

He who controls the political framework controls the Political Framework controls the picture that is put inside.

VII VIII - The Words are the Key Tax Relief Death Tax ^{Partial Birth Abortion}

VIII Attacking our opponent FRAME reinforces their message. Frame our own - Avoid attacking theirs

VIII The Facts - will not set us free. Think
XIV Language and Framing is all about Metaphor Practice

XV - It is Changing what counts as common sense.
XVI Must present a moral alternative - one that is more Traditionally American

3) When we Negate a frame we evoke the frame.
Nixon "I am not a crook."
Do Not use Their language

4. Framing - getting language that fits your worldview

6) "Family Values" takes at 2 kinds of Families
a) strict father family b) Nurturant Parent Family.
Dobson teaches people to use the Strict Father Model
Paternalistic, Dominator

World is dangerous evil, Children born bad - want to do what feels good. Need Strong Father to protect, support, Teach Right From Wrong.

7) Physical Punishment is Necessary - so they won't repeat - learn internalized control, otherwise NO morality. 6 links "morality" with prosperity.

50 Moral to pursue self-interest - Others are Do Gooders
Do Gooders screw up the system - Jesus??

9) So, Social Programs make people Dependent
10) So, it is good to prevent programs for dependent folks by giving the money away to good, rich, moral people.

This "starves the beast" of government.
Subsidies to the rich corporations are fine ^{not welfare}

Against Nurturance and Care - on Moral Grounds
10 Foreign Policy - One order Nation must be healthy to strong but individuals need not fare well. ^{money} Companies

12) Other Model - Children born good and should can be made better. Empathy & Responsibility

13) Unfulfilled people Don't want others to be happier than them.
19 People vote their identity / values Who they identify with.

21 - Goal - To Activate your Model in the Middle People
21 Orwell words are chosen to Mollify people who have nurturant values - "Clear Skies" - but lies
Orwell Long - language that means the opposite of what it says.

MORE ADVANCE PRAISE FOR

22 Orwellian Language Points to a Weakness ^{find it}
DON'T THINK OF AN ELEPHANT!

"This is a pocket manifesto for those who still wonder how a small group of rich, powerful oligarchs tied together the shoelaces of the progressive movement. Read it once, and know why we are losing. Read it twice, and we can restore sanity to the world."

—Paul Hawken, coauthor of Natural Capitalism

23) Liar - Frank Runtz - ecocide - use terms safe
This is science - with women you use clean and love, from the heart, and for the children ^{George Soros} healthy

Discipline "Don't Think of an Elephant!" is a work of genius. As George Lakoff explains how the right has framed the notion of the political center, he presents both the most original and the most practical analysis of United States politics in many years."

—George Akerlof, University of California, Berkeley, and Nobel Prize winner in Economics

23) Conservatives enforce Message Discipline

"Are you tired of explaining to reporters why they shouldn't call Bush's clear-cut extravaganza 'healthy forests'? Does it bother you that the power plants upwind from your community will keep on poisoning you with mercury in the name of 'clear skies'? Do you wonder what 'family value' is advanced by shifting the cost of cleaning up toxic waste from polluters to victims?"

"If you want to take back our country, you have to take back your community. If you want to take back your community, you need to take back the debate. This book, and the video that go with it, are your essential tools. What the Bush administration has done for obfuscation, George Lakoff's work does for clarification."

—Carl Pope, Executive Director, Sierra Club, and author of Strategic Ignorance: Why the Bush Administration Is Recklessly Destroying a Century of Environmental Progress

28) Top Conservative Goal - Preserve and Defend The Value System itself. SO willing RAPTURE Kill All rather than admit wrong.

- 29 The Right is Privatizing The Left / by defunding government
 31 Thirty Billion in subsidies to Coal & Gas.
 33 Medical Marijuana is OMV "slippery slope" initiative.

"Progressives have a lot to learn about persuading swing voters to our cause, and there's no better teacher than George Lakoff. This readable text couldn't be more timely; it should be read widely and put to work!"

—Daniel Ellsberg, author of *Secrets: A Memoir of Vietnam and the Pentagon Papers*

"George Lakoff's *Don't Think of an Elephant!* is a wonderful example of what happens when you combine a linguist's ear for the subtleties of language with an understanding of the complexities of modern politics and a commitment to progressive ideals. Whether you think of yourself as a liberal, a progressive, or simply someone with an interest in how political language works, this is a must read."

—Geoffrey Nunberg, Consulting Professor of Linguistics, Stanford University, and author of *Going Nuclear*

"Ever wonder how the radical right has been able to convince average Americans to repeatedly vote against their own interests? It's the framing, stupid! *Don't Think of an Elephant!* is a pithy and powerful primer on the language of American politics, and a vital reminder that he who creates the political framework controls the picture that's put inside. It's also a detailed roadmap out of the mess we are in. Lakoff shows how progressives can reclaim the political narrative—and, in the process, change our country and our world for the better."

—Arianna Huffington, syndicated columnist and author of *Fanatics & Fools: The Game Plan for Winning Back America*

"It's not enough that we have reason on our side. Lakoff offers crucial lessons in how to counter right-wing demagoguery. Essential reading in this neo-Orwellian age of Bush-speak."

—Robert B. Reich, Maurice Hexter Professor of Social and Economic Policy, Brandeis University, and author of *Reason: Why Liberals Will Win the Battle for America*

- 39 - with elections - People Vote their Identity to Most Powerful are values & corresponding Cultural
 At heart of politics are models Stereotypes
 of Idealized Family Structure (founding fathers)
 Strict Father / Nurturant - (like dominator, Partnership)
 40 Explained
 41 Radical Right wing Politician - Misnamed Conservative
 42 Fear - Triggers the Strict Father Model - tends to make that model active in ones brain.
 Conservatives Know - They must activate the strict father model in more than half the electorate. Most Effective
 Goering Quote - Sept 11 and Fear Alerts - war on Terror
 Perfect mechanism for winning Elections
 43 You go with the Moral Vision - Coherent Identity
 Don't lead with Laundry list of issues.
 44 ARNOLD - Not issues - could activate Strict Father Frame.
 46 - we have to fight definition with definition
 and Sanctify with Sanctify.
 48 - Society divided down the middle by these two family models and their politics for Partnership Dominator
 See Jefferson Quote
 Like Gay Marriage or Drug War.
 Not That BUT Which Values Will Dominate Society
 51 Media - The Responsibility of an independent reporter. Don't be taken in by reframing.
 50/49 Progressives need to retain the moral high ground
 → Grand American tradition of freedom, fairness, human dignity and full equality under the law
 50 Job - in every thing we say and write - to reframe the debate in terms of moral principles.
 Repeat over and over phrases that evoke your frames and Define issues your way.
 57 EVIL - A palpable thing, a force in the world, essential and Inherent. Evil People do evil things - no more

explanation necessary. There can be no "Reason"
57 - Since good is our essential nature. Whatever we do to
battle evil is good. ONLY greater strength can
defeat evil, so to oppose use of strength is
immoral

58 "less evils" - or "collateral damage" are O.K.
so "less evils" Political
(individual liberties, Assassination, Torture, Overthrowing
governments)

59 Gandhi - Be the change you want.
60 Conservative Government → Enemy Evil → Cannot take
Primary Causes seriously - So they will go after only
Other Books by George Lakoff enabling causes to

Moral Politics: How Liberals and Conservatives Think. Chicago:
University of Chicago Press, 1996; 2nd ed., 2002. more
terrorists to

Metaphors We Live By (with Mark Johnson). Chicago:
University of Chicago Press, 1980; 2nd ed., 2003. will always
be spawned.

Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal
About The Mind. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.

More Than Cool Reason: A Guide to Poetic Metaphor (with
Mark Turner). Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989.

Philosophy in the Flesh: The Embodied Mind and Its Challenge
to Western Thought (with Mark Johnson). New York: Basic
Books, 1999.

Where Mathematics Comes From: How the Embodied Mind
Brings Mathematics into Being (with Rafael Núñez). New
York: Basic Books, 2000.

63 Main
Problems in Today's world cannot be met with state level
solutions.

A Moral Foreign Policy - Main Elements

64 - These moral No-nos come out of Nuturant morality

65 Afghanistan - we slaughter the innocents. After Gulf War
more than a million Iraqis died.
Killing = loss of Rights - is just a "less evil"

66 U.S. Has systematically promoted Terrorism of itrown
- All the governments, Contras, Mujahadeen, Death Squads, Indonesia

67 9/11 allowed Bush to have Conservative Domestic Agenda.
40 Billion in Retirement contributions (Social Sec.) went for Iraq

68 WAR - Calling for WAR - Not Justice - gives War!
Conservatives free reign.

68 Now entering state of Perpetual War (only had Drug
war before but goals are the same)

Ability to wipe out Domestic Social Progress/Programs and
Do anything they want domestically in Name of National Security.

- 40 Billion Raid on Social Security has become 200 Billion
Recover - People Vote Against their Interests? But will base justing social
out? - No jobs can be given to THEM - Faith Based Initiatives and

PRISONS - (Army? Police) - Break Blacks to make them a resource, not a
welfare cost. welfare is immoral prison is moral - and gives jobs
to the Christian Base. wow

73 The Frames are physically present neural circuitry to people
think in terms of Frames and Metaphors Conceptual
DON'T THINK OF AN ELEPHANT!
Structure

If Facts Know Your Values and Frame the Debate
don't fit frames - the frames are kept - facts discarded

74 The analytic act GEORGE LAKOFF
is a political act. Awareness matters! Being able to
articulate what is going on can change what is going on -
THE ESSENTIAL GUIDE FOR PROGRESSIVES
at least in the long run.

Must say what you are FOR - with a moral vision

81 Culture War the Neocons - Not Lib. not Rel. but
interested in extension of state power into every area

Wayson - Conservatives, Foreword by HOWARD DEAN Domestic
Want Culture War - Introduction by DON HAZEN Foreign

84 Personal Responsibility Shifted from Freedom to No
Health Care, Child Care etc. Behavior

85 Pro Life - Really Punitive - Punish Against the benefits
That would give life & hope to young mothers.

Use ending pregnancy as a wedge issue in the cultural
civil war they have been promoting.

86 America is the World's Moral Authority
- Shatter that with lists of antidemocratic invasions

87 - starts 81 Incredible Chaptr Showing
how radical this right wing ideology is.
CHELSEA GREEN PUBLISHING
WATERBURY JUNCTION, VERMONT

Yes me! This is NOT Americanism - Ronquist
The Tories/The Selfish/The Fascists
or Morality

86 - Strict Father Morality defines what a good society is
87 - Want Radical revolution in How U.S. & World Function
Veheance of Culture War is No Accident For Strict Father Morality to gain maintain control / Disunity / Ray

Copyright © 2004 by George Lakoff is required
All rights reserved. No part of this book may be transmitted in any form by any means without permission in writing from the publisher.

First Economic Disunity / Then The Conservatives

Managing Editor: Collette Leonard

Developmental Editor: Jennifer Nix

Project Editor: Marcy Brant

Copy Editor: Robin Catalano

Designer: Peter Holm

Design Assistant: Daria Hoak

Printed in Canada

First printing, September, 2004

10 9 8 7 6 5 4

Printed on acid-free, recycled paper

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Lakoff, George.

Don't think of an elephant! : know your values and frame the debate : the essential guide for progressives / by George Lakoff. emotionally strong
p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 1-931498-71-7 (pbk. : alk. paper)

1. Communication in politics—United States. 2. Progressivism (United States politics). 3. United States—Politics and government—2001- I.

Title.

JAB5.2.U6L35 2004

320.51'3'0973—dc22

Chelsea Green Publishing Company

Post Office Box 428

White River Junction, VT 05001

(800) 639-4099

www.chelseagreen.com

The following chapters appeared earlier and are reprinted here with the author's approval.

Chapter 2 previously appeared as "The Frame Around Arnold," AlterNet, October 13, 2003. <http://www.alternet.org/story.html?StoryID=16947>.

Chapter 3 previously appeared as "What's in a Word?" AlterNet, February 18, 2004. <http://www.alternet.org/story.html?StoryID=17876>.

Chapter 4 previously appeared as "Metaphors of Terror," University of Chicago Press Web site, September 16, 2001. <http://www.press.uchicago.edu/News/911lakoff.html>.

Chapter 5 previously appeared as "Metaphor and War Again," AlterNet, March 18, 2003. <http://www.alternet.org/story.html?StoryID=15414>.

Chapter 6 previously appeared as "Betrayal of Trust," AlterNet, September 15, 2003. <http://www.alternet.org/story.html?StoryID=16771>.

88 Hellfire preachers Me be hellfire preacher of the new age
Conservative Key is to locate Cultural Wedge
Issues, Not Impt in Themselves but vital

to what they represent. - Strict father attitude to the world.

88 So REAL QUESTION - Who are the real Americans - What are Core American culture and values.

89 Without the cultural civil war, the Conservatives can not win. - No way they could get a majority behind their raids on government ^(tax to punish) and attacks on every day life of average people. NO support

89 Values Principles and Policy Directions trump programs. Programs Not what they want to have

Want to Know What you stand for - whether your values are their values / principles Policy directions

90 Lakoff - divided by Despicable Culture War will become the regions war we let behind.

94 10 word Philosophies
Conservative - Liberal

Voters really care more about progressive values - get cultural wedge issues, war is for division and profit, de funding instead

99 these are Radcons Radical Conservatives We are seeing Takeover

101 What About Progressive WEDGE issues

6 Poison Free Communities
101 Wedge Issues are a stand in for the whole of a moral system

? Progressive Wedge Issues ?

Religion ? Conservative Xianity is Strict father ideology
Who gives a darn about the individual son and getting into heaven - I have seen the light myself.

105 Reframing is about ideas not just words and language
I deas - And, the ideas already have to be in place in people's brains, before the soundbite will make any sense.

107 80% of the TV "talking heads" are conservatives
Declaration of Independence links liberty and the
"pursuit of happiness" for a good reason, They go
together. Without liberty there can be no fulfillment
in life

So No constitutional way
that using a natural plant in its natural form,
any natural plant, would not be part of the inalienable
rights we have as Americans - because they are
rights possessed by ~~the~~ individuals before
governments were created AND Purpose of
USA is to preserve those rights. Natural Law Rights

108-109 - Drug war is not about drugs - like
Tax cuts are not about tax cuts.

110 - FACTS must be related to moral principles
very imp political principles.

1 Paragraph Summation of Progressive Goals

We could really help make a better world if we
used fundamental American values and principles.

113 Progressive Values are the Best of Traditional
American Values PATRIOTIC

Strict Father Family Model (Dominator) has been defeated
over and over in U.S. History by the Best in Real
American Values (Fairness, equality) Slavery, vote for
Women, Soc. Sec., Medicare, Civil Rights, Voting Rights
Equal Education (Brown v. Board) Abortion - Roe v. Wade

113 Show Respect - Avoid a shouting match. Remember it
is them that needs to have a cultural war to stay in

power
Shouting is the discourse form of that culture war. S
Civil Discourse is the discourse form of nurturant morality.

114 - They win when they get you to shout.
Always be on the offensive. Voice should be steady
Body and voice should show optimism.

115 Your Job is to capture territory of the mind
Best Audience are Bi-conceptuals - "Use different models"
115 Don't negate other people's frames with facts REFRAME
Once your frame is accepted in discourse everything else
that is said is just common sense.

116 Never Answer a Question CONTENTS
framed from your opponents point of view. Reframe

Practice Changing FRAME Foreword by Howard Dean / ix
Introduction by Don Hazen / xi
use Rhetorical Question Preface: Reframing Is Social Change / xv

"Wouldn't it be better if..." Part I: Theory and Application

116 Tell a story 1. Framing 101: How to Take Back Public Discourse / 3
Build up a stock of effective stories 2. Enter the Terminator! / 35
3. What's in a Word? Plenty, if It's Marriage / 46

Always start with Values. 4. Metaphors of Terror / 52
5. Metaphors That Kill / 69

117 - use Fairness - 6. Betrayal of Trust: Beyond Lying / 75

Example - Health Care - These Bottom 1% do critical work that
Part II: From Theory to Action creates the lifestyle
of the rich.

PREPARE 7. What the Right Wants / 81
Frames to Shift to in your arguments 8. What Unites Progressives / 89
9. FAQ / 96

118 Point out Real 10. How to Respond to Conservatives / 111

Goals - then Reframe - like "smaller government"
Acknowledgments / 121 (and secret programs)
About the Author / 123 Counta with "community"

119 when opponent uses
Orwellian Language (language that means the
opposite of what he says) he is weak on that
issue.
Like make - Healthy Forests Initiative into
"No Tree Left Behind"

or Smaller Govt. - goal wipe out social programs

Our goal is to unite America behind the best of
Traditional American Values. Rightwing ideologues
need to Divide Through Nasty Cultural Civil War
They Need Discard Shouting, Name Calling, Putdowns

We win with Civility because it is a model of the Nurturant
Respond by Reframing - Think and Talk at the level of Values

FOREWORD

If only the Democrats had read George Lakoff a few years ago, we might not be in the position we find ourselves in today: out of power in the White House, out of power in Congress, and out of power in the Courts.

Lakoff has written down, in language liberals can understand, what Ralph Reed, Newt Gingrich, and Frank Luntz intuitively realized a long time ago. Language matters.

By defining a concept such as tax relief, the right wing of the Republican party not only set the terms of the debate, they seized the high ground. By defining tax cuts as tax relief, the right also defined those who were against tax cuts as essentially bad people.

If you are confused by this, you desperately need to read this book. Lakoff's insights will not only send a chill of recognition through you. More importantly, he shows us the way out of the morass. Americans who want to be first to set the agenda need to be quick, and must understand the use of language. Agenda setters also need to be unapologetic and unafraid.

George Lakoff will be one of the most influential political thinkers of the progressive movement when the history of this century is written. It is up to those who want change to make good use of his unique insights.

—HOWARD DEAN

like those for forced birth