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Social exclusion as conceptual and grammatical metaphor: a cross-genre study of British policy-making

VERONIKA KOLLER
LANCASTER UNIVERSITY, UK
PAUL DAVIDSON
BRADFORD UNIVERSITY, UK

ABSTRACT   This article analyses 'social exclusion' as conceptual and
grammatical metaphor, discussing the concept's ideological impact on
British policy-making. It complements work in political theory by employing
a cognitive critical view of discourse and metaphor. The study draws on five
different genres and analyses them quantitatively and qualitatively, looking
at lemmas and their grammatical functions, clusters and collocations, and
metaphoric expressions. In the data, society is conceptualized as a bounded
space with a normative centre and a problematic periphery, with movement
towards the centre as the aim of policy-making. Conceptual and grammatical
metaphor interact because society is metaphorized as a bounded space,
while the collocation 'social exclusion' represents an abstract agentless
nominalization and is re-concretized through a conceptual metaphor that
casts it as a malleable object. This interplay of different forms of metaphor
frames the discourse of social exclusion and orients political thought and
action towards the reproduction, rather than transformation, of inequality.

KEY WORDS: *cognitive metaphor theory, grammatical metaphor, ideology,
inequality, policy-making, social exclusion*

1. Social exclusion as metaphor

The concept of social exclusion has been an enduring theme of British policy-
making ever since New Labour's assumption of power over 10 years ago. The
appointment to Cabinet of a minister responsible for social exclusion during
Tony Blair's tenure in office confirms that it has become deeply embedded at
an institutional level. A term originally articulated in a social policy context
in 1970s France and imbued with French Republican notions of the dangers
of social fragmentation, 'social exclusion' subsequently spread first to the
European Union (EU) through the Poverty Programmes of the 1980s and later
to member states, most recently via the National Action Plans on Inclusion
(NAPincl). On one level, social exclusion has been conceptualized as a new

multidimensional form of disadvantage, incorporating a dynamic diachronic analysis and a relational view of disadvantage between an included majority and an excluded minority (Fairclough, 2007). But it has also always involved conflicting normative perceptions of what constitutes participation in 'mainstream' society, sparking questions of who is included and on what basis. In Britain, the adoption of the concept of social exclusion has been facilitated by shifts in the ideological direction of the Labour Party from the early 1980s onwards. The 'renewal' of social democracy in the guise of Third Way politics has come to redefine the Labour Party's lodestar of equality in terms of inclusion (Giddens, 1998). The topic of social exclusion thus represents a historical discourse formation, which is interdiscursively adapted to the respective political context.

As a consequence of the British government taking up the concept there has been a burgeoning academic literature spanning different traditions of research, most prominently including, on the one hand, approaches within the largely empirically grounded field of social policy, typified by the work of the London School of Economics' (LSE) Centre for the Analysis of Social Exclusion (Hills et al., 2002). On the other hand, work has been conducted in a more critical vein concerned with understanding exclusion as an effect of discourses and paradigms (Levitas, 1998, 2004; Silver, 1996). Yet despite this profusion of interest there are very few cognitively grounded approaches to social exclusion (Judge, 1995; Peace, 1999). Furthermore, there is nothing at all that we can find from a critical cognitive semantics perspective, despite the important work along those lines that has been done on political discourse more generally (Charteris-Black, 2004; Chilton, 1996; Chilton and Schäffner, 2002; Musolff, 2004). This article addresses that gap in the literature and also provides further evidence for the importance of interdisciplinary work as we explicate the links between critical discourse analysis (CDA), cognitive metaphor theory, systemic functional grammar and political theory through addressing one of the most salient public policy contentions of recent years.

We approach social exclusion as both a conceptual and a grammatical metaphor. As a particular type of conceptual metaphor, namely a spatial metaphor, social exclusion functions to construct a mental model of an abstract target domain, in this case society, in terms of a concrete source domain, namely a space. Envisaging SOCIETY AS BOUNDED SPACE[1] orientates thought in terms of who or what is 'inside' and who or what is 'outside'. Crucially, certain evaluative meanings are transferred from the source to the target domain. In the case of the inclusion/exclusion metaphor, these include the fact that the 'inside', which represents the majority of society, will always be positively connoted, whereas the 'outside' remains problematic. This mental model gives rise to the declared political goal of moving those outside society across the boundary to become insiders. In as far as the mental model constructs the included space as benign, that space effectively remains unscrutinized. Some critics of this model (Byrne, 2005; Goodin, 1996; Judge, 1995; Levitas, 1998, 2004) have argued that the effect is to gloss over the diversity and complexity within the included space, backgrounding structural

inequalities, particularly income inequalities, and repressing conflict. In as far as these effects serve the interests of governing parties, they can be construed as having an ideological function,[2] and we argue that this is certainly the case for New Labour. The cognitive effects (re)produced through an understanding of SOCIETY AS BOUNDED SPACE function to embed a 'post-Thatcherite' political project in Britain, characterized by the selective combining of elements from social democratic and New Right ideologies (Driver and Martell, 2002). However, in what form social democratic elements remain is a matter of some contention, with commentators like Heffernan (2001) arguing that New Labour has completely abandoned appeals to social democratic collectivism. The label 'post-Thatcherite' applied to New Labour signals an accommodation to many of the policies brought about under successive Conservative administrations, namely deregulation, privatization and reform of the trade unions, although the label is also intended to suggest divergences from Thatcherite neo-liberalism. Rather, New Labour's is a reformist variant of neo-liberalism (Heffernan, 2001). The ideological shift within the Labour Party has meant the abandonment of traditional left-of-centre social policy goals, chief among which is addressing economic inequality. According to critics like Byrne (2005: 6), New Labour is prototypical for political parties that have shifted social democratic forms to fit the perceived inevitability of the market-dominated logic of 'post-industrial' capitalism, which requires for its sustainment a flexible labour market predominantly characterized by low pay and insecure work. Appeals to inclusion/exclusion carry great force within this post-Thatcherite form of politics as discourse producers selectively draw on a mental model whose ultimate effects may contribute to the depoliticization of poverty as far as income redistribution is concerned, control anomy through integration into regulating processes, particularly work, and allow for neo-liberal political agendas to be presented as 'reformist' (Byrne, 2005: 6).

After charting in more detail the structure of both the conceptual metaphor of social exclusion and elaborating on the notion of grammatical metaphor in the next section, we go on to present data from a purpose-built electronic corpus of genres connected to the British policy-making process. First, we show how the conceptual metaphor of social exclusion structures its surface-level lexical realizations, and, second, we examine the patterns the grammatical metaphor of 'social exclusion' exhibits across different genres, focusing in particular on the multiple grammatical transformations of word forms. We propose that there is an inter-relationship between these two forms of metaphor in that 'social exclusion', the linguistic realization of a conceptual metaphor, undergoes multiple grammatical transformations which facilitate a new conceptual shift to an understanding of exclusion as a malleable object. Social exclusion as a mental model is thus first concretized as a spatial metaphor, which is then abstracted through the workings of grammatical metaphor in text. The nominalization 'social exclusion', in turn, affords re-concretization by being conceptualized as a goal of action and an object that can be manipulated. Discourse producers thereby construct themselves as problem-solvers who 'tackle' the now tangible 'social exclusion' by policies which are implemented by bodies accountable to the government. This further

spreads a metaphoric mental model that sees societies as defined by a benign but undifferentiated centre and a negative periphery, but does not question the cause for agents' 'exclusion'.

In the next section, we detail our approach to the wider field of social policy and social problems.

2. A cognitive critical approach to the discourse on social exclusion

Our overriding question is how ideology works in discourse, as instantiated in texts, and what role different types of metaphor play in transporting ideology in discourse. Our model of discourse, adapted from Fairclough (1995), sees ideology as an accumulation of mental models permeating the three levels of text, interaction between discourse participants and the wider sociopolitical context. Ideologically vested models are selectively drawn on in discourse production, operating at all three levels by meeting the textual metafunction of structuring texts through their linguistic realizations, the interpersonal metafunction by positioning discourse producers and recipients in relation to each other, with the former often intending to align the latter's mental models to their own. Finally, ideology and its expressions also meet an ideational metafunction by representing and impacting on social policies and hence material reality. We further operationalize the above question at the end of this theoretical section. Before that, however, we would like to elaborate on an integrated approach to social problems that seeks to combine CDA with cognitive metaphor theory (Hart and Lukes, 2007; Koller, 2004, 2005; O'Halloran, 2007). As a device structuring the mental models that make up ideology, metaphor is located at the interface between the cognitive and the social. This location is afforded by metaphor's dual nature as both conceptual and lexical: conceptual metaphor represents a cross-domain mapping that structures mental models of mostly abstract entities such as society in more concrete terms, for example, space. At the level of language, conceptual metaphor will be realized lexically, for example, in the collocation 'social exclusion', which can be traced back to a particular metaphorically structured mental model of society. Studying lexical realizations of metaphor in texts thus sheds light on the cognitive underpinnings of discourse. Furthermore, a definition of ideology as a cumulative cognitive structure (cf. Van Dijk, 1995) means that the analysis of lexical realizations of conceptual metaphor allows for inferences to be drawn about the ideological underpinnings that are reified and reinforced in discourse.

Early cognitive metaphor theorists (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980) introduced the idea that metaphors can construct realities for us, which is precisely what proponents of CDA claim for discourse as constituting, and being constituted by, sociocultural practice. The two approaches are further congruent when we consider the claim that 'people in power get to impose their metaphors' (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 157) and apply this to one of the main features of CDA research, which is its concern with power as a central condition in social life (Wodak, 2004). Incorporating the two, we claim that those in power can control

discourse and cognition through metaphors that highlight some features of reality and hide others (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980; see also Ungerer, 2000 on so-called 'muted metaphors'). This involves an ideational and thereby ideological, as well as textual, metafunction for metaphor, in that its lexical realizations may help to reinforce the cognitive models that govern discourse, while underlying conceptual metaphors may shape the surface structure of texts.

Following the problem-orientated approach of CDA research (Fairclough, 2000, 2001; Van Dijk, 2001; Wodak, 2004) we think that the way lexical realizations of the social exclusion metaphor are drawn on by those in power to reify an ideological cognitive model of society constitutes a social problem. Although one could study this in different contexts and at different scales (see, e.g., Peace, 1999, for the EU context), our focus in this article is Britain under New Labour, whose central proponents have drawn on the conceptual metaphor of social exclusion to frame social policy programmes. Through social practices and genres of governance, policy-makers interact with groups accountable to, and dependent on, them (e.g., the voluntary sector and people relying on benefits). They do so by reifying this model in their use of lexical realizations of 'social exclusion', creating new categories of 'problem' people and potentially establishing new and divisive social relations between groups. Furthermore, as power among discourse participants is distributed unequally, those who are relatively powerless have fewer opportunities to impose their (alternative) discourses, so that dominant mental models of society persist, in turn supporting existing power relations. As a result, asymmetries in the context of discursive interaction potentially translate into maintained, if not reinforced, social inequality.

As the lexical realization of a conceptual metaphor, 'social exclusion' functions to construct a mental model of an abstract target domain, in this case society, in terms of a concrete source domain, namely a space. Consequently, the metaphor's frame only allows for an understanding of people or places as either inside or outside SOCIETY AS BOUNDED SPACE, limiting the scope for political action. Crucially, these metaphorical positions come imbued with particular evaluations. Spatial metaphors can be categorized as part of a broad class of so-called primary metaphors (Grady, 1997). According to the embodiment theory of metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson, 1999), these are formed in the so-called conflation phase in early childhood, in which the infant does not yet distinguish between sensory impressions and his or her psychological reality. As a result, we get conceptual metaphors such as AFFECTION IS WARMTH, realized linguistically in expressions like 'she is cold-hearted' or 'they were given a warm reception'. According to the proponents of embodiment, this primary conceptual metaphor is brought into being by the child's physical contact with his or her caregiver and positively evaluated by dint of the pleasant emotions this contact triggers. Spatial metaphors of inclusion and exclusion may have a similar grounding in primary scenes of being physically included or excluded from bounded spaces that afford warmth and shelter, and again, the subsequent metaphoric model incorporates positive or negative evaluations and emotions. Because the experience of moving our bodies through three-dimensional space and interacting with the objects

within it is shared by all humans, primary metaphors are good candidates for universal mental models. Their further elaborations and recombinations, however, are likely to be culturally shaped, a phenomenon captured by the notion of 'body-based constructionism' (Kövecses, 2000).

Given our universally shared understanding of the value of the 'inside' compared with the 'outside' then, social exclusion can be equated with an undesired and problematic state. Its selective use in textually mediated interaction reinforces a particular cognitive–affective model that, in turn, orients political action towards getting more people into the positively connoted centre while disregarding the causes of inequality. The metaphor thus meets an ideological function in helping to implement New Labour's post-Thatcherite politics. Its universality partly explains why the metaphor is so pervasive, and why it has such resonance. The metaphoric model is linked to an equally metaphoric script that sees the inside as the endpoint of a goal-directed movement. In cognitive semantic terms, we are dealing with a version of the event structure metaphor PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS (Lakoff, 1993) in which the bounded space that is society incorporates a trajectory from the periphery to the centre, as shown in Figure 1.

As a variety of the CONTAINER metaphor, which is frequently found to conceptualize the nation state (Chilton, 1996), the metaphor SOCIETY AS BOUNDED SPACE can be understood as drawing on a two-dimensional image schema that emphasizes 'differentiation, separation, and enclosure' (Johnson, 1987: 22). The semantic feature of boundaries acts as the link between the BOUNDED SPACE and PATH schemas, in that the declared aim of policy-makers is to have as many people as possible cross the boundary. The conceptual structure of the metaphor incorporates particular effects. A focus on the boundary draws attention away from the condition of the in-group as a state of 'inclusion' is axiomatically
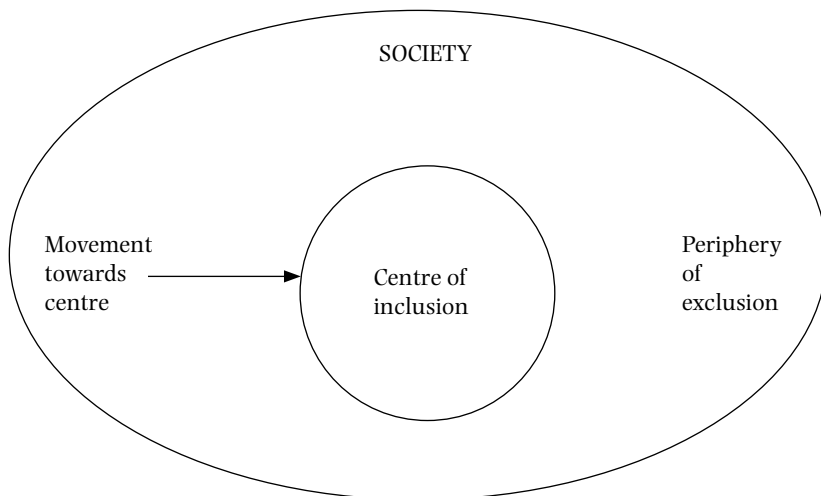

FIGURE 1. *The conceptual structure of SOCIETY AS BOUNDED SPACE.*

benign. Levitas (1998) notes that, consequently, the differences and potential conflicts among the included are not in view, with poverty and deprivation existing as a peripheral problem, outside the 'mainstream', rather than as endemic to society as a whole. The graded nature of the included space itself is glossed over, which stands in contrast to the treatment of exclusion. Our analysis shows how nominalized phrases such as 'the *most* socially excluded' are apparent in our corpus, yet comparable use of intensifiers for the 'socially included' are absent. Inclusion and becoming an insider is therefore the endpoint of goal-directed movement and, according to the logic of the conceptual metaphor, once on the inside, everyone assumes the same status, despite the remaining massive disparities of power and privilege.

Since the goal is to become part of the 'mainstream', the activities and behaviour of the 'in'-group are effectively normalized. As the included are not the problem their voice is naturalized (Fairclough, 2001), giving them the power to construct their own values and practices as normal and indeed normative. As a central cognitive model in the interaction between policy-makers, those who implement policies and those who are supposed to benefit from them, 'exclusion/inclusion' may therefore be fundamentally disempowering for those on the 'outside'. Further, Goodin (1996: 370) points to the paradox of inclusion needing exclusion, stating that 'inclusive sets and exclusive clubs are both defined essentially in terms of their margins'. To talk of 'eradicating' exclusion therefore makes no sense when social inclusion is a goal, because inclusion and exclusion are mutually constitutive (Goodin, 1996).[3]

The use that powerful groups, like the British government, make of the conceptual metaphor of social exclusion in discourse may have profound financial and material implications. The establishment, articulation, dissemination and implementation of discourse through texts and their particular features, including lexical realizations of underlying metaphoric models, may change both discursive and non-discursive elements of social realities (Oberhuber, 2008). New ways of acting and being, and new institutional arrangements for organizing social relations may come into play through discourse (Fairclough, 2005). For example, through working in partnership with government to 'tackle' social exclusion, the voluntary and community sectors' role may be transformed into one of 'deliverer' of social inclusion programmes, resulting in a pseudo or 'manufactured' civil society (Hodgson, 2004). Furthermore, 'partnership' with government often implies working towards specific targets established by government as well as the production of 'action plans' to structure the meeting of those targets. These forms of textually mediated interaction may function as genres of governance (Fairclough, 2003) that reproduce dominant social exclusion discourses (see next section).

In his study of the discourse of New Labour, Fairclough (2000) has shown how the metaphoric expression 'social exclusion' tends to collocate with verbs denoting material processes that impact on social exclusion as an object, such as 'tackle', 'attack', 'combat', 'fight' and 'eliminate'. (Incidentally, the WAR metaphor that these verbs draw upon further underscores the evaluation of exclusion

as negative.) Such patterns around 'social exclusion' add another dimension to our understanding of the conceptual metaphor in its textual realizations: SOCIETY AS BOUNDED SPACE, a metaphor realized as 'social exclusion', becomes an entity that allows action to be directed at it. This is made possible through grammatical metaphor and constructs policy-makers as actively working towards 'inclusion'.

Most studies that acknowledge the metaphoric nature of 'social exclusion' also mention the fact that the collocation nominalizes the process of excluding. Peace (1999) is no exception and although her discussion of social exclusion as grammatical metaphor is brief, she acknowledges that this is 'a very productive line of enquiry and one that warrants much closer attention' (p. 234). In general terms, grammatical metaphor denotes the phenomenon of transforming one grammatical category into another (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004).[4] As such, grammatical metaphor changes the semantic structure of the clause so that it no longer corresponds to an event structure in which a typically animate actor engages in processes under particular circumstances, with these actions affecting an entity, typically another animate being or inanimate object. Thus, the so-called 'congruent'[5] grammar of a sentence like 'They reached the summit on the next day' is transformed into the grammatical metaphor 'The next day saw them at the summit', in which the circumstance of the original sentence ('on the next day') has been transformed into an actor who experiences ('sees') the erstwhile actor-cum-goal. According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), the 'general effect of grammatical metaphor [is that] it construes additional layers of meaning and wording . . . by creating new patterns of structural realization, it opens up new systemic boundaries of meaning' (p. 626). Grammatical metaphor thus has an ideational metafunction (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004), which it shares with conceptual metaphor. Further similarities between the different types of metaphor reside in the fact that both produce tension and conceptual incompatibility between target and source or wording and meaning, respectively, and that both flout norms by introducing unusual referents or unconventional, marked syntax (Goatly, 2007). Both conceptual and grammatical metaphors rely on disjunction, between a semantic concept or a grammatical category and its 'natural' function (Holme, 2003). The effect of 'social exclusion' as a nominalization can be to suppress difference, obfuscate agency and therefore responsibility (Fairclough, 2003: 144). Again, we could describe these effects as ideological, because they are transmitted through genres of governance, where politically contentious questions such as who is doing the excluding are lost in abstraction. Cognitively speaking, agent deletion is economical because it compresses complex mental models and thus makes them easier to process. However, collocational patterns[6] around 'social exclusion' point to an ideologically vested negative evaluation of 'the excluded' as victims (see Section 3). Nominalized expressions can function as a goal at which metaphoric actions such as 'tackling' or 'combating' are directed. In a further twist, our analysis shows that 'social exclusion' can itself function as an actor in a clause, intensifying nominalization to personification and showing the interplay of grammatical and conceptual metaphor.

The initial question about the workings of ideology in discourse and the function of different types of metaphor in transporting ideology can now be broken down into the following three research questions that inform our analysis:

RQ1: How is the *conceptual* metaphor SOCIETY AS BOUNDED SPACE structured? What surface-level lexicalizations are derived from it? What is its ideological function in framing discourses of social exclusion and in setting the parameters for possible action?

RQ2: What patterns does the *grammatical* metaphor represented by the nominalization 'social exclusion' show in texts of different genres? In par-ticular, how do the actions and attributes ascribed to 'social exclusion' as affected entity or actor work to mobilize discourse participants and orientate political action?

RQ3: How do conceptual and grammatical metaphors complement each other? How do they work together to structure an ideologically vested mental model of society, the selective use of which in discourse prepares the ground for a particular presentation of discourse participants, and for particular policies to be implemented?

In the following section, we detail our choice of data and methods of analysis, before addressing the above questions.

3. Capturing metaphor across genres

The textual data drawn on for this study can be categorized in terms of different genres, or particular ways of acting discursively. The following genres have been identified as key.

GENRES OF GOVERNANCE

What Fairclough (2003) refers to as genres of governance are in fact large accumulations of genres, organized in so-called 'chains' (Fairclough, 2003). In this article, we focus on two genres.

1. *Policy documents.* These are official sources in the public domain produced by government officials and directed at other government departments and at the public. This text type does political work in that its purpose is to provide a body of knowledge on a particular issue to inform government policy. Formally, it is characterized by features such as statistics, lists, diagrams, etc., as well as by a high level of abstraction that relies on, among other devices, nominalizations in the form of abstract and categorized actors (Van Leeuwen, 1996). Our example is the executive summary (2196 words) of 'Reaching Out: An Action Plan on Social Exclusion' (Cabinet Office, 2006).

2. *Implementation documents.* These help to structure action in particular ways by predicting outcomes and working to steer behaviour, drawing heavily on managerial lexis. Produced by government officials again, texts of this genre are aimed at local administrators (e.g., voluntary sector organizations and

public bodies such as schools and hospitals); these are also contractors of the government. The interaction between discourse participants via this genre is thus both overdetermined and restricted. As the name suggests, the purpose of these texts is to implement government policy and they therefore form a genre chain with policy documents. Our example is 'Adults Facing Chronic Exclusion: Prospectus for Pilot Sites' (2614 words), a text published by the Social Exclusion Task Force (Cabinet Office, 2007), which details guidelines for bids for pilot projects addressing so-called 'chronic exclusion'.

POLITICAL SPEECHES

Policy documents often present concepts as a fait accompli. Speeches, by contrast, attempt to persuade an audience (Reisigl, 2008) and we can see the development of social exclusion as a concept through the speeches of politicians. It should be noted that the politician delivering the speech is merely the animator (Goffman, 1974), although he or she is assumed to endorse the content. Political speeches are mostly commissioned by government officials and written by speechwriters. They are aimed at other politicians and the general public, in order to disseminate government policy through persuasion. Features include a range of rhetorical devices and typically direct address. We have chosen 'Social Exclusion: The Next Steps Forward' (5003 words), a speech by then British Communities and Local Government Minister David Miliband, which was delivered by Phil Woolas MP at the Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion at the London School of Economics on 29 November 2005 and later published by the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (Miliband, 2005).

ACADEMIC WORK

Academic definitions of social exclusion are cross-classified as data, because they help to reify the concept of social exclusion in the same way that definitions by policy-makers do and are often drawn on by policy-makers to inform or legitimate their decisions. Both policy-makers and academics contribute to nominalizing social exclusion, turning it into an abstract concept and an empirically observable condition. Work produced by academics is sometimes commissioned by government officials and can therefore be geared towards not only other academics, but also government departments. In the latter case, the purpose is to provide a body of knowledge on a particular issue to inform government policy. Our example is a case in point: Levitas et al. (2007), chapter 2 on 'Concepts and definitions of social exclusion' (5455 words).

INTERVIEWS

Interviews with practitioners working in the area of 'inclusionary' programmes will be used for two purposes: to find out what alternative strategies and mental models, if any, the interviewees realize by means of what linguistic strategies, and to elicit further textual data related to their work that is not otherwise easily accessible. In this article, we rely on four interviews (face-to-face and on the phone) that one of the authors conducted between March and May 2006 with the founder of the Social Exclusion Unit, Geoff Mulgan, as well as with three

of its former members, Amanda Jordan, Angela Sarkis and Jon Bright (13,378 words in total).

Given the overlap between the producers of various genres and the chains that these form in the dissemination and implementation of social policy, intertextuality is likely to be observable between genres of governance and speeches, academic work and interviews, as well as between speeches and academic work. Genres of governance can be seen as a nodal genre, triggering genre chains that together work to meet the overarching purpose of 'tackling social exclusion'. (That, at least, is their purported aim.)

The whole corpus, consisting of 28,646 words, was analysed using a mixture of quantitative and qualitative methods, broken down into the following steps:

1. First, we used the WordSmith Tools 3.0 software to identify all instances of 'exclu*' and 'inclu*' in the texts, comprising the word forms 'exclude(s)/include(s),' 'excluding/including', 'excluded/included', 'exclusion/inclusion', 'exclusionary/inclusionary' and 'exclusive/inclusive', and calculated their overall density per 100 words across genres. This we did in order to see how quantitatively prominent realizations of the underlying SOCIETY AS BOUNDED SPACE metaphor actually are in the texts. The comparison is done across genres making up the policy discourse on social exclusion and thus within our corpus only. Occurrences include instances of the words in headers, web addresses, logos and diagrams. While these are not relevant for subsequent functional grammar analysis (see steps 4 and 5), they nevertheless make the respective words more or less prominent in the text. Occurrences in proper names, for example, 'Social Exclusion Task Force', were included for the same reason, but acronyms including one of the words, for example, ACE as short for 'Adults Facing Chronic Exclusion', were not, as these are hypothesized to be processed as self-contained lexical units. Irrelevant examples were disregarded; this pertains mostly to instances of 'include*', such as '[the] objectives . . . include a specific reference to addressing vulnerable groups'.
2. Next, we manually identified what word forms occurred in the data sets and what percentage they represented when compared with each other. This gives us a first idea of whether the conceptual metaphor is mostly realized as a dynamic process, as an abstract state or as an attribution, and results therefore fed into subsequent analysis of grammatical metaphor (step 5).
3. Using the corpus analysis software WordSmith Tools again, we analysed the texts for the collocates and clusters forming around the search strings 'exclu*' and 'inclu*'. Doing so helped to examine whether the conceptual metaphor has petrified into formulaic, semi-fixed phrases.
4. In addition to the computer-assisted analysis in steps 1 and 3, we manually identified the lexical realizations of the underlying metaphor SOCIETY AS BOUNDED SPACE. This gives us another measure of how creatively or conventionally the metaphor is used in the texts.
5. Continuing with qualitative analysis, we looked more closely at the different word forms and their grammatical function. This is particularly relevant for the pair 'excluded/included', which can indicate a process, an attribution or,

when combined with the definite article, a social actor group (e.g., 'the most excluded'). This part of the analysis marks the transition from investigating a possibly petrified conceptual metaphor and its formulaic realizations to abstraction by means of grammatical metaphor, especially nominalization. Formulaic language and abstraction are assumed to be features of social policy discourse, and steps 2–5 of the analysis are intended to confirm or disprove this assumption.

6. We then narrowed our focus to analyse 'exclusion' in its function as affected entity or actor, detailing what process types the word is related to in either case. This helps us state in how far the conceptual and grammatical metaphor 'social exclusion' has itself become an actor or an affected entity in the text and what it is constructed as doing or having done to it, and to/by whom. This would show that grammatical metaphor also affords a re-concretization of states into entities and malleable objects. Passive forms (e.g., 'social exclusion cannot be addressed') and nominalizations (e.g., 'definitions of deep exclusion', 'growth of social exclusion') were subsumed under either affected entity or actor. Some process types were double-coded to show overt/covert process types in terms of grammatical form and semantic meaning, while the extremely rare existential processes were conflated with relational ones (Ryder, 2007). Anaphora in the form of pronouns and demonstratives referring back to relevant types, as well as ellipsis, were included.

While the analysis focuses on words, collocations and semi-fixed phrases or clusters, we understand these to operate beyond the level of text. In that they are surface-level realizations of a particular metaphoric model of society and social inequality, they are used selectively to align the mental models of discourse producers with those of recipients, and to foster a model that leaves agency and systemic causes of inequality unscrutinized. Comparing patterns across the data sets thus provides insights into what mental models are disseminated, and how, in the discourse on social exclusion. This leads into the discussion of how the observed linguistic strategies realize and reinforce particular conceptual models that work interpersonally, by positioning discourse participants, as well as ideationally, by framing and limiting the scope for political action and favouring particular agendas.

RESULTS
In this analysis, we present results in six steps, following the outline established above.

Steps 1 and 2: Occurrences of 'exclu' and 'inclu*' and percentages of word forms*
Table 1 shows the instances of 'exclu*' and 'inclu*' in the different data sets, their density per 100 words plus a breakdown into word forms.

At an average 80 per cent, and with a range between 68 and 88 per cent, the noun 'exclusion' is by far the most common of the word forms realized. Lagging far behind, we find 'excluded' in second place at an average 11.38 per cent, with

TABLE 1. *Occurrences of 'exclu*' and 'inclu*' and percentages of word forms (per total number of tokens)*

	Text 1a policy paper	*Text 1b implementation document*	*Text 2 political speech*	*Text 3 academic text*	*Text 4 interviews*	*All texts*
exclude(s)	0	0	0	0	1 (0.75%)	1 (0.24%)
include(s)	0	0	1(1.14%)	0	0	1 (0.24%)
excluding	0	0	0	0	0	0
including	0	0	0	0	0	0
excluded	8 (32%)	3 (12%)	12 (13.64%)	12 (8.51%)	12 (8.96%)	47 (11.38%)
included	0	0	3 (3.41%)	1 (0.71%)	0	4 (0.97%)
exclusion	17 (68%)	22 (88%)	62 (70.45%)	118 (83.69%)	111 (82.84%)	330 (79.9%)
inclusion	0	0	8 (9.09%)	7 (4.96%)	10 (7.46%)	25 (6.05%)
exclusionary	0	0	0	2 (1.42%)	0	2 (0.48%)
inclusionary	0	0	0	1 (0.71%)	0	1 (0.24%)
exclusive	0	0	0	0	0	0
inclusive	0	0	2 (2.27%)	0	0	2 (0.48%)
total number of tokens	25	25	88	141	134	413
total number of words	2196	2614	5003	5455	13378	28646
density per 100 words	1.14	0.96	1.76	2.58	1	1.44

'inclusion' ranking third at an average 6.05 per cent. Instances of all other word forms account for less than 1 per cent each and are therefore negligible. In our small corpus, we are thus faced with a tendency for nominal realizations of the conceptual metaphor across genres. Possible verb forms are largely accounted for by the speech and interviews (texts 2 and 4), which corroborates that nominalization is a feature of written language. However, this result will to some extent be modified by the analysis of the word forms' grammatical function, especially with regard to 'excluded'.

It should be noted that three possible word forms – 'excluding', 'including' and 'exclusive' – show no relevant occurrences at all; although this is partly due to a semantic shift in the case of 'exclusive',[7] the fact that progressive verb forms are absent points towards an understanding of social exclusion as a state or result rather than an ongoing process. Moreover, the various genres show different results as to how many different word forms are realized: the two genres of governance restrict themselves to two word forms, 'exclusion' and 'excluded', with the implementation document showing an even stronger tendency towards the nominal form than does the policy paper. The interviews are more varied, recording four different word forms. The most varied genres are the speech and the academic text, with six different word forms each, albeit not the same ones. This seems to suggest that academic genres are less formulaic than genres of governance. Speeches are delivered orally, and their secondary purpose, apart from persuasion, is to entertain an audience (Reisigl, 2008), which calls for lexical and grammatical variation. Further, the speech by David Miliband that we analysed was delivered in an academic setting, at the LSE, and may therefore to some extent accommodate to the linguistic practices of the audience.

Finally, it should be noted that density differs vastly across genres, ranging from 0.96 to 2.58 occurrences per 100 words of relevant instances across word forms. Furthermore, due to genre conventions and affordances, the two genres of governance show the most frequent word, 'exclusion', not only in the body of the text, but also in headers and diagrams. Occurrences in different co-texts and modalities may well reinforce the central nature of this particular word form. This is also true for antonymic dyads that are conceptually similar to 'inclusion/exclusion' and can be interchanged without losing the latter's evaluative meaning, for example, with the formulations 'insiders/outsiders' and 'in-group/out-group'. This in turn facilitates positive and negative descriptors triggering further dyads that lead to the 'out/ex'-group being pejoratively labelled, for example, in the distinction between 'Inländer/innen' (citizens of the home country) and 'Ausländer/innen' (foreigners; see also the English word 'outlandish'). The state of exclusion will therefore most often be connoted in negative terms, with the socially excluded cast as a problematic group potentially threatening security at the centre (cf. Johnson, 1987). There are of course exceptions to this rule, which portray the 'out/ex' metaphor in positive terms, as in words like 'outstanding' or 'excellent'. However, these examples, which draw on a negatively evaluated glossing over of diversity at the centre, are standalone 'out/ex' formulations. When used as one part of an antonymic dyad they

invariably carry negative evaluations. As Johnson (1987) noted in his discussion on image schemas, a two-dimensional BOUNDED SPACE schema, combined with a CENTRE–PERIPHERY one, 'gives rise, in turn, to a SELF–OTHER distinction, which can have the MINE–THINE valuation imposed upon it' (p. 123).

Step 3: Collocates and clusters

Unsurprisingly, the most frequent collocate in all texts, except the implementation document (see later), is 'social', and indeed 'social exclusion' as a collocation also features in many of the clusters or semi-fixed phrases recorded for the different texts. The technical nature of this collocation is reflected in the fact that it serves as part of the proper names for government units such as the Social Exclusion Unit (a cluster in the speech and the interviews) and the Social Exclusion Task Force (a cluster in the academic text). Other collocates are specific to the genres; thus, a view of policy papers as performative speech acts bringing about what they denote is corroborated by the collocates 'action' and 'plan', which combine into the cluster 'action plan on social exclusion'. Another collocate in this text is 'most', as in the cluster 'the most excluded'. We return to this phenomenon of multiple grammatical metaphor later. In total, the policy document features 12 words that co-occur most frequently with 'exclu*' or 'inclu*'. This number drops to eight in the implementation document, with 'chronic', 'facing' and 'adults' combining into the cluster 'adults facing chronic exclusion', which is further abstracted in the acronym ACE. This dearth of collocates may partly be due to the purpose of the text, which is to inform local policy-makers and public bodies about criteria for funding bids and therefore draws on lexis not directly related to social exclusion. However, this lack of variety ties in with the notable concentration on one word form – 'exclusion' at 88 per cent – that could be ascertained for the implementation document in the previous steps of the analysis.

The Miliband speech was not only seen to be varied in terms of different word forms realized, it also shows no fewer than 36 collocates. Some of these, for example, the personal pronoun 'we', are genre-specific, others such as 'deep' relate to the topic of the text, the notion of 'deep exclusion', which combines vertical and horizontal spatial metaphors (see later). The academic text credits the speech as 'introduc[ing] [the term] into the conceptual field' (Levitas et al., 2007: 8), quoting parts of the speech and further problematizing the notion. Such intertextuality means that texts 2 and 3 share a number of collocates, among them 'deep', 'poverty' and 'focus'. Other collocates, and indeed clusters, are specific to the academic genre, notably 'definition(s) of social exclusion'. On the whole, the academic text features 53 collocates. This further corroborates its varied nature, which was already reflected in its range of different word forms.

It is the interviews, however, which show the highest number of collocates, at 54. It seems that lexical variety is a feature not only of academic writing, but of spoken genres as well. Again, some of the collocates are genre-specific, especially the personal pronouns 'I' and 'you'. Interestingly, the interviews are the only genre to show 'tackling' as a collocate, and a closer look at the texts

shows that of the 23 instances of 'tackl*', a majority of 13 are actually uttered by the interviewer, who also often introduces the cluster 'tackling social exclusion', which is then echoed and elaborated by the interviewees. It seems that the interviewer was here influenced by Fairclough's (2000: 62) claim that 'tackle' is 'New Labour's favourite verb'. This, however, is not corroborated by our data.

With regard to the question of how far the conceptual metaphor of exclusion has petrified into formulaic phrases, it seems that while certain clusters, and indeed acronyms, can be found across the texts, the genres show notably different levels of grammatical and lexical variety. However, they all share a more or less pronounced focus on 'exclusion' and its collocates. This clearly points toward a conceptualization of metaphoric exclusion as a state.

Step 4: Lexical realizations of the conceptual metaphor

The most frequent realization of the underlying metaphor, 'exclusion', etymologically denotes the process of locking out, which is abstracted to the nominal state of being locked out. Indeed we find lexical realizations like

(1)   No one should be *shut off* from . . . opportunities, choices and options (policy document).
(2)   [Social exclusion is] the dynamic process of being *shut out* from . . . social, economic, political and cultural systems (quoted in academic text).
(3)   the structural issues of . . . social *closure* (academic text).

Similar to 'shut off', and equally agentless, is the phrasal verb 'cut off', again used attributively to denote a state that a social actor group finds itself in:

(4)   I think it can be misleading to think of a particular group who are really *cut off* (interview with Geoff Mulgan).[8]

The relation between 'the included' and 'the excluded' is conceptualized as a privileged centre and a deprived periphery, a spatial metaphoric model lexicalized by words such as 'gap':

(5)   We need to look at . . . how far [public services] *narrow the gap* in outcomes between those in the bottom five or ten per cent and the national average (speech).

One feature of social policy discourse on social exclusion is the focus on the metaphorical margins:

(6)   the homeless person on drugs and without skills or family is definitively *on the edge* of society (speech).
(7)   they are all groups who are either put or put themselves *on the margins* of society (interview with Jon Bright).

This lexicalization of the periphery occurs at the expense of describing, let alone problematizing, the centre. Thus, reference to the latter is mainly effected by the word 'mainstream' and its positive connotations. Interestingly, the centre is overwhelmingly mentioned to locate groups outside it:

(8)   public services have often created special initiatives and programmes to address people and areas who are *outside the mainstream* (speech).

This ties in with Johnson's (1987: 36) point that the 'very structure of orientation is perspectival', involving views from either the centre outwards or from the periphery towards the centre. In a discourse view, this inherent perspective reinforces the dichotomy inherent in the 'social exclusion' metaphor, with potentially adverse social effects. In an extended form, 'social exclusion' is indeed about making it difficult for people to benefit from particular services and amenities only available at the positive, even normative, centre:

(9) to support people to *access* appropriate services to meet their individual needs (implementation document).

(10) what we were beginning to do was to exclude people because they didn't have *access* to a basic service they were then excluded from others (interview with Amanda Jordan).

Since the voices on social exclusion that make it into the public domain are almost exclusively of people at the centre, we also get their view of those on the periphery as being 'hard to reach':

(11) It has become clearer that there are small groups of people whose needs are unique and complex and who are particularly *difficult to reach* (policy document; see also its title 'Reaching Out: an Action Plan on Social Exclusion').

Such metaphorical lack of mutual access is often further elaborated as a barrier (cf. Johnson, 1987), if only ever one that is 'faced' or 'addressed', never one that someone actually 'erects':

(12) An approach based on . . . more joined up services to address the . . . *barriers* to participation, delivers real results (speech).

In the spatial model of exclusion, remedies consist of 'narrowing the gap' (see above) or 'building bridges':

(13) We need to find ways of ensuring these institutions . . . bring different people together and *bridge divides* (speech).

On the whole, the underlying spatial metaphor of exclusion shows rich conceptual structure, as reflected in the various lexical realizations that elaborate and extend the semantic components of the metaphor. Again, the genres of governance seem least varied, elaborating only on the 'hard to reach', who are 'shut off from opportunities' and lack 'access to services'. By contrast, the speech and the academic text show many different parts of the metaphor being realized, with the interviews holding a middle ground between the two.

Step 5: Grammatical functions of word forms
The 12 word forms that we searched for in the initial steps of the analysis can be divided into those potentially indicating processes ('exclude[s])/include[s]', 'excluded/included'), those that denote states ('exclusion/inclusion') and those that have an attributive function ('exclusionary/inclusionary', 'exclusive/inclusive'). Of these, by far the most prominent throughout the corpus are 'exclusion', 'excluded' and 'inclusion'. Focusing on the former two in this step, we can see that both undergo multiple transformations, if not to the same extent in each genre.

Table 1 shows that word forms indicating processes occur predominantly in the two spoken genres. The exception to this rule is 'excluded', which also features, with 32 and 12 per cent, respectively, in the two genres of governance, as well as in the academic text (8.51%). A closer look shows, however, that it is hardly used in its 'congruent' function of indicating a process. Rather, we find it being transformed into an attribute, often presented as scalar through superlatives and other intensifiers:

(14)   The Government will . . . explore how to extend data sharing in relation to *the most excluded* or at-risk groups (policy document).

Throughout the three genres, we also find a high number of further transformations from attribute to state, achieved by adding the definite article:

(15)   a smaller task force in the Cabinet Office responsible for trying to persuade Whitehall departments to focus on *the most severely excluded* (academic text).

Multiple transformations from process ('to exclude') to attribute ('excluded') to social actor group ('the excluded') account for two-thirds of occurrences in the implementation document, for half of all instances in the policy document, but for only a third in the academic text. In the spoken genres, they feature only once, in the Miliband speech; the two spoken genres also show 'excluded' in its 'congruent' form of denoting a process impacting on a group of social actors:

(16)   It is about people *being excluded* from society (speech).
(17)   The same people *were being excluded* (interview with Angela Sarkis).

Note, however, that the passive progressive is the closest that speakers get to using the word form to denote a process; nowhere do we find instances of an active verb form (*we excluded them).

Step 6: 'Exclusion' as affected entity and actor

Across the five data sets, 'exclusion' features as an affected entity in just over two-thirds of all its occurrences. The processes impacting on it are overwhelmingly material, with some double-coded as covertly mental, as in the following genre-specific example:

(18)   [The definitions] help to conceptualize *social exclusion* (academic text).

It is only in the interviews that 'social exclusion' is to be found as the affected entity of verbal process types, mainly due to meta-discussions about terminology and quotes from reports on social exclusion. The processes most commonly shared across genres are 'defining', 'focusing on' and 'tackling', with the latter being mostly accounted for by the interviews (see earlier).

The various attempts to define social exclusion also mean that where 'exclusion' features as an actor, it does so mostly in relational processes:

(19)   Social exclusion isn't about poverty it's about multiple exclusions (interview with Amanda Jordan).

Accordingly, forms of 'to be' are the most widely shared ones across genres. Again, the academic text is the most varied in that it also shows a material and

verbal process each ('[social exclusion] affects the quality of life', 'deep exclusion emphasizes').

Overall, 'social exclusion' is both a conceptual and a grammatical metaphor. As for the former, it concretizes society as a bounded space and is lexically realized in more or less formulaic ways, mostly in the nominal form 'exclusion'. The latter represents a grammatical metaphor that transforms a process into a state. However, this is further re-concretized into an entity that can itself be an actor, albeit in rather static relational process types, or be the affected entity in material and other process types, i.e., a malleable object. What transformations each text undergoes and to what extent is largely genre-dependent, but overall, conceptual and grammatical metaphor complement each other in that the conceptualization of SOCIETY AS BOUNDED SPACE gives rise to particular grammatical metaphors at the surface level of language that first abstract from processes ('excluding') to states ('exclusion'), which are then re-concretized as entities and objects. The final discussion addresses the ideological functions that the two complementary types of metaphor fulfil in social policy discourse and potentially in social action.

4. Social exclusion as an ideological metaphoric model

It is apparent from the analysis that both conceptually and grammatically, the metaphor of social exclusion is used to shape text receivers' understanding of social inequality in particular ways. We presented a view of social exclusion as a spatial metaphor grounded in primary scenes of being physically included or excluded from bounded spaces that offer warmth and shelter; consequently, the metaphoric model incorporates universally shared positive or negative evaluations and emotions. We have seen how the conceptual metaphor of SOCIETY AS BOUNDED SPACE structures surface-level textual features through its lexical realizations. For example, phrasal verbs like 'shut off', 'shut out' and 'cut off' express physical impediments to the inside, embodied in the notion of a bounded space. They are emotive, resonating with the fear of being physically exposed and therefore vulnerable to the outside. Expressed by policy-makers, such language may be intended to show their concern with our primary welfare, not least our very physical survival, to show them addressing our visceral need to be protected/sheltered/on the inside. Moreover, the strong affective component of the metaphor makes those who claim to address social exclusion appear in a positive light, especially since the state of being shut out elides the agent responsible for doing the shutting out. Backgrounding agency in this way anticipates a policy response directed at bringing 'the excluded' in – realized in phrases like 'bridge divides' – by getting them into paid work rather than addressing the possible causes of their exclusion. In that it favours agent deletion and a focus on economic short-term solutions, while disregarding the systemic causes of poverty and inequality, such a model functions ideologically.

By dint of being on the outside, the excluded cannot access 'opportunities', 'choices' and 'options'. (Note that again, there is no sense here of someone preventing the excluded from access.) It is only through gaining access that opportunities, etc. can be enjoyed – it makes no sense within the evaluative logic of the

conceptual metaphor to think of anything positive being available on the outside. The lexical realization 'access' also conveys the conceptual sense of the inside as the endpoint of goal-directed movement in which the bounded space that is society is linked to a trajectory from the periphery to the centre. The minimal goal of policy becomes one of the excluded gaining access to the centre – their mere movement across the boundary. This trajectory is also crucially *horizontal*. It represents a move *through* a boundary to a 'normal' inside. Steinert (2003) makes the distinction between horizontal and vertical models of social inequality, with the former also equaling what Byrne (2005: 57) describes as 'weak' and 'strong' versions of social exclusion. Vertical conceptions involve a visible hierarchy with the top level perceived as dominant and exploitative, in contrast to the bottom, which is sub-ordinated and poor. Within horizontal conceptions, however, the majority are included within a circle of acceptable conditions with the excluded self-evidently outside that circle (Byrne, 2005: 157–8). Echoing Levitas, Steinert (2003: 45) says that the power asymmetries visible within vertical conceptions are not apparent within the horizontal model. Byrne (2005: 57) argues that the goal of social policy within a vertical model seeks to eradicate inequality because it is able to clearly show the relationship and differences between social groups, whereas no such aim can exist within a horizontal conception in which disparities are homogenized (Byrne, 2005).

Steinert's is an important distinction and we would argue that the use of vertical and horizontal models of social inequality can be understood as corresponding to two different types of spatial metaphor. The vertical model makes visible all strata of society, and in particular shows the distance between those at the very top and bottom. The conceptual metaphor here is SOCIETY AS LADDER, which ultimately goes back to the metaphor GOOD IS UP and is, in the case at hand, more clearly directly aimed at addressing inequality. (In our data, traces of a vertical spatial metaphor can be observed in semi-fixed expressions like 'to lift out of poverty' or, combining the two metaphors, 'deep exclusion'.) Social exclusion, as we have argued, represents a different type of spatial metaphor, SOCIETY AS BOUNDED SPACE. Here, the metaphor functions to hide inequalities and potentially exploitative social relations through its simple dichotomous form. This then forms an ideological role for Britain's New Labour, which has, as critics like Byrne and Levitas argued, largely abandoned the Labour Party's historic commitment to greater equality in part through economic redistribution.

There are discourses of social exclusion that do stress macro-economic structural processes actively working to exclude groups from society, thus inherently invoking the verb form. However, as shown in Table 1, progressive verb forms are absent in our corpus. Instead, the 'state' of exclusion is overwhelmingly favoured. The use of the nominalized state of exclusion is an ideological choice – albeit not overtly acknowledged – that gives rise to a particular understanding of social and political actors, for example, policymakers as short-term problem-solvers, or poor people as finding themselves 'on the outside', with no-one responsible for that state, apart from themselves perhaps. If the inside is logically seen as benign and the goal of social policy is one

of inclusion then it becomes difficult, and in a sense counter-intuitive, to portray processes emanating from the inside as agents of exclusion. This is perhaps one reason why the verb form appears so rarely in genres of social policy-making. It is important for policy-makers that exclusion remains an agentless state or at least that the agency is not traced to the inside.

Further lexical realizations of the BOUNDED SPACE metaphor serve to reinforce the elision or obfuscation of insider agency. Either because of the difficulty in reaching past the barrier, or simply through their distance from the centre, the socially excluded are constructed by those on the inside as being 'hard to reach'. Not only does this further consolidate the spatial segregation of the other lexical entailments discussed earlier, but it may also act – by implicitly anticipating potential criticism of government policy – to deflect the blame for policy failure back onto 'the excluded' themselves. Again, however, we see no sign of how they got to be so distant. They are metaphorically constructed as far away but may literally be living next door. Such constructions also falsely assume homogeneity, lumping together a plethora of vastly diverse social groups. Cook (2002), in her study of the role of communities in the policy process, observed that when it came to policy documents actually defining who the 'hard-to-reach' were, a majority of the population could potentially qualify!

In the case of social exclusion, both conceptual and grammatical metaphors serve to mask agency. The 'congruent' realization of the collocation 'social exclusion' could be expressed in the formulation 'x excludes y', or, slightly less 'congruently', as 'y is being excluded (by x)'. Both formulations clearly show how one is affected by the other. This crucial layer of meaning is absent in the nominalization 'social exclusion'. Causality can instead be inferred by collocational patterns around the nominalized form, and in contemporary genres of social policy-making these include words that most often imply the individual or group as agent of their own exclusion and the remedy as one of inclusion into (paid) work.

Across all genres, social exclusion is represented in the clause as an affected entity in over two-thirds of all occurrences, and as affected by specific processes of 'tackling' and 'combating'. This points to a threefold transformation involving the different forms of metaphor complementing each other to the overall effect of distracting from 'congruent' forms of meaning. First, the conceptual metaphor expressed lexically as 'social exclusion' grounds the abstract notion of society in the concrete terms of a bounded space. Second, grammatical metaphor functions to transform 'social exclusion' into ever more 'incongruent' forms, eventually to the point where it is expressed in phrases suggesting that 'social exclusion' has taken on a tangible form. This then finally serves to re-concretize the abstract state of exclusion into a malleable object. For policy-makers this facilitates the activity of target setting with the establishment of various indicators in order to measure progress in reducing social exclusion. Consequently, social exclusion becomes quantifiable. This, in turn, makes discourse recipients such as voluntary and community groups accountable to government, aligned with its models of society and bound to its agenda.

The concept of social exclusion has remained an enduring political theme for the British government because it contains an inherent performative power. It has been drawn on both as an analytical category for reconceptualizing poverty and as an implicit expression of an ideologically vested, post-Thatcherite model of society. In this latter sense, it is particularly powerful as the metaphor of exclusion is universally embodied and therefore self-reproducible. But it is also a fundamentally divisive mental model that simplifies society into two sides, detracting attention away from the complexity of social problems and their causal relations. Ecological metaphors of the kind that Judge (1995) suggests may represent more socially transformative ways of conceptualizing society. He proposes the metaphor of the 'ecosystem' with some people higher up the 'food chain' and others living in 'arid zones'. This, although also a spatial metaphor, has the potential to draw attention back to the interconnections within society and how action within one sphere directly impacts upon another. Such a holistic view is discouraged by the metaphor of social exclusion in British social policy discourse. The effect is not only paradoxical, it is also ideological, deflecting responsibility away from policy-makers by presenting them as problem-solvers, while at the same time pursuing policies that may work toward perpetuating inequality.

NOTES

1. Following the notational conventions of cognitive metaphor theory, in the following we indicate all conceptual metaphors by small capitals.
2. For present purposes, ideology is seen as an accumulation of mental models, including beliefs, attitudes and goals, as well as models of the self and others, which is selectively realized in discourse in order to shore up or challenge positions of power for discourse participants.
3. Interestingly, Peace (1999) notes that in EU documents, the opposite of 'social exclusion' is not so much inclusion as 'social cohesion' or 'social solidarity'. 'Social inclusion' is contrasted with another spatial metaphor, namely that of 'marginalization', which suggest degrees of exclusion rather than an 'in/out' dichotomy.
4. Following different theories in cognitive linguistics, the Hallidayan notion of grammatical metaphor could also be viewed as an ontological metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980) or as a metonymic blend that emerges through the compression of an actor–process–goal event structure into a single event (Fauconnier and Turner, 2002).
5. The term 'congruent' is unfortunate, suggesting as it does that the clause structures thus described are superior to 'incongruent' or grammatically metaphorical ones.
6. As we did not index our corpus, we are unable to provide details of how the collocations were calculated.

7. The meaning of 'exclusive' as denoting 'restricted' or even 'sophisticated' is touched upon in the academic text, which is the only one to mention 'self-exclusion by the rich'.
8. The fact that the speaker here denies the conceptualization does not alter its structure or even effect, because negation is frame-preserving (Lakoff, 2004).

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VERONIKA KOLLER is a Lecturer at the Department of Linguistics and English Language at Lancaster University. Her research interests include critical discourse analysis, cognitive semantics and social cognition as well as language, gender and sexual identity. She is currently working on corporate discourse in the public sphere, with a special focus on the communication of corporate brands. ADDRESS: Department of Linguistics and English Language, Lancaster University, Bailrigg, Lancaster LA1 4YT, UK. [email: v.koller@lancs.ac.uk]

PAUL DAVIDSON is currently pursuing a PhD on the development, role and effects of discourses of social exclusion in Britain at Bradford University's Department of Peace Studies and Lancaster University's Department of Linguistics and English Language. He is particularly interested in critical discourse analysis, aspects of British social policy and the effects of new forms of governance on voluntary and community groups. [email: P.A.Davidson@Bradford.ac.uk]