be”; it is an existing necessity, to which a response is demanded, because “All speech events occur of necessity” Coulthard (1985, p. 34). In other words, it is the problem or issue to which the rhetor addresses and tries to solve through discourse. For Gill and Whedbee (1997, p.162) exigence is “the problem or issue to which the text is addressed”. And according to the Glossary of Rhetorical Terms, exigence is “[a] rhetorical call to action; a situation that compels someone to speak out” (<http://www.answers.com/topic/glossary-of-rhetorical-terms>).

When Tony Blair said in his 2001’s speech regarding September 11th:

I say to the Taliban – surrender the terrorists or surrender power. It’s your choice. We will take action at every level, national and international, in the United Nations, in G8, in the EU, in NATO, in every regional grouping in the world, to strike at international terrorism wherever it exists (Guardian, 2001, para. 47)

he was attacking a problem (an exigence) that demanded a response. This exigence could be named *Terrorism sponsored by the Taliban*.

Bitzer (1968) classifies exigences in rhetorical and non-rhetorical ones. An exigence is rhetorical when it can be modified or assisted via discourse. He refers to air pollution as an example of rhetorical exigence, because it is the kind of issue that can be modified via discourse; and he refers to death as a non-rhetorical exigence, since for him, death cannot be altered through discourse. Death can be prevented by discourse, but, then, in this case, the exigence is no longer death, but prevention of death.

Still, according to Bitzer (1968), an exigence can be classified according to a range of characteristics exigences can demonstrate. It can be ‘strong’ or ‘weak’, depending on how the participants in the situation interpret it; ‘important’ or ‘trivial’ according to the impact it may cause; of easy remove or of hard remove in spite of different modifications (Bitzer, 1968, p. 62).

As I said before, exigence is one of the constituents of rhetorical situation (along

with *audience* and *constraints*). Rhetorical situation, in its turn, is defined by Bitzer as

a complex of persons, events, objects, and relations presenting an actual or potential exigence which can be completely or partially removed if discourse, introduced into the situation, can so constrain human decision or action as to bring about the significant modification of the exigence (1968, p. 62).

Thus, in detecting the exigences in a speech (there can be several exigences in the same context), it is possible to understand the rhetor's motives and aspirations in the discursive event. This detection in connection with the transitivity analysis I intend to perform will help me to elaborate better interpretations because, probably, depending on the exigence(s) being responded, specific choices were made concerning participants and type of processes.

Next, I present three concepts concerning exigence that I apply in the analysis of the speech: *macroexigence*, *microexigence* and *lack of exigence*.

2.3.1 Macroexigence

In analyzing a speech, the analyst should take into account that what was said or written was framed by an immediate and broad demand, which I call macroexigence. I understand macroexigence as the general demand covering the whole speech. It is the general challenge the rhetor has to face, that influences the existence of the other exigences (microexigences), the issues discussed and attacked in the address.

Parrish (1954, p. 37) says that a speech is given based on the occasion which "called it forth, [based on] the speaker's relation to the occasion, the reasons available to him, and the climate of opinion and current of events amidst which he operated".

Despite the fact that this passage does not refer specifically to the term macroexigence, since it is a term of my own, its words make me understand that a speech is given departing from the circumstances surrounding the speaker (the

‘occasion’), which are the constraints creating the demand for a speech. The constraints are not the micro demand but they force it to come true.

In order to try to make it clear what I mean by macroexigence, let us take as example the following situation: What would be the probable macroexigence for a speech in a circumstance of water scarcity? I suppose it would be to produce convincing arguments for people save water, arguments that could attack that problem.

The macroexigence precedes the address, but it is confirmed in it or it is not. For instance, if the macroexigence over a journalist is to write an article about a certain war, it will constrain him to think about the problems to attack in his article, and what will be said or written will reveal how seriously the writer faced the macro demand.

2.3.2 Microexigence

In existing problems to be attacked via discourse, to be discussed in an address, there is also, what I will call, in this research, microexigences. Microexigences are the exigences forming, structuring the speech, are the several issues discussed in the text, oral or written. They are the main topics existing in the text. An important speech encompasses several relevant topics.

The microexigences may or not coincide in terms of topic labels and even in length partition (the space occupied in the text) when the same text is analyzed by different analysts. Differences may occur, I understand, because the microexigences would be classified under different viewpoints, since within a microexigence, sometimes, it is possible to detect another one in that texts are made up of chains of issues. Different labels do not necessarily mean different content and totally different interpretations.

2.3.3 Lack of exigence

Despising the demand for a response to an issue would be to frustrate the audience; it would be what I treat as “*lack of exigence*” (Martins, 2003) in the speech.

Lack of exigence occurs when there is a strong divergence between what was said or written and what the audience expected was discussed. Gill and Whedbee (1997, p. 162) provide a good example of divergence between what the audience expected and what the orator produced that serves well to exemplify what I mean by lack of exigence. The example (cited in Martins, 2003) is President Nixon’s resignation speech due to the Watergate scandal and his diversion of the point:

The discrepancy between the audience’s expectations and what actually occurred in the speech was dramatic. For the audience, the salient issue of the situation was the deception and corruption revealed in the Watergate scandal. Nixon, however, saw the situation in an entirely different light. The salient issue for him was that he had become the first president in US history to be forced to resign from office. For both personal and political reasons, Nixon focused his attention on the international and long-term consequences of his resignation, addressing future generations of Americans rather than the hostile viewers gathered in front of their television sets that night. By asking how Nixon viewed the situation, a critic can understand his choices of subject matter, arguments, and expression in the speech. [...] Nixon’s immediate audience, however, perceived the exigence differently; they saw the scandal of Watergate as the pertinent issue and, consequently, their expectations for the speech were different from those of Nixon. Gill and Whedbee (1997, p. 162)

It also could be said that lack of exigence was what occurred in President Lula’s public addresses during the tough discussion on *Mensalão*, in Brazil, in the beginning of 2006, when Lula was accused by many Brazilian politicians, and by the media of not going to the point and not providing reasonable explanations for the involvement of members of his government in the Mensalão scandal.

Thus, the ‘discrepancy between the audience’s expectations and what actually’ occurs during a speech is what I treat as lack of exigence.

2.4 Political Speech

Parrish (in Burghardt, 2005) defines a speech as “a spoken discourse intended to work some kind of persuasive effect upon a given audience [...] speeches have often been instrumental in shaping the course of history, in defining and strengthening a people’s ideals, and in determining its culture” (Parrish, 1954, p. 37).

Thus, I understand that political speech is a kind of Genre ² (or a discourse type of the politics world – in CDA terminology) characterized by a persuasive nature. Through political speeches politicians wish to convince their hearers or readers of something, they try to impel their audience to perform proposed actions, to argue in favour, in agreement, in acceptance of their actions, their ideas, propositions, or beliefs. Thus, it is possible to say that political speeches have a functional characteristic. They are there as a means of achieving goals.

In addition to what I said in the previous paragraph, still for Parrish (1954), speeches can be given aiming “at winning good will, creating confidence, allaying fears, strengthening loyalties and beliefs, warning of impending dangers, preparing the public mind for measures to come, or building a more tolerant or favorable attitude toward some person or proposal or institution” (p. 36).

A speech, with all its ideas, is manifested through language which has a social role of communication, of interaction (Halliday, 1994). Therefore, “language does not simply provide words for existing concepts; it crystallizes and stabilizes ideas. Words make ideas palpable through the signs they provide” (Figueiredo, 2004, p. 219).

Still, a political speech is given with a purpose. To find the purpose of a speech,

² For Martin (2001, p. 163), genres are “purposeful goal-oriented activities” people get involved in. For Fairclough (2006, p. 10), these activities are “identified on the basis of features which are recurrent across a substantial number of texts, and which show a measure of stability over time”.

the discourse analyst needs to try to put light into the speaker's intentions in the context the speech was given. Thus, to understand a political speech properly, it is necessary to take into account who the addresser is (that will be treated as rhetor, orator), who the addressee is (the recipient that will be treated as audience), the time (the circumstance) it was given. These elements are encompassed in the notion of the *context of Situation* or *register* (that I will apply in the investigation), more specifically in the three *register* variables called *field*, *tenor* and *mode* (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004; Martin 2001); elements I discuss in the contextualization of the data, chapter III.

2.5 Audience

Every speech and every political speech exigence is manifested to an audience. *Audience* along with *exigence* and *constraints* constitutes the rhetorical situation (Bitzer, 1968). Audience can basically be defined as the one or the ones whom the speaker or the writer speaks to or writes to. Audiences can have many classifications, but four of them are fundamental to my analysis, which are: *immediate audience*, *non-immediate audience*, *implied audience* (also called *internal audience*), and *rhetorical audience* (Bitzer, 1969; Gill & Whedbee, 1997; Martins, 2003).

Immediate audience is the audience right in front of the rhetor from whom the rhetor can see and feel physical reaction (Gill & Whedbee, 1997).

Non-immediate audience is the one not present in the act of the speech, but following it on TV, on radio, on the net, that may be or may not be part of the actual audience. Concerning this kind of audience, Gill and Whedbee (1997, p. 167) say: "The critic must be alert to the fact that those who are in the immediate vicinity of the rhetor may or may not represent the actual audience addressed by the rhetor."

Rhetorical audience according to Bitzer (1968) is the audience that persuaded by the rhetor accepts his or her arguments and take them forward. This kind of audience cannot be detected in the moment of the speech, therefore its manifestation will be perceived later, in social reaction, as a result of the influence of the speech. To have in mind this kind of audience is important, when the matter is political speeches, because political orators count on the possibility of changing contrary minds to be in favor of their points of view, or count on the possibility of strengthening the wavers. People that are convinced of something normally stand for that and put that forward.

Implied audience (also called internal audience) is a more subtle type of audience, in that it may involve both the immediate and the non-immediate audiences. It can also be defined as an unreal audience, imaginary listener(s), reader(s) or audience to whom the orator speaks, which exists in his/her mind. For Gill and Whedbee (1997) it “is fictive because it is created by the text and exists only inside the symbolic world of the text” (p. 167).

In political speeches the “you” used by speakers may be used as reference to an implied audience. To better understand it, let us take as example a passage of Blair’s 2003 speech to the Labour Conference where he responds to opponents regarding the incursion into Iraq: “Imagine you are PM. And you receive this intelligence. And not just about Iraq. But about the whole murky trade in WMD.”

The you used by him not necessarily relates to people in front of him, but also to those who were against him and that were not in the room at that very moment. This is a kind of fictive you that may refer to a specific person the rhetor wants subtly to target.

Another example of implied audience in this same speech is:

And there is one piece of unfinished business which we will soon be completing. The abolition of the remaining hereditary peers. Never again in Britain will someone have the right to make laws which affect the lives of ordinary families solely because their ancestor was a duke, an earl or a viscount.

The implied audience here can be defined as British aristocracy.

Thus, in this chapter I presented the review of literature on which my research is based, that is, I briefly presented the notions of CDA (Critical Discourse Analysis), SFL (Systemic Functional Linguistics) and the system of transitivity, exigence and its characteristics, political speech, and audience and its classifications.

In the next chapter, I establish a relation between the object of my research and the Context of Situation – register and its variables *field*, *tenor*, and *mode*.

CHAPTER III

CONTEXTUALIZATION OF THE DATA

As it was seen before, for Halliday (1994), Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), every discursive event fits in the context of situation, that is, in the notion of register which is divided into field, tenor, and mode (Martin, 2001; Painter, 2001). As the field is the area of which the discourse is part - “refers to what is going on, [...] in terms of some culturally recognized activity” (Martin, 2001, p.152) - I understand that the text analyzed, Blair’s text, is part of the political activities, it is a text conveying a social activity involving a rhetor and an audience through which political issues are presented, that is, Blair’s speech is part of the things people do in and with politics.

Tenor expresses the relationship between the participants of the discourse. In Blair’s speech, we have a Prime Minister speaking, who is the participant holding the power in the relationship. Political speeches have a one-directional characteristic, that is, a speaker speaks and the audience only listens to without any counter-argumentation. Counter-arguments normally come by the press the day after the speech. On the other hand, Blair is also speaking as a party member, and that means that despite the fact that he speaks with the status of a Prime Minister, he also is giving an account of his deeds to his party’s members and delegates, who helped him get elected.

The third variable of register is mode. Mode is the medium through which the message is passed on. Blair used a spoken text, that can be considered a face to face situation but not in the form of dialogue, which was previously prepared as a written one. In this investigation, the speech is analyzed as a written text because it was collected from the Internet as such, thus a delayed visual communication (Martin, 2001), which, despite of the fact of being a transcript of a spoken text, suffered some

corrections and some modifications in that fillers were taken off.

Yet, within the Context of Situation, I judge it necessary to enlarge the contextualization prism and to present: **(a)** a brief biography of Tony Blair, his relation with the Third Way, and events after the speech; **(b)** a reference about who were the members of his immediate audience; and **(c)** a notion of the time (the circumstances) he gave his speech. In presenting the biography, the reader can have an idea of whom the orator was and how he achieved the position that he occupies (field and tenor). Concerning the audience, the reader can reflect better about the relationship between it and the orator (field and tenor); and concerning the time, the reader will be helped to understand the circumstances surrounding the speech event (field and tenor). The contextualization involving these elements were previewed in chapter I, page 07.

3.1 Orator – biography

Tony Blair, Anthony Charles Lyton Blair, was born in Edinburgh, Scotland, on May 6, 1953. In his time of school, He already questioned many procedures of the school system. He studied law at Saint John’s College, Oxford, and at that time “he was influenced by a friend called Peter Thompson, with whom Tony Blair learned a lot about theology and politics” (Collins, 2005, p. 28).

Tony Blair married Cherie Booth, in 1980, a lawyer and member of the Socialist Party. From then on, both became involved in the local branch of the Labour Party (Collins, 2005).

At the age of thirty, 1983, Blair was elected Member of the Parliament (MP), the Labour’s youngest MP. At that time Blair and Gordon Brown, an exponent member of the Labour Party even until today, started a political alliance, which was considered “the

most powerful alliance in British politics since the end of World War II (1939-1945)” (Collins, 2005, p. 43).

The ideas about a New Labour became stronger as a result of Blair’s reflections on 1992 Labour Party’s electoral defeat to the Conservatives. Thence, Blair and Brown, inspired by Bill Clinton’s victory in The United States (breaking a long period of Republican Party rule) began reclaiming “from the Conservatives the issues of community and individual responsibility [...]” (Collins, 2005, p. 51). For Blair and his colleagues, the importance should be given to “policies that advanced the hopes and dreams and desires of individual people and of society as a whole” (Collins, 2005, p. 51).

On July 21, 1994, Tony Blair, 42 of age, was elected leader of the Labour Party, the youngest Labour leader ever elected, and, then, the New Labour began its rising to power. On May 1, in 1997’s election, Blair became United Kingdom’s Prime Minister in the “Labour’s biggest election victory since the 1930’s, and the Conservatives lowest share of the vote since 1832.” (Collins, 2005, p. 58). In power, he inaugurated a new way of governing, to which he referred as the Third Way, under the influence of the philosophies of the sociologist Anthony Giddens (Smith, 2005).

Some months after his government inauguration, he articulated – according to Collins (2005) – on April 10, 1998, the Belfast Agreement that put a term to “Troubles”, the violence between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland.

In June, 2001, Blair was elected for a second term, despite the fact that his government presented many problems and “he failed to deliver on basic promises with respect to improving efficiency in public services and that his administration was seemingly more concerned with style than substance” (Smith, 2005, p.183).

In the USA, G. Bush was elected president and Blair showed a disposition to

stand beside the Republican Bush as he had done with the Democratic Clinton. September 11 consolidated their alliance, and Blair supported and helped Bush and all their allies in the incursion into Afghanistan (Collins, 2005).

After Afghanistan, Iraq, the dictator Saddam Hussein, and WMDs were issues permanently present in Tony Blair and Bush's agenda; and according to Collins (2005, p. 93) Blair, in the Fall of 2002, required

his own intelligence service, MI6 [Military Intelligence Section 6] (the British equivalent of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, or CIA), to provide him with proof that Saddam had WMDs. In September the Blair government released a fifty-page report with the evidence they had of Iraq's WMDs. One unverified report stated that Saddam had stocks of chemical and biological weapons that could be used within forty-five minutes.

Near March 2003, Blair faced several protests all over the world, especially in Britain, faced the resignation of three of his ministers and had 139 Labour MP voting against his war intentions. On March 19, 2003, Blair went to war against Iraq, ignoring the UN inspectors Hans Blix of Sweden and Mohamed EL Baradei of the International Atomic Energy Agency official communication to the UN who reported that no WMDs were found in Iraq during their inspections (Collins, 2005).

3.1.1 Blair and the Third Way

I said before that when Blair took power in 1997 he inaugurated a new way of governing which he called the Third Way. Thus, I understand it is necessary to say something more in order to make clear what the Third Way is for Blair, which can help the reader understand better Blair's political conceptions.

“By Third Way, Blair meant a third, or middle, way always exerted between any two extremes [a government nor much to the left nor much to the right, a balanced way of governing - centrism]. This has become almost the signature of Blair philosophy”

(Collins, 2005, p. 66).

The Progressive Policy Institute (1999, para. 5) explains it this way:

The Third Way philosophy seeks to adapt enduring progressive values to the new challenges of the information age. It rests on three cornerstones: the idea that government should promote equal opportunity for all while granting special privilege for none; an ethic of mutual responsibility that equally rejects the politics of entitlement and the politics of social abandonment; and, a new approach to governing that empowers citizens to act for themselves.

The affirmation of the Progressive Policy institute is in connection with the characteristics of the Third Way program pointed out by Giddens' (1998, p. 70):

The third way programme

The radical centre
 The new democratic state (the state without enemies)
 Active civil society
 The democratic family
 The new mixed economy
 Equality as inclusion
 Positive welfare
 The social investment state
 The cosmopolitan nation
 Cosmopolitan democracy

Giddens (2000) also refers to the Third way as the modernizing left or the modernizing social democracy that

[a]rgues that the three key areas of power – government, the economy, and the communities of civil society – all need to be constrained in the interests of social solidarity and social justice. A democratic order, as well as an effective market economy, depends upon a flourishing civil society. Civil society, in turn, needs to be limited by the other two. (p. 51)

Fairclough disagrees with Giddens' and Blair's views and explains and criticizes The Third Way as a political view "which is anchored in a recognition (and indeed embracing) of the global economy in its present form as simply a fact of life that we cannot change" (2000, p. 24). Fairclough presents in the same book (p.25) a fragment of Tony Blair's speech to the Confederation of British Industry, in 1998, where Blair displays what The Third Way proposes:

We are proud of our history. This is simply recognition of the challenge the modern world poses. The choice is: to let change overwhelm us, to resist it or equip ourselves to survive and prosper in it. The first leads to a fragmented society. The second is pointless and futile, trying to keep the clock from turning. The only way is surely to analyze the challenge of change and to meet it.

The third way, interpreting the words of Blair, appears as an alternative for the challenge of change; it is a new way of facing the modern world.

3.1.2 After the speech

Blair's popularity at home and abroad fell down considerably during and after the war, but in May 2005, in the General Election, he achieved a record for the Labour Party: he was elected prime minister for the third time.

This record was jeopardized by the election figures showing that his going to war without taking into account the public opinion almost cost him the government, that is, he "was punished by the electorate, his majority dropping by more than half and his party getting the votes of only 21% of adult Britons" (Smith, 2005, p. 230).

Blair's government and his own image continued fading away as the outcome of April the 04th, 2006 partial election pointed out. This election was the worst performance of the Labour Party in more than twenty years. The Labour Party with 26% of the vote came behind the Tories, which achieved 40%, and the Liberal Democrats, 27%. "Labour lost more than 300 councillors and relinquished control of 19 town halls, with the Tories benefiting most from Labour's woes" (Oliver & Mulholland, 2006, para.3).

According to the BBC News (2006), Blair on September, 2006, at Quintin Kynaston School, in Saint John's Wood, England, announced his departure within twelve months before the end of his third term, as a result of his recognition that his popularity and political articulation had vanished through the years, mainly after the

Iraq War, and because of the pressure of the so-called Labour Party rebel members.

3.2 Blair's Audience

Blair's immediate audience was constituted, in its majority, of people who were members of the Labour Party. There were Labour's delegates, from the old left and from the centrist new wings, new and old generations of political militia. There also were Cabinet Members, Members of the Parliament, senior ministers, mayors, journalists, invited authorities from several segments of society, and others. Thus, his main audience was sympathizers, and it could not be any other way since it was a Labour Conference. This was one of the reasons Blair felt free, strategically, to use the participant "we" in great number to try to approximate the audience to him because at the time the mood was not of cheer but of somber suspicion on him as politician and governor.

3.3 The Circumstances

The circumstances (the time) of Blair's address at the Labour Conference was a time of controversy, seven months after the Iraq invasion, which was marked by a discredited government that had promised much and was not able to follow through on its promises. And to increase its discredit, he was accused of forcing a war over Iraq based on arguments that Iraq was producing WMDs (weapons of mass destruction) what was not confirmed by UN inspectors, proving to be a fabrication of Bush's and Blair's government intelligences. At that time, Blair was under suspicion on account of his arguments that Saddam could use his weapons in forty-five minutes.

Still, Blair was in front of an audience that had fresh in mind the turmoil that the party, the government, and the country had recently lived through the suicide of Dr. David Kelly (a scientist and the government weapons adviser and inspector) who was accused of leaking some information to the BBC that the results of the governmental intelligence about WMD in Iraq was a farce that Blair was aware of and that Blair, in order to get approval to go to war, decided to use. Dr David Kelly, under such pressure, severed his wrists (Smith, 2005; Collins, 2005). The case was surrounded by the mist of suspicion of murder.

As reported by The BBC News, on January 28, 2004³, in the Key Players Guide, the insinuations of murder and Blair's possible awareness of any false information in the WMD dossier were denied by the results of the Hutton Inquiry, as it became known, an inquiry made by Blair's government (begun on August 01, 2003) to investigate Kelly's death:

His report concludes that the principal allegations against the prime minister - that he was involved in persuading intelligence officials to exaggerate the content of their Iraq weapon dossier and that intelligence was inserted by the government knowing it to be wrong or questionable - was 'unfounded' (Tony Blair, Prime Minister, 2004, para.2).

And concerning Kelly's death: "He agreed with suicide expert Professor Keith Hawton's opinion about the factors that led Dr Kelly to take his own life, including a severe loss of self esteem and a feeling that people had lost trust in him (Dr David Kelly, 2004, para.7)".

The time and circumstances Blair gave his speech are defined in the words of the journalist Happold (2003, para. 5) of the Guardian as a "difficult time for the government, with the party divided over reform of the public sector and the war in Iraq and the opinion polls showing support beginning to slide for Labour."

A day before the speech, the Voice of the Mirror's (2003, para. 6) forecasting was

³ This report occurred three months after Blair's speech, but it portrays the climatic existing right after Dr. Kelly's death.

that Blair would have

the most vital battle of his political life – to re-win the hearts and minds of the Labour Party and the British people. Bournemouth [place where the conference was held] will be bloody and nasty. Some of those rebelling have their own agendas, but many are simply good Labour people who are deeply unhappy about the way things are going – and fearful of where they might lead.

What Blair would face and try to change can be seen in an article on the newspaper Independent, written by Waugh, Woolf and Clement (2003, para. 9):

Mr Blair also came under strong attack at the Tribune rally from Robin Cook, the former foreign secretary, and Clare Short, the former international development secretary, who warned that the Prime Minister would risk being disposed as leader if he failed to change his ways, ‘we have got to say Blair’s got to change or we have got to change Blair,’ Ms Short said.

The circumstances presented suggest a moment of discredit constraining Blair to deal with a suspicious audience and to use all his political ability to produce a convincing speech that could change what he was living.

In this chapter, Contextualization of the Data, I dealt with the context Blair and his audiences were inserted in when, firstly, I related Blair, his audience, and his speech to the register variables: field, tenor and mode. Secondly, I presented Blair’s biography, his relation with the Third Way, what happened after the speech (an update of the events surrounding him up to 2006), and the circumstances at the moment of the speech.

In the next chapter, I start the discussion regarding the exigences Blair brought to his speech as an attempt to achieve his political intentions.

CHAPTER IV

EXIGENCES IN THE SPEECH

In this chapter, I deal with the question What are the exigence/s in the speech given by the PM Tony Blair at the Annual Labour Party Conference 2003?

As I presented in the Review of Literature (chapter II), this research adopted Bitzer's (1968, p. 62) and Gill and Whedbee's (1997) definition of exigence, which is the demand, the problem to be attacked by the rhetor; it is something that the rhetor intends to change via discourse.

Thus, in this chapter, I list the exigences (microexigences), in the form of labels, those that, in my point of view, Blair elected to refer to in his speech in order to try to give an account of his deeds, and try to meet his audience's expectations.

Yet, as I mentioned in the Method, the criterion used to arrive to the partition and labels of the microexigences was the lexicalization, as nominal groups, which is exemplified ahead in topic **4.5 Microexigences identified**.

Before listing and discussing the microexigences that Blair used to try to persuade his audience – for Fairclough (2000), political speeches are based on persuasion - I present a brief discussion on the macroexigence for the speech and also present some journalists' opinions about the speech, showing Blair's success or not in his attempt in responding to and modifying the macroexigence and the microexigences.

4.1 Macroexigence identified

As I presented in the review of literature (chapter II), I understand that a speech is given based on a macroexigence, which is the general demand covering the whole

speech. It is the general challenge the rhetor has to face, that influences the existence of the other exigences (microexigences).

Therefore, I understand that, in Blair's case, the macroexigence is the kind of speech he would have to give at the Labour Party Conference 2003. He would have to give an account of his deeds to those members of the party he represented in power. Blair's macroexigence can be well represented in the words of Freedland (2003, para. 1) of the Guardian who says that concerning the great demand upon Blair at the conference

[h]e had to restore a bond of trust with a party and country that had been badly frayed by war; to renew a government that, six-and-a-half years on, seemed to be drifting; and to strangle at birth the current, and increasing, talk of a challenge to his leadership.

The word 'frayed by war' show the intense task, the macroexigence, the PM would face. He would have to construct a speech of 'union, reconciliation, explanation, and convincement' (Watt, 2003, para. 1).

In addition, Watt (2003, para. 1), a Guardian political correspondent, says: "Knowing that he [Blair] had to deliver the speech of his life to restore his credibility with the party and the wider electorate, Tony Blair deployed a series of devices yesterday to underpin his message". In this passage by Watt, I encounter the macroexigence for Blair's speech in the words "Blair had to deliver the speech of his life to restore his credibility". Here it is the demand that would guide the construction of the whole speech.

Thus, Blair, firstly, had to think about and face the challenge of a-very-important-speech-to-give, a speech of union, reconciliation, explanation, and convincement - which would unleash other demands, that is, the topics to be discussed, the "devices to underpin his message", in the words of Watt, seen in the previous paragraph.

The macroexigence aroused as a result of the political situation (see page 33, Circumstances), involving issues regarding his government, his party, Great Britain (ordinary people's demands), foreign policies, positive and conflicting ones, that would

or would not cause debate and criticism at the domestic or international sphere. These issues should be approached in the speech, attempting to change them via discourse and consequently to respond to the macroexigence.

Despising these issues would be to frustrate his audience; it would be what I treat as “*lack of exigence*” (Martins, 2003) in the speech (presented in the Review of Literature).

4.2 Journalists’ opinions

For Curran’s (2003, conclusion section, para. 1), “there was nothing new in it. It was not a speech that gave us any radical vision for the future. It did not address any of the issues our members face every day such as rights and support for manufacturing”.

According to Routledge (2003, para. 1), from the Mirror, “[i]t was what they wanted to hear and they loved it. But was it enough? Enough to revitalize the party faithful and to rally the wavers? Enough to convince disillusioned voters that they can trust Tony as they once did? I think not.”

For the speech writer George Crozier (cited by Watt, 2003, para. 5), “[h]e did not mention that the UN Security Council voted against the war”.

The Mirror’s journalist Roberts (2003, para. 1) wrote:

REBEL MPs last night warned Mr Blair’s speech had not done enough to heal party wounds. Leading anti-war MP Alan Simpson said: ‘It was great on mood, short on substance.’ Colleague Alice Mahon added: ‘When it comes to things like Iraq the Prime Minister is putting support for an American President before the views of the British public.’

And Freedland (2003, para. 3) saw the speech this way: “He delivered an adequate speech, doing just enough to winch him out of this week’s hole ...”

The opinions show that for these journalists Blair’s speech lacks relevance, they expected he would be more sincere in admitting problems and going to the point

concerning the Iraq War issue demonstrating lack of exigence in his speech.

4.3 Microexigences identified

In my analysis, I identified thirty (30) microexigences which Blair tried to respond to in an attempt to cover his audience's expectations, a task that for some journalists he succeeded well, and for others he failed, he missed relevant issues, revealing also lack of exigence.

As I said previously, the criterion used to decide for the topics and its partition length was the wording structuring the clauses. To demonstrate how I performed the classification ahead, I will use as example the microexigence *Describing and defending the New Labour Party*. In this microexigence, the idea of description and definition, in my point of view, are projected in the following clauses. (Between brackets are the ideas each statement presents to describe or define the party and the government):

- *New Labour for me was never a departure from belief. It is my belief.* [credibility]
- *The just society in which each person is a full and equal citizen...* [equality]
- *We (the Labour Party) build a society in which collective strength compensates* [construction]
- *These are my values and yours* [values]
- *10 years ago we (the Labour Party) ditched the old clause IV* [difference]
- *We achieve more then achieve alone ...* [difference]
- *We stand for certain values. The values are unchangeable. But the policies are open to change* [determination]
- *We made the ends sacrosanct* [incorruption]
- *We put the means up for ...* [definition]
- *We took the millstone off our neck* [competence]
- *We became a party of economic competence* [evolution]
- *We won power* [victory]
- *We recovered the credibility to govern* [competence – honesty]
- *We laid foundation* [execution]

The microexigence was labeled: *Describing and defending the New Labour Party* because in that part of the text, I understand, the Labour Party was described and defended as a party of *credibility, equality, construction, of values*, making the

difference; a party with *determination*, with *incorruption*, of *definition*, of *competence*, in *evolution*, of *victory*, with *competence and honesty*, and of *execution*.

Therefore, based on what I argued previously, concerning the criterion used to decide for the partition of the microexigences and to label them, I understand that Blair's text encompasses the following thirty microexigences:

- The Labour Party's honor to be in power
- Standing for the New Labour's achievements
- Results in education
- Results in public health
- The difference the Labour Party is making
- From easy opposition to the hardship of governance
- The Iraq war
- Britain in the fighting against terrorism
- Defending America as a partner
- Sustaining his (Blair) position concerning Europe and terrorism
- Britain joining Euro currency (Britain being strong)
- The necessity of renewal in the party not to recur the old Labour's ups and downs
- Tories' excuses for their inertia
- Describing and defending the New Labour Party – pushing it to unification
- Time for the Labour Party Renewal
- Showing that the reforms achieved their goals – economic stability
- Barriers are broken down – Britain is going forward – exhibiting results
- Comparing Tories and Lib Dems to the Labour Party when facing big challenges
- Reaching the unfortunate ones through fair policies – a challenge in comparison with wealthy people
- Change for an inclusive public service
- Criminals cannot be tolerated – judicial system and society have to change
- Giving opportunity – demanding responsibility
- Unfair immigration
- Challenges his government is facing
- Reasons to emphasize political changes
- If challenges are not met, old government returns
- Politics can really bring changes
- No to cowardice in facing inevitable challenges
- Difficulty of deciding how to respond to challenges
- Summing up the challenges

Since the microexigences were identified, in the next two chapters, I will analyze them, in lexicogramatical terms, regarding the types of processes and participants they encompass, based on Halliday's System of transitivity, as I have already pointed out.

CHAPTER V

ANALYZING THE MICROEXIGENCES I

In this chapter, I analyze six of the eleven microexigences I considered the most important in the speech. The other five ones are analyzed in chapter VI. The motive to divide the analysis into two chapters is due to the fact that in maintaining the analysis of all microexigences together, the readers would have a long chapter to read, what could cause them difficulty to follow and understand the discussion.

Still in this chapter and in the next one, I deal with the following research questions: What are the transitivity choices in terms of processes and main participants that Blair made in the speech when dealing with the exigences in order to try to achieve his intentions? What does the analysis, based on transitivity and on Fairclough's notions of language as an element of social practice, reveal in terms of political intentions in Blair's speech?

As I mentioned in the Method (Procedures for Data Analysis), the reference used to elect the eleven microexigences, I will discuss ahead, as the most important ones in the speech, was the Iraq War issue. It was established as the classificatory reference taking into account the opinions of the journalists (mentioned in this paper – previously and ahead) that Blair would have to have given a more accurate explanation about the war. Since the Iraq War microexigence was ranked in 11th in importance (due to the number of words Blair dedicated to it), the microexigences to which Blair reserved fewer words than to the Iraq War were considered less important (19 of them).

In detecting the thirty microexigences, the first observation I point out is that Blair's speech is not a speech focusing on one topic only, the Iraq War or Joining Euro issue, for instance. But Blair's speech is marked by the fact that it approaches several

themes covering a year of government, and as such, it should try to meet the expectation of an annual conference audience, discussing topics that permeated their lives during one year.

But despite the fact that it is a speech covering one year of government and several subjects were expected to be discussed, some journalists, such as Clark, Watt, Freedland, and Foot, thought that Blair should have said more, specifically, on the Iraq War in that this was the subject absorbing a great part of Blair's government's agenda and with global repercussion. But on the contrary, too little was said and explained about the war. The Iraq war issue constitutes a lack of exigence in the speech.

Frustrated expectation is what can be observed in the words and opinion of David Clark (cited by Watt, 2003, para. 2), when he says: "This was dishonest. He should acknowledge mistakes, but he won't because he is in denial [...] I think it would have been much better for him if he had acknowledged the gap between the case he set out for war and the evidence."

In another article written specifically by Clark (2003, para. 4) for the Guardian whose title is *A Triumph of style over substance* the comment is that

the most eagerly awaited part of his speech was the section justifying his decision to join the US in the invasion of Iraq. There was nothing in what the prime minister said to suggest that he is capable of being any more honest in facing up the consequences of what has happened than he proved to be in making the case for war in the first place.

This comment states the impression of a journalist concerning the posture Blair adopted in his speech, that is, Blair preferred to deviate the core of the interests of many in the conference, which was a more profound discussion about the Iraq War, as the words *the most eagerly awaited part of his speech* suggest.

Yet, for Freedland (2003, para. 4), "[o]n the case for war in Iraq, the PM was weak. He repeated the same arguments he had made in February – about the intelligence crossing his desk and the duty of a leader to take the toughest decisions - but they failed

then, and they were hardly more potent yesterday.” Here, Freedland interpreted the attempts of Blair in changing the political scenario as inefficient, since, for Freedland, nothing new was presented.

And Foot (2003, para. 6) of the Guardian with the following question expresses the feeling of frustration passing through his mind, and it can be suggested, maybe passing through many British ordinary people’s mind:

Above all, is this not the same Tony Blair who dragged parliament and the country into a monstrous war on the basis of allegations about Iraq’s weapons of mass destruction that have since turned out to be a delusion – and the same Tony Blair who when confronted with his delusion (and his lies) over Iraq continues to express his “passionate” belief that he was right all along?

This question shows how serious Blair would have to have considered his challenge of facing the Iraq war matter, but it seems to me that Blair, in his first opportunity of officially being in front of his party after the war of Iraq (with all its negative consequences, the most controversial demand of Blair’s 2003 government) took the advantage of a conference speech (a kind of speech characterized by responses to many issues), and deliberately reserved a short time and few words to treat such a tricky and embarrassing question because he was in denial when defended and fostered a war without evidence for.

His dissimulated way of treating the war question is also revealed in the fact that he did not even mention Dr Kelly’s suicide in his speech, and preferred to give emphasis to other issues as the table ahead shows (page 45). The case Dr Kelly was discussed in chapter III, page 34.

The impression passed by the speech is that the Iraq War was merely one more question to be covered and, as such, should not be highly emphasized. It is an exigence that can be classified, according to Bitzer (1968), paradoxically, both as ‘weak’, and ‘of hard remove’ (see page 19). Weak regarding the importance Blair attributed to it, a treatment as if it were an issue of less importance. Of hard remove in that he did not

strongly argument about it, knowing that even the most exhausted explanation could not modify it as he could desire. Thus, it seems that the best solution for him was to avoid a more complex discussion which would damage his image much more. This affirmation can be verified and sustained by the number of words used to cover the topic (236), and by the percentage of space (4.08%) it occupied in the whole speech when compared to other microexigences, as it can be seen in the Table 01 ahead.

In this sense, my next step in this work is to proceed to a more detailed transitivity analysis of the eleven main microexigences. In doing the analysis, I try to detect how Blair behaves with these eleven microexigences, what type of processes are more recurrent and who or what they refer to the most. This can help to understand how and why Blair preferred to emphasize other issues and despise the Iraq War as complained by the journalist cited before.

This analysis will be based on SFL (Halliday, 1994, Halliday & Matthiessen 2004), as already mentioned, and will take into account the participants and the types of processes used within each microexigence. In analyzing the processes used by Blair in the microexigences, I can verify the construction of meaning, what he intended to pass to his audience as an attempt to persuade it, creating a *rhetorical audience* (Bitzer, 1968), one who could absorb his ideas and would take them forward.

To begin with, in the Table 01 (next page), I display all the microexigences I categorized and rank the order of importance from first to eleventh (that is, up to the Iraq issue) with their respective number of words and percentage of space of occupation in the speech (5,778 words). With this table the reader can have a panorama of the sequence of the microexigences by their importance. The exigences highlighted in the table are the ones discussed more accurately in the present chapter and in the next one.

N°	Ranking	EXIGENCES	N° OF WORDS PER EXIGENCE	% OUT OF 5,778 WORDS
		SEQUENCE FOUND IN THE SPEECH		
01	29th	The Labour Party's honor to be in power	51	0.88
02	10th	Standing for the New Labour's achievements	241	4.17
03	21st	Results in education	130	2.24
04	26th	Results in public health	106	1.83
05	5th	The difference the Labour Party is making	301	5.20
06	16th	From easy opposition to the hardship of governance	165	2.85
07	11th	The Iraq War	236	4.08
08	17th	Britain in the fighting against terrorism	158	2.73
09	27th	Defending America as a partner	82	1.41
10	28th	Britain joining Euro currency (Britain being strong)	82	1.41
11	30th	Sustaining his (Blair) position concerning Europe and terrorism	51	0.88
12	6th	The necessity of renewal in the party not to recur the old Labour ups and downs	285	4.93
13	4th	Tories' excuses for their inertia	304	5.26
14	1st	Describing and defending the New Labour – pushing it to unification	386	6.68
15	2nd	Time for the Labour Party Renewal	371	6.42
16	19th	Showing that the reforms achieved their goals – economic stability	149	2.57
17	8th	Barriers are broken down – Britain is going forward – exhibiting results	274	4.72
18	3rd	Comparing Tories and Lib Dems to the Labour Party when facing big challenges	306	5.29
19	9th	Reaching the unfortunate ones through fair policies – a challenge in comparison with wealthy people	261	4.51
20	7th	Change for an inclusive public service	277	4.79
21	22nd	Criminals cannot be tolerated – judicial system and society have to change	129	2.23
22	24th	Giving opportunity – demanding responsibility	111	1.92
23	20th	Unfair immigration	148	2.56
24	12th	Challenges his government is facing	208	3.59
25	18th	Reasons to emphasize political changes	154	2.66
26	14th	If challenges are not met, old government returns	194	3.35
27	13th	Politics can really bring changes	205	3.54
28	25th	No to cowardice in facing inevitable challenges	109	1.88
29	23rd	The difficulty of deciding how to respond to challenges	120	2.07
30	15th	Summing up the challenges	184	3.18

Table 01 - Microexigences in the speech

What can be understood from the numbers in the table in connection with the opinions retrieved from the newspapers is that the war question was obfuscated by other issues.

With two hundred and thirty-seven words (236), and occupying 4.08 % of the whole speech, *The Iraq War* is ranked as the eleventh topic in importance in the speech. Blair dedicated more of his time and words to discuss issues such as (14) *Describing and defending the New Labour Party – pushing it to unification* (386 words, 6.68%), (15) *Time for the Labour Party Renewal* (371 words, 6.42 %), (18) *Comparing Tories and Lib Dems to the Labour Party to face big challenges* (306 words, 5.29%), (13) *Tories’ excuses for their inertia* (304 word, 5.26 %), (05) *The difference the Labour Party is making* (301 words, 5.20 %), (12) *The necessity of renewal in the party not to recur the old Labour ups and downs* (285 words, 4.93 %), (20) *Change for an inclusive public service* (277 words, 4.79%), (17) *Barriers are broken down, Britain is going forward, exhibiting results* (274 words, 4.72 %), (19) *Reaching the unfortunate ones through fair policies – a challenge in comparison with wealthy people* (261 words, 4.51%), (02) *Standing for the New Labour’s achievement* (241 words, 4.17 %), than giving an explanation of the incursion into Iraq that cost many civilian and British soldiers’ lives. Reasons for this lack of explanation is what I try to show in the analysis of the microexigences in the next topic.

5.1 Transitivity analysis of the microexigences

Following Halliday’s system of transitivity, I present and discuss, in this topic, the processes and the main participants of the following six microexigences: **The Iraq War; Standing for the the New Labour’s achievements; The difference the Labour Party is making; The necessity of renewal in the party not to recur to the old Labour ups and downs; Tories’ excuses for their inertia; Describing and defending the New Labour Party – pushing it to unification.** The Iraq War despite being the

microexigence number 07 (according to the Table 01 seen before) and classified as the eleventh in importance on account of its number of words and partition length, here, it is the first I discuss due to its relevance in the political scenario as it was demonstrated by the journalists' opinions.

5.1.1 Microexigence: The Iraq war

In the case of the Iraq War, there are forty-one clauses divided into thirteen (13) material, eight (08) relational, sixteen (14) mental, five (05) verbal, and one (01) behavioural. Therefore, he used more mental processes than other process type. This microexigence is an effort by Blair, I would say, to try to satisfy his audience since the Iraq issue was very expected by some of his audience, as it can be seen in the words of Hardy (2003, para.3), a political editor of the Mirror: "Iraq and the David Kelly affair have sapped both trust and confidence in the once assured leadership of Teflon Tony. Now he has the chance to put it right".

Type of process	Number of processes	Percentage
Material	13	30.23
Relational	08	18.60
Mental	14	34.14
Verbal	05	11.62
Behavioural	01	2.32
Existential	00	0.0
	41	

Table 02 – Number and percentage of process types

Thus, next I discuss the five clause types I encountered in the microexigence. In the analysis, I follow the sequence of process types presented in Table 02.

5.1.1.1 Material Clauses

Thirteen are the material clauses used by Blair, comprising 30.23 % of a total of

41 clauses. The main participant in each clause appears underlined and the process is in bold. The clauses are also numbered to facilitate references in the analysis.

01- ith me. I ask just one thing: [you] **attack** my decision but at least understand why I took it a
 02- s lied about it consistently, [Saddam's regime] **concealing** it for years even under the noses
 03- at is chaos. It is fanaticism **defeating** reason. Suppose the terrorists repeated September 11th
 04- and wickedness. So what do I **do**? Say "I've got the intelligence, but I've a hunch its wrong
 05- got the intelligence but I've a hunch its wrong?" [I] **Leave** Saddam in place but now with the
 06- veloped but used such weapons[Saddam's regime] **gassing** thousands of his own people are
 07- And I see the terrorism and the trade in WMD **growing**. And I look at Saddam's country and
 08- expect, at least not on 1 May 1997. Iraq **has divided** the international community. It has div
 09- divided the international community. It [Iraq] **has divided** the party, the country, families,
 10- historical fact. That Saddam's regime **has** not just **developed** but used such weapons gassing
 11- me has not just developed but [Saddam's regime has] **used** such weapons gassing thousands
 12- foundly believe the action we **took** was wrong. I do not at all disrespect anyone who disagree
 13- at of the 21st century is not countries **waging** conventional war. I believe that in today's inter

Material processes convey actions performed by participants called Actors, the doers of the actions (Halliday, 2004). But, in this case, Blair and or his government, out of the thirteen material clauses, appear as doer three times only (lines, 04, 05, and 12), revealing that on account of the results of the war, he did not have basis for portraying himself and his government as doers. The other cases (eleven of them) are related to the participants *you*, *Saddam's regime*, *fanaticism*, *terrorism*, *terrorism and trade in WMD*, *Iraq*, and *countries*. *Saddam's regime* is the most recurrent of them, appearing four (04) times (lines 02, 06, 10, and 11).

Thus, the performer of tangible actions, in these material clauses, is not Blair and his government, but what and who he was combatting in going to war. In my point of view, he decided to do this – to use concrete actions in relation to negative aspects involving what had led him to war – to strategically try to convince his audience, since his arguments were unsubstantial. Putting his enemies as doers was a way of changing the focus from the real matter, his mistake in going to war without real evidence for it. This entire situation reveals his fragility in that he did not have what to say in order to put himself as a doer, since no WMD was found.

Blair had defended that he had done the right thing in going to war, but despite

this, he did not treat the subject war in his speech with the deserved certainty because he was not able to portray himself and his government as agents of real, necessary, and positive attitudes, promoted by the allies through the war actions.

The conviction of doing the right thing could be expressed by the use and presence of more material processes referring to him, to his government, and or to Britain as doers than he used, since material processes are processes of conviction, representing real actions, revealing tangible deeds (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004; Eggins, 1994).

It is interesting to stress that the idea of interventionism, of interfering in the ‘global community’, he probably brought into action from his views of the third way “to transform existing global institutions and support the creation of new ones” (Giddens, 2000, p. 54). In connection with this, the words of Callinicos (2001, p. 11), a critic of the third way, suggest that Blair’s international actions were influenced by the third way ideas “particularly ‘the doctrine of the international community’ licensing unlimited ‘humanitarian intervention’ by the Western powers that Blair unveiled in April 1999.”

In addition, in clause 01, the process *attack* shows the difficult situation Blair was in; one of the meanings of the verb *attack* can be *to criticize strongly or in a hostile manner* (www.thefreedictionary.com). It seems he was feeling hostilized or, on the other hand, he was using this kind of utterance to pass on an image of a politician open to criticism. Yet, in order to try to impact his audience he uses processes as *defeating* (03), *gassing* (06), processes that portray sad images of people being annihilated, massacred. These images, I understand, are a strong appeal to sensitize the audience.

In clause 02, where implicitly *Saddam’s regime* is the Actor, the process used is *concealing* (which means hiding, camouflaging). In discussing the deceiver character of Saddam, Blair deviates his speech from what he really had to approach. In clause 04,

Blair is the Actor in a question that rhetorically he uses in order to affirm he had to act in face of the information he argued that he received.

In clause 07, the process *growing* (a verb used for body development) is used with the participant *terrorism and the trade in WMD*, creating a metaphor of an organism in development, becoming strong in body and mind. In clauses 08 and 09, Iraq is stated with certainty as the motive of both the international and the party's fracture. The participant *Iraq* in these clauses is also a metaphor. Iraq here means the Iraq government, that is, Saddam and his partners. There is something interesting in these clauses: they suggest that for Blair it was not the war in Iraq that divided opinions but the entity Iraq itself. Iraq is the Actor responsible for the division of the Goal *international community* (clause 08) and *the party, the country, families* (clause 09); it is a way of transferring all responsibility to Iraq.

In clauses 10 and 11, both processes *has developed* and *used* also denote certainty, but about past events (for instance, they could well be applied to Saddam massacring the Kurds with chemical weapons in 1988 in Halabj village when almost 5,000 lives perished), and not about the present, since international inspectors did not find any WMD (<http://www.kdp.pp.se/old/chemical.html>). In fact, it should be more appropriate to say that the division in the party, country and families attributed to Iraq was caused by the allies' decision of going to war without real motives. After trying to create a negative image concerning Iraq in an attempt to justify his decisions, he evokes collectivity in clause 12 and, to some extent, shares the responsibility of the war to other members of the government.

In clause 13, which is the Attribute of a relational clause, Blair states the Goal *conventional war* as a solution to *countries* (the Actor) to defeat terrorism.

5.1.1.2 Relational Clauses

The relational clauses I encountered in the microexigence are the eight below, which encompass 18.60% of the total.

14- friends. I know [that] many people are disappointed, hurt, angry. I know may profoundly
 15- decision again. Imagine you are PM. And you receive this intelligence. And not just about
 16- ieve the security threat of the 21st century is not countries waging conventional war. I bel
 17- interdependent world the threat is chaos. It [the threat] is fanaticism defeating reason. Supp
 18- in today's interdependent world the threat is chaos. It is fanaticism defeating reason. Supp
 19- y profoundly believe the action we took was wrong . I do not at all disrespect anyone who
 20- do? Say "I've got the intelligence but I've a hunch its wrong?" Leave Saddam in place but
 21- So what do I do? Say "I've got the intelligence but I've a hunch its wrong?" Leave Saddam

Relational processes establish relations, interchangeability, between the main participant (Carrier and Possessor) and characteristics, attributions, identities (Attribute and Possession). Halliday and Matthiessen say that in a relational clause such elements (characteristics, attributions, identities) “are construed as one element of a relation of being” (2004, p. 213), something existing or factual.

Blair’s relational clauses establish a relation with what for him is factual, that is, the Carrier and the Possessor are treated as real and indubitable. This indubitability appears in the processes *are, is, was, have* that construct a relation marked by no modalization. No *would, should, could* is used, revealing that there is no space for possibilities and probabilities or doubts in those relations.

In clause 14, Blair recognizes the disappointment of part of his audience about his decisions. The participant *many people* does not define who are the ones frustrated. This participant has a connotation of an implied audience, that is, he may be speaking to people who are in the immediate audience, people he knows well and that are really disappointed, but people he does not want to refer to directly.

In clause 15, again the Carrier *you* is a reference to an imaginary audience. This *you* may refer even to his opponents.

In clause 16, he defends his position relating in a factual way the participant *the*

security threat of the 21st century to the attributive clause *not countries waging conventional war*. He tries to sell the idea that the adequate way for effectively holding threat is through war. This implies that other means would not have stopped Saddam.

In clauses 17 and 18, two Identifiers (*fanaticism, chaos*) used in relation to the Identified *threat* can be understood as an attempt to justify the preemptive attack to Iraq.

In clause 19, the Carrier *the action we took* relates to the Attribute *wrong*, a reference to what his opponents even within the party believe. This clause, I suggest, is used as an answer to Blair's opponents. In clauses 20 and 21, Blair uses two contrastive ideas to try to defend himself about his decisions and to affirm he had to act in face of the information he received. He is trying to convince his audience that he simply could not despise the information he received from his government intelligence.

5.1.1.3 Mental Clauses

Fourteen are the mental processes encountered in the microexigence which represents thirty-seven point twenty per cent (34.14%) of the total of forty-one clauses, slightly surpassing the material processes. There are some reasons I present ahead for mental clauses to be the most recurrent ones in the microexigence.

22- is not countries waging conventional war. **I believe** that in today's interdependent world the
 23- the party, the country, families, friends. **I know** many people are disappointed, hurt, angry.
 24- many people are disappointed, hurt, angry. **I know** many profoundly believe the action we
 25- whole murky trade in WMD. And one thing we know. Not from intelligence. But from hist
 26- disappointed, hurt, angry. I know many profoundly **believe** the action we took was wrong.
 27- the noses of the UN Inspectors. And **I see** the terrorism and the trade in WMD growing. An
 28- rowing. And I look at Saddam's country and **I see** its people in torment ground underfoot by
 29- ocracies humiliated and him emboldened? You see, **I believe** the security threat of the 21st c
 30- ocracies humiliated and him emboldened? You see, I believe the security threat of the 21st c
 31- ttack my decision but at least [you] **understand** why I took it and why I would take the sa
 32- but at least understand why **I took** it and why I would take the same decision again. Imagine
 33- east understand why I took it and why **I would take** the same decision again. Imagine you a
 34- democracies [**were**] **humiliated** and him Saddam was emboldened? You see, I believe the t
 35- democracies were humiliated and him [**Saddam was**] emboldened? You see, I believe the

The mental processes Blair used reveal much more what the Iraq War issue meant

by him, that is, uncertainty. Out of the fourteen clauses, eight have Blair as participant represented in the pronoun I (clauses 22, 23, 24, 27, 28, 29, 32, and 33), and one where Blair is implicit in an inclusive *we*, line 24: *And one thing we know*. The processes used: *believe, know, see, understand* are presented as processes of interpretation, of viewpoint, and do not express real things, certainty by the rhetor.

As I understand it, mental processes in political speeches tend to reveal participants (Sensors) less convincing than the doers in material clauses for the reason that mental processes do not express tangible experiences, but are more in the sphere of uncertainty, intention, thinking, and of reasoning. Thus, certainly, as Blair did not have concrete things to affirm about his action in Iraq, but could only present intentions, reasoning and beliefs, he decided to deal with the issue in an inconsistent way, avoiding to talk more directly about it.

I may surmise that Blair would not fail to put in his speech processes like *found, apprehended, disassembled, destroyed, captured, set free, did, made* regarding his government and party if what he sustained about WMDs in Iraq had been confirmed by the inspectors and by the military actions implemented there.

5.1.1.4 Verbal Clauses

Concerning verbal processes, five of them were found in the microexigence, encompassing 11.62% of the clauses in the microexigence.

36- k was wrong. **I** do not at all **disrespect** anyone who disagrees with me. I ask just one thing
37- at all disrespect anyone who [anyone] **disagrees** with me. I ask just one thing: attack my
38- at all disrespect anyone who disagrees with me. **I ask** just one thing: attack my
39- ing thousands of his own people. And [Saddam's regime] **has lied** about it consistently, con
40- ness. So what do I do? [**I**] **Say** "I've got the intelligence but I've a hunch its wrong?"

In clause 36 and 37, Blair presents himself as a polite and humble politician, using the processes *disrespect* and *disagrees* as a way of requesting understanding concerning his actions in Iraq.

In clause 39, he depicts Saddam as a liar. The verb *lie* in the present perfect conveys the idea of continuity, of recurrent practice.

The process *say* (clause 40), I suggest, can be understood as a speech mark meaning *I want to say, I mean*. It is in the text to call the hearer's attention to the answer to, and explanation of the question: *So what do I do?* Blair tries to state that since he had received information of his intelligence, the logical action was to follow it, despite it would be irresponsibility.

5.1.1.5 Behavioural Clauses

In the following clause Blair puts himself as the Behaver. The international community is not part of the behavior of *look[ing] at Saddam's country*, which may indicate why the issue was treated the way it was.

41- the trade in WMD growing. And **I look** at Saddam's country and I see its people in torment

This clause brings a personal observation. It does not express a collective opinion. In my point of view, this is part of the explanation for his going contrary to the inspectors' report, his unilateral point of view about Iraq.

In the analysis of this microexigence, we saw that Blair opted for attribute to Saddam, Iraq and terrorism the majority of the actions, but he did it in a negative way, since he did not have changeable things to present to his audience about his allegations of WMDs in Iraq.

Next, I analyze the microexigence number 02 in the sequence of the speech and the tenth in the rank of importance, taking into account the number of words dedicated to it.

5.1.2 Microexigence: Standing for the New Labour's achievement

In this topic, I analyze the microexigence to which Blair spent 241 words, comprising 4.17% of the speech, considered the 10th in importance in the speech.

This microexigence is characterized by the presence of more material processes, seventeen (17), than any other type. It is Blair defending the achievements of his party and government, and it is his attempt to rebuke his adversaries' criticisms about the results of the Labour government, whom he calls *cynics* (clause 28, ahead). He does it citing examples, according to his understanding, of what the Labour Party achieved in power.

Type of process	Number of processes	Percentage
Material	17	54.83
Relational	07	22.58
Mental	01	3.22
Verbal	05	16.12
Behavioural	01	3.22
Existential	00	0.0
	31	

Table 03 – Number and percentage of process types

I understand that the aim of this part of the speech is to change possible disbelief in the party and government by his immediate and non-immediate audience.

5.1.2.1 Material Clauses

These are the material clauses I detected in the microexigence, which I analyze below.

01- I have even asked for. One suggestion was [I] **leading** you all in chorus of "Always look on
02- side of life." So what do we **do**. Give up on it. Or get on with it? That's the question. Yes the
03- side of life." So what do we do. [We] **Give up** on it. Or get on with it? That's the question.
04- So what do we do. Give up on it. Or [We] **get on** with it? That's the question. Yes the cynics
05- cynics say ...been a great electoral machine but you've **done** little with it. I could recite you
06- over 60,000 more 11 year olds every year now **reaching** required standards in English and
07- English and maths. Cardiac deaths **down** 19 per cent since 1997, cancer deaths, 9 per cent
08- deaths down 19 per cent since 1997, cancer deaths [**down**] 9 per cent. Burglaries down 39
09- 1997, cancer deaths 9 per cent. Burglaries **down** 39 per cent. But it's not statistics that tell
10- But it's not statistics that tell us what **has changed**, it's people. The lone parent I met, for y

11- aged, it's people. The lone parent I met, for years unemployed and unemployable. Now not
 12- ork through the New Deal but [the lone parent] **winning** promotion. What mattered to her t
 13- alone but the respect her child gained for her, seeing her work, grow in confidence, becomi
 14- child gained for her, seeing her work, [her to] **grow** in confidence, becoming a role model.
 15- One of two million people the New Deal has helped since 1997. That's what this Labour go
 16- 1997. That's what this Labour government has done for Britain. Or the children I met this m
 17- has done for Britain. Or the children I met this month at a brand new academy in Thamesm

Clause 01 presents an implicit Actor, *I* (Blair), acting upon the Goal *you all*, clearly the audience, as it can be verified in the context:

I now look my age. You feel yours. I've had plenty of advice over what I should say in this speech. Some of it I have even asked for. One suggestion was leading you all in chorus of "Always look on the bright side of life."

It is interesting to notice that the Actor *I* is not present in the clause (01), what can be interpreted as an attempt to hide his power (Fairclough, 1989); but the fact is that *leading you all* denotes exercise of control, power to achieve a purpose if it were the case. Blair reveals his thinking about himself, and about his audience. About himself: as someone that could have all his audience under control, in *chorus* (01), following his suggestions. Notice that he did not say: *One suggestion was that I could try to lead you*, but rather he was assertive. About his audience: of people incapable of deciding to receive or not to receive a message.

In defense of his party and government's achievements, three questions are made with processes of action: *do* (02), *give up* (03), and *get on* (04). The clauses involve the participants *what*, *it*, and *it* again. The participant of clauses 03 and 04, *it*, represents the Labour people's way of doing politics. The two questions lead to an answer (clause 05) where he reports his opponents' view of the Labour Party, in the words *you've done little*. The Actor *you*, in this clause, corresponds to the Labour Party which is linked to a process impacting no Goal at all, and revealing no Beneficiary receiving the results of the actions. Here, I understand, Blair is trying to show how his opponents see the Labour: a party by which people are not achieved; a kind of view he is going to try to deconstruct because seeing the party this way could mean seeing his government as a

failure.

And, thus, in clauses 06 to 17, he puts the party as a party of results as it can be seen in the sequence depicted in the Figure 01 ahead.

Participant	Results
11 year olds	reaching
Cardiac death	down
Cancer deaths	down
Burglaries	down
What (things)	has changed
I	met (personal contact)
the lone parents	winning
her child	gained
The New Deal	has helped
Labour Government	has done
I	met (personal contact)

Figure 01 - Sequence of participants and processes

He also puts himself as a leader (11, 17) who is involved with the party's actions and who has seen and lived personal experiences. This can be seen in the use of the process *met* conveying an interpersonal relation. In clause 16 the *Labour Government* (Actor) is presented involving Britain as Beneficiary, where Blair stands up for the party with the process **has done for**, that comes as an answer to the 'cynics'' utterance: *you've done little* (clause 05).

In addition, Blair in his persuasive attempt used processes of doing conveying meaning regarding participants representing services that are indispensable in politics and that are of interest of ordinary people: education (clause 06), health (clause 07 and 08), security (clause 09), welfare (clauses 12, 13, and 15). Clause 15 refers to the New Deal which is

a programme of active labour market policies introduced in the United Kingdom by the Labour government in 1998. The purpose is to reduce unemployment by providing training, subsidised employment, and voluntary work to the unemployed. Spending on the New Deal was £1.3 billion in 2001 (<http://en.wikipedia.org>).

5.1.2.2 Relational Clauses

The microexigence encompasses 07 relational processes, representing 22.58% of the clauses discussed next.

- 18- You feel yours. **I've had** plenty of advice over what I should say in this speech. Some of it
 19- Give up on it. Or get on with it? **That's** [get on with it (is)] the question. Yes the cynics say,
 20- question. Yes the cynics say, **New Labour's been** a great electoral machine but you've done
 21- Burglaries down 39 per cent. But **it's** not statistics that tell us what has changed, it's people
 22- statistics that tell us what has changed, **it's** people. The lone parent I met, for years unempl
 23- New Deal has helped since 1997. **That's** [set of services (is)] what this Labour government
 has done for Britain
 24- New Deal but winning promotion. **What mattered** [was important] to her most? Not the
 money alone but the respect her child gained for her

All the clauses are presented with certainty with the processes establishing factual relations, since there is no modalization in them. Clauses 18 and 20 are in the present perfect tense indicating continuity. Clause 20 refers to what Blair's opponents say and think about the Labour Party and what he is trying to refute.

In clause 21 and 22, Blair uses the expletive⁴ *it* as Carrier. In my point of view, *it* was used to highlight the expression *statistics* and *people*; he puts people above statistics, since people are the element validating his government.

In clause 24, Blair tries to answer to his opponents' criticism using a question that he himself answers, presenting an example in which the government is shown making the difference in ordinary people's lives.

5.1.2.3 Mental Clauses

This mental clause represents 3.22 % of the 31 clauses detected.

- 25- the respect her child gained for her, **seeing** her work, grow in confidence, becoming a role
 m

The mental process *seeing* (clause 01) is processed by an implied Thinker, the *child*, which is part of the narrative of an encounter Blair had with ordinary people.

⁴ A word or other grammatical element that has no meaning but is needed to fill a syntactic position, such as the words *it* and *there* in the sentences *It's raining* and *There are many books on the table*. (<http://www.thefreedictionary.com>)

Children as participants in political speeches, I suppose, are normally used in order to sensitize the audience.

5.1.2.4 Verbal Clauses

Following, I analyze the verbal clauses, totaling 16.12% of the thirty-one clauses.

26- yours. I've had plenty of advice over what **I should say** in this speech. Some of it I have even
27- at I should say in this speech. Some of it **I have even asked** for. One suggestion was leading
28- hat's the question. Yes the cynics say, New Labour's been a great electoral machine but you'
29- done little with it. **I could recite** you the statistics: The lowest inflation, mortgage rates, and
30- have But it's not statistics that **tell** us what has changed, it's people. The lone parent I met, fo

Few processes of saying appear in the microexigence, 05 of them. In 03 of them, the Sayer is an explicit *I* standing for Blair. An explicit *I* appears twice in the seventeen material clauses, and once in the relational clauses seen previously. Thus, his being the most recurrent Sayer in the microexigence suggests his strong choice in taking a posture in behalf of the party, in presenting himself as defender of what the party and his government has achieved. He did not give voice through the verbal processes to his party and government, and if it were intended, he could incorporate them in the participant *I* he used.

In clause 29, why not to use a Sayer *we* instead of *I*? It may, on the other hand, mean an attempt to show that it was he that decided what to address (observe the process **have asked for**, clause 27); he was the main agent of the decisions.

Concerning clause 28, Blair gives a direct voice to his opposition in a pejorative, caustic way. He metonymically refers to them when he nominalizes the attribute cynic, taking a characteristic, a part of an entity, as the whole. This is verified in the Sayer *cynics*.

In clause 30, he puts the statistics about his government as a secondary source of validation of his policies and attributes to his deeds in behalf of the people the real

validation of his government. Normally politicians have the ordinary people as their argument to try to sensitize their audience and justify their actions.

5.1.2.5 Behavioural Clauses

Regarding behavioural clauses, the microexigece shows only the following one, which holds 3.22% of the thirty-one clauses detected.

31- one sugestion was leading you all in chorus of "Always [you] **look** on the bright side of life." So what do

The process *look* (a process of consciousness) is part of a popular saying used by Blair to reinforce the idea of his leadership. The implied *you* is treated submissively (as someone who has to attend to a command), parting from a unilateral vision. It may suggest that Blair presupposed that if he wanted he could persuade his audience to behave this way, following strictly his views.

In the analysis of this microexigence, we saw that Blair attempted to refute his adversaries' criticisms regarding the results of the Labour government. He cited examples, according to his understanding, of what the Labour Party achieved in power to counterargument his opposition and tries to convince his audience that the Labour Party has the best political proposal for Britain.

In the next topic, I deal with the microexigence number five in the sequence of the speech and the fifth in the rank of importance.

5.1.3 Microexigence: The difference the Labour Party is making

In this topic, I discuss the microexigence to which Blair spent 301 words (5.20% to the whole text) ranked in 5th place in importance in the speech.

I understand that this microexigence aims at showing and convincing that the Labour government is making the difference. This is also a microexigence where

material processes are the most recurrent, 21 of them, versus 10 relational, 03 mental, and 01 existential.

Type of process	Number of processes	Percentage
Material	21	60.00
Relational	10	28.57
Mental	03	8.57
Verbal	00	0.0
Behavioural	00	0.0
Existential	01	2.85
	35	

Table 04 – Number and percentage of process types

5.1.3.1 Material Clauses

The following twenty-one material clauses encompass 60% of all 35 clauses that Blair laid hold of to try to achieve his goals.

01- That's the difference we are making in this country. And most of all, we should be proud of
02- acher, doctor, nurse and police officer we have recruited. Proud we have increased public
03- officer we have recruited. Proud we have increased public service pay. It means we will rec
04- public service pay. It means we will recruit the thousands of extra staff we need but it also
05- need but it also means we are beginning to reward properly the staff we already have for t
06- have for the superb job they [the staff]do. Add to that our constitutional change, devolution
07- r the superb job they do. [you] **Add** to that our constitutional change, devolution in Scotland
08- unfinished business which we will soon be completing. The abolition of the remaining here
09- ght to make laws which [laws] **affect** the lives of ordinary families solely because their ance
10- duke, an earl or a viscount. [you] **Add** to that what we achieved for peace in Northern Irelan
11- iscount. Add to that what we achieved for peace in Northern Ireland. And let none of us for
12- harsher economic times, [our Government] **is growing** our aid budget, leading the way on
13- growing our aid budget, [your Government is] **leading** the way on cutting Third World debt
14- Third World debt, \$70 billion already **committed** globally, and has just helped broker the de
15- committed globally, and [your Government] **has just helped broker** the deal that will give
16- has just helped broker the deal that [the deal] **will give** HIVAIDS patients in Africa improve
17- to equal rights for same sex couples, [changes] **setting** up the Disability Rights Commission,
18- violence, changes that [changes] **will never be reflected** in an opinion poll, rarely hit a head
19- reflected in an opinion poll, [changes will] rarely **hit** a headline, rarely be heard outside thos
20- headline, rarely be heard outside those who **benefit** from it, in a world where a grain or sens
21- hievements - that's the difference you have made to Britain. So why is it so tough? Govern

In this microexigence, Blair sustains that there are social changes reaching British society that, according to him, his party is unleashing. He puts it emphasizing collectiveness through the participant *we* (an inclusive participant) and *our government* as Actors in clauses 01, 02, 03, 04, 05, 08, 11, and 12 (corresponding 38.09% of the

material clauses); He also uses *you* as Actor in clauses 07, 10, 13, 15, and 21, attributing to his audience (party members, government members) the merit for the changes. The use of this *you*, in my understanding, is rhetorical (persuasive), as a way of recognizing his partners' contribution (valorizing them and their participation).

It can also be said that he used an implicit *you* where the process *add* is in the imperative form, conveying idea of amount of doings. Out of the 22 material processes, 11 refer, in a positive way, directly to the party and government: *are making* (01), *have recruited* (02), *have increased* (03), *will recruit* (04), *are beginning to reward* (05), *will be completing* (08), *achieved* (11), *is growing* (12), *is leading* (13), *has just helped broker* (15), *have made* (22). These positive references represent 50% of the material processes in the microexigence. There are other four indirect references to the government where the Actors are not *we*, *you*, *our government*, *your government*, but the Actors are part of the deeds, the achievements of the government: *they [the staff] do* (06), *\$70 billion [...] committed* (14), and *[the deal] will give* (16).

In clauses 18, 19, and 20, Blair inserts a criticism about the way the media sees and depicts his government's doings, that is, the media tends to bend to issues that generate sensational articles and omits real changes in people's lives.

5.1.3.2 Relational Clauses

The relational clauses encountered in the microexigence are the following ten ones, which comprise 28.57% of the 35 clauses detected.

- 23-** to a quarter and falling fast. That's [set of results achieved] the difference we are making in this country
24- making in this country. And most of all, we should be proud of every single teacher, doctor,
25- ning to reward properly the staff we already have for the superb job they do. Add to that our
26- peers. Never again in Britain will someone have the right to make laws which affect the live
27- solely because their ancestor was a duke, an earl or a viscount. Add to that what we achieve
28- n Ireland. And let none of us forget, it is your Government that even in harsher economic ti
29- mountain of genuine achievements –that's [set of results mentioned before] the difference you have made to Britain.

30- increased public service pay. It [set of achievements] **means** we will recruit the thousands
 31- thousands of extra staff we need but it [set of achievements] also **means** we are beginning to
 32- a world where a grain of sensation gets (generates) more attention than a mountain of genu

In clause 23, the Carrier *that* is replacing all the claimed results mentioned in the microexigence, which Blair equals to the Value *difference*. It seems that for him the meaning of *difference* and what they do are equivalent. The relation that Blair establishes here is well explained by Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p. 213): “In ‘relational’ clauses, there are two parts to the ‘being’: something is said to ‘be’ something else. In other words, a relationship of being is set up between two inherent participants – two ‘be-ers’”.

In clauses 24 and 25, the Carrier *we*, including the party, government and Britain, proposes valorization to the public servants, using the Attribute *proud* and the Possession *staff*. In clause 25, the Possessor *we* and the process *have* denotes an idea of difference in relation to previous government; it is strengthened by the adverb *already*.

Clauses 26 and 27 are part of a reference to an implied-audience, the British Aristocracy (peerage) and their hereditary right of being part of the House of Commons. In clause 26, *someone* is the Possessor and *the right to make laws* the Possession; it is also a clause containing a process (**have**) in the negative form (*never*) and in the future tense (*will*), with which Blair assumes and tries to transmit the idea that the Labour Party is making the difference in the present and influencing the future.

In clauses 30 and 31, *it* is representing a set of actions and ideas implemented by the government. The process *means* used with the Carrier *it*, in those two clauses, can signify according to TheFreeDictionary *to have as a logical consequence*. Therefore, for Blair an inevitable result of their doings. It is, I suggest, the kind of relation Blair wished his audience established, that is, that he and his partners have achieved palpable results, which he states in the two projected clauses: *we will recruit the thousands* and *we are beginning to reward*.

5.1.3.3 Mental Clauses

In this microexigence Blair uses three mental clauses, representing 8.57% of the recurrences, listed and discussed below.

32- will recruit the thousands of extra staff we need but it also means we are beginning to rewar
33- Ireland. And let none of us forget, it is your Government that even in harsher economic tim
34- , rarely hit a headline, [changes will] rarely **be heard** outside [by] those who benefit from it

These three clauses present inclusive participants where Blair reinforces a collective demand, but with a slight peculiarity. In clause 32, the Senser *we* is much more inclusive (involving Britain) than the Senser in clause 33, *none of us*, which, I suppose, refers more specifically to members of the party and government. The second is more emphatic, it reminds the party and government their responsibility.

Clause 34 is part of the criticism about the way the media is acting in relation to the government's doings and challenges that he, his party, and his government overcame. For him the media has been biased when not covering changes benefiting people. The clause is in the passive voice, I understand, in order to highlight the implicit Phenomenon *changes*, and the process *been heard*.

5.1.3.4 Existential Clauses

There is only one existential clause in the microexigence, encompassing 2.85% of the 35 clauses detected.

35- rules on Party funding. And **there is** one piece of unfinished business which we will soon be

This existential clause brings into the setting the ongoing discussion about *the abolition of the remaining hereditary peers*. The Existent *one piece of unfinished business* is how Blair personalizes this historical practice in the UK. The Existent denotes the idea that some action against that hereditary practice is in course. This clause starts an address to an implied audience as I discussed in the relational processes

before, people that are targeted deliberately and indirectly by the rhetor's address.

As it was seen, in this microexigence, Blair tried to show the results his party has achieved during the Labour's government and put the party, in a predominantly material microexigence, as a party of change, influencing ordinary people's lives, trying to make his audience infer that the Labour government is the right option.

Next, I discuss the microexigence number 12 in the sequence of the speech and the sixth in the rank of importance.

5.1.4 Microexigence: The necessity of renewal in the party not to recur the old Labour ups and downs

In this topic, I discuss the microexigence that occupies the sixth place in the rank of importance in which Blair used 285 words, representing 4.93% of the speech.

In this microexigence, Blair reaffirms the New Labour's necessity of going on with renewal. He starts pointing out his party's deficiencies, and the danger of repeating the old Labour recurrent ups and downs.

This is a microexigence of survival, of new attitudes by the party's members and the government, and the right message had to be sent. Concerning the right message to be sent, Fairclough (2000, p. 03) states that "the language which politicians use 'sends messages' to the public [...and] the language has to be tightly monitored to make sure

Type of process	Number of processes	Percentage
Material	15	38.46
Relational	13	33.33
Mental	02	5.12
Verbal	08	20.51
Behavioural	00	0.0
Existential	01	2.56
	39	

Table 05 – Number and percentage of process types

that it sends the ‘right message’, [...]”. In sending the right message, the macroexigence: to cease the political turmoil he was living, could be fulfilled.

In addition, the issue he treats in this topic, it seems to me, is directed to a rhetorical audience, since the issue also instigates non-accommodation, when he uses expressions as “We fold up” (line 14) and “We return to a comfort zone” (line 15), to deal with the recurrent party’s behavior.

Next I present and discuss the five types of processes and their respective participants I detected in this microexigence.

5.1.4.1 Material Clauses

The Table 05, seen before, shows that material processes are the most recurrent in this microexigence, appearing fifteen times, 38.46% of all processes. These are the material clauses I encountered in the microexigence:

- 01- original Conference title read "Fairness For All". We changed it to "A Future Fair For All"
- 02- where we are today and why. Everything we have done has led up to this moment. To bring
- 03- d up to this moment.[we]To bring new hope and opportunity to the lives of all our citizens
- 04- all our citizens we always knew we would have to do something that Labour Governments
- 05- to do something that Labour Governments have never **succeeded** in before - to renew in I
- 06- have never succeeded in before - [we] to renew in power, as we renewed to achieve power.
- 07- in before - to renew in power, as we renewed to achieve power. People ask me if I am surpr
- 08- s have got so tough. I say I am surprised it has taken so long. Why? I've been trying to say
- 09- never quite found the words. But now I've hit the rough patch, its time to try again. Up to
- 10- the rough patch, its time [we] to try again. Up to now there has been a ritual to Labour Gov
- 11- Government has been a spasmodic interval punctuating otherwise unbroken Conservative
- 12- ntentioned pressure group. We fight injustice. We argue our causes. But our psychology
- 13- the grievance. So, after a time, after we have righted the most obvious wrongs of the Cons
- 14- ongs of the Conservatives, we fold up. We return to our comfort. Then came New Labour.
- 15- , the Conservatives, we fold up. We return to our comfort zone. Then came New Labour.

Concerning these material processes, I judged worth mentioning that:

Firstly, Blair uses the participant *I*, line 09, as if he were the one having the answers for and truths about the party. He is the doer bringing out the situation of the Labour Party and bringing out solutions too.

Secondly, he is more modest, avoiding the use of *I*, when appointing Actors to

the party's positive achievements, what can be verified when, in relation to the participant *we* as party, he uses processes such as **changed** (01), **have done** (02), **to bring** (03), **have, to do** (04), **renewed** (07), **fight** (12), and **have righted** (13). This shift of treatment, encompassing the party, in my point of view, is part of the rhetorical strategy to try to achieve his goals, that is, to modify his political image.

Thirdly, he also uses material processes to point out some questionable doings of the party like *Labour Government have never succeeded* - in relation to old Labour (line 05), *we fold up* (line 14), *we return to our comfort zone* (15). As I said in the Contextualization of the Data, Blair is one of the supporters of the Third Way and his aim is to continue the modernization of his party in order to fit it with the Third Way ideas. Thus, the speech also intends to strengthen his views about the Third Way and to convince contrary minds that the Third Way means and promotes renewal.

5.1.4.2 Relational Clauses

The relational clauses encountered in the microexigence are the following thirteen (13), which encompass 33.33% of the clauses detected in the whole microexigence.

- 16- Future Fair For All". Let us **be** absolutely clear about where we are today and why. Ever
 17- solutely clear about where we **are** today and why. Everything we have done has led up to
 18- ve power. People ask me if I **am** surprised that things have go so tough. I say I am surprised
 19- People ask me if I am surprised that things **have got** so tough. I say I am surprised it has t
 20- gs have got so tough. I say I **am** surprised it has taken so long. Why? I've been trying to
 21- ent before next outbreak of euphoria. We've **been** far better at defeating ourselves than the
 22- etter at defeating ourselves than the Tories **have ever been**. Apart from 1974-79, which was
 23- Apart from 1974-79, which [Labour Government] **was** fragile from the first, each Labour
 24- agile from the first, each Labour Government **has been** a spasmodic interval punctuating
 25- rule. For too many of our 100 years we **have been** a well-intentioned pressure group. We
 26- We argue our causes. But our psychology **has been** that of people who know, deep down,
 someone else is the governing party ...
 27- of people who know, deep down, someone else **is** the governing party and we are the ones
 28- is the governing party and we **are** the ones championing the grievance. So, after a ti

Blair admits that the materialization of renewal is taking much more time than he

expected (line 08 of the material processes discussed before). Then, the clause (06 of the material processes discussed before) *to renew in power, as we renewed to achieve power* plays the role of a trigger for retrieval of positive actions that led them to power, and of retrieval of characteristics that the party should not perpetuate. To show this characterization of the party, then, he brought relational processes into his speech.

An interesting characteristic in this microexigence regarding the relational processes Blair used, in order to try to impact his audience (seen as *rhetorical audience* as I stated before) towards a better commitment to the New Labour scope, is the use of processes indicating extension from the past to the present (present perfect tense). They also show the style of his party along the years, a kind of style without steadfastness, which Blair qualifies as “spasmodic interval” (line 24). Observe clauses 21, 24, 25 and 26, and their respective processes: **‘ve been, has been, have been, and has been**. With these processes (indicating frequency) and the Possessors and Possessions, he creates an image of the party, that is, he traces the party’s attitudes along the years up to the present. Labour is characterized as *spasmodic interval* (24), *well-intentioned pressure group* (25), *better at defeating ourselves* (21), *that of people who [...] someone else is the governing party* (27), characteristics he is fighting to change.

5.1.4.3 Mental Clauses

The two mental clauses bellow represent 5.12% out of a total of 39 clauses in the microexigence.

29- to the lives of all our citizens we always **knew** we would have to do something that Labour
30- our psychology has been that of people who [people] **know**, deep down, someone else is th

The processes used in these two clauses, **knew** and **know**, convey consciousness of what the party is, a consciousness, as clause 29 shows, that is not only of Blair, but it is also of his audience, his party members, and his government. In the second clause

(30), he represents the party with the participant *people* as a party that absorbed the idea of being in the opposition, and sometimes does not play its role as it should when in power. It is what I can infer by the context the clause 30 is inserted in:

But our psychology has been that of people who know, deep down, someone else is the governing party and we are the ones championing the grievance. So, after a time, after we have righted the most obvious wrongs of the Conservatives, we fold up. We return to our comfort zone.

5.1.4.4 Verbal Clauses

The verbal clauses detected in the microexigence are the following. They encompass twenty point fifty-one per cent (20.51%) of all the 39 clauses encountered.

31- modern world. The original Conference title **read** "Fairness For All". We changed it to "A F
32- as we renew to achieve power. People **ask** me if I am surprised that things have got so tough
33- surprised that things have got so tough. I **say** I am surprised it has taken so long. Why? I've
34- has taken so long. Why? I've been trying to say this to you for the best part of 10 years bu
35- government. Tough times. Party **accuses** leadership of betrayal. Leadership of betrayal.
36- betrayal. Leadership **accuses** Party of ingratitude. Disillusion. Defeat. Long period of Tory
37- We fight injustice. We **argue** our causes. But our psychology has been that of people who
38- t of 10 years but I never quite **found** the words. But now I've hit the rough patch, its time

In clause 31, the process *read* is in relation to the participant *The original Conference title*. Blair is showing that the conference title was replaced in order to better fit with the party's perspectives for the conference. In clause 32, the process *ask* (meaning inquiring, demanding, seeking for information - <http://www.thefreedictionary.com>) is used with the Sayer *people*, an indefinite participant. Who are these people? Imaginary individuals that only the rhetor knows or is supposing to know, possibly including some of Blair's immediate audience. It sounds as if Blair intended to pass on the idea that there were people interested in his opinions and that he had something to answer and reflect on, and that he was open to discussion.

In clauses 33 and 34, Blair presents himself as the Sayer, the one who has answers to give. In clause 35, the entity *Party* (a metaphor, since the party are individuals) is the

Sayer and *leadership* the Receiver. In clause 36, the participants are the same as in clause 35 but in an inverted order. Blair, in using the verb *accuses* in the two clauses (which encompass a negative connotation) deals with the tone of voice of these two entities. Thefreedictionary.com defines the verb **accuse** as *blame for, make a claim of wrongdoing or misbehavior against*; a word that is synonymous with verbs like *calumniate, defame, denigrate*, meanings that by extension, in lower or higher level, are also carried by the verb *accuse*. This process, *accuses*, indicates lack of union, discordance; then, Blair is trying to unite the party through his speech. If he could achieve results about his attempts at reconciliation and unity, it would certainly help him with his political intentions of having his deeds recognized, and to counterbalance some the criticism he was receiving in the party.

In clause 37, Blair says that the party has what to say, and for this he uses the participant *we* and the process *argue*. In this case the Sayer is an inclusive *we* involving both the party and the leadership.

Regarding clause 38, it is interesting to notice that it is not *we that never quite found the words* to explain the psychology of the Labour Party but the participant *I* (Blair). Again he puts himself as the one having the answers.

5.1.4.5 Existential Clauses

The microexigence presents the following existential clause, comprising 2.56% of the thirty-nine clauses detected, which I discuss below.

39- its time to try again. Up to now **there has been** a ritual to Labour Governments, Euphoria o

In this clause, Blair shows that the party cultivated (or extended) a characteristic, that is, of lack of union, from the past to the present. Therefore, he attacks this problem

to try to change it, to boost the renewal he sees as necessary. The context below shows it better:

Up to now there has been a ritual to Labour Governments, Euphoria on victory. Hard slog in Government. Tough times. Party accuses leadership of betrayal. Leadership accuses Party of ingratitude. Disillusion. Defeat. Long period of Tory Government before next outbreak of euphoria. We've been far better at defeating ourselves than the Tories have ever been.

In the analysis of this microexigence, I pointed out that Blair tried to instigate his party and partners to renew their strength in order to progress with their objectives because a long period in power tends to quench the political fervor. He needed an audience besides him, therefore he intended to captivate his audience and change it into a rhetorical audience, one that could take his ideas ahead.

Next, I deal with the microexigence number 13 in the sequence of the speech and the fourth in the rank importance.

5.1.5 Microexigence: Tories' excuses for their inertia

In this topic, I analyze the fourth microexigence in the rank of importance with which Blair spent 304 words, representing 5.26% of the whole speech.

This is a microexigence in which relational processes predominate (almost 50% of the cases) as it can be verified in Table 06, below, where Blair strategically and negatively portrays the Tories⁵. Here, Blair laying hold of an *us* versus *them* strategy gives his contribution to maintain his power and his government's power, since power "is not a permanent and undisputed attribute of any one person or social grouping [political parties]" and "those who hold power at a particular moment have to constantly reassert their power" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 68).

⁵ "The word Tories was originally used to describe rural bandits in Ireland. In the 17th century it had become a term applied to monarchists in the House of Commons. By the 18th century the Tories were politicians who favoured royal authority, the established church and who sought to preserve the traditional political structure and opposed parliamentary reform. After 1834 this political group in the House of Commons preferred to use the term Conservative" (<http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/Ptories.htm>).

Type of process	Number of processes	Percentage
Material	15	28.84
Relational	24	46.15
Mental	11	21.15
Verbal	01	1.92
Behavioural	01	1.92
Existential	0	0.0
	52	

Table 06 – Number and percentage of process types

Next, I present and discuss the five types of clauses I found in the microexigence.

5.1.5.1 Material Clauses

These are the fifteen (15) material clauses detected, representing 28.84% of the total of 52 clauses.

01- rn to our comfort zone. Then **came** New Labour. From the outset, our opponents hated and
02- ey believe the Tories have a divine right **to rule** Britain and we are usurpers. They look at th
03- They think we're responsible .And in a sense we are. By [we] **occupying** the centre ground,
04-By occupying the centre ground, by [we] **modernising**, by reaching out beyond our activists,
05- upying the centre ground, by modernising, by [we] **reaching** out beyond our activists, we he
06- ng, by reaching out beyond our activists, we **helped turn** the Tories into a replica of what w
07- Old fashioned. In retreat. When the Tories **lose** an election now anywhere in the country, the
08- No wonder they [the Tories] keep trying **to reinvent** themselves. From cuddly Conservati
09- roblem, it's the second. But one thing they **have succeeded** in. As they always do. Right fr
10- one thing they have succeeded in. As they always **do [succeed]**. Right from the beginning
11- Right from the beginning of New Labour they [Conservatives / Tories] **set up** the eternal
false choice
12- ssive politics. That in Government we either **revert** to the past; or we stand for nothing. Tha
13- revert to the parst; or we **stand for** nothing. That we are either incompetent or compromised
14- ncompetent or compromised. That if policy is **modernised**, belief is betrayed. And it plays t
15- is modernised, belief is betrayed. And it **plays** to our own fears. Yes, New Labour a clever

There are six direct references to the Tories using the participants *Tories*, *Conservatives* and *They* as doers, as protagonists, references that convey the meaning of disdain (lines 02, 07, 08, 09, 10, and 11) revealing that the Conservatives (the same as Tories) were not seriously taken into account by Blair and the Labour Party. Clear examples of this disdain are clauses 09 and 10 - *they have succeeded in /As they always do [succeed]* - clauses that are better understood in their contexts in the speech (below), and, then, it is possible to notice that Blair was ironically speaking:

But one thing they have succeeded in. As they always do. Right from the beginning of New Labour they set up the eternal false choice of progressive politics. That in Government we either revert to the past; or we stand for nothing.

Yet, in clauses 12 and 13, the participant *we* is an inclusive one, where Blair gives voice to the Tories and reproduces their ideas, with a *we* referring both to the Tories and to any government, independently of the party. He does not include himself and his party and government in that *we*, I think, but in a different *we*, not associated to the opponents, found in lines 03, 04, 05, and 06. Therefore, the material clauses in this exigence, when referring directly to the Tories, convey a negative connotation, but a positive one, in the cases that Blair refers to himself, his party, and his government, when he contrasts the New Labour to the Tories (lines 03, 04, 05, 06) what can be verified in the use of the processes *occupying*, *modernizing reaching*, and *helped turn*.

5.1.5.2 Relational Clauses

Relational clauses are the most recurrent ones within this microexigence, twenty-four of them (24) representing 46.15%.

16- hated and feared us. They believe [that] the Tories **have** a divine right to rule Britain and we
 17- right to rule Britain and we **are** usurpers. They look at their own Party and feel contempt.
 18- They think we're responsible .And in a sense we are. By occupying the centre ground, by
 19- esponsible. And in a sense we **are**. By occupying the centre ground, by modernizing, by re
 20- ies into a replica of what we **used to be**. A narrow base. Obsessed about the wrong things.
 21- tion now anywhere in the country, they say it's [anywhere in the country (is)] not their
 natural territory. Like Scotland I
 22- s not their natural territory. Like Scotland **is** not natural Tory territory. Like Wales is not n
 23- nd is not natural Tory territory. Like Wales **is** not natural Tory territory. Like the North o
 24- Tory territory. Like the North of England **is** not natural Tory territory. Like the big cities are
 25- erritory. Like the big cities **are** not natural Tory territory. Like Harwich, Hastings and Hove
 26- ke Harwich, Hastings and Hove **aren't** natural Tory territory. If I was a Conservative I wou
 27- ove aren't natural Tory territory. If I **was** a Conservative I would be wondering where on ea
 28- I would be wondering where on earth **is** our natural territory. We always knew the Tories n
 29- territory. We always knew the Tories didn't **have** a heart. Their problem now is they haven't
 30- ories didn't have a heart. Their problem now **is** they haven't got a heartland. No wonder the
 31- have a heart. Their problem now is they [Tories] **haven't got** a heartland. No wonder they
 32- servatives. When are they going to realise it's not the first word that's the problem, it's the
 33- going to realise it's not the first word that's the problem, it's the second. But one thing they
 34- t's not the first word that's the problem, it's the second. But one thing they have succeed
 35- we stand for nothing. That we **are** either incompetent or compromised. That if policy is mo
 36- yes, New Labour **[is]** a clever piece of marketing, good at winning elections, but
 37- clever piece of marketing, [New Labour **is]** good at winning elections, but hollow where the

38- marketing, good at winning elections, but [New Labour is] hollow where the heart should be
39- hollow where the heart should be. New Labour for me was never a departure from belief

Within the twenty-four clauses, nine of them present processes establishing an emphatic negative relation (with the presence of the adverb *not*) between the Carrier and or Possessor and the Attribute and or Possession, which are clauses 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 29, and 31. In clauses 17, 18, and 35 Blair depicts, according to his understanding and convenience, the Tories' impressions about the Labour Party. Their impressions about the Labour Party are represented by the Carrier *we* and the Attributes *usurpers* (17), *responsible* (18), *incompetent*, or *compromised* (35). In clause 16 (*the Tories have a divine right to rule*), he points out the Tories as pretentious and arrogant politicians. He uses the process **have** (line 16), and with it, he refers to the Tories, in an ironic way, as Possessors (owners) of divinity, as being above all. When he presents his point of view regarding the Labour Party, the connotation is positive (lines 36, 37). Thus, it seems to be an intention of diminishing his opponents' political capacity.

In clauses 32 and 34 Blair uses again the expletive *it* as Carrier, I understand, to highlight the expression *the first word* and *the second*, a reference to the Conservatives as the context of the clauses reveals:

No wonder they keep trying to reinvent themselves. From cuddly Conservatives to compassionate Conservatives to caring Conservatives. When are they going to realise it's not the first word that's the problem, it's the second [Conservatives].

5.1.5.3 Mental Clauses

Eleven mental processes were used in the microexigence, holding 21.15% out of a total of fifty-two (52) clauses, half of the relational clauses analyzed previously.

40- e New Labour. From the outset, our opponents **hated** and feared us. They believe the Tories
41- e New Labour. From the outset, our opponents hated and **feared** us. They believe the Tories
42- hated and feared us. They believe [that] the Tories have a divine right to rule Britain and we
43- rule Britain and we are usurpers. They look at their own Party and [they] **feel** contempt. And
44- their own Party and feel contempt. And they **hate** us even more because they think we're
45- ate us even more because they **think** we're responsible. And in a sense we are. By occupyin
46- ory. If I was a Conservative I would be **wondering** where on earth is our natural territory

47- on earth is our natural territory. We always **knew** the Tories didn't have a heart. Their proble
 48- they haven't got a heartland. [you] No **wonder** they [Tories] keep trying to reinvent themsel
 49- ring Conservatives. When are they going **to realise** it's not the first word that's the problem,
 50- omised. That if policy is modernised, belief is betrayed. And it plays to our own fears. Yes

In the clauses above, Blair states or tries to show an understanding of the Tories' mind, including their way of seeing the Labour Party, and tries to pass it to his audience.

This can be seen in clauses 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46 and 47.

The participants that Blair chose to use with the mental processes also demonstrate his emphasis in this microexigence on the entity *them*, one of the sides of the dichotomy *us* versus *them: our opponents* is used twice and *they* is used five times; and the majority of the processes used with these participants denote certainty.

5.1.5.4 Verbal Clauses

I detected only the following verbal clause in the microexigence. This clause represents 1.92% of the 52 encountered in the microexigence.

51- election now anywhere in the country, they say it's not their natural territory. Like Scotland

This clause 51 is a reference to the Tories' argumentations and excuses when they do not succeed in their electoral goals. Here Blair gives an indirect voice to the Tories and attributes to them the responsibility for their results, that is, he puts them admitting that they have not been able to attract people to their side and that they have not been able to change the situation in regions of non-sympathizers. For me, the Verbiage of the clause, *it's not their natural territory*, suggests it.

5.1.5.5 Behavioural Clauses

The microexigence also presents only one behavioural process, holding 1.92% of the 52 clauses detected in the whole microexigence.

52- rule Britain and we are usurpers. They **look** at their own Party and feel contempt. And they

Here, he gives a verdict, presents a conclusion concerning the Tories and their procedures (*They look at their own Party*), elaborations and accommodation, a party that is stagnated (*and feels[s] contempt*). The Actor *They*, I suggest, is part of the persuasive political discourse *us* versus *them* politicians lay hold of to promote their parties and their policies. Another interesting point to be observed in the use of the verb *look* is that it is less mental than the verb *see*. *See* is a process of thinking, reasoning and *look* a process of physical contemplation, I could say of inertia. Blair puts the Conservatives as a party unable to think how to change their state of stagnation.

The microexigence analyzed shows that Blair tried to portray the Conservatives (the Tories) as a party not to be taken seriously. He dealt with the opposition using a tone of disdain and mockery. The dichotomy *us* versus *them* reveals his political intention of presenting himself and his party as the right alternative. Thus, again the Labour Party is put as the best option.

In the next topic, I present the analysis for the microexigence number 14 in the sequence of the speech and the first one in the rank of importance.

5.1.6 Microexigence: Describing and defending the New Labour - pushing it to unification

In this topic I analyze the microexigence to which Blair spent 386 words (6.68% of the whole speech), which is the 1st in the rank of importance.

This microexigence encompasses 50 clauses. It is characterized by a balanced presence of material and relational processes: twenty-four (23) material processes, and twenty-three (23) relational processes. That means that in pushing the party to unification, Blair tries to construct an image of a party of doing, a party of possession,

and with specific characteristics. The other process types in the microexigence are: two (02) mental, and two (02) verbal.

Twenty of the fifty clauses refer to the participant *we* with which Blair tries to pass the concept of a collective party, of a united group, or even tries to push his party to possess this characteristic, what is evidenced in line 02 by the expression *collective strength*.

Type of process	Number of processes	Percentage
Material	23	46.0
Relational	23	46.0
Mental	02	4.0
Verbal	02	4.0
Behavioural	00	2.0
Existential	00	0.0
	50	

Table 07 – Number and percentage of process types

Following I present and discuss the four types of processes detected in this microexigence.

5.1.6.1 Material Clauses

These are the twenty-three (23) material clauses I encountered in the microexigence, which cover 46% of a total of fifty (50) clauses.

01- Where through solidarity we build a society in which collective strength compensates for in
 02- we build a society in which collective strength compensates for individual weakness. Wher
 03- Where privilege cannot just **be handed down** from generation to generation but success ha
 04- from generation to generation but success has to be earned on merit. Where self respect an
 05 yours. They are the key. But the door they [values] **must unlock** is the door to the future. Be
 06- the door to the future. Because values not **put to work** in the real world are mere words, ly
 07- e words, lying idle, there to console us but [values] not **to change** lives for the better. When
 08- When almost 10 years ago we ditched the old Clause IV, we didn't do it just to ditch natinal
 09- ditched the old Clause IV, we didn't do it just to ditch nationalisation. The new Clause IV
 10- we didn't do it just [we] **to ditch** nationalisation. The new Clause IV was a fundamental rest
 11- ength of our common endeavour we achieve more than we achieve alone... a community in
 12- ndeavour we achieve more than we **achieve** alone.... a community in which power, wealth
 13- But the policies are open to change. We made the ends sacrosanct. We put the means up for
 14-to change. We made the ends sacrosanct. We put the means up for discussion so that each ti
 15- discussion so that each time could find the right expression for values that are for all time.
 16- In the first phase of our transformation, we took the millstones off our neck. We became a
 17- efence, concerned on law and order. And we won power. And then in our first term we re

18- first term we recovered the credibility [we] **to govern**. We laid foundations. But now, is wh
 19- we won power. And then in our first term **we recovered** the credibility to govern. We laid
 20- we recovered the credibility to govern. **We laid** foundations. But now, is where we show 1
 21- etter Labour Government than those that [LG] **went** before us, but whether we usher in a p
 22- vernment than those that went before us, but whether **we usher** in a political era where prog
 23- historic realignment of the political forces **shaping** our country and the wider world. Here

The material clauses hold the majority (14 recurrences) of 20 *Wes* Blair used in the whole microexigence. The fourteen *Wes* used with the material processes carry on an idea of collectiveness, inclusiveness, of a party united that reached the present stage together, overcoming difficulties, and weaknesses.

Blair puts the power of collectiveness in clause 02: “*Collective strength compensates for individual weakness*”, where the process *compensates* materializes and brings out the result of collectiveness. It also suggests that, for him, collectiveness is worth being emphasized.

Blair structures this idea of Labour Party’s collectiveness with a sequence of material processes carried out by the participant *we*: *build* (01), *ditched* (08 and 10), *do* (09), *achieve* (11 and 12), *made* (13), *put* (14), *took* (16), *won* (17), *to govern* (18), *recovered* (19), *laid* (20), *usher* (22), denoting physical labor, physical enterprise, and hard work as if these processes materialized the name of the party. Another characteristic of these clauses is certainty. There is almost no incertitude among the material clauses, except in line 22 – *whether we usher...*

Yet, the idea of collectiveness is reinforced when a part of Clause IV (the Labour Party’s scope statement that was reformulated under the influence of Tony Blair) is quoted: “*Our common endeavour we achieve more than we achieve alone*”. Here, I understand, the participant *we* and the process *achieve*, in the simple present, not in the past or future tense, come up again with certainty and perennial meanings, two important features in Blair’s attempt to create his collective ideal for the party. He tries to construct the idea that the party is well-centered in its purpose and that the party is

progressing steadily. If the audience bought this idea of a party that is succeeding, it could also buy the implied idea that the leader of the party, Blair, has a part in the party's success. It could be politically positive for him.

He also refers to values shared by the Labour Party, using the processes *must unlock, put to work* (lines 05, 06), processes that denote liberation, furtherance.

These material utterances by Blair are part of a discourse of construction or reinforcement of a rhetorical audience that would help to diminish the negative repercussions of his government turmoil.

5.1.6.2 Relational Clauses

The relational clauses are twenty-three, covering 46% of all processes in the microexigence. They reveal Blair's characterization of and qualification of the participants he presents in the microexigence in order to describe, defend and push the party ahead.

24- the heart should be. New Labour for me **was** never a departure from belief. It is my belief
 25- for me was never a departure from belief. It [New Labour] **is** my belief. The just society in
 26- ief. The just society in which each person **is** a full and equal citizen of our land, irrespective
 27- Where self respect and respect for others **is** the hallmark of our communities and where th
 28- ere the fight against poverty and oppression **is** Britain's mission in the wider world. These
 29- ion in the wider world. These **are** my values and yours. They are the key. But the door they
 30- are my values and yours. They [my values and yours] **are** the key. But the door they must
 31- are the key. But the door they [values] **must unlock** **is** the door to the future. Because values
 32- values not put to work in the real world **are** mere words, lying idle, there to console us, but
 33- ut to work in the real world are mere words, lying idle, there to console us but not to change
 34- a community, in which power, wealth and opportunity **are** in the hands of the many not the
 35- tch nationalisation. The new Clause IV **was** a fundamental restatement of ideology. "but the
 36- of the many not the few." From now on, we said: we **stand for** certain values. The values a
 37- or certain values. The values **are** unchangeable. But the policies are open to change. We m
 38- alues are unchangeable. But the policies **are** open to change. We made the ends sacrosanct.
 39- have the mettle [we] not just **to be** a longer or even a better Labour Government than those
 40- expression for values that [values] **are** for all time. In the first phase of our transformation,
 41- millstones off our neck. We **became** a Party of economic competence strong on defence,
 42- We laid foundations. But now, [in laying foundations] **is** where we show whether we have
 the mettle not
 43- tions. But now, is where we show whether we **have** the mettle not just to be a longer or even
 44- n a political era where progressive politics **is** to the 21st century what conservative politics
 45- 21st century what conservative politics **was** to the 20th. I do not just want an historic third
 46- ot just want an historic third term. Our aim **must be** an historic realignment of the political

Again certainty is clearly present. In lines 26, 27 and 28 Blair mentions the values on which, he understands, his party and his government are based, where the process *is* brings forth a relation that can semantically be interpreted as a perennial situation, that is, of lasting endurance. And in clauses 30, 32, 37, and 40, the processes *are* and *is*, linking the participants *they* and *values* to the Identifiers *the key* (line 30) and *mere words* (line 32), to the Attributes *unchangeable* (line 37) and *for all time* (line 40), constitute relations, I understand, with which Blair tries to create a positive image of his party and government, presenting it as the answer to British people's problems.

Yet, another observation of mine is that the idea and ideal of collectiveness is also present in the relational clauses, since four *we*s (lines 36, 39, 41, and 43) and the participant *Our aim* (line 46) can be found; and, in line 29, the Carrier *these* and the Attribute *my values and yours* highlight the collective ideal.

5.1.6.3 Mental Clauses

The microexigence encompasses the following mental clauses corresponding to 4% of the fifty (50) clauses found in the microexigence.

47- politics was to the 20th. I do not just **want** an historic third term. Our aim must be an histori
48- e words, lying idle, there [values] **to console** us but not to change lives for the better. When

In a microexigence with 50 processes being analyzed, only *want* and *to console* appear as mental processes. *Want* is used with the Senser *I* (Blair), which could mean that Blair in his pushing the Labour Party to unification put himself as the thinker. At this very moment, it is he who senses and not the party as a whole. On the other hand, a higher recurrence of mental processes in the microexigence could pass on the idea of non-effectiveness, because Sensers are not changers in fact. Sensers deal more with projections (projection in this case means ideas to be implemented) than with real actions.

In clause 48, Blair tries to show to the party that to have values, to have good ideas is not enough because what really makes the difference in people's lives are concrete actions and the party and the government should promote them.

5.1.6.4 Verbal Clauses

These are the verbal clauses I could detect in the microexigence, representing 4% of the whole processes.

49- of the many not the few." From now on, we said: we stand for certain values. The values are **50-** But now, is where we show whether we have the mettle not just to be a longer or even a bett

The process *said* (clause 49) is used in this clause in a direct speech, laying, clearly, responsibility upon the one to whom the quoted utterance is attributed. This kind of direct speech may be seen as a way of demanding of its author the accomplishment of the utterance; that is, in this case, the collectivity, all who are with Blair in the immediate audience and non-immediate audience are being charged on and urged to go together. *We said* is an expression of retrieval, calling for responsibility, reminding Sayers of what they once stated.

Show (clause 50) is a process defined by TheFreeDictionary.com as *to demonstrate by reasoning or procedure; inform or prove to*. Thus, I understand, that, here, Blair struggles with, instigates his party and government to be engaged in pushing their objectives. Someone that shows something is invested of the proper knowledge and is supposed to have the means to perform the show. He is also inviting his colleagues to use their capacity in favor of their cause.

In the analysis of this microexigence, I showed that Blair dedicated the largest space of his speech for describe and defend his party and try to unite it in the moment of suspicion Blair was living. To try to achieve his objectives, when discussing the exigence, he used especially material and relational processes to depict the party he

helped to construct, putting it as a party of doing and of positive characteristics.

In this chapter, I presented and analyzed six of the eleven microexigences I considered the most important ones in the speech. I dealt with 248 clauses which revealed that material processes (104 of them) were more used than the other process types: relational (85), mental (33), verbal (21), behavioural (03), and existential (02). It demonstrates that Blair's choice was to portray the participants mainly as doers. The most recurrent participants in the six microexigences were *we* (63 recurrences) and *I* (33 recurrences), both referring to Blair and his partners. More concise considerations and interpretations about the main participants and the most recurrent process types in the microexigences discussed in this chapter appear in the end of the next chapter (VI), in the topic Final Considerations about the Eleven Microexigences (page 113), where I consider the numbers of the eleven microexigences together. In the next chapter, I analyze the other five microexigences of the group.

CHAPTER VI

ANALYZING THE MICROEXIGENCES II

In this chapter, I continue the analysis of the eleven main microexigences as I stated in the previous chapter, and go on pursuing the answers to the questions: What are the transitivity choices that Blair made in the speech when dealing with the microexigences in order to try to achieve his intentions? What does the analysis, based on transitivity and on Fairclough's notions of language as an element of social practice, reveal in terms of political intentions in Blair's speech?

6.1 Transitivity analysis of the microexigences II

Thus, the microexigences to be analyzed, revealing Blair's transitivity choices, in this chapter are: **Time for the Labour Party renewal; Barriers are broken down - Britain is going forward – exhibiting results; Comparing Tories and Lib Dems to the Labour Party when facing big challenges; Reaching the unfortunate ones through fair policies – a challenge in comparison with wealthy people; Change for an inclusive public service**

6.1.1 Microexigence: Time for the Labour Party Renewal

In this topic, I analyze the microexigence number 15 in the sequence of the speech with which Blair spent 371 words (6.42% of the whole text) and the 2nd in the rank of importance.

This is also a microexigence in which material processes prevail. Of 59 clauses, 27 are material. I also encountered 13 relational, 10 mental, and 09 verbal clauses.

Type of process	Number of processes	Percentage
Material	27	45.76
Relational	13	22.03
Mental	10	16.66
Verbal	09	15.23
Behavioural	00	0.0
Existential	00	0.0
	59	

Table 08 – Number and percentage of process types

In my point of view, the aim of this microexigence is to deal with the necessity of renewal in the party and to convince the society that it will be benefited by this renewal.

Next, I discuss the four process types encountered in this microexigence.

6.1.1.1 Material Clauses

There are 27 material clauses in the microexigence, embracing 45.76 of the 59 clauses, the double of the second most recurrent, the relational clauses.

- 01- a fantastic opportunity, [we] to **use** or to lose. Yes, this is a testing time. But it is a test not
- 02- a fantastic opportunity, to use or [we] **to lose**. Yes, this is a testing time. But it is a test not
- 03- want to say: I know what I'm **doing**. Just let me get on with it."Then she said: "You want to
- 04- what I'm doing. Just let me **get** on with it." Then she said: "You do know what you are doin
- 05- then she said: "You do know what you **are doing** don't you?" It's a fair question. I know th
- 06- I know the old top down approach won't **work** any more. I know I can't say "I am the leader,
- 07- I can't say "I am the leader, [you] **follow** me". Not that that was your strong point anyway.
- 08- oint anyway. Over the coming months, I want our Party **to begin** a new discussion with the
- 09- major policy areas the Government **will publish** a prospectus, discussing the progress we ha
- 10- ish a prospectus, discussing the progress we **have made** and the challenges our country still
- 11- challenges our country still **faces**. We should have the confidence to open up the debate, be
- 12- We should have the confidence [we] **to open up** the debate, be honest about the challenges,
- 13- the debate, be honest about the challenges, [we] **lay out** the real choices. But this must not j
- 14- rty in touch with the people. And so **let us** **make** this the biggest policy consultation ever to
- 15- the biggest policy consultation ever **to have taken place** in this country. The Ministers from
- 16- me down, our MPs out in every constituency **hosting** discussions that engage with the whol
- 17- hosting discussions that [discussions] **engage** with the whole community. So, when begin o
- 18- community. So, when we **begin** our manifesto process, when the policy forum draws our thi
- 19- our manifesto process, when the policy forum **draws** our thinking together, I want it to addr
- 20- I want it to address the big questions, [I want it (the policy forum) to] **engage** with ordinary
- people's hopes and fears
- 21- debate about how we together **build** a future fair for all. Not the daily diet of froth; not turni
- 22- the daily diet of froth; [we] not **turning** serious politics into soap opera, debasing it, turning
- 23- serious politics into soap opera, [policy forum not] **debasing** it, turning it into an endless
- who knew what,
- 24- politics into soap opera, debasing it, [policy forum not] **turning** it into an endless who knew
- 25- knew what, when, as if politicians simply **competed** on villainy. The British people deserve
- 26- about real people. And in the programme we **set out**, let our idealism be undimmed, but let

27- undimmed, but let us show what experience **has taught** it. What have we learnt? That from

The first two clauses with the processes *to use* and *to lose* are used to demonstrate the character of the decision taking place, i.e., or they adopt a new attitude or the result is to be defeated by the opposition. This is an example of a kind of dichotomy (*to use / to lose*) commonly and strategically used by politicians as a way of showing determination, audacity.

Clauses 03, 04, and 05 (part of a quotation) refer to a party's delegate point of view of how Blair depicts himself as a doer. Clauses 06, 07, 08 and 09 are clauses with which Blair starts his idea of renewal. The participant (clause 06) *old top down approach* and the process *won't work*, Blair uses to sustain his idea of renewal. Clause 07, in its turn, presents a process, *follow*, which is part of a projection of a negative verbal clause (*I can't say*), indicating that the action stated there is not intended by the Sayer. In not wanting the demand *follow me* to come true, he intends to cause a good impression on his audience that he is not a self-concerned politician some might think.

Then, in clause 08, he sets the basis for the renewal when he uses the expression: *our party to begin a new discussion*. [*Our*] *party* is the Actor (an Actor denoting collectivity) acting towards a goal: *a new discussion*. Blair wants his party engaged in social renewal and at simultaneously being renewed. But it seems that he does not want to impose any issue (clause 07 had already foretold this). In being open, I understand, his intention is to be seen as a flexible leader and then try to get the support he needs to implement his policies and maintain himself and his party in power.

Ahead Blair uses actions that show how he intends this renewal to occur, starting by the party, going through the government and then targeting the society (clause 15). The following references (with participants and processes) show who and what would be the performers of this renewal:

Clause	Participant	Process
08	our party	to begin
09	the government	will publish
10	We	have made
12	[we]	to open up
13	[we]	lay out
14	us	make
15	the biggest policy consultation	[ever] to have taken place
16	our Mps [out in every constituency]	hosting
17	[discussions]	engage
18	we	begin
19	the policy forum	draws
20	the policy forum	[to] engage
21	we together	build
23	Policy forum	not debasing
24	Policy forum	not turning
26	we	set out

Figure 02 – Performers of the renewal

The participants of the renewal, shown in the Figure 02, are elements that normally are part of politicians' agenda and rhetoric. But politicians have done too little through these participants (for instance, via party, government) and on behalf of, for instance, the country, and the people. In fact, most often these elements are only part of rhetoric, aiming to keep politicians in power, mere weaponry against their opponents.

The idea of collectivity is also present in this microexigence as in others seen before. It can be noticed in the use of the participants *we*, *our party*, *the Government*, *our country*, *us*, *our MPs* in the material clauses 01, 02, 08, 09, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 18, 21, 22, and 26.

6.1.1.2 Relational Clauses

Thirteen are the relational clauses I found in the microexigence, which are analyzed below. These thirteen clauses comprehend 22.03% of all the 59 clauses, representing less than half of the material clauses.

28- and the wider world. Here we **are** poised, 6½ years in, with a fantastic opportunity, to use or **29-** opportunity, to use or to lose. Yes, this [poised moment] **is** a testing time. But it is a test not **30-** se. Yes, this is a testing time. But it [the moment] **is** a test not just of belief but of character.

31- ust of belief but of character. And the time is for renewal, not retreat. A delegate said to me
 32- do know what you are doing don't you?" It's [the previous question] a fair question. I know
 33- more. I know I can't "I am the leader, follow me". I am the leader, follow me". Not that that
 34- the leader, follow me". Not that that was your strong point anyway. Over the coming month
 35- hallenges our country still faces. We should have the confidence to open up the debate, be h
 36- confidence to open up the debate, [we] be honest about the challenges, lay out the real choi
 37- llenges, lay out the real choices. But this must not just be a discussion between us. Because
 38- Government in touch with the Party, we must have a Party in touch with the people. And so
 39- set out, let our idealism be undimmed, but let us show what experience has taught it. What
 40- on villainy. The British people deserve [is worth of] better from the politicians and with
 respect, from pa

Clause 28 presents *we* as a Carrier linked to the Attribute *poised* (here an adjective). The word *poised* can mean: to be in equilibrium, balanced; assured; composed, held balanced or steady in readiness, and has as synonyms words as *assertive, overconfident, self-confident* (<http://dictionary.reference.com>). Blair calls his partners' attention to the situation of inactivity, and overconfidence the party is living, generated by years in power. He tries to push the party to face challenges ahead, which is confirmed, I understand, in clause 29 by the Attribute *testing time*; in clause 30 by the attribute *a test*; in clause 31 by *for renewal*.

Characteristics for the proposed renewal appear in clause 35 where the participant *we* is related to the Possession *confidence*; in clause 36 with the Attribute *honest*; in clause 38 with the Attribute *a party in touch with the people*; and in clause 39, where the idealism of the party is classified by the Attribute *undimmed*, denoting transparency, visibility. Clause 37 also classifies the way this renewal would occur when *this* (the renewal) is related, conditioned to *a discussion between us*. Therefore, to better visualize how Blair tries to construct his own image and the image of his party and his government, observe the following figure:

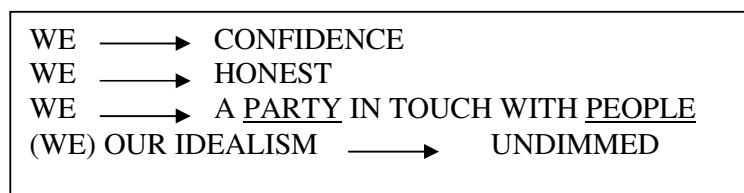


Figure 03 – Party and government image

6.1.1.3 Mental Clauses

I detected ten (10) mental clauses, comprising 16.66%, which are:

41- A delegate said to me last night. "I know what you want really to say", she said: "you want
42- say", she said: "you want to say: I know what I'm doing. Just let me get on with it." Then sh
43- tme get on with it." Then she said: "You do know what you are doing don't you?" It's a fair
44- ou do know what you are doing **don't [know] you?**" It's a fair question. I know the old top d
45- doing don't you?" It's a fair question. I know the old top down approach won't work any mo
46- wn approach won't work any more. I know I can't say "I am the leader, follow me". Not that
47- anyway. Over the coming months, I want our Party to begin a new discussion with the peop
48- discussion between us. Because if we want a Government in touch with the Party, we must
49- thinking together, I want it [manifesto process]to address the big questions, engage with the
50- debasing it, turning it into an endless who (anybody) **knew** what, when, as if politicians
simply compet

Clauses 41, 42, 43, and 44 present processes used by Blair quoting a delegate who talked to him before his speech, where Blair appears as the Senser. In clauses 45, 46, 47, and 49, Blair presents himself as the Senser, determining (according to his view) what is valid or not valid for the party, the government and the nation, and determining how the party has to proceed. The party as the Senser appears only in clause 50. The only mental clause where all his immediate audience is encompassed is clause 48.

6.1.1.4 Verbal Clauses

The verbal clauses ahead are the ones Blair used to give voice to the participants underlined. Therefore, there are nine (09) verbal clauses covering 15.25% of the whole number of clauses detected in the microexigence.

51- is for renewal, not retreat. A delegate said to me last night. "I know what you want really to
52- last night. "I know what you want really **to say**", she said: "you want to say: I know what I'
53- "I know what you want really to say", she said: "you want to say: I know what I'm doing. Ju
54- want really to say", she said: "you want **to say**: I know what I'm doing. Just let me get on w
55- Just let me get on with it." Then she said: "You do know what you are doing don't you?" It'
56- approach won't work any more. I know I can't **say** "I am the leader, follow me". Not that tha
57- our thinking together, I want it to address the big questions, engage with ordinary people's
58- the Government will publish a prospectus, **discussing** the progress we have made an the cha
59- let our idealism be undimmed, but let us **show** what experience has taught it. What have me

Here a delegate gains voice (clauses 51, 52, 54 and 55). The delegate is directly quoted in clauses 52 and 54 and she puts Blair as the Sayer. In clause 56, Blair is the

real Sayer (he is not quoted as a Sayer) where he presents as Verbiage two clauses (“*I am the leader, follow me*”) an attitude he does not allow himself to perform. The expression *I can't say* can be interpreted as an attempt to show unselfishness, maturity and discernment, result of a mind thinking collectively.

In clause 57, *it* (replacing the expression *our manifesto process*) is the Sayer, and *the big questions* the Verbiage. The verb *to address* normally is processed by people and not by a text, in the case, a manifesto. The idea, here, in my point of view, with the personification of the manifesto is that it represents people's voice. In clause 58, where the Sayer is *a prospectus*, the same situation occurs, a prospectus gains voice and has the power to discuss something. In both cases, normally, it could be said: *we [to] address* and *we [are] discussing*.

In giving power to these two inanimate entities (a manifesto and a prospectus), Blair can be trying to point out that his government's procedures are relevant.

Thus, in a nutshell, in this microexigence, Blair proposed a renewal that should start by the party, goes through the government and then targets the society as a way for him and his collaborators to maintain themselves in power.

Next, I present the microexigence number 17 in sequence of the speech and the eighth in the rank of importance.

6.1.2 Microexigence: Barriers are being broken down – Britain is going forward - exhibiting results

This microexigence comprises 274 words (representing 4.72% of the speech) and it is ranked as the eighth in importance in the speech.

Differently from the other microexigences analyzed, existential processes, 18 of them, predominate over the other ones, 09 material, 06 relational, and 04 mental. No

behavioural, and verbal processes were found. The predominance of existential processes occurs due to the fact that Blair gives examples of economical and political barriers they have broken. This is a way of showing and convincing his audience that the UK is progressing with the Labour Party facing the challenges, which he suggests they are doing.

Next I present the discussion of the four types of clauses detected in this microexigence.

Type of process	Number of processes	Percentage
Material	09	24.32
Relational	06	16.21
Mental	04	10.81
Verbal	00	0.0
Behavioural	00	0.0
Existential	18	48.64
	37	

Table 09 – Number and percentage of process types

6.1.2.1 Material Clauses

The material clauses, differently from what occurred in the other microexigences, are the second in recurrence, nine samples, encompassing 24.32%, half of the number of the existential clauses.

01- ture. The fight for a fair future **must begin** with our number one priority education. At every
 02- every age and every stage we are breaking down the barriers that hold people back. At birt
 03- we are breaking down the barriers that [barriers] **hold** people **back**. At birth: a year's matern
 04- every individual [having] the chance **to fulfill** their potential. At every age, at every stage, e
 05- places, child tax credits, and Sure Start⁶ **giving** mothers the confidence and support they nee
 06- tial. At every age, at every stage, [we] **opening** opportunity not for a privileged few but all.
 07- we need a modern industrial base, [we] **doubling** investment in science, leading Europe in t
 08- doubling investment in science, [a modern industrial base] **leading** Europe in the bioscience
 09- biosciences and technology, more high tech **spins off** from universities than ever before - no

In the clauses above, the participants and the processes that Blair chose unfold meaning of intervention and results of interventions corroborating to construct the idea

⁶ Sure Start is a governmental program “to deliver the best start in life for every child, bringing “together, early education, childcare, health and family support” (<http://www.surestart.gov.uk/>).

that they (Blair and his partners) are right in the way they are trying to push Britain ahead.

Clause (01) states a general principle for the party and the government in the form of obligation: *The fight ... **must begin** with ... education*. The second participant of this clause is specifying and characterizing the result of the action to be unfolded. This clause is put as a truth that has to be taken forward.

In clause 02, they (Blair, the party, and the government) are imbedded in the participant *we* as the Actor doing (*breaking down*), interfering and or modifying the nature of the Goal *barriers*; that is, the clause conveys meaning of tangible change, of intervention. In clause 03, the process *hold back* has its meaning explained by the participant *people*, it is not a simple impediment that is portrayed, but an impediment of the elements that allowed and promoted his ascension to power: people. Thus, in clause 04, Blair presents the objective and result of the government's action: *every individual [having] the chance **to fulfill** their potential*. This chance of fulfillment appears, for Blair, in the intervention of the participant *Sure Start* (clause 05) in mothers' living conditions, an example he uses to show that things were going ahead in Britain.

In clauses 06 and 07, with the use of the processes *opening* and *doubling*, the government appears as the Actor of the change intended and the one promoting the fight mentioned in clause 01.

In clauses 08 and 09, he shows some results of their fight which, according to him is *[a modern industrial base] **leading** Europe* and the fact that more *high tech **spins off** from universities*.

In addition, the process ***to fulfill*** (04) brings out the notion of repleteness; the process ***giving*** (05), of provision; ***leading*** (08), of outstanding among others; ***opening*** (06), of enlargement of perspectives; ***doubling*** (07), of increase, more size; ***spins off***

(09), of rise, origination. Blair, his party and his government are presented making those things happen.

6.1.2.2 Relational Clauses

These are the relational clauses, 06 of them, I encountered in this microexigence, holding 16.21% of the clauses detected.

10- At every age, at every stage, education **is** the surest guarantee of a fair future. At every age
11- basics, so now our children **are** in the top three in the world for reading. At secondary school
12- and City Academies. For teenagers, grants **to stay on** at school, modern apprenticeships, not
13- New skills – every individual [**having**] the chance to fulfil their potential. At every age, at e
14- of the 21st, knowledge, human capital **is** the future and fairness demands it is open to all. bu
15- is the future and fairness demands it [future] **is** open to all. But a big challenge faces

The relational clauses, in my point of view, present a progressive sequence of five participants (Carriers and Identifiers): *education, our children, teenagers, knowledge* (and) *human capital*, and *it* (future), that can be understood as a semiotic gradual scale, culminating in the proposed and supposed *fair future*, introduced in the material clause number 01, a future, Blair tries to convince that he, his party and his government are bringing forth.

It is also interesting to point out that the Identifiers of clauses 10, 11, and 14 are presented, in a factual way, in a relation of “this-is-equal-this”, that is, *guarantee of a fair future* is equal *education*; *top three in the world* is equal *our children*; *the future* is equal *knowledge, human capital*. There is no doubt passing through these affirmations. It is part of a persuasive positivism and triumphalism politicians strategically take hold of to try to achieve their intents. And in clause 13, the participant *every individual* is the Possessor, receiving the chance, opportunity to full development. Every honest politician, party, and government intends to help people to have chances and opportunities. But sometimes, it only serves as political persuasion.

6.1.2.3 Mental Clauses

The following four mental clauses I discuss below represent 10.81% of the whole number of processes encountered in the microexigence.

16- mothers the confidence and support they need. At primary school the basics, so now our chi
17- opportunities through Learn Direct [teenagers] **to learn** more - a language, new skills - ev
18- leged few but for all. And we need a modern industrial base, doubling investment in science
19- tech, exactly the kind of jobs we need for the future. In the economy of the 21st, knowledge

The process *need* is used three times in the microexigence. In clause 16, in relation to mothers' necessities; in clause 18 and 19 *need* encompasses inclusion. In these two last clauses, the participant is an inclusive *we*, in which all his audience up to the whole nation is embedded strategically. It may be seen as an attempt to make ordinary people feel as full agents of the benefits Blair has advertised his party has performed. In clause 17, the process *to learn* brings out the meaning of continuity (what can be understood by the Phenomenon *more - a language, new skills...*) in the future, that is, children when achieve their adulthood may have the opportunity of learning more due to the government's Learn Direct program. This is a program that "has been developed by UFI (University for industry) with a remit from government to provide high quality post-16 learning" (<http://www.learndirect.co.uk/aboutus/>).

6.1.2.4 Existential Clauses

In my opinion, the existential processes (18 of them, comprising 48.64%) I show ahead are elliptically present, none of them can be explicitly found. They are part of the construction of the idea that the government is pushing Britain forward. I said before that in this microexigence Blair, his party and his government are presented making things happen. Now with the existential clauses, he exposes their achievements as facts. The implied processes below, 18 of them, bring out the existence of several governmental facilities reaching ordinary people.

20- That hold people back. At birth: [**there is**] a year's maternity leave, paid paternity leave
 21- a year's maternity leave, [**there is**] paid paternity leave for the first time and now a new trust
 22- paternity leave for the first time and now [**there is**] a new trust fund for every child; their o
 23- the future. For toddlers, [**there are**] childcare places, nursery places, child tax credit and Sur
 24- the future. For toddlers, childcare places, [**there are**] nursery places, child tax credit and Su
 25- in the future. For toddlers, childcare places, nursery places, [**there are**] child tax credit and
 26- credits and [**there is**] Sure Start giving mothers the confidence and support they need. At pri
 27- At secondary school, [**there is**] personalized learning for every child in new specialist school
 28- Schools and City Academies. For teenagers, [**there are**] grants to stay on at school, modern
 29- grants to stay on at school, [**there are**] modern apprenticeships, not a thing of the past, but
 30- modern apprenticeships, [**there is**] not a thing of the past, but a part of the future. And then t
 31- not a thing of the past, but [**there is**] a part of the future. And then throughout adult life, ne
 32- And then throughout adult life, [**there will be**] new opportunities through Learn Direct to L
 33- from universities than ever before- [**there are**] not just world beating British ideas but worl
 34- just world beating British ideas but [**there are**] world beating [British] products, British prof
 35- ideas but world beating products, [**there are**] world beating [British] profits, British jobs. And
 36- rld beating British products, British profits, [**there are**] world beating [British] jobs. And yes
 37- British jobs. And yes [**there are**] new manufacturing jobs – high skills, high tech, exactly th

The clauses above display the difference, according to Blair, his government is making: “At every age and every stage we are breaking down the barriers that hold people back” (material clause 02). They, the Labour people, are the agents, the institutors, the promoters of eighteen Existents which would be the product of the Labour administration.

This microexigence can be understood as a demonstration of results that Blair achieved through his actions in power. It was a microexigence in which existential processes prevailed due to the fact that Blair carefully showed the achievements of his government, mainly, in behalf of people who would not be able to afford the good services the private sector offers.

In the next topic, I present the discussion about the microexigence number 18 in the sequence of the speech and the third in the rank of importance.

6.1.3 Microexigence: Comparing Tories and Lib Dems to the Labour Party when facing big challenges

In this topic, I analyze the microexigence to which Blair spent 306 words

(corresponding to 5.29% of the speech) and which it is ranked in 3rd place in the speech.

Again, we have a microexigence where material processes predominate (25 of them versus 13 relational, 06 mental, and 01 verbal) and where the duality *them* versus *us* is clearly present. *Them* is the opposition, representing the Tories and The Lib Dems (Liberal Democrats) and *us* represents Blair, his party and his government.

Type of process	Number of processes	Percentage
Material	25	55.55
Relational	13	28.88
Mental	06	13.33
Verbal	01	2.22
Behavioural	00	0.0
Existential	00	0.0
	45	

Table 10 – Number and percentage of process types

6.1.3.1 Material Clauses

Twenty-five material clauses were detected in the microexigence (55.55%) which are discussed below.

01- to all. But a **big challenge** **faces** us. As our children are helped at every stage to learn – we
02- helped at every stage to learn - **we** are **going** further than any country in Europe in turning
03- than any country in Europe in [**we** are] **turning** higher education from a privilege for the
04- for the many. But how do **we** **finance** education through life and also get more children into
05- through life and also [**we**] **get** more children **into** university education that competes with th
06- university education that [**university education**] **competes** with the best in the world? To pre
07- the world? To pretend **it** [**good university education**] **will** all **come** from the taxpayer is dish
08- and it wouldn't be fair if **it** [**good university education**] **did**. And yes the Tories have an
alternative to student fees.
09- alternative to student fees. [**the Tories**]**To cut** money going to universities by cutting student
10- To cut money going to universities by [**the Tories**] **cutting** student numbers. 100,000 fewer
11- universities need more money, do think **they**'ll **raise** taxes? No, they'll cut numbers again,
12- ou think they'll raise taxes? No, **they'll cut** numbers again, when our very economic depends
13- economic future depends on **us** **developing** people's potential not squandering it. And the L
14- And the Lib Dems? They say **they** will **spend** more and it will all come out of raising the to
15- developing people's potential not [**us**] **squandering** it. And the Lib Dems? They say they wi
16- They say they will spend more and **it** **will** all **come out** of raising the top rate of tax to 50 pe
17- funding is not **all** that's **to come** from the top rate taxpayer. They have commitments to spen
18- taxpayer. They have commitments [**they**] **to spend** more on forty different items running int
19- to spend more on **forty different** items [Lib Dems] **running into** billions of pounds. All this
20- We used to have that policy. Remember [**we**] **squeezing** the rich 'til the pips squeaked? exce
21- Remember squeezing the rich 'til **the pips** **squeaked**? Except in the end, it wasn't only the ri
22- nthe end, it wasn't only the rich that [**the rich**] **were squeezed**; and it wasn't the pips that squ
23- were squeezed; and it wasn't **the pips** that **squeaked**, it was us. We can be proud of the new

24- d next year spending on health and education is rising faster here than in any other major co
 25- tudents. Is that fair? Who do you think **will be** the students cut? Their children? An when

Blair uses these material clauses in relation to his party and government and in relation to the opposition's (Tories and Dem Libs) actions the Labour Party should not follow (07, 09, 10, and 12 among others); he also uses them in relation to ideals to be accomplished by him and by the Labour Party, which can be found in lines 02, 03, 04, 05, 06, 13 and 24.

Clause 01 presents *a big challenge* as the Actor performing action over the entity *us*; It seems to me that in a natural course, it would be the *us* (or the entities represented by it) that should face challenges and not the contrary. But in this case, I understand this inversion as a form of highlighting the Labour Party (*us*) as an established, and steadfast entity that is being challenged. *Us* is the Goal suffering the action of the Actor *big challenges* because this *us* represents a perennial (a long lasting) entity, which is there imposing its authority.

It is worth noticing the fact that there are material clauses with a non-positive connotation which are conveying meaning about Blair and his party's opponents. He uses those clauses to point out his opposition's inferiority in procedures that should not be imitated by the party in order to overcome the challenges being faced. Some of these non-positive clauses are: 07, 08, 09, 10, 11, 12, 16, and 25.

Out of these 08 non-positive clauses, I would like to call attention to clauses 09, 10, and 12. In clause 09, the process *to cut* impacts the Goal *money going to universities*. In clause 10, the process *cutting* impacts the Goal *student's members*. And in clause 12, the process *cut* impacts the Goal *numbers*. The verb *cut*, among several meanings, can mean *to reduce the size, extent, or duration of ...to lessen the strength of* (<http://www.Thefreedictionary.com>). These three tangible (09, 10, 12) actions are applied to produce a negative impression in Blair's audience regarding his opposition. These

actions also serve well as examples that material processes can be used in favor of somebody's ideas or against his or her opponents' ideas.

Three positive processes about his opposition are found in clauses 14, 18, and 19. Clause 14 is a projection (a locution) of a verbal clause, where the Tories and the Lib Dems' works are quoted. Clauses 18 and 19 (marked by the processes *to spend*, and *running into*) are used to show that the opponents' actions are the same wrong ones practiced by the Labour Party in the past, as the context demonstrates:

And the Lib Dems? They say they will spend more and it will all come out of raising the top rate of tax to 50 per cent. Except that extra university funding is not all that's to come from the top rate taxpayer. They have commitments to spend more on forty different items running into billions of pounds.

6.1.3.2 Relational Clauses

Following are the thirteen relational clauses encountered in the microexigence which comprise 28.88% of the total of 45 clauses.

26- to pretend it will all come from the taxpayer is dishonest. It won't and it wouldn't be fair if it
 27- taxpayer is dishonest. It won't and it wouldn't be fair if it did. And yes the Tories have an al
 28- taxpayer is dishonest. It won't and it wouldn't be fair if it did. And yes the Tories have an al
 29- dn't be fair if it did. And yes the Tories have an alternative to student fees. To cut money go
 30- student numbers. 100,000 fewer students. Is that fair? Who do you think will be the students
 31- when our very economic future depends on us developing people's potential not squanderi
 32- cent. Except that extra university funding is not all that's to come from the top rate taxpayer.
 33- om the top rate taxpayer. They have commitments to spend more on forty different items ru
 34- this from the top rate taxpayer. We used to have that policy. Remember squeezing the rich
 35- he pips squeaked? Except in the end, it wasn't only the rich that were squeezed; and it was
 36- nly the rich that were squeezed; and it wasn't the pips that squeaked, it was us. We can be
 37- nd it wasn't the pips that squeaked, it was us. We can be proud of the new money in our sch
 38- squeaked, it was us. We can be proud of the new money in our schools and health service,

In the great majority of the relational clauses above, Blair seeks to pass again a negative idea of his opposition. In line twenty-six (26), a situation (*to pretend it will all come from the taxpayer*) as Carrier is related by the process *is*, in a factual, authoritative way, to the Attribute *dishonest*. This Carrier, I suggest, can also be understood as a general point of view on account of the verb *to pretend* (a behavioural process) being in the infinitive form. Verbs in the infinitive form are commonly used in sayings (like *to*

err is human, for instance) where the infinitive is used in a broad way without a specific participant. But in Blair's case, in my point of view, the intention is to refer to his opponents as if *to pretend* were a practice in their way of doing politics. And yet, this clause (26) triggers a sequence of relations characterizing his opposition as an example not to be followed (clauses 27, 28, 29, and 30).

It is also interesting to notice that there are not relational processes in the past tense when Blair refers to his opposition, but all of them refer to facts in the present or future (see lines 26, 27, 29, 30), implying that, for Blair, the opposition is what it is demonstrating to be. When processes are used in the past tense (see lines 34, 35, 36, and 37), they refer to what the Labour Party or Blair's government stopped practicing in the past. The use of the past tense creates an expected inference by his audience that Blair's and his fellows' present is free of those non-positive aspects marking their opponents' trajectory. Blair's audience is persuaded to see his party and government as if they do not do politics as the opposition does.

Still, there are other persuasive ideas present in these relations. Firstly, the idea of convincing his audience that the Labour Party changed in the past, became mature, exactly what the opposition was not able to reach yet. Secondly, there is the idea that becoming mature is a prerequisite to face political challenges. Lines 31 and 38 corroborate this supposed maturity with the use of processes and Attributes like *depends on us* (our very economic future depends on us) and *can be proud* (We can be proud of the new money in our schools).

6.1.3.3 Mental Clauses

Only six mental clauses were found, representing 13.33% of the total.

39- big challenge faces us. As our children are helped at every stage **to learn** - we are going
40- nts. Is that fair? Who do you think will be the students cut? Their children? And when the

- 41- Their children? And when the universities **need** more money, do you think they'll raise tax
 42- need more money, do you **think** they'll raise taxes? No, they ? No, they'll cut numbers again
 43- We used to have that policy. [You] **Remember** squeezing the rich 'til the pips squeaked? E
 44- with the best in the world? [The Tories] **To pretend** it will all come from the taxpayer is di

Clauses 40, 41, and 42 present mental processes regarding Blair's opposition style of doing politics. Clauses 40 and 42, with the process *think*, may be considered an attempt to persuade the audience to reflect upon, and to create a mental image about his opposition's recurrent acts in the past up to the present. In both clauses, it is done through a question that presupposes a disqualifying answer concerning the Tories and Lib Dems.

The process *need* (41) is another one that may bring to the mind of the audience the conception of *lack of, necessity*, and it is synonym for *want*. *Need* is used with the Senser *the universities* and the Phenomenon *more money*. The word *university* brings the idea of study, knowledge, competence, future; *money*, in its turn, is the source of the existence of those previous elements. Thus the use of this clause can be interpreted as a strong appeal to create a negative image of his opposition in that Blair presents his opposition as unable to deal with the Senser *universities* and the Phenomenon *money*, two things that should be side by side. But the Labour is shown as competent to deal with the matter (clause 39).

Concerning clause 44, as I said before, verbs in the infinitive, depending on the context, can be interpreted as a general statement, and it is what occurs in this clause again with the process *to pretend*. But the process comes in a context of references to the opposition, what makes me to see it as a reference to the opposition's behavior. This is an incisive (rude) construction of meaning because *to pretend* can mean *to give a false appearance of, make believe with the intent to deceive* (<http://www.thefreedictionary.com>), that is, *to pretend* portrays a character deserving no trust. This is what Blair implies regarding his opponents in this clause.

6.1.3.4 Verbal Clauses

The following clause is the only verbal clause I detected in the microexigence.

45- squandering it. And the Lib Dems? They say they will spend more and it will all come from

Through this clause, Blair reports one of his opposition's intentions: *spend more*. The Sayer is clearly stated as being *them*, part of the dichotomy *us* versus *them*. Here Blair tries to inculcate in his audience the idea that his opposition (in this case, Lib Dems) has a voice, which is frequently heard, but that they are not able to transform in real deeds, revealing to be a party of promises only. The process is in the simple present tense and the projected clause is in the future, which, in my point of view, conveys meaning of unachievable doings.

As it was seen, in this microexigence, Blair established an *us* versus *them* comparison where the Labour Party is treated positively and the opposition negatively and pejoratively as a way of trying to convince his audience, especially his non-immediate audience that he, his party and his government are making the difference.

Next, I present my analysis for the microexigence number 19 in the sequence of the speech and the ninth in the rank of importance.

6.1.4 Microexigence: Reaching the unfortunate ones through fair policies – a challenge when comparing to wealthy people

In this topic, I deal with the ninth microexigence in the rank, to which Blair dedicated 261 words, 4.51% of the whole text. This is also a microexigence where material processes predominate, 18 of them over 14 relational, 01 mental, and 01 verbal.

Blair, through this microexigence, tries to show that they, the party and government, are overcoming the challenge to reach the unfortunates and changing lives.

Type of process	Number of processes	Percentage
Material	18	52.94
Relational	14	41.17
Mental	01	2.94
Verbal	01	2.94
Behavioural	00	0.0
Existential	00	0.0
	34	

Table 11 – Number and percentage of process types

6.1.4.1 Material Clauses

The material clauses listed and analyzed below hold 52.94% of the clauses of the microexigence.

01- can it be fair when for all the advances we have made, a wealthy pensioner waiting on a co
02- pensioner waiting on a consultant's list for her hip operation **can go** to the same
Consultant and get it done
03- he same consultant and [wealthy pensioner] **get it done** next week if she is able to pay, but a
04- ant and get it done next week if she is able to pay, but a poor pensioner cannot? And how is
05- but a poor pensioner **cannot** [be able to pay]? And how is it fair that well off parents, for all
06- our improvements, who [well off parents] **can't get** their child into a decent secondary scho
07- secondary school, [well off parents] can choose **to buy** a good education but poor parents c
08- your wealth not your need. [You] **Take** the case of an elderly woman in the north west, who
09- woman in the north west, who [woman] **looked after** her dying husband despite her ill-healt
10- education but poor parents can't [**buy**]? Choice has always been there for the well off. Excel
11- operation she needed. But though she was listed as urgent, she was placed on a year-long w
12- But though she was listed as urgent, she was placed on a year-long waiting list. Once she
13- w she did. Because of our policies, she was offered the chance to travel to get her heart oper
14- she was offered the chance to travel to get her heart operation **done** much more quickly. Sh
15- heart operation done much more quickly. She jumped at it. After the operation, she said: "I
16- d at it. After the operation, she said: "I'd **go** to the ends of the earth to get my health back. It
17- earth to get my health back. It [health policy] **saved** me six months of anxiety. Really I feel
18- six months of anxiety. Really I feel it [health policy] **saved** my life". Choice for her is not a

Clause 01, *we have made*, states who are the doers of the results appointed by Blair: *we*. Blair highlights what they, the party and government, have done using an illustration of how a well off pensioner can act in a situation of need in contrast to poor people, and what the government has done in favor of the latter ones. To demonstrate the condition of the wealthy ones, he uses a sequence of processes as a progressive scale: *can go* (clause 02) – within the process, here, the modal *can* indicates affordability, power - *get it done* (clause 03), *is able to pay* (clause 04). The sequence

reaches the climax in clause 04, with the process *is able to pay*, what everyone would like to experience as a citizen.

In clause 05, Blair goes directly to the impossibility of poor pensioners, using the process *cannot [pay]*, where the previous sequence (the one used with the *well off*) simply disappears. Clause 06 presents a situation relating to the wealthy, where the action (*can't get*) of the Actor *well off parents* interferes negatively in the Goal *their children*, but the context (the circumstance of the clause) shows that this negativity does not concern any financial impossibility the well off parents could have. It is a circumstance produced by the public service incapability of offering a good service that even the well off could take advantage of.

In clause 07, with the process *can choose to buy* and the Goal *good education*, appears the reaction of the well off parents to what clause 07 presented. Blair uses this contrast (clauses 06 and 07) to convince his audience that to provide services more likely the *well off* can afford is possible, and that they are overcoming this challenge. In clause 10, the antithesis between the two social classes appears again with the Actor *poor parents*, the process *can't [buy]* and the implicit Goal *good education*, where Blair stresses the inequality he intends to modify.

In clauses 08, 09, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, and 18, Blair uses again a personal testimony (as he did previously), as a way to illustrate his address and try to create a vivid image in his audience's mind of the problems and solutions for them, proposed by him, his party, and his government. I suppose that one testimony is not enough to convince that really things changed; it would be necessary several of them.

6.1.4.2 Relational Clauses

The fourteen relational clauses displayed ahead comprise 41.17% out of a total of 34 clauses.

19- ances we have made, a wealthy pensioner **waiting** on a consultant's list for her hip operation
 20- But in the future how **can it** [all the progress Labour brought] **be** fair when for all the advan
 21- pay, but a poor pensioner cannot? And how **is it** fair that well off parents, for all our improv
 22- education but poor parents can't? Choice **has** always **been** there for the well off. Excellence
 23- been there for the well off. Excellence **has** always **been** at the service of the wealthy. What
 24- service of the wealthy. What is unfair **is** not the right to choose, not the pursuit of excellence
 25- thy. What is unfair is not the right to choose, [unfair **is**] not the pursuit of excellence but wh
 26- health. After his death, she **agreed to have** the serious heart operation she needed. But thou
 27- on a year-long waiting list. Once she would **have** had no choice. Now she did. Because of
 28- the ends of the earth [I] **to get** [have] my health back. It saved me six months of anxiety. Re
 29- had no choice. Now she **did** [had the choice]. Because of our policies, she was offered the
 30- I feel it saved my life". Choice for her **is** not a betrayal of our principles. It is our principles.
 31- not a betrayal of our principles. It [choice for her] **is** our principles. And what progress
 32- where that choice and that excellence **depends on** your wealth not your need. Take the case

In clauses 20 and 21, questions are presented involving the Attribute *fair* that qualifies the Carrier (20) *it* (standing for all the progress Labour brought) and the Carrier (21) *it* (situation) as it can be verified in the contexts below:

But in the future how can it be fair when for all the advances we have made, a wealthy pensioner waiting on a consultant's list for her hip operation can go to the same consultant and get it done next week if she is able to pay, but a poor pensioner cannot?

And how is it fair that well off parents, for all our improvements, who can't get their child into a decent secondary school, can choose to buy a good education but poor parents can't?

These questions are used, I understand, with a rhetorical character, attempting to provoke indignation in his audience regarding the situation of poor people. When orators lay hold of questions like these used by Blair, I suppose that they intend to show that they are open to discuss, without any intention of omitting relevant points.

In clauses 22 and 23, two Carriers, *choice* and *excellence*, are participants involved in favorable relations to the rich people; and clauses 24 and 25 (with inverted order of participants: the Carrier coming after the Attribute) elucidate what Blair tried to convey in the two previous ones (22 and 23), that is, that choice is a right (what appears in the Carrier *the right to choose*), and that excellence can be an objective (what can be seen in the Carrier *pursuit of excellence*) to be achieved.

Clauses 26, 27, 28, and 29 are part of the testimony I referred to in the material clauses, where Blair states the change a woman had in her life on account of the

government's policies. In order to take advantage of her testified change and use it in his persuasive intent, he starts a progressive relation where the Possessor *she* is linked to the Possession *serious heart operation* (26), and goes on relating the Possessor *she* to the Possession *no choice* (27); and after this, in clause 30 he relates *she* to *did [had the choice]*. This sequence of relations also culminates in a positive change caused by the party and government which is stated in clauses 30 and 31: *Choice for her is not a betrayal of our principles / It [choice for her] is our principles*. Understand this sequence better, observing the following figure.

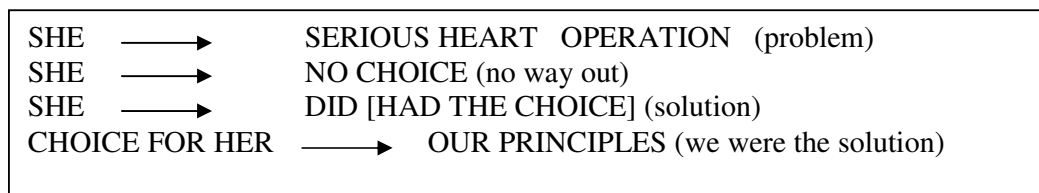


Figure 04 - Party and government positive change

6.1.4.3 Mental Clauses

The analysis revealed one mental clause in the microexigence which represents 2.94% of the 34 clauses encountered.

33- need to have the serious heart operation she **needed**. But though she was listed as urgent, she

Again this is referring to the woman Blair had already cited to illustrate the party and government's achievements. Here he depicts her in necessity, in demand (it is what the Senser *she* and the process *needed* conveys), and attempts to certify that they made the difference in her life, a difference that, Blair implies, is available for all.

6.1.4.4 Verbal Clauses

Only one verbal clause was found, which encompasses 2.94% of the clauses detected in the microexigence.

34- She jumped at it. After the operation, she **said**: "I'd go to the ends of the earth to get my heal

Here Blair gives voice to the woman cited before as a way to validate, cause an impression of authentic situation. The clause *she said* denotes authority, certainty; it is an attempt to validate what he said before and what he could say next.

We saw in the analysis of the microexigence that Blair presented results concerning his efforts to change the health system situation. The presence of more material processes than another type of process and specially in relation to him and his government demonstrates that he tried to pass an image of concreteness. To inculcate it in his audience he used a testimony of a sick woman that was successfully assisted by the public health system he implemented. In the next topic, I discuss the microexigence number 20 in the sequence of the speech and the seventh in the rank of importance.

6.1.5 Microexigence: Change for an inclusive service

The microexigence I discuss now is the seventh in the rank, encompassing 277 words, 4.79% of the whole address.

Type of process	Number of processes	Percentage
Material	18	51.42
Relational	11	31.42
Mental	02	5.71
Verbal	03	8.57
Behavioural	01	2.85
Existential	00	0.0
	35	

Table 12 – Number and percentage of process types

In this microexigence, I detected 35 clauses, in which material processes predominate over the other types. The aim of this microexigence, I suggest, is to impact the audience demonstrating what Blair, the Labour Party and his government have done in order to offer a public service resembling the one well-offs can afford, a public service that treats people as beings with different characteristics.

Following, I present and discuss the five clause types I encountered in the microexigence.

6.1.5.1 Material Clauses

The material clauses in the microexigence are eighteen, which represent 51.42% of all the 35 clauses identified.

- 01- 1960s when the comprehensive **ended** the division of children into successes and failures
 02- 1948 when the NHS **gave** people, who used to scrimp ... care free at the point of use.
 03- 1948 when the NHS gave people, who **used to scrimp** and save and fret to pay, care at the
 04- NHS gave people, who **used to** scrimp and **save** and fret to pay, care free at the point of use.
 05- people who **used to** scrimp and save and **fret to pay**, care free at the point of use. But progr
 06- much more. Teaching [is] **tailored** to each child's ability. A Health Service that brings the
 07- bility. A Health Service that [Health Service] **brings** the benefits of new genetic knowledge
 08- ent. And because the world **changes** we have to change. No longer "one size fits all". Recog
 09- ent. And because the world changes we **have to change**. No longer "one size fits all". Reco
 10- ve to change. [We] No longer [**applying**] "one size fits all" [policies]. Recognising that in th
 11- cognising that in the 21st century you **can't run** a personalised service by remote control. T
 12- That's the reason for change. [is] Not **to level down** but to level up. Not to privatise but to r
 13- That's the reason for change. Not to level down but [is] **to level up**. Not to privatise but to r
 14- Not to level down but to level up. [the reason for change] Not **to privatise** but to revitalise a
 public service
 15- but to level up. Not to privatise but [the reason for change] **to revitalise** a public service we
 all depend on. I
 16- I don't want the middle class **fighting to get out** of the state system. I want them fighting to
 17- system. I want them **fighting to get into** it but on equal terms with working class patients an
 18- saying Foundation Hospitals **are opposed** by an alliance of the BMA and the House of the
Lords, and yes Tories and Lib Dems

In the five first clauses, Blair presents what happened in the past (clauses 01, 02, 03, 04, and 05), and praises that as valid. This can be understood by the participants and their respective processes which are in the past tense: *the comprehensive ended* (01), *the NHS gave* (02), *people ... used to scrimp* (03), *people ... [used to] save* (04), *people ... [used to] fret and pay* (05). He does this invoking a comparison between the past situation and what his party and government brought of new.

In clauses 06 and 07, he proposes the way education and health services should be developed (he tries to persuade they are doing so): *teaching [is] tailored* (the verb *tailor* meaning adjusted to serve a purpose), *Health Service brings* - the verb *bring* meaning

cause to come into a particular state or condition; make or cause to be or to become; cause to change; make different; cause a transformation (<http://www.thefreedictionary.com>). Therefore, these statements establish them (Blair, the Labour Party, and the government) as providers of change and transformation.

In clause 08, Blair presents the basis for what he said before, that things had to be implemented because it is a demand of a world in transformation, using the participant *world* and the process *changes*.

Clause 09, which is also a clause of challenge, *we have to change*, reveals a reaction to the situation stated previously (a defense of what he has done in his government). The Actor here is not *I, you*, but *we*, an inclusive participant, used as an attempt to impact positively his audience, to put it in the pace of the claimed change for services for all. This impact is reinforced in clause 10 with the negative process *[We] no longer applying*, a clause that evokes change of attitude. The expression: “*One size fits all*” is a qualifier of the hidden Goal: *policies*, an expression that according to the dictionary Answer.com can mean informally: *Appealing or answering to a wide range of tastes or needs: a one-size-fits-all candidate* (<http://www.answers.com/topic/one-size-fits-all>). This expression conveys the kind of change Blair intends, focusing on patients’ individuality.

In clauses 11, 12, and 13, he presents his view and political intention about the public service, a personalized service that should attend the citizen as an individual (clause 11). The participant used, in clause 11, is a general *you* that could be replaced by *we*. The process *run* with the modal verb *can’t*, I suggest, denotes censorship, even prohibition about an inadequate action, the action of managing, administrating (conveyed by the process *run*) without taking into account human individual characteristics.

This kind of argument is part of Blair's political discourse that public services promoted by his government are examples of quality and equality. But the promotion of quality and equality preached by Blair, according to Fairclough (2000), stumbles in the fact that for them to happen, redistribution of wealth needs to come true, and the New Labour has not done it. For Fairclough, the New Labour is "opposed to interventions by the state to direct or control the market or to redistribute wealth created in the market" (Fairclough, 2000, p. 16), a characteristic of neo-liberalism (Giddens, 1998; 2000): a contradiction to Blair's Third Way orientation.

Clauses 12 and 13 come to corroborate the suggestion of clause 11, once the processes *not to level down* (clause 12), *to level up* (clause 13) used in combination, pass the idea of improvement, implementation, innovation.

Clauses 14 and 15 are there to convince that his policies fit with modern policies, that is, that public services should not be privatized, but revitalized, a thought of The Third Way. For The Third Way, the state has a role to play in society in providing essential services such as health and education. It is also in favor of a balanced state that innovates (or reconstructs itself) instead of only reducing its services, as can be inferred from the words of Anthony Giddens below:

The neoliberals want to shrink the state; the social democrats, historically, have been keen to expand it. The Third way argues that what is necessary is to reconstruct it – to go beyond those on the right 'who say government is the enemy', and those on the left 'who say government is the answer'. (Giddens, 1998, p. 70)

In clauses 16 and 17, inclusiveness to public services is strengthened. He uses two opposite processes (*fighting to get out / fighting to get into*) to construct the necessity of a fair inclusiveness, of opportunity for all, represented by the participant *the middle class*, which can be seen as a parameter of measure. When the middle class is attracted by the kind of public service offered by the government, it means that the government is succeeding well. This is what I understand Blair is trying to mean in his words.

Clause 18 is a result of a reflection about the way he and his government dealt with the opponents to the government's actions regarding the NHS. The Actor an *alliance of the BMA and the House of the Lords, and yes Tories and Lib Dems* and the *Goal Foundation Hospitals* are shown in opposition; the Actor is exercising its power on the Goal. The context, shown below, in which this clause is inserted, suggests that Blair uses this clause to argue that he proceeded correctly, and that if they had been influenced by the opposition, the results would have been lesser beneficial for users of public services.

I don't want the middle class fighting to get out of the state system. I want them fighting to get into it but on equal terms with working class patients and children. That's what the founders of socialism dreamt of. And when I read a resolution saying Foundation Hospitals are opposed by an alliance of the BMA and the House of Lords, and yes Tories and Lib Dems too, what are we: a progressive party? If we had listened to that alliance, we would never have had an NHS in the first place. (my emphasis)

6.1.5.2 Relational Clauses

These are the eleven relational clauses identified in the microexigence. They represent 31.42 % of the clauses encountered.

19- revitalise a public service we all depend on. I don't want the middle class fighting to get out
 20- our principles. And what progress it was in the 1960s when the comprehensive ended the
 21- successes and failures age 11. What a breakthrough [it was] in 1948 when the NHS gave pe
 22- everyone, not a lottery. The patient [being] not at the convenience of the system but the sys
 23- convenience of the system but the system [being] at the convenience of the patient not at th
 24- personalised service by remote control. That's the reason for change. Not to level down but
 25- orking class patients and children. That's what the founders of socialism dreamt of. And wh
 26- Tories and Lib Dems too, what are we: a progressive party? If we had listened to that allian
 27- stened to that alliance, we would never **have had** an NHS in the first place. And of the crimi
 28- the criminal justice system with its rules and procedures **was** a vital step of progress when p
 29- vital step of progress when poor people were without representation unjustly convicted by

In clause 19, the inclusive participant *we* encompasses all the society, Great Britain, and put it, with Blair's use of the process *depend on*, as relying on the public service.

Blair uses clauses 20 and 21 linking the Carrier *it* to the Attribute *progress* (20), the Carrier *it* to the Attribute *breakthrough* (21) as a way of introducing the

achievements of the Labour Party government and to defend that the Labour Party has done more in the present than what it achieved in the 1960's and in 1948.

In clauses 22 and 23, he states the kind of health service (he tries to persuade his audience of this) that they have developed, a patient-centered service. He does this, linking the participant *the patient* (22) to the implicit process *being* to the Attribute (circumstantial attribute) *at the convenience of the patient*; and *the system* (23) to the Attribute *at the convenience of the patient*. In clause 24, *That's the reason for change*, the pronoun *that* replaces a set of ideas stated previously, including especially the ideas stated in clauses 22 and 23.

In clause 26, he uses an inclusive *we* linked to a characteristic of the party (*a progressive party*) in form of a question in order to emphasize that the opposition's attitude could not be accepted; conservative attitudes should be rejected. Clause 27 presents the result of acting differently from his opposition. This result appears in his option to use *we* as participant and the process *have had* accompanied by the modal *would*, showing that failure would be inevitable if they had thought like the opposition. This is also a kind of clause that portrays the opposition as having a minute capacity of perceiving what is good for the public sector and its users.

Clause 28 highlights the participant *the criminal justice system* relating it to the Attribute *a vital step of progress* with which Blair intends to show that they achieved a good relationship with a fundamental sector of the state.

Clause 29 complements the idea of clause 28 where the participant *poor people* is linked to the attribute *without representation* by a process in the past tense, denoting that the problem was solved; another achievement of the Labour Party, it is, in my understanding, what is implied by Blair.

6.1.5.3 Mental Clauses

These are the mental clauses, two of them, I detected in the microexigence. They comprise 5.71% of the clauses identified.

30- o longer "one size fits all". [We] **Recognising** that in the 21st century you can't run a person **31-** class patient and children. That's what the founders of socialism **dreamt of**. And when I rea

In clause 30, there is an implicit inclusive *we*. Thus, the Senser is mainly Blair, his party, his government, and Great Britain. The verb *recognizing* is a verb denoting result of a reflection about something, about which the pros and cons are taken into account. In clause 31, the Senser is the *founders of socialism* that wanted, desired what was represented by the Phenomenon *that* (this *that* is replacing the ideas encompassed by the material clauses, 16 and 17, seen before). Here, Blair puts himself and his government as achievers of the socialist aim, stated as real in his government and improved by the Third Way philosophy that preaches a state not so big as the socialism defended and not so small as defended by neo-liberalism (the new right) (Giddens, 1998).

6.1.5.4 Verbal Clauses

There are three verbal clauses in the microexigence. They represent 8.57% of the 35 clauses.

32- use. But progress in the 21st century **demands** more, much more. Teaching tailored to each **33-** of socialism dreamt of. And when I **read** a resolution saying Foundation Hospitals are oppo **34-** dreamt of. And when I read a resolution **saying** Foundation Hospitals are opposed by an alli

In clause 32, Blair puts as the Sayer a subjective nominalization: *progress in the 21st century* (there is no definition for this progress, what it means for him). It is the progress that wants, desires, thinks, is the requirer. The Sayer is linked by the process *demands* to the Verbiage *much more*. The process *demands* appears in a factual way as if there were no other option to face the supposed progress of the 21st century.

Fairclough (2000) discusses the assertive way that Blair puts his views, as if they

were the only alternative to be followed, without any other option for public affairs.

In clause 33, Blair puts aside the use of *we* and opts for *I* as the Sayer. The process *read*, has as Verbiage: *a resolution*. There is a possible explanation for shifting the participant *we* (an emphasis to collectiveness) into *I*. It seems that there is a necessity of bringing his authority to evidence from time to time in the speech, and demonstrate that he is the one who is providing opportunities for changes come true.

In clause 34, the Verbiage of clause 33 is the Sayer of clause 34 that, by its turn, has as Verbiage the projected clause: *foundation Hospitals are opposed by...* This clause brings out a criticism to an organization associated with Blair's opponents, trying to block governmental actions.

6.1.5.5 Behavioural Clauses

There is only one behavioural clause in the microexigence, encompassing 2.85% of the clauses found.

35- what are we: a progressive party? If we **had listened to** that alliance, we would never have

Blair exalts the way they did things, not falling into the opposition's vices. An inclusive *we* is used with a past perfect verb, *had listened*, in a conditional clause, expressing a behavior that would impede their progress. The opposition is being despised by Blair in this clause, as it was, I told before, in the Relational clauses.

In the analysis of this microexigence, we observed an attempt of Blair to persuade his audience that he has provided public services of quality for all, that he treats people taking into account individuals differences, and that the services offered by his administration are comparable to the ones well offs can afford. Material processes are the most used processes in the microexigence, almost twice the relational processes, portraying a party, a government and a governor of change, and of attributes.

The analysis of these five microexigences showed that Blair presented to his audience the necessity of change within the party in order to avoid the return of the inconstancy the party lived in the past, which could block the advancement of Britain. In order to try to convince that a Labour government is the best option to face challenges, he compared the opposition's achievements and behavior to the Labour Party's achievements and behavior, and reinforced that he and his partners have reached those who really need to be reached, the unfortunate ones, by policies that can make the difference. For him the challenge of inclusive services has been overcome by his government. 210 clauses were analyzed in the five microexigences seen in this chapter and the material processes (97 of them), resembling what we saw in the previous chapter, constitute Blair's major choice in terms of processes, followed by 57 relational, 23 mental, 14 verbal, 01 behavioral, and 18 existential. Participants surrounding himself, his party and his government predominate in the five microexigences, especially *we*, *I*, and *you*.

In the next topic I present the final considerations about the eleven microexigences I discussed in the previous chapters.

6.2 Final considerations about the eleven microexigences

To conclude this chapter, I present ahead a graphic (Figure 05) and a table (13) in which I show the numbers I came up with in my analysis of the eleven microexigences discussed in the previous chapters. The graphic presents the percentage per process type in the eleven microexigences. The table shows the number of process type recurrences I encountered in each microexigence; it also shows the total of processes identified in each microexigence (in bold, on the right side). Both the graphic and the table allow a

better visualization of Blair's process type choices along the eleven microexigences.

In addition, I present two tables (14 and 15), which show that in the eleven microexigences there are two important sets of participants, one representing Blair, his party, his government, and the country (British people), which I called *Set of entity us*, and another, representing the opposition to the Labour Party, Blair and his government that I called *Set of opposition*.

The eleven microexigences hold together 458 processes. Out of this amount of processes, 201 (43.88% of the total) are Material, 142 (31%) are relational, 56 (12.22%) are mental, 35 (7.64%) are verbal, 04 (0.87%) are behavioural, and 20 (4.36%) are existential processes.

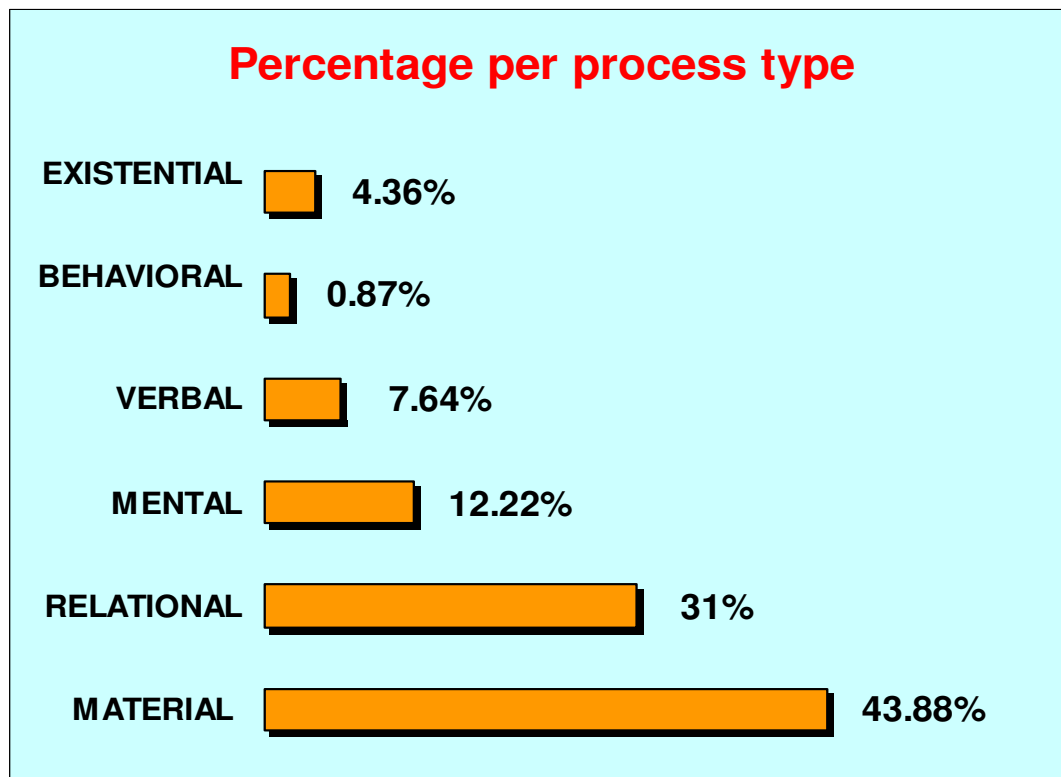


Figure 05 - Percentage per process type in the 460 clauses

Therefore, these eleven microexigences (with a predominant use of material processes, 201 of them) reveal that the main participants are more often portrayed as

doers. As I showed in the previous topics, the doers in these eleven microexigences are mainly Blair, his (New) Labour Party, his government, and Britain.

EXIGENCE N°	RANKING	ELEVEN EXIGENCES	PROCESS TYPES						TOTAL
			M	R	ME	V	B	E	
14	1st	Describing and defending the New Labour – pushing it to unification	23	23	02	02	0	0	50
15	2nd	Time for Labour Renewal	27	13	10	09	0	0	59
18	3rd	Comparing Tories and Lib Dems to the Labour Party when facing big challenges	25	13	06	01	0	0	45
13	4th	Tories' excuses for their inertia	15	24	11	01	01	0	52
05	5th	The difference the Labour Party is making	21	10	03	0	0	01	35
12	6th	The necessity of renewal in the party to not recur the Old Labour ups and downs	15	13	02	08	0	01	39
20	7th	Change for an inclusive public service	18	11	02	03	01	0	35
17	8th	Barriers are broken down – Britain is going forward – exhibiting results	09	06	04	0	0	18	37
19	9th	Reaching the unfortunate ones through fair policies – a challenge in comparison with wealthy people	18	14	01	01	0	0	34
02	10th	Standing for the New Labour's achievement	17	07	01	05	01	0	31
07	11th	The Iraq War	13	08	14	05	01	0	41
TOTAL OF EACH PROCESS TYPE IN THE EXIGENCES			201	142	56	35	04	20	
TOTAL OF ALL PROCESS TYPES IN THE ELEVEN EXIGENCES			458						

Table 13 – Results of the eleven microexigences

In addition, the table 13 shows that there are three microexigences, in which material processes do not prevail: *Tories' excuses for their inertia* (4th), *Barriers are broken down – Britain is going forward – exhibiting results* (8th), and *The Iraq War* (11th). The first one, in which relational processes are the most recurrent, pejoratively characterizes and qualifies the Tories, showing how they are, how Blair sees them. The second one exhibits results the government achieved and displays the services available for the British people implemented by the Labour government; existential processes predominate in this microexigence. The third one, *The Iraq War*, as it has already been discussed before, shows that mental processes prevail due to the fact that Blair and his allies did not have palpable results about the Iraq invasion. In *The Iraq War* microexigence, Blair's thoughts, reflections, opinions, and beliefs replace the actions

(material processes) that he should present, which were rather attributed in a negative way to participants such as Saddam, fanaticism, terrorism and trade in WMD, Iraq and so forth.

Concerning Blair's choice about the main participants (Actor, Carrier or Possessor, Senser, Sayer, Behaver, and Existent), the tables 14 and 15 below show that in the eleven microexigences, firstly (Table 14), there is a set of participants that I called *Set of entity us*, which predominates in the microexigences, representing Blair, his party, his government, and the country (British people) and, secondly, that there is also a set of participants I called *Set of opposition*, referring to Blair's political adversaries, more specifically to the Tories.

SET OF ENTITY US	CLAUSE TYPES						T O T A L
	M	R	ME	V	B	E	
We	62	24	7	2	2	-	97
Us	3	1	1	1	-	-	06
I	13	8	17	11	1	-	50
You *	7	1	7	2	1	-	18
(Labour) Party	-	-	-	1	-	-	01
New Labour	2	2	-	-	-	-	04
(Labour) Government	7	2	-	1	-	-	10
Our psychology (Party)	-	1	-	-	-	-	01
(British) people	3	1	1	1	-	-	06
Our aim	-	1	-	-	-	-	01
Our MPs	1	-	-	-	-	-	01
Our children	-	1	1	-	-	-	02
Our country	1	-	-	-	-	-	01
Our economic future	-	1	-	-	-	-	01
	99	43	34	19	04	-	
TOTAL							199

* There are 21 yous in the 11 microexigences. 18 of them refer to the party, government or to Blair.

Table 14 - Main participants of the eleven microexigences

The Table 14 shows that Blair referred 199 times to participants surrounding himself, which represents 43,44% of all 458 clauses detected within the eleven microexigences, discussed in chapters V and VI. It demonstrates that Blair gave his

speech aiming to highlight himself and entities next to him. The participant *We* with 97 references is the most recurrent of them. *We* appears more with material processes, 62 times, evidencing that Blair decided, chose to portray himself, his party, his government as doers, agents of change, and opted for an inclusive speech in a moment of vulnerability. To include his audience in the government's achievements could be a way to dissipate the context of suspicion he was living.

I is the second most recurrent participant of the set, appearing 50 times, but its predominance is with mental clauses. This occurs due to the Iraq War issue, since Blair was not able to provide concrete and convincing results about that matter.

You appears in third with 18 references. Blair uses *you* to speak directly to his audience, mainly to his party and government partners in order to involve them in the party's and government's achievements. The forth predominant participant is *government* with 10 references. The majority of the 199 participants representing the entity us are comprised of material processes, 99 of them, putting Blair and his partners as doers.

Concerning the *Set of Opposition*, which is the second most recurrent participant group in the speech, it demonstrates that Blair chose to highlight himself and participants surrounding him in an *us* versus *them* confrontation (especially the Tories). This confrontation, in my view, was an attempt to persuade his audience, that he was doing the right thing, rather than to discuss controversial issues such as the Iraq War, which could complicate his image much more.

Blair uses 33 references, as the Table 15 shows, to depict along the speech an image of a pathetic opposition, an example not to be followed by the Labour Party, which evidences his intent of putting him, his partners and his political persuasion, the Third Way, as the best alternative for his audience, for his country.

SET OF OPPOSITION	TYPE OF CLAUSES						TOTAL
	M	R	ME	V	B	E	
The Tories	4	4	-	1	1	-	10
They (the Tories)	7	2	5	2	1	-	17
Our opponents (the Tories)	-	-	2	-	-	-	02
Their problem (the Tories)	-	1	-	-	-	-	01
The cynics (the Tories)	-	-	-	1	-	-	01
Our natural territories	-	1	-	-	-	-	01
The Tories and the Lib Dems	1	-	-	-	-	-	01
	12	08	07	04	02	-	
TOTAL							33

Table 15 – Set of opposition 1

We can deduce from the processes and participants used by Blair that his intention was to create a positive image of the party and the government and consequently of himself in order to try to obfuscate negative impressions that wrong actions may be caused.

In the next topic, I present my analysis of the 19 remaining microexigences, which can be checked in appendices II, III and IV.

6.3 Analyzing The Remaining Nineteen Microexigences

The results of the analysis of the nineteen microexigences, which can be conferred in appendices II, III and IV (page 144, 158, and 159), resemble the results I presented in the analysis of the main eleven microexigences, that is, that material processes and participants surrounding Blair prevail in the speech, portraying him and his partners more often as doers.

The nineteen microexigences encompassed 382 clauses; 166 of them (43,45%) are material clauses, 119 are relational (31.15%), 67 are mental (17,53%). 19 are verbal (4.97%), 03 are behavioural (0.78%), and 08 are existential clauses (2.09%).

Regarding Blair's choice about the main participants in the 19 microexigences, it also follows what was verified previously that there is a set of participants, in this case, with 162 occurrences, representing Blair, his party, his government and the country – British people – (called *set of entity us*) predominating in the microexigences.

The 162 references represent 42,40% of all 382 clauses encountered within the nineteen microexigences, and comprise 87 references to the participant *We*, 31 times to *I*, 09 to *you*, 10 to *our country (or Britain)*, 07 to *British people*, 04 to both participants *us* and *Labour government*, 03 to *our MPs*, 02 to both *children* and *our strength*. The other participants, *my views*, *my heart*, and *our journey* appear with one reference each (see appendix IV).

Material processes predominate in the set with 83 references, especially with the participant *We*, 53 times, confirming Blair's choice for depicting his party, his government as doers, as the ones performing the changes.

The *Set of opposition* (13 references) is also the second most recurrent group of participants in the 19 microexigences in a resemblance to the eleven microexigences.

Thus the nineteen microexigences confirm Blair's intention of trying to change unfavorable opinions within the party, especially the so called rebels, government and the country, showing results and presenting Blair and his partners as doers.

Concerning Blair's political intentions behind his process and participant choices within the nineteen microexigences, I would say that they resemble political intentions mentioned in the analysis of the eleven microexigences, which will be summed up in the conclusion, where I concisely display the answers for the three research question that guided the paper.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I discuss the final remarks of my research which had as one of its objectives to contribute to the debate on political speeches and to the understanding of their authors' goals.

The research in this thesis presented an analysis of Tony Blair's speech given at the Annual Labour Party Conference 2003 and dealt with three research questions: a) What are the exigences in the speech given by the Prime Minister Tony Blair at the Annual Labour Party Conference 2003?; b) What are the transitivity choices in terms of processes and main participants that Blair made in the speech when dealing with the exigences in order to try to achieve his intentions?; c) What does the analysis based on transitivity and on Fairclough's notions of language, as an element of social practice, reveal in terms of political intentions in Blair's speech?

Answering question one

The Answer to the first question according to my analysis is that in Blair's speech (a speech comprising 5,778 words, 55 minutes of length) 30 microexigences can be found, which I presented in chapter IV, page 40.

Of the 30 microexigences detected, 11 were discussed more comprehensively in chapters V and VI on account of lack of space to treat all the 30 together. The other 19 microexigences and their clauses, classified per process type, can be found in appendices II and III, pages 144 and 158.

Answering question two

Concerning the second research question: What are the transitivity choices in terms of processes and main participants that Blair made in the speech when dealing with the exigences in order to try to achieve his intentions? I point out:

Firstly, 840 clauses were detected, analyzed and classified regarding their process types. 458 clauses were discussed more accurately in chapters V and VI (constituting the 11 microexigences) due to lack of space to approach all the 840 clauses. The other 382 clauses, representing the remaining 19 microexigences, are presented in the appendix II, page 144, and were briefly discussed in chapter VI.

Secondly, for each clause the main participant was detected. As main participant, I meant the Actor, the Carrier or Possessor, the Senser, the Sayer, the Behaver, and the Existent. The most recurrent main participants were taken into account as references to my suggestions regarding Blair's political intentions.

Therefore, Figure 06 ahead brings forth, in a nutshell, the result of Blair's process choice when he dealt with the 30 microexigences.

Material processes (367, representing 43.69%) predominate with almost half of the total of the 840 clauses, demonstrating that Blair's intention was to bring forth a speech where the participants were mainly seen as doers. His second choice was for relational clauses (261, representing 31.07%), with which Blair and his party are often positively qualified and characterized, and the opposition undervalued. His third choice was for mental clauses (123, representing 14.64%), followed by verbal clauses (54, representing 6.42%), behavioural clauses (07, representing 0.83%), and existential clauses (28, representing 3.33%). The existential clauses prevailed over the behavioural clauses due to the fact that through them Blair presented what he, his party, and his

government achieved and put at the disposal of the British people.

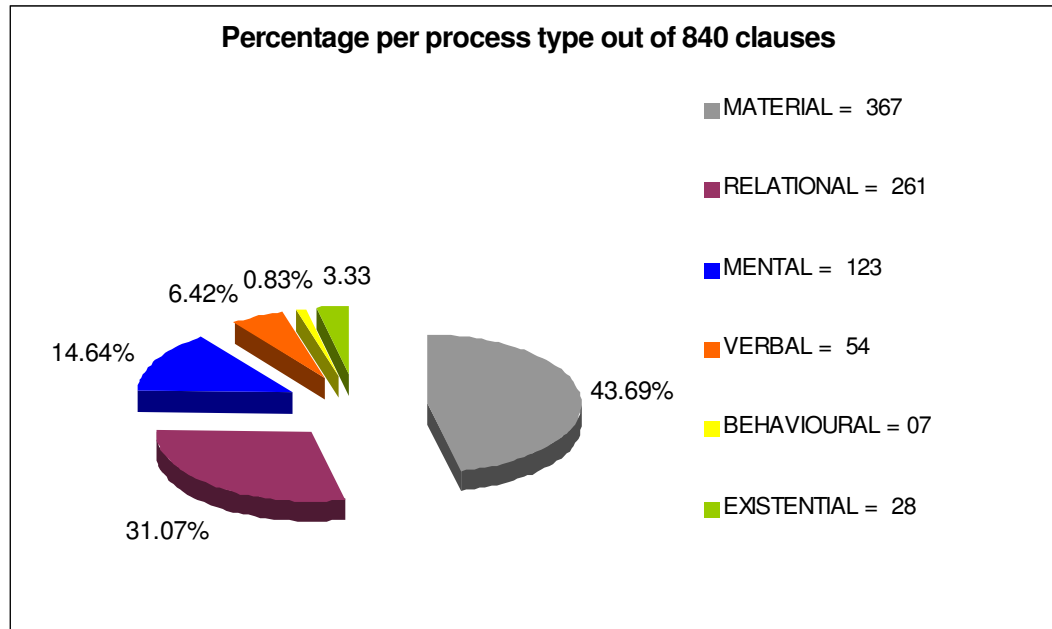


Figure 06 - Percentage per process type out of 842 clauses

Concerning Blair's choice about the main participants, the Table 16 (next page) shows that in the thirty microexigences, Blair, his party, his government and the nation are the most emphasized participants making of this group, the *set of entity us*, the core of his speech, when the matter is participants.

The analysis also reveals that Blair emphasized his opposition, mainly the Tories, with a set of participants, the *set of opposition*, in my opinion, to contrast the Labour Party's deeds with the opposition's deeds as a way of convincing his audience that he and his partners were performing the right things, what I demonstrate in table 17 ahead.

Blair's choice to put the set of entity *us*, with its 361 direct references, as the basis of the speech, can be verified in the fact that it represented 42.97% of all 840 clauses. *We*, with 184 references, appears within the group as the most recurrent participant. *We* appears more with material processes, 115 times, confirming Blair's tendency and choice along the whole speech to portray them, that is, himself, his party, and his government as doers, as agents of change.

The Participant *I* is the second most recurrent participant of the set, appearing 81 times, but its predominance is in the mental clauses (32 times).

ENTITY US SET MAIN PARTICIPANTS INVOLVING BLAIR, HIS PARTY, GOVERNMENT AND COUNTRY	CLAUSE TYPES						TOTAL
	M	R	ME	V	B	E	
We	115	30	29	6	4	-	184
Us	4	1	3	2	-	-	10
I	22	14	32	12	1	-	81
You *	12	2	10	2	1	-	27
(Labour) Party	-	-	-	1	-	-	01
New Labour	2	2	-	-	-	-	04
(Labour) Government	9	3	1	1	-	-	14
Our psychology (Party)	-	1	-	-	-	-	01
(British) people	6	2	4	1	-	-	13
Our aim	-	1	-	-	-	-	01
Our PMs	3	-	-	1	-	-	04
Our children	2	1	1	-	-	-	04
Our country	5	6	-	-	-	-	11
Our economic future	-	1	-	-	-	-	01
Our journey	1	-	-	-	-	-	01
Our strength	-	2	-	-	-	-	02
My views	-	1	-	-	-	-	01
My heart	1	-	-	-	-	-	01
	182	67	80	26	6	-	
TOTAL							361

* There are 36 yous in the 11 microexigences. 27 of them refer to the party, government or to Blair.

Table 16 - Main participants of the thirty microexigences

You appears as the third most recurrent participant with 27 references. The fourth is the participant *Labour Government* with 14 references. The fifth in the set is the participant *British people* with 13 recurrences. The sixth is the participant *Our country* with 11 recurrences. The seventh in the list is *Us* with 10 occurrences. *New Labour*, *Our PMs*, and *Our children*, each one with 04 recurrences, come in eighth in the list. *Our strength* is ninth in the rank with 02 samples. The other participants appear with one reference each.

Therefore, the majority of the 361 participants representing the entity *us*, 182 of

them, are portrayed as doers (linked to material processes), except the participant *I* that was used much more with mental processes. An explanation for this continues to be the Iraq War issue, in which Blair used several mental processes with the participant *I*.

In sum, Table 16 confirms what has been observed along the analysis that Blair constructed his political persuasion, in the speech, placing him and his partners mainly as agents of change.

Concerning the Set of opposition, 46 is the number of participants referring directly to Blair's opposition, specially the Tories, which can be understood that he also attributed a strong partisan tone to his speech.

SET OF OPPOSITION	TYPE OF PROCESSES						TOTAL
	M	R	ME	V	B	E	
The Tories	5	5	1	1	1	-	13
They (the Tories)	10	5	6	3	1	-	25
Our opponents (the Tories)	-	-	2	-	-	-	02
Their problem (the Tories)	-	1	-	-	-	-	01
The cynics (the Tories)	-	-	-	1	-	-	01
Our natural territories	-	1	-	-	-	-	01
The Tories and the Lib Dems	1	-	-	-	-	-	01
It (the Tories days)	-	2	-	-	-	-	02
	16	14	09	05	02	-	
TOTAL							46

Table 17 - Set of opposition 2

It is interesting to notice that even with the participants of the opposition, material processes are the most recurrent ones as it occurred in the Set of entity *us*. The difference, in this case, is that a negative connotation is attributed to the actions of the opposition. Another point to be observed is that for Blair, practically, there is only one opposition: the Tories. The Lib Dems (which is ranked the third major party in the UK) appear 3 times in the speech and other parties are not mentioned, which may mean that

Blair sees the British political arena as a bipolar arena. Clearly he chose to target the Conservative party.

Answering question three

What I suggest concerning the third research question: What does the analysis based on transitivity and on Fairclough's notions of language, as an element of social practice, reveal in terms of political intentions in Blair's speech?, is sustained by Fairclough's (2000) words that

any public elaboration of a political discourse is also working to persuade people. A great deal of preliminary talking and thinking goes on behind the scenes [...]. But as soon as political discourse goes public, it is rhetorically constructed, part of political performance. (p. 86)

According to what was seen in chapter IV, Blair tried to recover his credibility (maybe the greatest motivation for his speech – his macroexigence) as a politician in decline. In order to try to achieve this objective, he decided to emphasize participants surrounding him (Blair, the Labour Party, his government and British people), that is, he highlighted what I previously referred to as a set of participants representing the entity *us*. In conjunction with the set of entities surrounding him, Blair chose to construct his speech with a majority of changeable, concrete meanings (material processes), which suggests, in my point of view, that he politically intended to be seen as an actor, one making things happen, making the difference.

I also understand that there is a political intention implied in presenting the participant *we*, as the most recurrent one, especially, in the set of participants representing the entity *us*. The intention would be to convey the idea that, among the factors that made them (the party and government, and nation) achieve the results presented in the speech was the fact that the party, the government and the nation had a

leader constructing a scenario for changes to come true, and that leader was him. If he could make his audience infer this way, he could come out of the tough situation he was living with part of his credibility restored.

Still his response to his macroexigence occurred addressing to an immediate and a non-immediate audience he encompassed within the set of participants representing the entity *us*. His immediate audience was constituted of people who were members of the Labour Party, Labour's delegates, Cabinet Members, Members of Parliament, senior ministers, mayors, journalists, invited authorities from several segments of society; and his non-immediate audience was constituted of people who followed him on TV, radio, Internet, in favor or against him. Therefore, I suggest that, when Blair included them as doers, he politically intended to turn these audiences into rhetorical audiences, audiences that could incorporate his ideas and foster them (Bitzer, 1968). If he could achieve this aim, certainly, a third term would be less distant.

Among the microexigences that corroborates, I understand, Blair's intentions of changing his audience into rhetorical audiences are *Change for an inclusive public service*; *Showing that reforms achieved their goals*; and *Criminals could not be tolerated* which deal with implementations applied by Blair, the party, and the government at public services, through which he attempted to show he was fulfilling his promises. Demonstrating results about public service improvement tend to be a good political appeal, since it interferes in the quality of life of ordinary people: the voters.

Yet, I also suggest that, in the predominant use of the entity *us*, firstly, there is the intention of uniting the party; secondly, showing himself as an inclusive leader, that is, one who recognized his partners as co-workers in the changes implemented; thirdly, validating his government by the demonstration of results in welfare; fourthly, demonstrating that the Labour Party was more efficient in facing challenges and

bringing changes than his opposition. This last intention can be verified in the microexigences *Torie's excuses for their inertia* and *Comparing Tories and Lib Dems to the Labour Party to face big challenges*, for instance.

Another political intention, also encompassing some intentions I have already mentioned, is to stress his views about the Third Way. For him, the Third Way is a strong alternative for modernizing the way politics are made. It can be seen in the microexigence *Giving opportunity – demanding responsibility*, which is a motto of the third way (Callinicos, 2001).

And another important political intention that can be suggested, taking into account the predominance of material processes and the predominance of participants surrounding him, is to compensate his weak answer for the Iraq War exigence with other issues of interest of the party and of the country because he could not treat the war question more consistently, due to the fact that he did not have concrete things (things performed by him and his government) to present about it, especially concerning the WMDs the allies went to Iraq to dismantle. If the fever provoked by the Iraq issue were not faded or compensated with positive news, he could have his credibility more damaged than it was, which could be a threat to his reelection. Then it seems to me that there was the political intention of minimizing the thorny Iraq question by approaching results in other areas.

In this sense, the political strategy and intention, in my point of view, when confronted with what he was going to say about an embankment on war without evidence for, was to push the address to issues which were vital to the party's maintenance in power, vital to ordinary people, for instance, essential public services like education and health (microexigences *Results in education* and *Results in public health*).

8.1 Final remarks

The way Blair followed to try to regain his credibility (the macroexigence) was mainly revealed in the discussion in chapters V and VI, and it passed through a description and defense of the party; a reflection of necessity of renewal; a comparison to the opposition when challenges were faced; a discussion of excuses given by his opposition for not being successful (especially the Tories). His attempt to reestablish his image also passed through a discussion showing the difference the Labour Party was making in society; a discussion of the necessity of the Labour Party to renew in order not to vacillate as in the past; also passed through the necessity of showing the needed implementation of services for all; it passed through an exhibition of results achieved, trying to demonstrate that Britain was going ahead, was in the path of progress; it passed through a demonstration that public services (under the (New) Labour Party) were more alike the ones the riches could afford; and it passed through a defense and explanation of the New Labour's achievements and that (for him) they were a reality. Another way he chose to try to have his credibility restored, to have his actions approved, and consequently to maintain himself and his party in power, was to put himself, his party and government as agents of change, to present themselves as the ones who have the best alternatives for his people and parts of the world.

The discourse analyst attempts to bring out what is represented in a text so as to promote awareness both for the analyst and for those who become interested in what goes behind political addresses. In being aware of this, we can act more critically and play a role for a more transparent relationship between politicians and people. In political speeches, language is used as a peculiar way of social practice, as a persuasive

instrument. I hope I may have contributed for unveiling part of this peculiarity with this work.

8.2 Suggestion for further research

It would be relevant if researchers could develop more investigations in the area of political speeches connecting CDA with SFL. It could be done involving Brazilian politicians, since we have been living in Brazil circumstances of PICs (Parliamentary Investigation Commissions) where the ability to persuade, to dissimulate seems to be very present. These two abilities could interestingly be targets of analysis combining CDA with SFL. In analyzing what our representatives argue when under investigation could help us to better understand, as I said in the first chapter, the relations of power, and then we could gain voice, we could have what to say, and we would have arguments to agree or to disagree with their attitudes, and we could have the possibility to try to interfere and modify situations that probably influence our daily lives and delay the progress of our society.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

EXIGENCIES IN BLAIR'S 2003 SPEECH

Full text: Blair's conference speech

Speech by the prime minister, Tony Blair, to the 2003 Labour party conference in Bournemouth

Tuesday September 30, 2003

1- The Labour Party's honor to be in power

It's my privilege to be the first Labour leader in 100 years to speak to our conference six and half years into Government. We've never been here before. We've never come this far. Never governed for so long. Now with the prospect of a full third term. But it's a testing time.

2- Standing for the New Labour's achievement

I now look my age. You feel yours. I've had plenty of advice over what I should say in this speech. Some of it I have even asked for. One suggestion was leading you all in chorus of "Always look on the bright side of life."

So what do we do. Give up on it. Or get on with it? That's the question.

Yes the cynics say, New Labour's been a great electoral machine but you've done little with it. I could recite you the statistics: The lowest inflation, mortgage rates, and unemployment for decades. The best ever school results, with over 60,000 more 11 year olds every year now reaching required standards in English and Maths. Cardiac deaths down 19 per cent since 1997, cancer deaths 9 per cent. Burglaries down 39 per cent.

But it's not statistics that tell us what has changed, it's people.

The lone parent I met, for years unemployed and unemployable. Now not just in work through the New Deal but winning promotion.

What mattered to her most? Not the money alone but the respect her child gained for her, seeing her work, grow in confidence, becoming a role model. One of two million people the New Deal has helped since 1997. That's what this Labour government has done for Britain.

Or the children I met this month at a brand new academy in Thamesmead in one of the most deprived estates in the country.

3- Results in education

In the past, children skipped their old school as often as attending. And 2 years ago, just three pupils, yes three out of an entire year of 114, got 5 good GCSE passes.

That failing school now empty. In its place a new £31m building, on time. Where teachers want to teach. Young people want to learn and parents want their children to go.

In one year attendance has now reached over 90% and GCSE results have soared.

The new school, its new attitude was summed up by one young student who told me she had been badgering her mum all week to buy an alarm-clock, as she was scared of sleeping in case she missed a single lesson. What better symbol of the opportunities we are giving our children.

4- Results in public health

Or the young boy on Merseyside I met having treatment for cancer - every parent's nightmare - but whose parents can't praise enough the care and treatment he's received from the NHS.

No complaints from them. Just astonishment and admiration at the commitment and compassion of NHS staff and pride in our health service.

The money isn't wasted. It's not disappearing down some black hole. It's there in bricks and mortar, in computers and machines.
In 1997, nearly half, yes half of the hospital buildings in the NHS were built before it came into existence, and now it is down to a quarter and falling fast.

5- The difference the Labour Party is making

That's the difference we are making in this country. And most of all, we should be proud of every single teacher, doctor, nurse and police officer we have recruited. Proud we have increased public service pay. It means we will recruit the thousands of extra staff we need but it also means we are beginning to reward properly the staff we already have for the superb job they do.

Add to that our constitutional change, devolution in Scotland and Wales, with nationalism now in disarray, self-government for London, the Freedom of Information Act, the Human Rights Act, the first open and transparent rules on Party funding.

And there is one piece of unfinished business which we will soon be completing. The abolition of the remaining hereditary peers. Never again in Britain will someone have the right to make laws which affect the lives of ordinary families solely because their ancestor was a duke, an earl or a viscount.

Add to that what we achieved for peace in Northern Ireland.

And let none of us forget, it is your Government that even in harsher economic times, is growing our aid budget, leading the way on cutting Third World debt, \$70 billion already committed globally, and has just helped broker the deal that will give HIVAIDS patients in Africa improved access to drugs.

In a host of ways, from a strengthening of the law against racial violence, to equal rights for same sex couples, setting up the Disability Rights Commission, action on domestic violence, changes that will never be reflected in an opinion poll, rarely hit a headline, rarely be heard outside those who benefit from it, in a world where a grain of sensation gets more attention than a mountain of genuine achievements - that's the difference you have made to Britain.

6- From easy opposition to the hardship of governance

So why is it so tough?

Government's tough. Fulfilling but tough. Opposition was easy.

All our MPs had to do was to go back to their constituencies and blame it on the Government. Some of them still do.

May 1997 was a unique moment. An abundance of expectation surrounded our arrival. A sense of hope beyond ordinary imagining. The people felt it. We felt it. Instead of reining in the expectation, we gave it free rein. It was natural, but born of inexperience. We thought change was a matter of will. Have the right programme, spend the right money and the job is done. But experience has taught us: the job is never done.

If we expected bouquets every day, we should have stayed in Opposition. We shouldn't want thanks. It's a privilege to do the job, however tough.

And in Government, you expect things to happen but the things that happen are not the things you expect, at least not on 1 May 1997.

7- The Iraq War

Iraq has divided the international community. It has divided the party, the country, families, friends. I know many people are disappointed, hurt, angry. I know many profoundly believe the action we took was wrong. I do not at all disrespect anyone who disagrees with me. I ask just one thing: attack my decision but at least understand why I took it and why I would take the same decision again.

Imagine you are PM. And you receive this intelligence. And not just about Iraq. But about the whole murky trade in WMD. And one thing we know. Not from intelligence. But from historical fact. That Saddam's regime has not just developed but used such weapons gassing thousands of his own people. And has lied about it consistently, concealing it for years even under the noses of the UN Inspectors.

And I see the terrorism and the trade in WMD growing. And I look at Saddam's country and I see its people in torment ground underfoot by his and his sons' brutality and wickedness. So

what do I do? Say "I've got the intelligence but I've a hunch its wrong?" Leave Saddam in place but now with the world's democracies humiliated and him emboldened?

You see, I believe the security threat of the 21st century is not countries waging conventional war. I believe that in today's interdependent world the threat is chaos. It is fanaticism defeating reason.

8- Britain in the fighting against terrorism

Suppose the terrorists repeated September 11th or worse. Suppose they got hold of a chemical or biological or nuclear dirty bomb; and if they could, they would. What then?

And if it is the threat of the 21st century, Britain should be in there helping confront it, not because we are America's poodle, but because dealing with it will make Britain safer.

There was no easy choice. So whatever we each of us thought, let us agree on this. We who started the war must finish the peace. Those British soldiers who died are heroes. We didn't regret the fall of Milosovic, the removal of the Taliban or the liberation of Sierra Leone and whatever the disagreement Iraq is a better country without Saddam.

And why do I stay fighting to keep in there with America on the one hand and Europe on the other? Because I know terrorism can't be defeated unless America and Europe work together.

9- Defending America as a partner

And it's not so much American unilateralism I fear. It's isolation. It's walking away when we need America there engaged. Fighting to get world trade opened up. Fighting to give hope to Africa. Changing its position for the future of the world, on climate change. And staying with it in the Middle East, telling Israel and the Palestinians: don't let the extremists decide the fate of the peace process, when the only hope is two states living side by side in peace.

10- Britain joining Euro (Britain being strong)

And it's not Britain being swallowed up in some European federal nightmare as if Britain wasn't strong enough to hold its own, that I fear. It's Britain leaving the centre of Europe retreating to its margin at the very moment when the fate of Europe is being decided, 10 new nations and Britain's leadership has never been more essential. That's why apart from all the good economic reasons it is madness for Britain to give up the option of joining the Euro.

11- Sustaining his position on Europe and terrorism

And I know both on terrorism and on Europe my views cause offence. But I can no more concede to parts of the left on the one than I can genuflect to the right over the other. Because I believe both positions are vital in delivering justice in a modern world.

12- The necessity of renewal in the party to not recur the Old Labour ups and downs

The original Conference title read "Fairness For All". We changed it to "A Future Fair For All". Let us be absolutely clear about where we are today and why. Everything we have done has led up to this moment. To bring new hope and opportunity to the lives of all our citizens we always knew we would have to do something that Labour Governments have never succeeded in before - to renew in power, as we renewed to achieve power.

People ask me if I am surprised that things have got so tough. I say I am surprised it has taken so long. Why? I've been trying to say this to you for the best part of 10 years but never quite found the words.

But now I've hit the rough patch, its time to try again.

Up to now there has been a ritual to Labour Governments, Euphoria on victory. Hard slog in Government. Tough times. Party accuses leadership of betrayal. Leadership accuses Party of ingratitude. Disillusion. Defeat. Long period of Tory Government before next outbreak of euphoria. We've been far better at defeating ourselves than the Tories have ever been.

Apart from 1974-79, which was fragile from the first, each Labour Government has been a spasmodic interval punctuating otherwise unbroken Conservative rule. For too many of our 100 years we have been a well-intentioned pressure group. We fight injustice. We argue our causes.

But our psychology has been that of people who know, deep down, someone else is the governing party and we are the ones championing the grievance. So, after a time, after we have righted the most obvious wrongs of the Conservatives, we fold up. We return to our comfort zone.

13- Tories' excuses for their inertia

Then came New Labour. From the outset, our opponents hated and feared us. They believe the Tories have a divine right to rule Britain and we are usurpers. They look at their own Party and feel contempt. And they hate us even more because they think we're responsible. And in a sense we are. By occupying the centre ground, by modernising, by reaching out beyond our activists, we helped turn the Tories into a replica of what we used to be. A narrow base. Obsessed about the wrong things. Old fashioned. In retreat.

When the Tories lose an election now anywhere in the country, they say it's not their natural territory. Like Scotland is not natural Tory territory. Like Wales is not natural Tory territory. Like the North of England is not natural Tory territory. Like the big cities are not natural Tory territory. Like Harwich, Hastings and Hove aren't natural Tory territory. If I was a Conservative I would be wondering where on earth is our natural territory. We always knew the Tories didn't have a heart. Their problem now is they haven't got a heartland.

No wonder they keep trying to reinvent themselves. From cuddly Conservatives to compassionate Conservatives to caring Conservatives. When are they going to realise it's not the first word that's the problem, it's the second.

But one thing they have succeeded in. As they always do. Right from the beginning of New Labour they set up the eternal false choice of progressive politics. That in Government we either revert to the past; or we stand for nothing. That we are either incompetent or compromised. That if policy is modernised, belief is betrayed. And it plays to our own fears. Yes, New Labour a clever piece of marketing, good at winning elections, but hollow where the heart should be.

14 - Describing and defending the New Labour - Pushing it to unification

New Labour for me was never a departure from belief. It is my belief. The just society in which each person is a full and equal citizen of our land, irrespective of birth, class, wealth, race or sex. Where through solidarity we build a society in which collective strength compensates for individual weakness.

Where privilege cannot just be handed down from generation to generation but success has to be earned on merit. Where self respect and respect for others is the hallmark of our communities and where the fight against poverty and oppression is Britain's mission in the wider world. These are my values and yours. They are the key. But the door they must unlock is the door to the future.

Because values not put to work in the real world are mere words, lying idle, there to console us but not to change lives for the better.

When almost 10 years ago we ditched the old Clause IV, we didn't do it just to ditch nationalisation. The new Clause IV was a fundamental restatement of ideology. "by the strength of our common endeavour we achieve more than we achieve alone.... a community in which power, wealth and opportunity are in the hands of the many not the few."

From now on, we said: we stand for certain values. The values are unchangeable. But the policies are open to change. We made the ends sacrosanct. We put the means up for discussion so that each time could find the right expression for values that are for all time.

In the first phase of our transformation, we took the millstones off our neck. We became a Party of economic competence, strong on defence, concerned on law and order. And we won power. And then in our first term we recovered the credibility to govern. We laid foundations.

But now, is where we show whether we have the mettle not just to be a longer or even a better Labour Government than those that went before us, but whether we usher in a political era where progressive politics is to the 21st century what conservative politics was to the 20th. I do not just want an historic third term. Our aim must be an historic realignment of the political forces shaping our country and the wider world.

15- Time for the Labour Party renewal

Here we are poised, 6½ years in, with a fantastic opportunity, to use or to lose. Yes, this is a testing time. But it is a test not just of belief but of character. And the time is for renewal, not retreat.

A delegate said to me last night. "I know what you want really to say", she said: "you want to say: I know what I'm doing. Just let me get on with it." Then she said: "You do know what you are doing don't you?" It's a fair question. I know the old top down approach won't work any more. I know I can't say "I am the leader, follow me". Not that that was your strong point anyway.

Over the coming months, I want our Party to begin a new discussion with the people of Britain. Across major policy areas the Government will publish a prospectus, discussing the progress we have made and the challenges our country still faces. We should have the confidence to open up the debate, be honest about the challenges, lay out the real choices.

But this must not just be a discussion between us. Because if we want a Government in touch with the Party, we must have a Party in touch with the people.

And so let us make this the biggest policy consultation ever to have taken place in this country. The Ministers from me down, our MPs out in every constituency hosting discussions that engage with the whole community.

So, when we begin our manifesto process, when the policy forum draws our thinking together, I want it to address the big questions, engage with ordinary people's hopes and fears. A progressive, imaginative, vibrant public debate about how we together build a future fair for all. Not the daily diet of froth; not turning serious politics into soap opera, debasing it, turning it into an endless who knew what, when, as if politicians simply competed on villainy. The British people deserve better from the politicians and with respect, from parts of the media too. But real politics about real people. And in the programme we set out, let our idealism be undimmed, but let us show what experience has taught it.

16- Showing that the reforms achieved their goals

What have we learnt? That from Bank of England independence, to primary school standards, from street crime to PFI hospital building, no change without controversy, no progress without change, no prospect of social justice without reform.

We're proud of economic stability. 1½ million more jobs since 1997. A hundred years ago we campaigned for a minimum wage. Tomorrow our minimum wage, the one we introduced in the teeth of Tory opposition is going up again - to £4.50. That means that since its introduction this Labour government has increased the earnings of the lowest pay workers, by over £1,500 a year. Whilst the Tories said it would cost millions of jobs, we can say today that Britain's historic minimum wage is here to stay and it comes with the best record on jobs for 30 years. But we know it's not enough, not in the economy of the future.

17- Barriers are broken down, Britain is going forward. Exhibiting results

The fight for a fair future must begin with our number one priority education. At every age, at every stage, education is the surest guarantee of a fair future. At every age and every stage we are breaking down the barriers that hold people back.

At birth: a year's maternity leave, paid paternity leave for the first time and now a new trust fund for every child; their own stake in the future. For toddlers, childcare places, nursery places, child tax credits, and Sure Start giving mothers the confidence and support they need. At primary school the basics, so now our children are in the top three in the world for reading. At secondary school, personalised learning for every child in new specialist schools and City Academies. For teenagers, grants to stay on at school, modern apprenticeships, not a thing of the past but a part of the future. And then throughout adult life, new opportunities through Learn Direct to learn more - a language, new skills - every individual the chance to fulfil their potential.

At every age, at every stage, opening opportunity not for a privileged few but for all. And we need a modern industrial base, doubling investment in science, leading Europe in the biosciences and technology, more high tech spins off from universities than ever before - not just world beating British ideas but world beating products, British profits, British jobs. And yes new manufacturing jobs - high skills, high tech, exactly the kind of jobs we need for the future.

In the economy of the 21st, knowledge, human capital, is the future and fairness demands it is open to all.

18- Comparing Tories and Lib Dems to LP when facing big challenges

But a big challenge faces us. As our children are helped at every stage to learn - we are going further than any country in Europe in turning higher education from a privilege for the few to a right for the many. But how do we finance education through life and also get more children into university education that competes with the best in the world?

To pretend it will all come from the taxpayer is dishonest. It won't and it wouldn't be fair if it did. And yes the Tories have an alternative to student fees. To cut money going to universities by cutting student numbers. 100,000 fewer students. Is that fair? Who do you think will be the students cut? Their children? And when the universities need more money, do you think they'll raise taxes? No, they'll cut numbers again, when our very economic future depends on us developing people's potential not squandering it.

And the Lib Dems? They say they will spend more and it will all come out of raising the top rate of tax to 50 per cent. Except that extra university funding is not all that's to come from the top rate taxpayer. They have commitments to spend more on forty different items running into billions of pounds.

All this from the top rate taxpayer. We used to have that policy. Remember squeezing the rich 'til the pips squeaked? Except in the end, it wasn't only the rich that were squeezed; and it wasn't the pips that squeaked, it was us.

We can be proud of the new money in our schools and health service, proud that this year, last year and next year spending on health and education is rising faster here than in any other major country. 55,000 more nurses. 25,000 more teachers. 80,000 more classroom assistants. Tremendous.

19- Reaching the unfortunate ones through fair policies (a challenge in comparison with wealthy people)

But in the future how can it be fair when for all the advances we have made, a wealthy pensioner waiting on a consultant's list for her hip operation can go to the same consultant and get it done next week if she is able to pay, but a poor pensioner cannot?

And how is it fair that well off parents, for all our improvements, who can't get their child into a decent secondary school, can choose to buy a good education but poor parents can't?

Choice has always been there for the well off. Excellence has always been at the service of the wealthy. What is unfair is not the right to choose, not the pursuit of excellence but where that choice and that excellence depends on your wealth not your need.

Take the case of an elderly woman in the north west, who looked after her dying husband despite her ill-health. After his death, she agreed to have the serious heart operation she needed. But though she was listed as urgent, she was placed on a year-long waiting list. Once she would have had no choice. Now she did. Because of our policies, she was offered the chance to travel to get her heart operation done much more quickly. She jumped at it. After the operation, she said: "I'd go to the ends of the earth to get my health back. It saved me six months of anxiety. Really I feel it saved my life". Choice for her is not a betrayal of our principles. It is our principles.

20- Change for an inclusive service

And what progress it was in the 1960s when the comprehensive ended the division of children into successes and failures age 11. What a breakthrough in 1948 when the NHS gave people, who used to scrimp and save and fret to pay, care free at the point of use.

But progress in the 21st century demands more, much more. Teaching tailored to each child's ability. A Health Service that brings the benefits of new genetic knowledge to everyone, not a lottery. The patient not at the convenience of the system but the system at the convenience of the patient. And because the world changes we have to change. No longer "one size fits all".

Recognising that in the 21st century you can't run a personalised service by remote control. That's the reason for change. Not to level down but to level up. Not to privatise but to revitalise a public service we all depend on.

I don't want the middle class fighting to get out of the state system. I want them fighting to get into it but on equal terms with working class patients and children. That's what the founders of socialism dreamt of.

And when I read a resolution saying Foundation Hospitals are opposed by an alliance of the BMA and the House of Lords, and yes Tories and Lib Dems too, what are we: a progressive party? If we had listened to that alliance, we would never have had an NHS in the first place. And of course the criminal justice system with its rules and procedures was a vital step of progress when poor people were without representation unjustly convicted by corners cut.

21- Criminals can't be tolerated – judicial system and society have to change

But today in Britain in the 21st century it is not the innocent being convicted. It's too many of the guilty going free. Too many victims of crime and always the poorest who are on the front line. And its great we've made a start on reform with record numbers of police officers. But I tell you. We will not hit organised crime until we treat them with the ruthlessness they treat us. We won't tackle crime if we bail drug abusers back on the streets without treatment. And we cannot say we live in a just society, if we do not put an end to the anti-social behaviour, the disrespect, the conduct which we wouldn't tolerate from our own children and shouldn't have to tolerate from someone else's.

22- Giving opportunity – demanding responsibility

Responsibility and opportunity. That's why we are investing in our poorest communities. And it's the whole basis of tax credits. If you work, we will help you with the working tax credit. If you are bringing up kids we will support you with child benefit and child tax credit. If you save, we will help you with pension credit that will boost the incomes of half of Britain's pensioners by an average of £400 a year - the biggest advance in combating poverty in old age in a generation but in the future given to those that need it most. And fairness in a future where millions are on the move.

23- Unfair immigration

Britain should always be open to refugees. We can be proud of the part immigration has played in this country.

But economic migrants should come in through a proper immigration process.

Changing the law on asylum is the only fair way of helping the genuinely persecuted - and its best defence against racism gaining ground. We have cut asylum applications by a half. But we must go further. We should cut back the ludicrously complicated appeal process, de-rail the gravy train of legal aid, fast-track those from democratic countries, and remove those who fail in their claims without further judicial interference.

And in a world of mass migration, with cheaper air travel, and all the problems of fraud, it makes sense to ask whether now in the early 21st century identity cards are no longer an affront to civil liberties but may be the way of protecting them.

24- Challenges before his government is facing

These are some of the challenges. What's fair when we want not a basic but a good standard of life in retirement that is bound to last longer than ever before. What's fair when the users of universal services want to be treated not as grateful welfare recipients but demanding 21st century consumers. What's fair for the mother who a generation ago would have expected to stay at home but now wants the chance to work flexibly. What's fair in a world in which, in a strong economy, rail and tube are used so much more than in 1997, where we desperately need a 21st century transport system and cannot fairly fund it all from the taxpayer. What's fair in a world where the insecurities multiply so fast and the wheels of government turn so slow. Where we have to pick our way to sanity through a cacophony of pressure and hassle which are not the product of any one moment in time but of the times in which we live.

Fairness remade. A Britain without poverty. First class public services. Community renewed. A progressive future within our grasp. The dreams of generations who came to conferences like this becoming real, hopes that were once utopian becoming everyday.

25- Reasons to emphasize political changes

The reason I bang the drum for change is I get so angry that it takes so long, restless at how much there is to do. I want us to go faster, further.

I think of the people I meet. Holly in Southampton. Teenage mum. Now through Sure Start with childcare. Given help to study so she can become a midwife so she can work in the NHS so another mother can benefit. Why does it take so long for us to realise when we invest in people like her, it's not a cost, it's an investment in our future? Or the NHS manager in Newcastle, 30 years working in the NHS, telling me only in the last three has he done anything other than managing decline or the Chief Police Officer telling me after a lifetime in the service, that it was only with the recent legislation on crime he felt Government understood.

26- If challenges are not met, old government returns

And, I stick at it, because I know what's there if we stumble. Not the Government of some hallucination, where no tough decisions have to be taken, the money grows on trees, the Ministers all hold hands and sing Kum-bay-ah, also known as the Lib Dems - what's round the corner is the old Tory days.

It's not that long ago that we've all forgotten, is it? The 3m unemployed. The two recessions. The negative equity. The double figure inflation. The 15% interest rates. The cuts in schools and hospitals. The privatising of the railways.

And when we get to the next election, believe me. We won't be fighting for votes with the hard left. We'll be fighting the hard right. The Tories. And they'll fight us on immigration, on Europe and above all on tax. And they'll say: you put the money in and nothing happened. That's why they run down the NHS. Because they know if we can change our state schools and our NHS for the better, then they're back where they've never been in 100 years 'til now, a Party of opposition and not even a good one at that.

27- Politics can really bring changes

When do Tories succeed? They succeed when people believe politics can't change lives. But we know it can because we see in the faces of the New Dealer and the pupils and the patients and the poorest of our world that politics can make a difference.

I remember when our journey to Government began. Here in this Hall in 1985, with Neil Kinnock, here with us today. And, of course today it seems, absurd, doesn't it? Militant, Arthur, all that nonsense. But I tell you. At the time, I remember up there, where the MPs used to be penned in, getting to my feet in the middle of his speech, the Hall split asunder, my heart pounding, wondering if this was the beginning or the end.

And what I learnt that day was not about the far left. It was about leadership. Get rid of the false choice: principles or no principles. Replace it with the true choice. Forward or back. I can only go one way. I've not got a reverse gear. The time to trust a politician most is not when they're taking the easy option. Any politician can do the popular things. I know, I used to do a few of them.

28- No to cowardice in facing inevitable challenges

I know it's hard for people to keep faith. Some of the people may have a different take on me. But I have the same take on them. I trust their decency. I trust their innate good sense. I know I am the same person I always was, older, tougher, more experienced, but basically the same person believing the same things. I've never led this Party by calculation. Policy you calculate. Leadership comes by instinct. I believe the British people will forgive a government mistakes; will put the media onslaught in more perspective than we think; but what they won't forgive is cowardice in the face of a challenge.

29- The difficulty of deciding how to respond to challenges

The answer to any of these challenges is not easy.

During the past months on Iraq, I have received letter from parents whose sons have died as soldiers. One believing their son had died in vain and hating me for my decision. Another, a beautiful letter, said they thought Iraq was the right thing to do and though their son was dead,

whom they loved dearly, they still thought it was right. And don't believe anyone who tells you when they receive letters like that they don't suffer any doubt. All you can do in a modern world, so confusing with its opportunities and its hazards, is to decide what is the right way and try to walk in it.

30- Summing up the challenges

It's not being out of touch. After 6 years, more battered without but stronger within. It's the only leadership I can offer. And it's the only type of leadership worth having.

The purpose: to rebuild the public realm, to discover amongst all the modern pressures, the virtues of community, of tolerance, of decency, of respect. To bring to the self interested consumer age, the value of solidarity. Not to cease to want the best for oneself but to wish it for all. To build a country not just proud of their own achievements, but proud of what we can do together. Proud not just of how they get and spend but what we in friendship with each other can do for each other.

This is our challenge.

To stride forward where we have always previously stumbled. To renew in government.

Steadfast in our values. Radical in our methods. Open in our politics. If we faint in the day of adversity, our strength is small. And ours isn't. We have the strength, the maturity, now the experience to do it.

So let it be done.

APPENDIX II

OTHER NINETEEN MICROEXIGENCES AND THEIR CLAUSE TYPES AND MAIN PARTICIPANTS

01- The Party's honor to be in power

Material Clauses

01- We've never been here before. We've never **come** this far. Never governed for so long. No
02- been here before. We've never come this far. [We] Never **governed** for so long. Now with t

Relational Clauses

03- Bournemouth Tuesday September 30, 2003 It's my privilege to be the first Labour leader in
04- six and half years into Government. We've never **been** here before. We've never been here
05- th the prospect of a full third term. But it's a testing time. I now look my age.

Verbal Clauses

06- be the first Labour leader in 100 years [I] **to speak** to our conference six and half years into

03- Results in education

Material Clauses

01- tates in the country. In the past, children **skipped** their old school as often as attending. And
02- their old school as often as [children] **attending**. And 2 years ago, just three pupils, yes three
03- three out of an entire year of 114, [three pupils] **got** 5 good GCSE passes. That failing scho
04- Where teachers **want to teach**. Young people want to learn and parents want their children
05- to learn and parents want their children **to go**. In one year attendance has now reach over 90
06- has now reached over 90% and GCSE results **have soared**. The new school, its new attitu
07- dent who told me she **had been badgering** her mum all week to buy an alarm-clock, as she
08- badgering her mum all week **to buy** an alarm-clock, as she was scared of sleeping in case s
09- as she was scared of sleeping in case she **missed** a single lesson. What better symbol of the
10- what better symbol of the opportunities we **are giving** our children. Or the young boy on

Relational Clauses

11- Got 5 good GCSE passes. That failing school now [is] empty. In its place a new £31m build
12- GCSE passes. That failing school now [is] empty. In its place a new £31m building, on time
13- all week to buy an alarm-clock, as she **was** scared of sleeping in case she missed a single les
14- go. In one year attendance **has** now **reached** over 90% and GCSE results have soared. The

Mental Clauses

15- Where teachers want to teach. Young people **want to learn** and parents want their children
16- to learn and parents **want** their children to go. In one year attendance has now reach over 90

Verbal Clauses

17- Its new attitude **was summed up** by one young student who told me she had been badgering
18- Its new attitude was summed up by one young student who **told** me she had been badgering

Behavioural Clauses

19- to buy an alarm-clock, as she was scared of **sleeping** in case she missed a single lesson. Wh

Existential Clauses

20- That failing school now empty. In its place [**there is**] a new £31m building, on time. Where

04- Results in public health

Material Clauses

1- children. Or the young boy on Merseyside **I met** having treatment for cancer – every parent's
2- parents can't praise enough the care and treatment **he's received** from the NHS. No complain
3- health service. The money **isn't wasted**. It's not disappearing down some black hole. It's the
4- health service. The money isn't wasted. It's [money] not **disappearing** down some black hole
5- half of the hospital buildings in the NHS **were built** before it came into existence, and now it
6- hospital buildings in the NHS were built before it [NHS] **came into** existence, and now it is
7- came into existence, and now it is down to a quarter and [it] **falling** fast. That's the difference

Relational Clauses

8- children. Or the young boy on Merseyside I met [the young by] **was] having** treatment for ca
9- disappearing down some black hole. It's [the money] there in bricks and mortar, in computers
10- came into existence, and now it is down to a quarter and falling fast. That's the difference

Verbal Clauses

11- but whose parent whose parents **can't praise** enough the care and treatment he's received

Existential Clauses

12- he's received from the NHS. [**There is**] No complaints from them. Just astonishment and
13- No complaints from them. [**There is**] Just astonishment and admiration at the commitment

06- From easy opposition to the hardship of governance

Material Clauses

01- So why is it so tough? Government's tough. [Governments] **Fulfilling** but tough. Opposition

02- tion was easy. All our MPs **had to do** was to go back to their constituencies and blame it on
 03- tion was easy. All our MPs had to do **was to go back** to their constituencies and blame it on
 04- ent. An abundance of expectation **surrounded** our arrival. A sense of hope beyond ordinary
 05- The people felt it. We felt it. Instead of [we] **reining** in the expectation, we gave it free rein.
 06- eining in the expectation, we **gave** it free rein. It was natural, but born of inexperience. We
 07- ree rein. It was natural, but [it was] **born** of inexperience. We thought change was a matter
 08- atter of will. Have the right programme, [you] **spend** the right money and the job is done.
 09- programme, spend the right money and the job is done. But experience has taught us: the jo
 10- money and the job is done. But experience **has taught** us: the job is never done. If we expe
 11- we shouldn't want thanks. It's a privilege [we] **to do** the job, however tough. And in govern
 12- And in Government, you expect things to happen but the things that happen are not the thin
 13- expect things to happen but the things that **happen** are not the things you expect, at not on

Relational Clauses

14- If we expected bouquets every day, we **should have stayed** in Opposition. We should have
 15- difference you have made to Britain. So why **is it** so tough? Government's tough. Fulfilling
 16- So why is it so tough? Government's tough. Fulfilling but tough. Opposition was easy. All
 17- tough. Fulfilling but tough. Opposition **was** easy. All our MPs had to do was to go back to
 18- sition was easy. All our MPs had to do **was** to go back to their constituencies and blame it
 19- nt. Some of them still do. May 1997 **was** a unique moment. An abundance of expectation
 20- expectation, we [gave it free rein]. It **was** natural, but born of inexperience. We thought ch
 21- born of inexperience. We thought change **was** a matter of will. Have the right programme,
 22- a matter of will. [You] **Have** the right programme, spend the right money and the job is do
 23- Opposition. We shouldn't want thanks. It's a privilege to do the job, however tough. And in
 24- en but the things that [the things] happen **are** not the things you expect, at least not on 1 Ma

Mental Clauses

25- rdinary imagining. The people **felt** it. We felt it. Instead of reining in the expectation, we g
 26- ining. The people felt it. We **felt** it. Instead of reining in the expectation, we gave it free rei
 27- but born of inexperience. We **thought** change was a matter of will. Have the right program
 28- the job is never done. If we **expected** bouquets every day, we should have stayed in Opposi
 29- have stayed in Opposition. We shouldn't **want** thanks. It's a privilege to do the job, however
 30- ough. And in Government, you **expect** things to happen but the things that happen are not
 31- happen are not the things you **expect**, at least not on 1 May 1997.

Verbal Clauses

32- MPs had to do was to go back to their constituencies and [all our MPs] **blame** it on the
 Government
 33- overnment. Some of them still **do** [**blame**]. May 1997 was a unique moment. An abundance

08- Britain in the fighting against terrorism

Material Clauses

01- It is fanaticism defeating reason. Suppose the terrorists **repeated** September 11th or worse.
 02- September 11th or worse. Suppose they **got hold** of a chemical or biological or nuclear durt
 03- ear dirty bomb; and if they could [**get hold of**], they would. What then? And if it is the threa
 04- ear dirty bomb; and if they could, they would [**get hold of**]. What then? And if it is the threa
 05- threat of the 21st century, Britain should be in there **helping confront** it, not because we are

06- America's poodle, but because [we] **dealing** with it will make Britain safer. There was no ea
 07- because dealing with it [the threat of 21st century] will **make** Britain safer. There was no eas
 09- us agree on this. We who **started** the war must finish the peace. Those British soldiers who
 10- us agree on this. We who started the war [we] **must finish** the peace. Those British soldiers
 10- e. Those British soldiers who [British soldiers] **died** are heroes. We didn't regret the fall of
 11- use I know terrorism can't be defeated unless America and Europe on the other? And if
 12- be defeated unless America and Europe **work** together. And it's not so much American

Relational Clauses

13- hey could, they would. What then? And if it is the threat of the 21st century, Britain should
 14- threat of the 21st century, Britain should be in there helping confront it, not because we are
 15- confront it, not because we are America's poodle, but because dealing with it will make Bri
 16- Those British soldiers who [British soldiers] died **are** heroes. We didn't regret the fall of Mil
 17- Leone and whatever the disagreement Iraq is a better country without Saddam. And why do
 18- Saddam. And why do I stay fighting to keep in there with America on the hand and Europ

Mental Clauses

19- fanaticism defeating reason. [We]**Suppose** the terrorists repeated September 11th or worse
 20- er 11th or worse. [We] **Suppose** they got hold of a chemical or biological or nuclear dirty
 21- So whatever we each of us **thought**, let us agree on this. We who started the war must finis
 22- soldiers who died are heroes. We didn't regret the fall of Milosovic, the removal of the Ta
 23- the other? Because I know terrorism can't be defeated unless America and Europe work to

Verbal Clauses

24- we each of us thought, **let us agree** on this. We who started the war must finish the peace. T

Existential Clauses

25- with it will make Britain safer. **There was** no easy choice. So whatever we each of us thou

09- Defending America as a partner

Material Clauses

01- ican unilateralism I fear. It's isolation. It's walking away when we need America there en
 02- We need America there engaged. [America] **Fighting to get** world trade **opened up**. Fighti
 03- get world trade opened up. [America] **Fighting to give** hope to Africa. Changing its position
 04- Fighting to give hope to Africa. [America] **Changing** its position for the future of the world,
 05- process, when the only hope is two states living side by side in peace. And it's not Britain

Relational Clauses

06- America and Europe work together. And it's not so much American unilateralism I fear. It's
 07- not so much American unilateralism I fear. It's isolation. It's walking away when we need A
 08- world, on climate change. And [America] **staying** with it in the Middle East, telling Israel
 09- of the peace process, when the only hope is two states living side by side in peace. And

Mental Clauses

- 10- not so much American unilateralism **I fear**. It's isolation. It's walking away when we need
 11- It's walking away when we need America there engaged. Fighting to get world trade open
 12- ans: don't let the extremists **decide** the fate of the peace process, when the only hope is two

Verbal Clauses

- 13- with it in the Middle East, [we] **telling** Israel and the Palestinian s: don't let the extremists

10- Britain joining EURO currency – Britain being strong

Material Clauses

- 01- in peace. And it's not Britain being swallowed up in some European federal nightmare as if
 02- hold its own, that I fear. It's Britain leaving the centre of Europe retreating to its margin at t
 03- It's Britain leaving the centre of Europe [Britain] **retreating** to its margin at the very mome
 04- conomic reasons it is madness for Britain to give up the option of joining the Euro.
 05- reasons it is madness for Britain to give up the option of [Britain] **joining** the Euro.

Relational Clauses

- 06- states living side by side in peace. And it's not Britain being swallowed up in some Europea
 07- uropean federal nightmare as if Britain wasn't strong enough to hold its own, that I fear. It's
 08- as if Britain wasn't strong enough [Britain] **to hold** its own, that I fear. It's Britain leaving t
 09- enough to hold its own, that I fear. It's Britain leaving the centre of Europe retreating to its
 10- 10 new nations and Britain's leadership has never **been** more essential. That's why apart fro
 11- has never been more essential. That's why apart from all the good economic reasons it is ma
 12- good economic reasons it [giving up joining the EURO] **is** madness for Britain to give up th

Mental Clauses

- 13- ough to hold its own, that **I fear**. It's Britain leaving the centre of Europe retreating to its m
 14- moment when the fate of Europe **is being decided** [by someone] , 10 new nations and Britai

11- Sustaining his (Blair) position concerning Europe and terrorism

Material Clauses

- 01- se offence. But **I can** no more **concede** to parts of the left on the one than I can genuflect to
 02- he left on the one than **I can genuflect** to the right over the other. Because I believe both pos
 03- I believe both positions are vital in **delivering** justice in a modern world. The original Conf

Relational Clauses

- 04- ause I believe both [that] positions **are** vital in delivering justice in a modern world. The ori
 05- I know both on terrorism and on Europe my views **cause** offence. But I can no more conced

Mental Clauses

06- up the option of joining the Euro. And **I know** both on terrorism and on Europe my views ca
07- right over the other. Because **I believe** both [that] positions are vital in delivering justice in a

16- Showing that reforms achieved their goals – economic stability

Material Clauses

01- A hundred years ago **we campaigned** for minimum wage. Tomorrow our minimum wage.
02- Minimum wage, the one we introduced in the teeth of Tory opposition **is going up** again - to
£4.50. That means that since
03- Minimum wage, the one **we introduced** in the teeth of Tory opposition is going up again -
to £4.50. That means that since
04- introduction this Labour government **has increased** the earnings of the lowest pay workers,
05- wage is here to stay and **it** [minimum wage] **comes** with the best record on jobs for 30 years.

Relational Clauses

06- pect of social justice without reform. **We're** proud of economic stability. 1½ million more jo
07- today that Britain's historic minimum wage **is** here to stay and it comes with the best record
08- today that Britain's historic minimum wage **is here to stay** and it comes with the best record
09- is going up again - to £4.50. **That means** that since its introduction this Labour government
10- Whilst the Tories said **it** [salary increasing] **would cost** millions of jobs, we can say today th

Mental Clauses

11- what experience has taught it. What **have we** learnt? That from Bank of England independe

Verbal Clauses

12- over £1,500 a year. Whilst the Tories **said** it would cost millions of jobs, we can say today
13- would cost millions of jobs, **we can say** today that Britain's historic minimum wage is here

Existential Clauses

14- PFI hospital building, [**there is**] no change without controversy, no progress without change
15- building, no change without controversy, [**there is**] no progress without change, no prospect
16- no progress without change, [**there is**] no prospect of social justice without reform. We're p

21- Criminals can't be tolerated – judicial system and society have to change

Material Clauses

01- being convicted. It's too many of the guilty **going** free. Too many victims of crime and alw
02- on the front line. And its great **we've made** a start on reform with record numbers of police

03- police officers. But I tell you. We will not **hit** organised crime until we treat them with the
 04- hit organised crime until we **treat** them [outlaws] with the ruthlessness they treat us. We wo
 05- them with the ruthlessness they [outlaws] **treat** us. We won't tackle crime if we bail drug
 06- with the ruthlessness they treat us. We **won't tackle** crime if we bail drug abusers back on t
 07- treat us. We won't tackle crime if we **bail** drug abusers **back** on the streets without treatment
 08- without treatment. And we cannot say we **live** in a just society, if we do not put an end to th
 09- say we live in a just society, if we do not **put** an end to the anti-social behaviour, the disresp

Relational Clauses

10- But today in Britain in the 21st century it **is** not the innocent being convicted. It's too many
 11- it is not the innocent **being convicted**. It's too many of the guilt going free. Too many victi
 12- is not the innocent being convicted. It's too many of the guilty going free. Too many victims
 13- me and always the poorest who [the poorest] **are** on the front line. And its great we've made

Mental Clauses

14- the disrespect, the conduct which we **wouldn't tolerate** from our own children and shouldn'
 15- from our own children and [we] **shouldn't have to tolerate** from someone else's. Responsi

Verbal Clauses

16- of police officers. But I **tell** you. We will not hit organized crime until we treat them with th
 17- streets without treatment. And we **cannot say** we live in a just society, if we do not put an

22- Giving opportunity – demanding responsibility

Material Clauses

01- and opportunity. That's why we are **investing** in our poorest communities. And it's the whol
 02- basis of tax credits. If you **work**, we will help you with the working tax credit. If you are bri
 03- basis of tax credits. If you work, we will **help** you with the working tax credit. If you are bri
 04- king tax credit. If you **are bringing up** kids we will support you with child benefit and child
 05- tax credit. If you are bringing up kids we will **support** you with child benefit and child tax
 06- and child tax credit. If you **save**, we will help you with pension credit that will boost the inc
 07- and child tax credit. If you save, we will **help** you with pension credit that will boost the inc
 08- If you save, we will help you with pension credit that **will boost** the incomes of half Britain'
 09- age in a generation but in the future [pension credit will be] **given** to those that need it most.

Relational Clauses

10- onsibility and opportunity. That's why we are investing in our poorest communities. It's the
 11- investing in our poorest communities. And it's the whole basis of tax credits. If you work,
 12- that need most. And fairness in a future where millions **are** on the move. Britain should alw

Mental Clauses

13- old in a generation but in the future given to those that **need** it most. And fairness in a future

23- Unfair immigration

Material Clauses

01- We can be proud of the part immigration has played in this country. But economic migrants
 02- untry. But economic migrants should **come in** through a proper immigration process. changi
 03- process. [We]**Changing** the law on asylum is the only fair way of helping the genuinely per
 04- anging the law on asylum is the only fair way of [we] **helping** the genuinely persecuted - an
 05- its best defence against racism **gaining** ground. We have cut asylum applications by a half.
 06- ence against racism gaining ground. We **have cut** asylum applications by a half. But we mu
 07- applications by a half. But we **must go** further. We should cut back the ludicrously complic
 08- lf. But we must go further. We should **cut back** the ludicrously complicated appeal process,
 09- complicated appeal process, [we should] **de-rail** the gravy train of legal aid, fast-track those
 10- s, de-rail the gravy train of legal aid, [we] **fast-track** those from democratic countries, and
 11- e from democratic countries, and [we should] **remove** those who fail in their claims without
 12- untries, and remove those who [those] **fail** in their claims without further judicial interferen
 13- to civil liberties but [21st identity cards] may be the way of **protecting** them.

Relational Clauses

14- future where millions [refugees]**are** on the move. Britain should always be open to refugees
 15- the move. Britain should always **be** open to refugees. We can be proud of the part immigrati
 16- en to refugees. We **can be** proud of the part immigration has played in this country. But eco
 17- process. Changing the law on asylum **is** the only fair way of helping the genuinely persecute
 18- w in the early 21st century identity cards **are** no longer an affront to civil liberties but may
 19- o longer an affront to civil liberties but [identity cards] **may be** the way of protection them.

Mental Clauses

20- , and all the problems of fraud, it **makes** sense to ask whether now in the early 21st identity

Verbal Clauses

21- problems of fraud, it makes sense [we]**to ask** whether now in the now in the early 21st ident

24- Challenges his government is facing

Material Clauses

01- the users of universal services **want to be treated** not as grateful welfare recip
 02- users of universal services **want to be treated** not as grateful welfare recipients
 03- recipients but [users of universal service] **demanding** 21st century consumers.
 04- at home but now wants the chance [she] **to work** flexibly. What's fair in a world in whi
 05- in which, in a strong economy, rail and tube **are used** so much more than in 1997,
 06- transport system and [we] **cannot** fairly **fund** it all from the taxpayer. What's fair in a wo
 07- world where the insecurities **multiply** so fast and the wheels of government turn so
 08- eels of government turn so slow. Where we **have to pick** our way to sanity through
 09- ment in time but of the times in which we **live**. Fairness remade. A Britain without
 10- but of the times in which we live. Fairness [have to be] **remade**. A Britain without
 11- services. Community [have to be] **renewed**. A progressive future within our grasp.

12- The dreams of generations who [generations] **came** to conferences like this bec

Relational Clauses

13- ay of protecting them. These [a series of ideas] **are** some of the challenges. What'
 14- These are some of the challenges. What's fair when we want not a basic but a good
 15- a good standard of life in retirement that **is bound** to last longer than ever before. W
 16- und to last longer than ever before. What's fair when the users of universal services
 17- demanding 21st century consumers. What's fair for the mother who a generation a
 18- the mother who [the mother] a generation ago would **have** expected to stay at home
 19- nts the chance to work flexibly. What's fair in a world in which, in a strong econom
 20- it all from the taxpayer. What's fair in a world where the insecurities multirealise
 21- insecurities multiply so fast and the wheels of government **turn** so slow. Where we
 22- cacophony of pressure and hassle which **are** not the product of any one moment in t
 23- came to conferences like this [dreams of generations] **becoming** real, hopes that we
 24- like this becoming real, hopes that [hopes] **were** once utopian becoming everyday.
 25- hopes that were once utopian [hopes] **becoming** everyday. The reason I bang

Mental Clauses

26- of the challenges. What's fair when we **want** not a basic but a good standard of life
 27- expected to stay at home but now [the mother] **wants** the chance to work flexibly.
 28- h more than in 1997, where we desperately **need** a 21st century transport system an

25- Reasons to emphasize political changes

Material Clauses

01- oming everyday. The reason I **bang** the drum for change is I get
 02- restless at how much there is to do. I want us **to go** faster, further. I think of the piopl
 03- want us to go faster, further. I think of the people I **meet**. Holly in Southampton.
 04- with Sure Start. Given help [she] **to study** so she can become a midwife so she can work i
 05- so she can become a midwife so she can **work** in the NHS so another mother can b
 06- The NHS so another mother **can benefit**. Why does it take so long for us to realise
 07- it take so long for us to realize when we **invest** in people like her, it's not a cost
 08- the NHS manager in Newcastle, 30 years **working** in the NHS, telling me only in th
 09- me only in the last three [NHS manager] **has** he done anything other than managing
 10- three has he done anything other than [he] **managing** decline or the Chief Police Officer

Relational Clauses

11- The reason I bang the drum for change is [that] I get so angry that it takes so long,
 12- bang the drum for change is I **get** so angry that it takes so long, restless at how muc
 13- ge is I get so angry that it **takes** so long, restless at how much there is to do. I want
 14- en help to study so she **can become** a midwife so she can work in the NHS so anothe
 15- mother can benefit. Why does it **take** so long for us to realise when we invest in
 16- n people like her, it's [investment in people] not a cost, it's an investment in our fu
 17- we invest in people like her, it's not a cost, it's an investment in our future
 18- people like her, it's not a cost, it's [people health] an investment in our future? Or th
 19- fter a lifetime in the service, that it **was** only with the recent legislation on cri

Mental Clauses

20- us to go faster, further. I think of the people I meet. Holly i
 21- benefit. Why does it take so long for us to realise when we invest in people like her,
 22- only with the recent legislation on crime he felt Government understood. And,
 23- the recent legislation on crime he felt Government understood. And, I stick at it,
 24- restless at how much there is to do. I want us to go faster, further. I think of the piopl

Verbal Clauses

25- 30 years working in the NHS, [he] telling me only in the last three
 26- e or the Chief Police Officer telling me after a lifetime in the

Existential Clauses

27- it takes so long, restless at how much **there is** to do. I want us to go faster, further. I

26- If challenges are not met, old government returns

Material Clauses

01- Government understood. And, I stick at it, because I know what's there if we stumbl
 02- I stick at it, because I know what's there if we stumble. Not the Government of som
 03- decisions have to be taken, the money grows on trees, the Ministers all hold hands a
 04- the money grows on trees, the Ministers all hold hands and sing Kum-bay-ah, also
 05- tion, believe me. We won't be fighting for votes with the hard left. We'll be fighting
 06- with the hard left. We'll be fighting the hard right. The Tories. And they'll fight us on
 07- ight. The Tories. And they'll [the Tories] **fight** us on immigration, on Europe
 08- e and above all on tax. And they'll say: you put the money in and nothing happened.
 09- hey'll say: you put the money in and nothing happened. That's why they run down t
 10- nothing happened. That's why they [Tories] **run** down the NHS. Because they know
 11- run down the NHS. Because they know if we can change our state schools and our

Relational Clauses

12- I know what's there if we stumble. Not the Government of some hallucination, whe
 13- -bay-ah, also known as the Lib Dems - what's round the corner is the old Tory days.
 14- s the Lib Dems - what's round the corner **is the old Tory days**. It's not that long ago
 15- ner is the old Tory days. It's [Tory days] not that long ago that we've all forgotten,
 16- that long ago that we've all forgotten, **is it** [long a ago]? The 3m unemployed. The t
 17- of the railways. And when we get to the next election, believe
 18- oney in and nothing happened. That's why they run down the NHS. Because they kn
 19- ols and our NHS for the better, then they're back where they've never been in 100 y
 20- they've [the Tories] never been in 100 years 'till now, a party of opposition and not a good
 one a that.

Mental Clauses

21- some hallucination, where no tough decisions **have to be taken**, the money grows o
 22- And, I stick at it, because I know what's there if we stumble. Not the Government
 23- hands and sing Kum-bay-ah, also [government] **known** as the Lib Dems - what's round the
 corner

24- It's not that long ago that we've all **forgotten**, is it? The 3m unemployed. The two r
 25- we get to the next election, [you] **believe** me. We won't be fighting for votes with t
 26- they run down the NHS. Because they **know** if we can change our state schools and
 27- When do Tories succeed? They succeed when people **believe** politics
 28- believe politics can't change lives. But we **know** it can because we see in the faces o

Verbal Clauses

29- and above all on tax. And they'll **say**: you put the money in and nothing happened.

Behavioural Clauses

30- es, the Ministers all hold hands and [we] **sing** Kum-bay-ah, also known as the Lib Dems

27- Politics can really bring changes

Material Clauses

01- od one at that. When do Tories **succeed**? They succeed when people believe politics
 02- When do Tories succeed? They **succeed** when people believe politics can't change
 03- They succeed when people believe politics **can't change** lives. But we know it can
 04- But we know it [politics] **can [change]** because we see in the faces of the New Dea
 05- the poorest of our world that politics can **make** a difference. I remember when our j
 06- make a difference. I remember when our journey to Government **began**. Here is this
 07- remember up there, where the MPs used to be **penned in**, getting to my feet in the
 08- in the middle of his speech, the Hall **split** asunder, my heart pounding, wondering if
 09- ech, the Hall split asunder, my heart **pounding**, wondering if this was the beginning
 10- the far left. It was about leadership. [You] Get **rid** of the false choice: principles or no pri
 11- false choice: principles or no principles. [You] **Replace** it with the true choice. Forward or
 12- the true choice. Forward or back. I **can** only **go** one way. I've not got a reverse gear.
 13- trust a politician most is not when they're **taking** the easy option. Any politician ca
 14- sy option. Any politician can **do** the popular things. I know, I used to do a few of th
 15- lar things. I know, I used **to do** a few of them. I know it's h

Relational Clauses

16- oney in and nothing happened. That's why they run down the NHS. Because they kn
 17- ols and our NHS for the better, then they're back where they've never been in 100 y
 18- re with us today. And, of course today it **seems**, absurd, doesn't it? Militant, Arthur,
 19- ourse today it seems, absurd, **doesn't it** [seem]? Militant, Arthur, all
 20- the MPs used to be penned in, [the MPs] **getting** to my feet in the middle of h
 21- my heart pounding, wondering if this **was** the beginning or the end. And what I l
 22- or the end. And what I learnt that day **was** not about the far left. It was about le
 23- was not about the far left. It [what I learnt that day] **was** about leadership. Get rid of
 24- or back. I can only go one way. I've not **got** a reverse gear. The time to trust a politi
 25- The time to trust a politician most **is** not when they're taking the easy option. Any

Mental Clauses

26- ves. But we know it can because we **see** in the faces of the New Dealer and the pupil
 27- olitics can make a difference. I **remember** when our journey to Government began.
 28- But I tell you. At the time, I **remember** **up** there, where the MPs used to be penned

29- Hall split asunder, my heart pounding, [I] **wondering** if this was the beginning or t
 30- or the end. And what I **learnt** that day was not about the far left. It was about le
 31- ot a reverse gear. The time [people] **to trust** a politician most is not when they're taking the

32- Any politician can do the popular things. I **know**, I used to do a few of them. I know

Verbal Clauses

33- hur, all that nonsense. But I **tell** you. At the time, I remember

28- No to cowardice in facing inevitable challenges

Material Clauses

01- same person believing the same things. I've never **led** this Party by calculation. Po

02- icy you calculate. Leadership comes by instinct. I believe the

03- rnement mistakes; [British people] will **put** the media onslaught in more perspective

Relational Clauses

04- I used to do a few of them. I know it's hard for people to keep faith. Some of the

05- know, I used to do a few of them. I know it's hard for people to keep faith. Some of

06- people to keep faith. Some of the people may **have** a different take on me. But I hav

07- eople may have a different take on me. But I **have** the same take on them. I trust the

08- decency. I trust their innate good sense. I know I **am** the same person I always was,

09- I know I am the same person I always **was**, older, tougher, more experienced, but 26

10- than we think; but what they won't forgive **is** cowardice in the face of a challenge

Mental Clauses

11- I've never led this Party by calculation Policy you calculate. Leadership comes by i

12- I know, I used to do a few of them. I **know** it's hard for people to keep faith. Some

13- have the same take on them. I **trust** their decency. I trust their

14- them. I trust their decency. I **trust** their innate good sense. I kn

15- decency. I trust their innate good sense. I **know** I am the same person I always was,

16- but basically the same person believing the same things. I've never led this Party by

17- Leadership comes by instinct. I **believe** the British people will forgive a government

18- stinct. I believe the British people will forgive a government mistakes; will put the

19- in more perspective than we think; but what they won't forgive

20- than we think; but what they [British people] **won't forgive** is cowardice in the face of a ch

29- The difficulty of deciding how to respond to challenges

Material Clauses

01- During the past months on Iraq, I **have received** letter from parents whose sons h

02- have received letter from parents whose sons have died as soldiers. One believing

03- One believing [that] their son had died in vain and hating me for my

04- Iraq was the right thing [we] **to do** and though their son was dead

05- don't believe anyone who tells you when they receive letters like that they don't suff

06- suffer any doubt. All you can **do** in a modern world, so confusi

07- what is the right way and [you] **try to walk** in it. It's not being out of touch. Af

Relational Clauses

08- The answer to any of these challenges **is** not easy. During the past months on Iraq,
 09- beautiful letter, said they thought Iraq **was** the right thing to do and though their
 10- right thing to do and though their son **was** dead, whom they loved dearly, they still
 11- loved dearly, they still thought it [Iraq invasion] **was** right. And don't believe anyo
 12- they receive letters like that they don't **suffer** any doubt. All you can do in a modern
 13- All you can do [...] with its opportunities and its hazards, **is** to decide what is the right
 14- rtunities and its hazards, is to decide what **is** the right way and try to walk in it.

Mental Clauses

15- have died as soldiers. One **believing** [that] their son had died in vain and hating me
 16- One believing [that] their son had died in vain and [one] **hating** me for my decision. Anot
 17- they loved dearly, they still **thought** it was right. And don't belie
 18- though their son was dead, whom they **loved** dearly, they still thought it was right.
 19- beautiful letter, said they **thought** Iraq was the right thing to d
 20- thought it was right. And [you] **don't believe** anyone who tells you

Verbal Clauses

21- my decision. Another, a beautiful letter, **said** they thought Iraq was the right thing
 22- And don't believe anyone who **tells** you when they receive letter

30- Summing up the challenges

Material Clauses

01- It's the only leadership I **can offer**. And it's the only type of leadership worth havin
 02- leadership worth having. The purpose: [we] **to rebuild** the public realm, to discover
 03- ose: to rebuild the public realm, [we] **to discover** amongst all the modern pressures,
 04- of decency, of respect. [We] **To bring** to the self interested consumer age, the value
 05- value of solidarity. [We] Not **to cease** to want the best for oneself but to wish it for
 06- wish it for all. [we] **To build** a country not just proud of their own achievements,
 07- nts, but proud of what we can **do** together. Proud not just of h
 08- Proud not just of how they **get** and spend but what we in friendship with each other
 09- Proud not just of how they get and [they] **spend** but what we in friendship with each
 10- spend but what we in friendship with each other can **do** for each other. This is our
 11- is is our challenge. [We] **To stride** forward where we have always previously stumbled.
 12- challenge. To stride forward where we **have** always previously **stumbled**. To renew
 13- ways previously stumbled. [We] **To renew** in government. Steadfast in our values.
 14- We have the sterturity, now we have the experience **to do** it. So let it be done.
 15- We have the sterturity, now we have the experience to do it. So **let it be done**.

Relational Clauses

16- is the right way and try to walk in it. It's not being out of touch. After 6 years, more
 17- more battered without but stronger within. It's the only leadership I can offer. And it
 18- the only leadership I can offer. And it's the only type of leadership worth having.
 19- each other can do for each other. This **is** our challenge. To stride forward where

20- If we faint in the day of adversity, our strength is small. And ours [strength] isn't.

21- the day of adversity, our strength is small. And ours [strength] isn't. We have the

Mental Clauses

22- the value of solidarity. [We] Not to cease **to want** the best for oneself but to wish it for

23- want the best for oneself but [we] **to wish** it for all. To build a country not just proud of t

Behavioural Clauses

24- Open in our politics. If we faint [sleep] in the day of adversity, our strength is small. And

APPENDIX III

The Other Nineteen Microexigences

EXIGENCE N°	RANKING	THE OTHER NINETEEN MICROEXIGENCES	PROCESS TYPES						TOTAL PER EXIGENCE
			MATERIAL	RELATIONAL	MENTAL	VERBAL	BEHAVIORAL	EXISTENCIAL	
01	29 th	The Labour Party's honor to be in power	02	03	0	1	0	0	06
03	21 st	Results in education	10	04	02	02	01	01	20
04	26 th	Results in public health	07	03	0	01	0	02	13
06	16 th	From easy opposition to the hardship of governance	13	11	07	02	0	0	33
08	17 th	Britain in the Fighting against terrorism	12	06	05	01	0	01	25
09	27 th	Defending America as a partner	05	04	03	01	0	0	13
10	28 th	Britain joining EURO currency (Britain being strong)	05	07	02	0	0	0	14
11	30 th	Sustaining his (Blair) position concerning Europe and terrorism	03	02	02	0	0	0	07
16	19 th	Showing that reform achieved their goals – economic stability	05	05	01	02	0	03	16
21	22 nd	Criminal cannot be tolerated – judicial system and society have to change	09	04	02	02	0	0	17
22	24 th	Giving opportunity – demanding responsibility	09	03	01	0	0	0	13
23	20 th	Unfair immigration	13	06	01	01	0	0	21
24	12 th	Challenges his government is facing	12	13	03	0	0	0	28
25	18 th	Reasons to emphasize changes	10	09	05	02	0	01	27
26	14 th	If challenges are not met , old government returns	11	09	08	01	01	0	30
27	13 th	Politics an bring changes	15	10	07	01	0	0	33
28	25 th	No to cowardice in facing inevitable challenges	03	07	10	0	0	0	20
29	23 rd	Difficulty of deciding how to respond to challenges	07	07	06	02	0	0	22
30	15 th	Summing up the challenges	15	06	02	0	01	0	24
TOTAL OF EACH PROCESS TYPE IN THE EXIGENCES			166	119	67	19	03	08	
TOTAL OF ALL PROCESS TYPES IN THE 19 EXIGENCES			382						

Table 15 - Other nineteen microexigences

APPENDIX IV

Main Participants – nineteen microexigences

MAIN PARTICIPANTS INVOLVING BLAIR, HIS PARTY, GOVERNMENT AND COUNTRY (SET OF ENTITY US)	CLAUSE TYPES						TOTAL
	M	R	M	V	B	E	
We	53	6	22	4	2	-	87
Us	1	-	2	1	-	-	04
I	9	6	15	1	-	-	31
You *	5	1	3	-	-	-	09
(Labour) Government	2	1	1	-	-	-	04
Our PMs	2	-	-	1	-	-	03
Our children	2	-	-	-	-	-	02
Our country - Britain	4	6	-	-	-	-	10
British people	3	1	3	-	-	-	07
My views	-	1	-	-	-	-	01
My heart	1	-	-	-	-	-	01
Our Journey	1	-	-	-	-	-	01
Our strength	-	2	-	-	-	-	02
	83	24	46	07	02	-	
TOTAL							162
* There are 15 yous in the 19 microexigences. 09 of them refer to the party, government or to Blair.							

Table 16 - Main participants