Discourse, evolution and power

Changing representations in business and political texts

Contents

Preface

This work essentially consists of my PhD thesis (Perkins 2001). Since then, there have naturally been many developments in the European political landscape which means that there is a wealth of text to be analysed. In addition, linguistic technology has also progressed, and I am fortunate to have created a system for the analysis of big textual data over time (Repindex) which is based on the ideas found in this study.

Mark Perkins, December 2019
Cambridge.
www.repindex.com.

Introduction

My aim is to establish and apply a systematic model of discourse with which to describe change of meaning over time, especially with regard to two terms of contemporary importance: *empowerment* and *federalism*. In scope it includes firstly a historical and philosophical critique of a current model, *critical discourse analysis* (CDA). While the critique offered comprises the literature survey, it could also serve as refutation of CDA. From this starting point a new model termed *discourse stream analysis* (DSA) is developed. In its philosophical base DSA incorporates an account of the unified subject which rests on the theory of intention. It also provides a theory of power-sharing on both a micro (the organization) and macro (the nation state) level which allows for present day changes in technology and education. However, DSA enjoys one central and significant insight; discourse is viewed as a stream of units which evolve through time. These are provisionally termed *paradigm organisms* (*paradorgs*) in that, by analogy with genetic material, they express key reference points of meaning, inhabit an environment (text) and change over time. Techniques of corpus linguistics are used in order to identify and analyse the paradorgs of *empowerment* and *federalism*. A rigorous and objective methodology is proposed and employed. Four main corpora concerning the two terms are composed from the Financial Times, the Daily and Sunday Telegraph, The Independent, and the Economist Magazine on CD-ROM for the period 1991 to 1998 inclusive. For *empowerment* the technique and results are supported by corpus analyses of micro corpora (company training documents and a set of vision statements). Although highly exploratory in nature, DSA points the way to a new objective method of describing change in meaning over time in large linguistic corpora.

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List of personal informants

Ann-Christin Käll
Human Resource Assistant
Stora Enso Cell
Sweden.

Per Malmström
Mill General Manager
Stora Enso Cell
Sweden.

Ola Petersson
Mill Human Resource Manager
Stora Enso Cell
Sweden.

Christer Ågren
Group Human Resource Director
Stora Enso AB
Sweden.

Karl-Heinz Haff
Divisional Human Resource Manager
Stora Enso Paperboard, Germany.

Peter Larsson
Management consultant, Sweden.

Björn Flood
Human Resource Manager
SKF Actuators, Sweden.

Laura Arduini
Sometime personal assistant to the factory manager
Electrolux Zanussi
Forli factory, Italy.

Robin Stokoe
Engineer
Land Rover
UK

List of main acronyms and abbreviations

AB	Aktiebolag (share (limited) company)
AI	Artificial Intelligence
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CL	Critical Linguistics
CLA	Critical Language Awareness
CLS	Critical Language Study
DA	Discourse Analysis
DSA	Discourse Stream Analysis
ERM	Exchange Rate Mechanism
ESL	English as a Second Language
EU	European Union
FT	Financial Times
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HR	Human Resource(s)
ILT	Industrial Language Training
ISA	Ideological State Apparatus
LA	Language Awareness
LAD	Language Acquisition Device
MS	Member State
NP	Noun Phrase
PARA	Paragraph
SCA	Svenska cellulosa aktiebolag (Swedish cellulose company)
SFL	Systemic Functional Linguistics
SKF	Svenska kullager fabriken (Swedish ball-bearing factory)
SPN	Selections from the Prison Notebooks
TEL	Telegraph (Daily & Sunday Telegraph)
TGG	Transformational Generative Grammar
TODA	Textually-oriented Discourse Analysis
UG	Universal Grammar
UK	United Kingdom
W1s	Whorfian theory 1 – strong
W1w	Whorfian theory 1 – weak
W2s	Whorfian theory 2 - strong
W2w	Whorfian theory 2 – weak

Typographical conventions

Form	Convention
1. Technical term in linguistics or philosophy (new or of particular interest)	Italic
2. Clause or word in citation form	Italic
3. Forms	Italic
4. Emphasis	Italic
5. Lemma	Upper case
6. Meanings	Single quotation marks
7. Quotations	Double quotation marks

Corpus data, concordance software and spreadsheets

1. Corpus data & spreadsheets

Ten corpora were created:

a. The training document 'Rover today tomorrow: a guide to empowerment'. This was keyed in manually.

i.   Corpus size: 4,526 words

b. The list of values of visionary companies as cited in Collins & Porras (1994). This was also keyed in manually.

i. Corpus size: 782 words

c. Eight corpora were created from newspaper databases found on the service FT Profile, four regarding each search lemma (EMPOWERMENT and FEDERALISM).

These were formed in two steps for four publications, the Financial Times, the Daily and Sunday Telegraph, the Independent, and the Economist Magazine.

i. EMPOWERMENT

- Step one: find all articles containing the form EMPOWER* (which includes all extensions of the term) from each CD-ROM (one CD-ROM per year, 1991 – 8
- Step two: assemble all files together to make one large corpus, but also retain all individual files (and years).

ii. FEDERALISM

The same steps were followed as for EMPOWERMENT. However, the search term was EURO*/25 FEDERAL* NOT RESERVE. This allowed a search to be made for all instances of FEDERAL, with any extension, in an environment of 25 words of EURO with any extension, but excluding any occurrence of RESERVE. The intention was to filter out any reference to the US Federal Reserve (the central bank of the United States).

Here are the corpus sizes.

Empowerment:

i.   The Daily and Sunday Telegraph, 1991-8: 856,900 words
ii.   The Financial Times, 1991-8: 1,200,472 words
iii.   The Independent, 1991-8: 1,514,902 words
iv.   The Economist Magazine, 1991-8: 324,637 words

Federalism:

v.   The Daily and Sunday Telegraph, 1991-8: 948,381 words
vi.   The Financial Times, 1991-8: 1,110,160 words
vii.   The Independent, 1991-8: 959,545 words
viii.   The Economist Magazine, 1991-8: 229,244 words

2. Concordance software

For the corpus analyses the concordance programme WordSmith Tools was used (Scott 1997). The manual indicates that the programme can handle corpora of up to 4 million words or more, although it does not specify an upper limit.

3. Spreadsheets and statistics

For the presentation of statistics the industry standard spreadsheet application Microsoft Excel was chosen. The results are displayed as charts generated by Excel.

1. Introduction to study

This study represents an investigation into *empowerment* and *federalism* in terms of the relation between linguistic form and contextual meaning. The contextual focus lies upon the changing nature of power distribution on both a micro level (the organization) and the macro (the political economy of the European Union). *Empowerment* and *federalism* apply to these two levels respectively.

The thesis is divided into three parts, each part consisting of a number of chapters. The first part discusses *critical discourse analysis* (CDA) which is examined as a possible analytical tool. In the second part, as a result of criticisms of CDA a new theory is developed, *discourse stream analysis* (DSA). In addition to this a practical analytical procedure is introduced and described as an aspect of DSA. In the third part, DSA is used to analyse texts concerning the terms *empowerment* and *federalism.*

1.1 The three central research questions

The study has three central research questions. These correspond to the three parts of the study. They are summarised in table 1.

Question	Answer
Part One	
Is CDA a suitable tool for the investigation of empowerment and federalism?	It is found to be inadequate
Part Two	
How can a new tool grow out of CDA?	DSA is developed on a theoretical and practical basis
Part Three	
How can this new tool be used to describe discourse, and with what results?	DSA is used to describe meaning in texts over time regarding empowerment and federalism

Table 1: The three central research quesions

In Part 1, which includes the literature review, CDA is considered as a potentially suitable approach to the relation between form and meaning. However, substantial criticisms are made which could amount to a refutation of CDA itself. While serious criticisms of CDA have been made before in works of up to article length (Stubbs 1994; 1997; Widdowson 1995a; 1995b; 1996; Schegloff 1997), no major refutation has apparently yet been attempted. In Part 2 the foundation is laid for an alternative conception of discourse which, while retaining certain aspects of CDA, explores an evolutionary model for the description of changing representations in text over time. This conception is tentatively dubbed discourse stream analysis (DSA) in that it depicts discourse as a flow of ideas by analogy with the biological river of genetic material in the human race.

Part 3 consists of analyses of primarily textual material regarding the two selected key terms, *empowerment* and *federalism*. The principal textual sources comprise corpora drawn from newspapers found on the FT Profile service.

The empirical part of the present study starts out from the following set of basic questions. Concerning two prominent concepts in the language of business and political economy, *empowerment* and *federalism*,

a. how can units of meaning and their interrelation be described in terms of potential change over time through linguistic techniques?

b. how can elements of linguistic form be correlated and examined empirically and systematically to provide evidence for this potential change over time?

c. how can interpretations be made of the change in meanings over time which can be of practical and applied use?

1.2 Historical changes: the background to critical discourse analysis

The historical period covering the 1980s, 1990s and early 2000s is proving to be one of the most turbulent in modern times. It is said that power relations on many levels are undergoing radical change (Peters 1992; Brittan 1994) which is leading to extremely interesting material for linguistic analysis. Change in industrial, social and political structure is accompanied by change in language. If qualitative, and not merely quantitative, change is under way in industry and society (Kanter 1983; 1989) there will occur a change in general perceptions of the world and representations of it. Kanter has referred to change in language corresponding to change in business practice (Kanter 1983, p.45), and Handy to a new language needed to describe changes (Handy 1989, p.105).

Since *empowerment* and *federalism* are terms connected to institutions (large corporations and nation states), the theory and results which will arise from the study will contribute to the major problem of establishing a connection between language and social institutions as identified by Stubbs (1996). Although CDA appears to offer a promising approach to the solution of the problem of how to relate linguistic form and social structure, both its philosophical foundation and its methodology will be seen to be inadequate in certain respects.

Substantial and largely unanswered criticisms of the CDA model exist. The CDA model is founded on a conjunction of language, society, power and ideology. However, the precise definition and inter-relation of these aspects is subject to somewhat inconsistent and confusing use in CDA (Thompson 1986). Important criticisms have been repeatedly made (Sharrock & Anderson 1981; Murray 1981; Pateman 1981; Hammersley 1996) and can still be made which need to be

taken fully into account (especially if it is intended that the model achieve wider recognition and consolidated academic status). In particular, Hammersley claims that little attention has been paid to CDA's basic philosophy and that this is important in that '...its excessive ambition potentially undermines sound research' (Hammersley 1996, p.16). In addition, Takahara makes three criticisms of a major CDA text (Fairclough 1992d): first that there is overlapping and redundancy of analytical categories; second that there is a lack of clarification of notions and quotations; and third that there is a lack of attention to linguistic and sociological substance (Takahara 1993, p.414; see also Widdowson 1995b). Then, there has been a vigorous exchange of views between Widdowson (1995a; 1995b; 1996) and Fairclough (1996b) on the definition of terms and the academic status of CDA. Indeed, the need to provide a substantial review of theoretical issues has been described as a major concern by CDA supporters (Kress 1991, p.93).

It seems, therefore, that there is a recognized need for a reappraisal of the CDA model, especially in light of Hymes' point that '... use of linguistics must include a critique of linguistics. Unexamined acceptance of existing forms of linguistics is mistaken and misleading' (Hymes 1996, p.98). Furthermore, the immediate roots of CDA are to be found in the late 1970s, when the major period of historical change (as noted earlier) was only just beginning (Kanter 1983). A strong case can be made that many of the principal social and philosophical assumptions of CDA are inextricably linked to a previous socio-economic order. While that order appears to be undergoing radical change driven in turn by organizational change in big business (Hammer & Champy 1994), this change does not seem to have been taken into account adequately in the theoretical basis of CDA.

As examples of some of the theoretical problems of CDA, mention can be made of the definition, description and inter-relationship of the subject, meanings and linguistic form. These are highly controversial areas both within and across disciplines. Can some sense be given to the idea of the unitary subject (the sense we each have of being one cohesive actor or agent), and is it possible or desirable to reconcile this with the decentred subject favoured within CDA (Fairclough 1992d)? What is the nature of power and how is it manifested in the society of today? What about the status of ideological meanings conveyed by text? How are they conveyed and with what effect? Do we conduct our lives according to ideological paradigms which lay down rules of behaviour? What is ideology and what are paradigms? What about myths in society and their influence upon us (for example, that all Trade Unions are good for is going on strike)? Terms such as *subject, power, ideology, paradigm*, and *myth*, which are arguably central to current trends in CDA, are open to a wide variety of

interpretations. Taking the above questions into consideration, there is a need for clear definition and consistent use of these key terms, both in theory and practice. In Part 1 a robust critique of CDA will therefore be provided in this respect.

1.3 Discourse stream analysis

Part 2 will comprise a highly preliminary description of Discourse Stream Analysis (DSA). DSA will include a theoretical base and an analytical procedure. As an alternative theory of discourse, DSA will be seen to evolve out of and away from CDA. It will rest on a notion of the unitary subject and its qualities which derives from the theory of *intention* (Searle 1992). It will question a conception of ideological structure as reflective of an underlying cognitive reality, and will offer a clarification of the position of objectivity and subjectivity in the analytical procedure. It will also present a theory of power based on a contextual examination of present trends on the micro level in particular.

In addition, DSA will enjoy a significant diachronic dimension both in terms of context and linguistic model. Within the CDA literature the historical side has been emphasised (Fowler 1988a, Fairclough 1992a), and many calls have been made for greater historical depth in a multidisciplinary discussion of context (Fowler 1991a; 1996; van Dijk 1993b; 1994b). Attempt will indeed be made to provide as much historical, social and political background as possible in accordance with these calls.

On the linguistic side, a closer look will be made at the notion of paradigm, which Fowler regards as highly important (Fowler 1991b, pp.222ff). However, a major feature of meaning in text over time will be proposed which comprises a fusion of the concept of paradigm (as derived from Kuhn (1962)) and organism (a term which suggests dynamic evolutionary aspects). The term *paradorg* is thus coined to describe units of meaning which live (in a metaphorical sense) in the environment of text and change and adapt over time. It is suggested that text is composed of networks of paradorgs which compete, grow and die within the stream of discourse. In this case the terms *empowerment* and *federalism* can be viewed as paradorgs.

1.4 Corpora and analyses

Two text sources are examined in the study of *empowerment*. The first includes academic business literature and human resource documents. The second is made up of four corpora drawn from the media. While both sources concern *empowerment*, it will be seen that they comprise two distinct sets of discourse or discourse streams.

Several corpora are analysed in order to describe the paradorgs under investigation. In chapter nine these include texts drawn from the business discourse stream. These comprise a set of training documents on empowerment (from Rover vehicle manufacturing Group), and a set of vision statements from visionary companies (Collins & Porras 1994). Explicit or implicit, the vision statements refer to core values which have remained more or less constant over a large period of time (more than fifty years). A corpus approach in combination with a more traditional one shows quite different results from those obtained by the original authors, Collins & Porras. Further evidence in chapter ten includes four newspaper corpora on *empowerment* from the Financial Times, the Daily and Sunday Telegraph, the Independent, and the Economist Magazine (all from 1991 to 1998 inclusive), and on *federalism* (from the same sources and over the same time period). All these corpora are analysed with the aid of corpus linguistic techniques. Terms from the Rover documents were used as initial data from which to create major paradorg areas for use in the analysis of newspaper corpora on *empowerment*. The areas were finalised by means of an examination of the main databases themselves.

Together, this evidence will supply both a diachronic and (to some extent) contextual dimension which, it is argued, CDA seriously lacks. Hitherto, CDA has typically taken texts from sources in isolation. While a certain amount of theory is available on *intertextuality*, practical analysis of texts from this perspective is limited (Fairclough 1989a, p.155ff, Fairclough 1992d, p.101ff). It must be of great importance to see how texts relate to one another over time. With present computing methods this is now possible.

The results of the analyses of the academic and business empowerment texts, supported by contextual and historical evidence, show that the term has changed its meaning from the early 1980s to the late 1990s. *Empowerment* may well have evolved through four stages of meaning, in brief,

a. stage one: it means that managers should listen to workers

b. stage two: it means that initiative and responsibility should be passed down to the workers

c. stage three: it means that every worker should become a businessman

d. stage four: it means that while empowerment in the sense of stage three is desirable, not everyone is suited to it.

However, these changes were not found in the newspaper databases which indicates a difference between the two discourse streams.

The texts on federalism will be seen to show certain paradorg patterns including

e. inevitability of federalism: an ever-deeper integration is portrayed in terms of natural phenomena such as the tides and man-made such as a conveyor belt

f. resistance to federalism

g. acceptance of federalism.

Highly interesting results were obtained which included a preponderance of negative factors over positive in association with *federalism* and its correlation to historical events.

1.5 Limitations of this study

Finally, there are clear limitations to the study. In the face of repeated requests, it proved impossible to obtain any up-dated documents of the Rover text. Indeed, it appears that no up-dates have been produced (Robin Stokoe; personal communication, January 2000). Furthermore, it proved very time consuming to create appropriate newspaper corpora and a comprehensive and detailed linguistic analysis could not be attempted. The empirical parts of the present study are therefore limited and necessarily selective. The choice of only two key terms for the major analysis (*empowerment* and *federalism*), extracted from only four newspaper sources (the Financial Times, the Daily and Sunday Telegraph, the Independent, and the Economist Magazine) are further restrictions. These four

sources were presented with the same search and retrieval software on the FT profile service (subscribed to by the University Library, Cambridge University). Other newspaper sources were available but with different search software. Within these limitations, and given the nature of the original model proposed here (DSA) and its focussed application, the present study is clearly exploratory in nature.

Part 1 - Discourse: a critique of CDA

Part 1 of the study consists of four chapters. In chapter 2 an introduction to discourse and CDA in general is given. In chapters 3 and 4 critiques of the two main branches of CDA are offered. These are CL (Critical Linguistics) and TODA (Textually Orientated Discourse Analysis). Chapter 5 comprises a summary of criticisms of CL and TODA.

2. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA): preliminary observations

In this chapter a good starting-point for the examination of CDA will prove to be an examination of the linguistic and philosophical background from which it emerged. Next there will follow a brief look at which concepts of discourse CDA might draw upon since the term discourse has a wide range of current uses. This will lead to a series of questions about the founding principles of CDA in a broad sense, in which two close but distinct schools of thought can be perceived. After a summary of problems arising from the two positions, the answers will begin to lead to an alternative formulation to the CDA model presented in part 2.

2. CDA, its origin and two main directions

Following the impetus which linguistics received from Saussure (1983), two principal and contrasting directions in the study of language and discourse can be distinguished. These are that relying on intuition and that relying on empirical data (Stubbs 1996). The former derives from Chomsky (1957; 1965) and is characterised in terms of the analyst as source of example pieces of language, and the latter from the British tradition (Sinclair 1991) in terms of the examination of empirical, context-dependent data.

In recent times a third tradition has entered British linguistics, the continental idealist. This brings with it a theory of ideology, power, and the subject (Fairclough 1989a; 1992b).

During the first half of this century the agenda for the Anglo-Saxon tradition of linguistics was very largely set by Saussure (1983). The investigation of syntagmatic and paradigmatic linguistic relations produced a wealth of research within the description of the surface phenomena of Saussure's *langue*.

Although word meaning was dealt with under the heading of semantics, contextual meaning (meanings connected to actual contexts) was neglected. This tradition was given fresh momentum by Chomsky (1957; 1965) with the development of transformational generative grammar (TGG) and the subsequent notion of universal grammar (UG). Chomsky added an extra dimension to language, that of deep structure from which surface structures could be derived by a complex set of rules (Akmajian and Heny, 1975). A second dimension added by Chomsky was psychological: a language acquisition device (LAD) (Chomsky 1965, pp.47ff) was supposed to process input and generate surface structure as a result. This mentalist aspect appeared in reaction to the behaviourist theories of language acquisition which prevailed after the second world war, and it still remains influential. After the war, human behaviour was increasingly conceived as a function of social influence: in the light of fascist claims for the innate genetic superiority of certain races above others it was difficult to argue that man was born with pre-existent competencies and abilities. Today the debate has progressed with the introduction of theories of artificial intelligence. On the one side psychologists such as Minsky (1986) propose a level of organising principles through whose analysis and description machines can be constructed which may emulate human behaviour closely. On the other side of the debate philosophers and scientists such as Searle (1989; 1992) and Penrose (1989; 1995) claim that an extra level of rules and principles is a redundant construct which does not at all mirror any internal faculty in the mind - such a faculty does not actually exist: just because machines can be constructed which simulate human behaviour it is not a necessary consequence that human beings follow the same principles of composition of those machines. This debate is relevant to linguistics and CDA in that certain notions of cognitive psychology and artificial intelligence, notably those of *scripts*, *frames* and *schemata* (Fairclough 1989a, pp.158-59; van Dijk 1998), are used to describe organising principles of text.

It will be argued here that while notions such as scripts and frames have been useful tools in the description of text, the postulation of an extra level of psychological analysis is unwarranted, and that *connectionism* and *network theory* may offer a better basis for the understanding of systems of meaning (Gee 1992). More importantly, and specifically, Searle's (1992) concepts of the *subject*, *consciousness* and the *background* will be employed in the development of an alternative model of discourse.

2.1 Russian and French traditions

This short review began with mention of the Anglo-Saxon tradition of linguistics. During the 1980s ideas from two quite different traditions have begun to enter English-speaking scholarship. These are the Russian school of Voloshinov (1973) and Bakhtin (1986) (known as the Bakhtin Circle) and the French tradition of Barthes (1972), Althusser (1971, 1990), Pêcheux (1982), and Foucault (1992b) (to mention the more prominent figures). Both strands in some way constitute developments from, and reactions to the political and social philosophy of Karl Marx.

Working in the 1920s and 1930s, the Russian thinkers provided radically new theories on the nature of the sign, the role of ideology in text, and the concept of subject. They also prefigured Anglo-American work in sociolinguistics with their descriptions of speech genres (Bakhtin 1986) and context.

The French writers were also concerned with notions of ideology and the subject. Of these writers Foucault has come to be recognised as being of great importance on several counts; on his notion of the subject and power, and his notion of discourse and history. These ideas will be discussed at greater length below in chapters six and seven.

In the Russian and French approaches scholars were not frightened of tackling the other part of language identified by Saussure: parole, or language use. A reaction to the identification of language with langue, most forcefully argued by Chomsky (1965), also came from two fields in the Anglo-Saxon tradition. These comprised sociolinguistics and communicative approaches to language teaching. In the former much detailed work was carried out on the correlation between linguistic features (such as lexical and phonemic choice) and social and geographical factors (such as class, sex, age, and regional location) (Labov 1972; Hudson 1996). In the latter there was a reaction to the grammar-translation and structural methods used to teach modern languages with little success - at least with regard to speaking skills. Only by paying attention to language use and context, it was found, did non-native speakers really learn how to communicate in a foreign language (Brumfit & Johnson 1979). Other significant approaches to contextual factors of language use were those of conversational implicature (Grice 1975) and that of speech act theory. While the former served to point out certain aspects of context necessary for successful communication, the latter in particular has been taken up by CDA. Speech act theory was first proposed by Austin (1979a; 1979b) and later refined by Searle (1969; 1975), although it was prefigured in earlier anthropological work on myth (Dowden 1992, pp.27-28). The basic insight of speech act theory was

that in many cases action is constituted in the performance of an utterance, given certain indispensable conditions ('the doing is in the saying').

All such approaches to the contextual study of language are traditionally collected under the umbrella term *pragmatics*. Where, then, does CDA fit into this picture? As part of the general reaction to the limiting concept of language as linguistic form only, a field of study emerged in 1979 (Fowler et al. 1979; Hodge & Kress 1993) which set out to explore the realization in text of notions of power and ideology.

Designating their practice as *critical linguistics* (CL), these authors drew on a variety of sources in the composition of their model. These included the descriptive linguistic systems of Chomsky (1965) and Halliday (1994), the social theory of language also provided by Halliday (1975), and the theory of speech acts.

By the time of the second edition of Hodge & Kress (1993), the term CDA had been introduced and had superseded or subsumed CL. CDA witnessed the introduction of a more sophisticated theory of the subject and ideology (which will be discussed at length in chapters six and seven). In general, CL and CDA may be viewed in terms of a field where good evidence is found for the recent fusing of the two main philosophical traditions (Kenney 1994b, pp.363ff). The first of these is Anglo-Saxon empiricism (and especially the tradition exemplified by Russell and extending to Austin and Searle) with its emphasis on language as the prime and only level of analysis. The second is the idealist tradition found in continental Europe where a further level of analysis is distinguished such as the ideological and the psychological. This tradition is represented by Marx, Freud and more recently by Althusser, Pêcheux and Foucault. Thus while CDA uses surface linguistic form as its material for analysis, the analysis in turn is meant to reveal underlying structures of a different character.

2.2 Background to discourse in CDA

All proponents of CDA work with a concept of discourse. Since concepts of discourse can vary significantly in their presentation and content, an analysis of the possible meanings of the term that can be perceived through and across different traditions will provide a clear basis for the ensuing historical sketch.

Within the Anglo-Saxon empirical tradition discourse has largely been seen as *text* (Coulthard 1994). This means linguistic form (written or spoken) bounded by pauses or silences and organised according to different principles than those of sentence and clause construction. The major elements of this

description can then be separated such that discourse may be viewed as linguistic form only, or as just the set of organising principles.

According to European continental idealist tradition, on the other hand, the term discourse carries with it a broader social and historical meaning in addition (Foucault 1992b). It is conceptualised as a way of talking, whereby large areas of human activity (economics, medicine) are demarcated synchronically and diachronically by means of stylistic and philosophical tools. In some recent work (and CDA is a good example), these two traditions have undergone a process of merger.

In a broad perspective, the term discourse is used in contemporary linguistics to mean language and context seen as a whole, dynamic system. The main aspects of discourse under recent discussion have included inter-sentential and supra-sentential relations in terms of cohesion and coherence (Halliday & Hasan 1976) and their relation in turn to extra-linguistic features of context. Other important issues include the distinction between discourse as linguistic form (actual or potential) and a set of organising principles (Kress 1988a). Thirdly, characteristics of social and linguistic change have been seen as essential to any theory of discourse (Fairclough 1996a, pp.4-10). These remarks are, of course, by no means comprehensive, but they may be good enough to serve as a backdrop to some brief comments on how ideas on discourse have developed.

2.2.1 Discourse: language and setting

While the impact of Saussure and Chomsky led to the relative neglect of extra-linguistic features of context, such aspects had previously been dealt with under the theory and practice of rhetoric.

In his treatise 'The Art of Rhetoric', Aristotle was the first to lay down in a systematic fashion the constituents of the communicative situation. He established a basic model of communication in which there figured the speaker, the subject of the speech, and the person to whom it is addressed (Aristotle Rh. 1358a pp.42ff). This basic formulation of the components of communication (Hodge 1990, pp.173-74) was developed substantially within the field of sociolinguistics.

Amongst early reactions to Chomsky's insistence on a purely formal definition of language, sociolinguistics proved to be a rich source of ideas. Gumperz set out the foundation of sociolinguistics as follows: 'Correlation sociolinguistics sees the relationship of linguistics to social categories as a match between closely related but nevertheless independent systems'

(Gumperz & Hymes 1986, p.14). Language is conceived as a set of rules. Social categories are a part of '...this outside world...' (ibid.).

This view is also developed by Hymes. As the starting point for sociolinguistic analysis Hymes (1972) suggests social units: 'The natural unit for sociolinguistic taxonomy (and description), however, is not the language but the speech community' (ibid., p.43). The starting point for sociolinguistics is thus context and not language. Hymes also provides what he calls an '...initial heuristic schema...'. He describes this as '... 'toward toward [sic] a theory'' (ibid., p.52).

It is well worth setting out this schema in table 2 in some detail since it can serve as a useful reference point for notions of discourse which vary from the purely linguistic to the heavily contextual. The schema includes the following terms (the comments are my own).

Terms	Comments
Speech community	Any given social group and all the forms of language manifested therein (including paralinguistic features).
Speech situation	The physical situation where language occurs.
Speech Event	An utterance with clear boundaries.
Speech Act	A speech occasion with recognisable characteristics such as a party, joke and so on. It is not entirely clear what is meant by this term, but it should not be confused with the Speech Acts of Speech Act theory (Austin 1962).
Speech styles Ways of speaking	These both seem to include variations such as dialect and accent.

Table 2: Hymes' (1972) settings of speech

Hymes follows this with his list of the speaking components. It is presented in Table 3, with my comments.

Components of speech	Comments
Message form	how things are said
Message content	
Setting	time, place, circumstances
Scene	psychological setting
Speaker/sender	
Addressor	
Hearer/receiver/audience	
Addressee	
Purposes - outcomes	conventionally recognised/expected
Purposes - goals	strategies /goals of participants
Key	tone/manner/spirit
Channel	oral/written etc
Forms of speech	language/dialect, code. variety/register
Norms of interaction	interruption, turn-taking etc
Norms of interpretation	interpretation of above (good examples of English-Japanese problems are found in Tsuda (1984)
Genres	poem/myth/tale

Table 3: Hymes' (1972) components of speech

This is clearly a substantial advance on the limited list which Aristotle provided us with. And yet the components of that list were important to the practice of rhetoric (which can be regarded as that aspect of language study most closely connected with context) before a more systematic and scientific linguistics began to grow in the 19th century.

It is also interesting to note that all of these components of speech are used in later CDA models in various reformulations (Fairclough 1988a, pp.1ff; Clark et al. 1991, pp.48ff). In particular, van Dijk proposes a schema of access in order to model '...the various access patterns that establish one of the relationships between discourse and social power' (van Dijk 1996, p.89). Van Dijk is

concerned to illustrate how social power is articulated through discourse. Here is an abridged version of the schema in table 4 with Hymes' components of speech matched up with van Dijk's where appropriate. The schema may be seen partly as a reorganization of Hymes' components of speech.

van Dijk   Hymes

Aspect of a trial	Who determines access	Hymes' components of speech
Initiative	judge	speaker/sender, addressor
Setting	judge, prosecutor etc	setting, scene
Communicative event		
Participants	judge	speaker/sender, addressor, hearer/receiver, audience
Turn allocation	judge	norms of interaction
Sequencing	judge	
Speech acts	judge, jury, prosecutor, defence counsel, defendant, witnesses	norms of interpretation
Topics	judge, prosecutor, defence counsel	message content
Style	judge	message form
Recording	clerks	
Audience (small/large)	immediate/ mass mediated	hearer/receiver, audience
Result		purposes-outcomes purposes-goals

Table 4: van Dijk (1996) and Hymes (1972) compared

This might be described as the sort of work that might have led from the three orientations distinguished by Hymes when considering the goals of sociolinguistics, '[1] the social as well as the linguistic; [2] socially realistic linguistics; [3] socially constituted linguistics' (Hymes 1977, p.195) of which the third orientation is said to represent the greatest challenge. Point 3 may be seen as an early indication for future research into the idea of society and language as a sort of constituent whole, a theme which recurs in Hymes' later work (Hymes 1996).

2.2.2 Discourse: static or dynamic?

While correlational sociolinguistics attempted to link context with linguistic form, the linguistic model employed continued to be atomistic and static. In other words, traditional categories such as morphology and lexis provided the linguistic model, and text (written or transcribed) formed the material.

In parallel to theoretical developments in the CDA field, recent sociological writing has also moved towards the acceptance of a dynamic model of language and society. Figueroa (1994) identifies two philosophical positions which she claims may underlie different branches of sociolinguistics, the Cartesian (or Platonic) and the Hegelian. In her connection of correlational sociolinguistics to the former, Figueroa asserts that traditional research may be characterised by uncritical discovery and description of facts perceived as objective. This is contrasted with a revolutionary sociolinguistic account which may take its inspiration from Kuhn's paradigm theory (ibid., pp.21-25). Unfortunately, the description advanced of the Cartesian and Platonic philosophy opens itself to serious challenges. For example, to ascribe a static and passive nature to the mind in the acquisition of knowledge, which knowledge is supposedly acquired through algorithms, is to grossly distort the complexity of knowledge and learning and misrepresent the strength and subtlety of Plato's philosophy. Penrose gives a thorough account of the possible relation between algorithmic and non-algorithmic thinking which leaves room for both independently existing objects of thought and the creativity of the mind (Penrose 1989).

Williams (1993) provides further examination of the philosophy and methodology of sociolinguistics. According to Williams (ibid.), sociolinguistics is based on a conventional view of sociology, structural functionalism, which in the twentieth century immediately derives from the work of Talcott Parsons. In this conception society is to be studied synchronically as a structure held together by normative rules. These rules have the function of relating components of the structure together in order to maintain an integrated and consistent whole. Although the subject is granted free will and the capacity to make rational choices, these rules limit the freedom of action of the individual (ibid., p.42).

Williams perceives an evolutionary dimension in this conventional account whereby successive changes in a society are understood in terms of progress for the better. In other words, each successive stage represents a better order of society. At this point Williams makes several observations. The first is that the model accords with a liberal, American view of political economy: structural tension results in inequality which provides an opportunity for improvement. The second is that change results in balance and order. Order is the natural state

of affairs rather than perpetual conflict. The third is that academics working within the framework are guilty of tacit approval of the same. And this applies especially to sociolinguists who are seen as legitimating the prestige variety by using it (or an abstract version of it) as a central point of comparison for other varieties (ibid., pp.71-72, and Gee 1996).

Essentially this argument rests on the same claim as does CDA, namely that no scientific theory or descriptive account is value-free or objective. The study of language, seen in the model as a reflection of society (Williams 1993, pp.230-31), merely involves the documentation and thereby legitimation of the established order. By contrast, as will be stated later (see chapter 4), CDA assumes the general stance of challenging the established order, or, at least, of using linguistic means to expose how order is maintained.

Yet it can be asked whether the components of the dichotomy order-conflict are mutually exclusive. Or, can there be some periods of history, both between and within cultures, where the former is the natural state of affairs and others where the latter holds sway? Evidence from certain ancient texts of classical and earlier periods would suggest that the Greeks saw conflict as natural, order as temporary. For the Greeks, history began with war as depicted in the Iliad (Knox 1990, p.24). In other cultures such as Ladakh in Northern India, order and balance in society and nature is seen as right and permanent (Norberg-Hodge 1991). Objections to the consensus model could thus derive from a wish to promote the conflict model in order to achieve social change, and not only from a desire to develop the notion of sociology as a discipline.

2.2.3 Discourse: language and/or context

In discourse studies of the 1970s, while the separation of language and context was still seen in early discussions of the term discourse, a qualitatively different level of language from the traditional began to emerge. Linguists developed this level within the framework of *discourse analysis* (DA) to account for the inter-relation of language and context. The term discourse analysis had been coined at an early stage by Zellig Harris (1952a; 1952b). This early work provides a landmark in the development of new linguistic orientations, although Harris' innovation stopped short at the examination of links across sentences by means of traditional categories. Amongst other things, Harris' work led to a major branch of discourse analysis, text grammar. Text grammarians were concerned to describe the organization of text (as a higher unit beyond the sentence) with the use of such standard linguistic techniques as concatenation rules (Beaugrande & Dressler 1981). But following in the tradition of sociolinguistics, with its emphasis on context, a further major branch of discourse analysis began to grow, and it is from these

origins that CDA stems. Researchers in the 1970s and 1980s began to investigate discourse in terms of the definition of text, features of text such as reference and coherence, and the organising principles of text (as in the speech event of classroom interaction) (Sinclair & Coulthard 1975; Coulthard & Montgomery 1981; Brown & Yule 1983; Cook 1989). Widdowson (1979) went further in his exploration of discourse as a set of organising principles for communication. He distinguished two starting points: one top-down (taking context-free sentences) and the other bottom-up (taking stretches of actual text, which he also calls discourse). In both cases, however, the term discourse is used both as a set of principles and as a stretch of utterance with recognisable and delimiting characteristics. This latter interpretation is confirmed by Widdowson's use of the indefinite article with discourse: '...elements of a discourse...' (ibid., p.129).

In the literature of many branches of linguistics and beyond a bewildering array of meanings are today assigned to the terms discourse and discourse analysis. In order to sharpen the discussion here, two points of orientation can be mentioned. The first is the series of articles in the journal *Text* written on the nature of text linguistics at the start of the 1990s (*Text* 10, 1990). This will be interesting in view of de Beaugrande's perception that there is a steady convergence between text linguistics and discourse analysis in so far that there exists increasing agreement that text is both a linguistic unit and one of human action in a wider sense (de Beaugrande 1991, p.17).

The first orientation, then, is provided from the field of text linguistics. A survey of the articles in *Text* 10 yields a wealth of opinions on the future nature of the study of language beyond sentence level. Language broadly so conceived is viewed as,

a. text alone seen as objective linguistic form suited to empirical analysis (Leech 1990, pp.55-56)

b. discourse including linguistic categories in both Chomskyan and non-Chomskyan frameworks (Palek & Perkins 2019a), alongside '...knowledge, understanding, discourse units, etc...' (Palek 1990, p.70). The study of text so conceived would be a scientific discipline (ibid., p.70)

c. discourse characterised by linguistic units and the recursive rules that determine their possible combinations on a real time left-to-right basis, together with a set of semantic rules for interpretation of cognitive structures (Polanyi 1990, pp.83ff)

d. discourse as a complex of linguistic form and social and political meaning that only analysts with a knowledge of politics and history can deal with effectively and responsibly. In the extreme formulation of this concept there is no meaning to the terms scientific truth and objectivity, although, according to some, analysts should attempt to distance themselves from the analysis (van Dijk 1990, pp.143-44; Wodak 1990, pp.126-27). (This is of course a classic statement of the CDA position; see chapters 3 and 4).

One thing which is clear from these observations is that as soon as a move away from pure linguistic form is made and pragmatic factors are considered, the term *discourse* begins to enter the picture. A typical textbook on discourse in the 1990s would include the headings: speech act theory, sociolinguistics, the ethnography of communication, pragmatics, and conversational analysis (Schiffrin 1994). What is also interesting is that writers whose earlier work would be firmly classified under the heading of text linguistics (Palek 1968) and generative grammar (Palek & Perkins 1985, 2019b, Perkins 1985) have come to use the term *discourse* to describe future linguistic directions (Palek 1990, Perkins 2019a).

The directions indicated in *Text* 10 are supported by the evidence of entries and articles on discourse found in a selection of dictionaries of linguistics. These point to a broad dichotomy (with overlap) between language defined as written text (with its own principles of organization) and spoken discourse (with a communicative dimension) (Crystal 1991; Richards et al., 1985; Collinge 1990; Trauth & Kazzazi 1996; Malmkjaer 1991; Bright, 1992; Crystal 1992; Asher & Simpson 1993; Trask 1993; Crystal 1997).

However, although contextual features are taken into account in discourse studies, there is a guiding assumption in the above work that the study of discourse is a branch of linguistics, not sociology, and in that respect adheres to the tenets of liberal positivism. This includes such principles as the possibility and desirability of the observer's maintenance of a neutral stance in the assessment of evidence. While Rampton (1995) comments on the rise of an ideologically inspired linguistics in the British tradition, and while the influence of CDA is to be found in other disciplines such as classics (Henderson 1997), it does not appear to be true that this holds across all traditions of linguistics. Indeed, it would seem to be a minority view and does not figure in mainstream textbooks on discourse (Schiffrin 1994) or sociolinguistics (Hudson 1996).

The second orientation comes from the CDA tradition itself. While CDA does not appear to have made significant headway within the North American discourse tradition - it does not figure in the overview of discourse given by

Schiffrin (1994) - it has begun to do so within the British, Australian and Dutch traditions. With the attempt to include French conceptions of discourse (Foucault 1972), which de Beaugrande excludes from his definition of text and discourse analysis (de Beaugrande 1991), and the inclusion of critical theory (Connerton 1976), the use of the term in CDA writings is even more complex. Indeed, there is no consistent use as to the meanings of the term *discourse* that it is possible to extract from a broad survey of CDA writings. These meanings are

a. a quantity of linguistic and social data with related features collected across texts such as the discourse of the press (Fowler 1991b passim) and discourses such as apartheid and feminism (Birch 1989, p.15)

b. a way of producing language that distinguishes an individual, institution, or whole society (Fairclough 1988d)

combined with

c. the actual production of the above within a setting of social norms (Fairclough 1992b, pp.62ff)

d. a set of linguistic and social features typical of a certain context-type (Kress 1978, p.276; p.285)

e. a set of institutionally produced meanings (Kress 1989a, p.450)

f. a set of statements (presumably linguistic form) which express the meanings of an institution (Kress 1988a, pp.6-7)

h. a set of organising principles of language and social practice which define

    what it is possible to say and not to say (ibid.; van Leeuwen 1993).

In addition to these complexities, a distinction should also be made between *discourse in general* and *a particular discourse*. While this distinction is in fact employed and mentioned occasionally (New London Group 1996, p.78), systematic treatment is hard to find. Fairclough (1995a) ranges freely between the two terms and offers a long list of particular discourses which do not seem to be marked out by any consistent criteria. Overall, however, it is safe to say that the term discourse has a necessary social component; that there is a dimension of rules governing the way discourse is formed and also a dimension of the discourse itself in terms of linguistic and production features.

A more difficult conception involves the role of discourse in the production and maintenance of the subject, and in the role of ideology in discourse. The impact of the Russian and French philosophers mentioned above cannot be given sufficient emphasis here. Apart from linguistic form and social context, other parameters were considered. These included

a. Ideology and power

The nature and definition of ideology, and its mediation by language has been considered (van Dijk 1998) (see section 6.5).

Definitions of power and the function of language to express power have also been examined (Fairclough 1989a) (see chapter 7).

b. The subject

The concept of the unitary subject as semantico-grammatical agent and psychological actor has been questioned. The subject has been 'decentred', split into an array of qualities and dimensions, and there has followed a de-emphasis, and sometimes denial, of the unitary subject as agent (Fairclough 1992d).

The precise definition of and relationship between these terms is a complicated and much disputed matter today, for all versions of CDA. These points will be discussed in detail in chapters six and seven in connection with the claim that a clear new statement is required to meet the changing social, political and economic conditions of the second industrial revolution (Peters 1997).

2.3 The two main directions of CDA

Historically speaking, this field falls into two lines of investigation. Since the late 1980s the two fields have converged, and writers in both have begun to place their work under the umbrella term of CDA.

The first line (CL) initially placed greater emphasis on the description of the linguistic tool than on that of the social and philosophical base, which, though essential, was largely taken for granted. This line is primarily exemplified by Fowler et al. (1979) and Hodge & Kress (1993). Although later work does incorporate more social theory (Kress 1988a) major parts of the early theory are still to be found more or less intact (Fowler 1991a; 1991b). However, the term CDA is used in the final chapter of Hodge and Kress (2nd edition, 1993) and is intended to account for the fact that a substantial concept of discourse has now been added to CL.

The second line, with Norman Fairclough as a prominent figure, emerged a little later with acknowledgement to its connection to CL (Fairclough 1985). This line witnessed the development and integration of a social theory which derives from the Russian and French approaches outlined above. It is also heavily influenced by certain theories of political economy (Althusser 1971; Gramsci 1971) which derive from the French and Italian Marxist tradition. This line, typified by Fairclough (1989b, 1992d), defines discourse as the material of investigation. Discourse is seen as consisting of not only linguistic form but also extra-textual factors such as discursive practice (the production, distribution and consumption of text) and social practice (including such notions of ideology and power as hegemony (see chapter 4, section 4.6.7) (Fairclough 1992d, pp.91-95). A tripartite model of discourse is thus described in terms of *text, discursive practice* and *social practice.*

To distinguish his approach from that of the French philosophers (such as Foucault) Fairclough describes his practice as *textually-oriented discourse analysis* (TODA). This is heavily dependent on the abstract social and philosophical theories of Foucault, but differs in that it claims to take actual texts as starting-points, rather than pure theory, in accordance with the analytic tradition. In a previous work, Fairclough also presents and describes *critical language awareness* (CLA) and *critical language study* (CLS) (Fairclough, 1989a), which are key activities within CDA. These are, respectively, the condition that observers must reach in order to read certain non-obvious messages in text and the activity of reading the same. The last two are presented in a context of political action, and can indeed, be viewed as a means of implementing a political programme (see chapter 4). In the following discussion the two directions will be referred to as CL and TODA, although in some cases the distinction may not be clear-cut (Birch 1996).

The chief protagonists in the former include Roger Fowler (Fowler et al. 1979; Fowler 1991b), Gunther Kress (1985b; 1988a; 1989b; 1993b), Robert Hodge (Hodge 1976b; Hodge & Kress 1988; 1993). Paul Chilton's work is also closely connected to CL (Chilton 1982; 1985; 1988; 1990; 1996), although he distances his later work from CDA (Chilton 1997). Within this group three strands may be identified: the work of Fowler, which tends to preserve a linguistic base; the work of Hodge and Kress, which shows a development into broader semiotic concerns; and that of Chilton, which concentrates on political subject matter regarding war and conflict. The latter direction is mainly represented by Fairclough (1989a; 1992d) and colleagues at Lancaster University (Ivanic 1988; 1990; Janks & Ivanic 1990; Clark & Ivanic 1997; Ivanic 1998) with their work on socially controversial texts. More recently, van Dijk has entered the CDA arena (van Dijk 1985b; 1993b; 1994a; 1994b; 1994c; 1994d; 1997c&d).

One of van Dijk's particular interests is racism and the representation of ethnic minorities in the press (van Dijk 1991; 1993a). A further school of CDA is termed *discourse sociolinguistics* by Wodak (1996; 1997) and takes as its starting points institutions and context. While other orientations to the relation between language, power and ideology can be found (Lakoff 1990; Lee 1992) CDA accounts for a major thrust in the argument and exclusive attention will be given here to this field.

Areas of difficulty in each of the two main CDA approaches will be highlighted and discussed. With regard to CL there are problems with the purpose of the exercise, with the scope of the linguistic tool, and with the assumptions as to the definitions of ideology and other social and political categories. Questions raised in this regard will point towards later solutions. Criticisms of TODA will also focus on aims and objectives, and on the political (ideology and power) and philosophical (the subject) aspects of the theory.

2.4 Chapter summary

In chapter 2 various conceptions of discourse were examined in order to locate CDA in the field. Influences on CDA were seen to include both the Anglo-Saxon empirical tradition and the European continental idealist. The two main directions within CDA were introduced, Critical Linguistics (CL) and Textually-Oriented Discourse Analysis (TODA). These were described in terms of their linguistic orientation and historical background in order to set the scene for the substantial discussions of CL and TODA to come in chapters 3 and 4 respectively.

3. A critique of Critical Linguistics (CL)

In this chapter a specification and historical description of Critical Linguistics is provided. Two main criticisms of CL are advanced. The first is that it offers little clarity on the status of readings of text and tends to take a particular political position. The second is that it relies on a notion of linguistic and philosophical relativity which is questionable.

3.1 Introduction to Critical Linguistics

From the beginning, Critical Linguistics sought to identify a problem, offer a solution, and operate in a specific social and political environment. Some movement can be traced within the theory since the late 1970s. In particular the term *discourse analysis* was introduced in acknowledgement of the need for greater depth in social theory to support the linguistic model (Kress 1991, p.93). As a model of the guiding principles of CL and CDA, this framework presented in table 5 provides a reasonable starting-point.

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Problem

a. Language is ideologically motivated

b. All texts contain power differences

c. Texts may conceal these differences

d. Language may be used to mystify and manipulate in the exploitation of these differences to the detriment of the disadvantaged in the power balance

Solution

e. Describe the techniques of mystification

f. Reveal them in analysis

g. Teach others to recognise them so as to escape manipulation and redress the power imbalance

Environment

h. Left-wing politics

i. Reaction to the 'establishment'

j. Academics taking action

</div>

Table 5: the guiding principles of CDA

With this framework in mind, an account of the claims and proposals of CL might begin with an examination of the three words of which its umbrella term, CDA, is composed of:

i. Critical

With unambiguous connections to the *critical theory* of the Frankfurt school, the model serves to expose and criticise the establishment and maintenance of power imbalances in society through ideology.

ii. Discourse

The material of analysis is discourse (conceived as the dynamic system of text and context, and organising principles of both). It is analysed by means of an explicit linguistic and implicit social model.

iii. Analysis

The procedure draws on the analytic tradition in philosophy whereby language, as prime material, is analysed. However, a connection may also be made with the social and political analyst as in Marxist practice.

There are a number of problems connected to and running across each of these three parts. In the discussion of CL these will be grouped according to the purpose of the exercise, the linguistic and social base, and the position of the analyst.

3.2 On the objectives of CL

From the start the exposition of CL has been couched in terms of critical reflection on underlying phenomena, which are not generally obvious, at least to certain recipients, and on the nature of society. Indeed, the term *critical* derived largely from the critical theory of the Frankfurt school (Bottomore 1984). A clear connection has been made with critical sociology (Connerton 1976), whose goals, to remove the conditions of false consciousness and make power imbalances transparent, have been described as parallel to those of CL (Fowler 1988a). From this terminology it is also apparent that a Marxist model of society and method of criticism is assumed, as Fowler indicates (ibid., p.482).

Thus the initial motivation for CL was to '...show how linguistic structures are used to explore, systematize, transform, and often obscure, analyses of reality; to regulate the ideas and behaviour of others; to classify and rank people,

events and objects; to assert institutional or personal status' (Fowler et al., 1979 p.3).

Subsequent practitioners of CL began to be more assertive as to political motivation. In his examination of the names of nuclear missiles (such as Titan and Poseidon) Montgomery comments 'One cannot help but sense, therefore, some crucial abdication of human responsibility and control in this naming process...' (Montgomery 1995, p.236). In his research into the language of international relations, and of nuclear deterrence in particular, Chilton declared one of his aims to be '...to urge that a linguistic pragmatics of international communication is needed in order that we can begin to understand and become more responsible for the communicational component in international conflict and cooperation' (Chilton 1988, p.93). An earlier paper by Chilton saw the introduction of the term *Nukespeak*, intended as a parallel to Orwell's *Newspeak*. Nukespeak is described as the language of nuclear power and weaponry used by the authorities to emphasise their perceived benefits of the nuclear industry (Chilton 1982). In this paper Chilton also pointed the way towards action as a result of enlightenment:

> It would be rash to think that a critical awareness of Nukespeak alone could change anything about the processes that give rise to the military industrial complex and nuclear politics. But it can contribute to change by increasing our awareness of the extent to which western culture is intertwined with notions of nuclear violence; it can provide a means whereby people can begin to retake control of their own language... (Chilton 1982, p.14).

More recently, Gunther Kress (1989a) has given a clear statement of the aims of CL and has reasserted its contemporary relevance:

> The political motivation of Critical Linguistics was to uncover the structures of "social foundations", as they entered into and affected the interactions of social and linguistic agents. Theoretically, the motivation was to move the discipline of linguistics towards social and political relevance, and by the use of its insights to provide a social critique by documenting structures of inequality, perhaps to get readings that went beyond those of common sense established with some empirical firmness; and in doing this to have an effect on structures of power in society. These still seem to be important and relevant aims (ibid., p.446).

And elsewhere Kress is also quite open about the political nature of CDA: 'This scope, and the overtly political agenda, serves to set CDA off on the one hand from other kinds of discourse analysis, and from text linguistics...on the other' (1991, p.85). Finally, the need to reveal ideological and political investment in text is confirmed by Fairclough as a still valid aspect of CL. The typical subject matter of CL is said to be the linguistic practices of a society which are taken '...at face value in ways which obscure their ideological and political investment' (Fairclough 1992a, p.315; see also Kress 1996).

However, in other writings a tension is evident between a theoretical view of the model as a neutral tool, and a practical view of it as an instrument for reform. One of the criticisms of traditional descriptive linguistics that CL practitioners make is that description is not enough and that failure to point out the political and ideological content of texts could imply tacit agreement with that content (Fowler et al. 1979, pp.192ff).

But in some recent writing there is some evidence of distancing from the more explicitly political aims of CL (and CDA). In his paper on the language of conflict causation and resolution, Chilton asks whether

> ... any kind of discourse intervention would make a difference; one can argue ... that sensitising citizens to the notion of discourse and its techniques has an emancipating effect that makes them less susceptible to manipulation or irrational suggestion. This would make use of the framework known as Critical Discourse Analysis ... But this territory is a minefield, for discourse intervention is tantamount to political intervention (Chilton 1997, p.188).

In one of his later works, Fowler (1991b) also maintains an air of reservation as to the purpose of the study. Mentioning the descriptive - prescriptive

dichotomy he says that it is valid for there to exist other branches of linguistics with different goals (from those of the former). But having made the implication that it is all right to make judgements and recommendations, which are likely to be to be social and political, he remains conservative in his definition of CL: 'As far as I am concerned, critical linguistics simply means an enquiry into the relations between signs, meanings and the social and

historical conditions which govern the semiotic structure of discourse, using a particular kind of linguistic analysis' (Fowler 1991b, p.5).

This is very neutral and as such can easily be understood as a programme for objective and descriptive linguistic enquiry. It could be argued that just because the subject matter is imbued with values this does not necessarily mean that the analyst is forced to take a standpoint towards those values (see chapter 8).

And yet, in a previous paper (1991a) Fowler asserts that

> ...in practice the instrumentality of the model is reformative...The proponents of the linguistic model occupy a variety of socialist positions, and are concerned to use linguistic analysis to expose misrepresentations and discrimination in a variety of modes of public discourse... (Fowler 1988a, p.483).

This position is supported in a further paper where he states that CL practitioners '...have made no bones about their socialist motives and have doggedly subjected the dominant discourses of authoritarianism, capitalism, and militarism to linguistic critique' (Fowler 1991a, p.90; see also Fowler 1996).

A tension could indeed exist between the potential of CL as a tool for the neutral and scientific investigation of text, and the real possibility of analysis being conducted from a specific political point of view, in this case socialist. This tension might arise from the difficulty that while a model in theory can be used for descriptive purposes, if it is accepted that there is evidence for power imbalances in all or most texts then there is no moral alternative to taking the side of the party with a deficit of power.

3.3 On the linguistic base of CL

The linguistic base of CL consists of a curious marriage of different theories
and descriptions of language.   In accordance with the intentions of the first
practitioners, the model can be seen as a living tool which is constantly
evolving. (The main parts of this model are substantially taken as given
by TODA).

In preparation for the major presentation of the model with innovations
offered in Parts 2 and 3, there follows a brief outline of the fundamental
components together with an indication of   areas   where extensions and
improvements could be made.

The early model was distinguished by a combination of TGG (Chomsky
1965), with great emphasis on the role of the passive transform, and the
functional and social semiotic model of Halliday (1978). Striving to
incorporate elements of social context and psychological intention within
TGG, early writers encountered difficulties in distinguishing levels of analysis
(deep or surface structure) and the relations within and between them (Hodge &
Kress 1974; Kress 1976; Fowler et al. 1979).

Although some found the early linguistics of CL more effective than their
sociology (Grimshaw 1981a), the use of transformations was subjected to
heavy and persuasive criticism by Pateman (1981). In particular, Pateman
demonstrated that far from employing the relation between deep and surface
structure in any coherent or consistent way, early CL theorists in practice
connected active and passive sentences together with the assistance of de
facto unrestricted rewriting rules (ibid., p.18).

In recent statements of the CL model the basic apparatus of TGG has effectively
been discarded: only a few terms remain from TGG, notably *transformation*
and *agent deletion*. Fowler specifically declares that TGG does not provide an
important component in CL, although he does say that the transformations he
refers to are those of the '...old-fashioned types found in the 'classic'
transformational-grammar of the 1960s' (Fowler 1991b, p.243).

Within CL, the relation between active and passive sentences is indeed normally
described in terms of unrestricted rewriting rules. This is effectively the case
over the whole history of CDA although TGG has evolved into UG (universal
grammar). UG now comprises a revision of the notion of deep and surface
structure, and developments of extended standard theory such as x-bar syntax,
theta theory, and government and binding (Palek & Perkins 1985, 2019b; Cook

& Newson 1996). It could thus be claimed that CDA (in a broad sense) works with a fossilised model of TGG.

Another feature of the original linguistic amalgamation is that of speech act theory (Austin 1962; Searle 1969). Although this theory has also come under attack (Levinson 1983), it is drawn upon in early check-lists of the model and in both early and later analyses (Fowler et al. 1979; van Leeuwen 1993).

What has survived as the essential linguistic core of the model are the three functions of language described by Halliday (1978; 1994), the *ideational, interpersonal* and *textual* functions. The following brief specification is based on one of the most extensive and representative presentations of the model in CL literature, that of Fowler (1991b). This presentation is essentially an enlargement and development of the model as earlier stated (Fowler et al. 1979; Fowler 1985b). The specification here given will take the form of a brief outline of selected parts with comments. Two substantial developments of the model will be offered later, in Parts 2 and 3 (regarding firstly the philosophical base, and secondly the linguistic tool and the means of application).

3.4 The linguistic model

In brief, the model falls into three parts. A full account of an up-dated model is given in Appendix 1 together with examples. It draws upon categories from Halliday's ideational, interpersonal and textual functions of language.

Ideational Function

In this capacity the clause has a representational function. It serves to represent the static and dynamic aspects of objects and their inter-relations. Here, the transitivity system is most important for CL.

Transitivity has a technical meaning in Halliday's functional grammar (Halliday 1994, pp.101ff). It is used to mean the way the elements in a given situation (called the *participants*) are represented by linguistic form. The relations between these elements (people, things, thoughts and so on) can be represented in different ways according to the perspective and intentions of the person interpreting the situation. Transitivity is thus not defined in traditional terms (transitive verbs with direct object as opposed to intransitive without direct object) although these are accounted for within Halliday's model.

Fowler attaches great importance to transitivity:

> Transitivity - part of the ideational function - is a fundamental and powerful semantic concept in Halliday, an essential tool in the analysis of representation, which has already proved extremely illuminating in critical linguistics (Fowler 1991b, p.70).

> A central insight of Halliday's, made very explicit in his most recent book, is that transitivity is the foundation of representation: it is the way the clause is used to to analyse events and situations as being of certain types. And transitivity has the facility to analyse the same event in different ways, a facility which is of course of great interest in newspaper analysis (ibid., p.71).

> Since transitivity makes options available, we are always suppressing some possibilities, so the choice we make - better, the choice made by the discourse - indicates our point of view, is ideologically significant (ibid., p.71).

However, Fowler does not import Halliday's model (1994) without alterations. In a major change he calls the obligatory verb/adjective a predicate (in terms of case grammar), rather than process. Types of predicate indicated include actions, processes, and states. These may be material, mental or verbal. Fowler thus does not use process in a Hallidayan sense where processes may be material, mental or relational. In a further change of terminology, Fowler designates Halliday's participants as roles. However, these include the standard types in the Hallidayan model (such as agent, affected participants and circumstances). Further aspects of the ideational function include syntactic transformations of the clause (passive and nominal transformations) and lexical structure (including register, relexicalization and overlexicalization) (see Appendix 1 for examples).

Interpersonal Function

Here the clause functions as a vehicle for exchange between agents. Major components of this function comprise modality and speech acts. Chilton (1988) and Richardson (1985) both make use of speech act theory as described by Searle (1979), although in recent CL work (Fowler 1991b) a conventional treatment is given according to Austin (1979b).

Textual Function

In its textual function the clause provides a system for the transmission of messages in a coherent and cohesive way. For CL, Intertextuality is an extremely important part of the textual function. This is characterised as points of intersection in a text where linguistic evidence belonging to other texts and text types may be found. This is both in terms of the simple occurrence of the same linguistic item(s) in two different texts (Kristeva 1986) and in terms of a flow of related items across texts (Bakhtin 1986). Patterns can be perceived in extensive stretches of text where themes are repeated with slight and subtle variations.

Fowler (1991b, pp.62-65) extends this basic categorization by adding aspects of newspaper text such as typography, and extending the range of linguistic features that can be examined, such as deixis.

The above albeit brief statement may then be taken to accord with the fullest descriptions of the linguistic model available in the CL literature (see Appendix 1 for a full account).

3.4.1 A typical CL analysis based on the linguistic model

A typical CL analysis is to be found in Fowler 1991b (pp.124-34). (For many other typical analyses see the list of topics used in CL analyses presented in 3.5.2). Fowler analyses two texts: a statement by David Ennals (then Secretary for Social Services) on hospital waiting lists and an accompanying article (both found in the Sunday Times, 5.2.78). The text encodes and legitimates the power structure of medicine: 'These power-relations are firmly encoded in the habitual discourse of institutionalized medicine' (ibid., p.125). In this code the participants (patients = P (Fowler's use) and authorities = A (author's use) are represented in two sharply contrasting ways. Fowler's initial comments concern straight assertion (associated with A) and impersonal language (associated with P).

Straight assertions expressing the certainty and characteristics of authoritarian discourse are used in connection with A (examples are: *is*, *are*, *becomes* (ibid.,

p.127)). The high frequency of assertions, an aspect of modality, leaves no space for questioning the truth of the claims or whether the situation is satisfactory.

An impersonality characteristic of official discourse is used in connection with P (examples include the nominals: *case*, *matter*, *wait*, *list* (ibid., p.128)). The use of the word *case* is '...an extremely impersonal expression for referring to an individual suffering from an illness so severe that it requires surgery...' (ibid., p.128).

The word *case* is used often. It is made prominent by three repetitions in a text of 42 words '...and finally replaced by the inanimate pronoun 'it', thus achieving a remarkable and dehumanizing transformation of a human individual into a depersonalized object' (ibid., p.128).

Here then is a summary of Fowler's procedure and results.

a. Procedure

i. list Noun Phrases (NPs) used to refer to the two different groups
ii. contrast type of NPs used
iii. list predicates associated with each group
iv. contrast predicate types

b. Results

i. Patient (P) NPs are typically low status and power, and non-individuating (by the use of categories (examples are : *Miss Cooper*, *the lady*, *this chap*, *waiting lists*, *lists* (3 times) (ibid., p.130)).

ii. Authority (A) NPs typically represent high status and power and are individuating (by the use of titles) (examples are: *Dr Maurice Miller*, *the minister*, *consultant* (4 times), *health authorities* (ibid., p.131)).

iii. P predicates are typically those of state (often mental state) and process where the P NPs have the role of experiencer. P NPs are also found in the role of Patient in action predicates. (Examples in turn are: [*i*]*s in severe discomfort*, *had to wait*, *squeezed out* P, *throw* P *out* (ibid., p.132)).

iv. A predicates are typically those of action, speech act and mental process where the A NPs have the role of agent (examples in turn are: *sending home*, *points out*, *deciding* (ibid., p.133)).

While there is a strong point to be made here there may be valid reasons why people cannot and should not always be individualised. When we deal with a large number of people we simply cannot take in each one as a full character and personality. In the context of health care and social services, moreover, the assessment of needs is often hindered by the influence of strong and forceful characters. Such people may not be as needy as others but may consume more resources. A detachment from the patients as individual characters with their own wishes and desires should thus result in a fairer distribution of care.

According to Fowler (ibid., p.127), the article appears to be on the side of the patient, but since it employs the established discourse it maintains the status quo. If that is the case, the article consists of a sub-text to the statement by Ennals which can be demonstrated by intertextuality.

Does this exclude a situation where the status quo is changed but the discourse remains the same? In other words, the waiting lists disappear, the patients are treated individually with a high level of care, but the same discourse is used? If that happens will the discourse eventually change? It probably will because aspects have really changed, in particular the way patients are handled rather than the mechanical process of recording statistics.

On the lexical classification of P and A for the former group Fowler lists the items in descending order of individualization, i.e. with the most individual first (ibid., p.130): 'The article is in an important sense about individual persons, but it treats them in an extremely impersonal way' (ibid., p.130). The process '...discourages thinking about individuals and their particular ills' (ibid., p.131).

In conclusion, while there is a great deal of substance in Fowler's theory and practice, two levels of analysis and approach are confused. The first is the detached exercise of looking at the available resources and the basis on which they are allocated. The second is the emotive exercise of looking at individual cases and finding injustice. This is never hard to do. However, this is an analytical point and need not invalidate one of Fowler's main assertions, namely that the language used represents an unfair situation, and that the continued use of that language perpetuates the situation. The exercise is then firstly to question whether the two styles of language are required (in some sense), secondly to question on what grounds may the situation be classified as unfair, and thirdly to question whether a change of language use would facilitate an improved situation for all concerned.

3.5 On the social base of CL: mystification and inequality

There are two main conceptions of the social base of CDA. The first, which shall be discussed here, is that of the CL school and is still adhered to by Kress and Hodge (1993). The second (TODA), which shall be discussed in chapter four, has been primarily articulated by Fairclough (1989a and 1992d) and includes a more substantial element of social philosophy.

According to the first conception there is a perpetual inequality of power in society and this is encoded by language and enforced by language (Fowler et al. 1979, pp.194-95). Here a straightforward assertion is made that language encodes power. The assertion is not made on the basis of an articulated theory of power, but with an assumed common sense definition of power which is then exemplified in text analysis. (Although van Dijk (1998) has now provided a more elaborate theory of power and ideology (see chapter 6)). The early proponents of CL consistently put forward a description and definition of language as inextricably linked with ideology and society. Power imbalance is regarded as a function of ideological presence.

Proceeding on a working idea of ideology as a set of dominant ideas, they have consistently held to the view that language somehow is ideology;

> Thirdly, language usage is not merely an effect or reflex of social organization and processes, it is a part of social processes. It constitutes social meanings and thus social practices (Fowler et al. 1979, p.1).

Furthermore, linguistic structures are said to

> ...explore, systematize, transform, and often obscure, analyses of reality; to regulate the ideas and behaviour of others; to classify and rank people, events and objects; to assert institutional or personal status (ibid., p.3)

and

> A major function of sociolinguistic mechanisms is to play a part in the control of members of subordinate groups by members of dominant groups (ibid. p.2).

This view is also prevalent in later writings (Kress and Hodge 1993, and Fowler 1991b). Montgomery (1995, p.245) also identifies patterns of language choice with ideologies and belief systems.

The concepts of *obscurance* and *mystification* were given some prominence in the early CL period. The question of exactly what meaning could be assigned to these terms was soon raised by critics. Confusion initially centred on the role of transforms. Drawing on a TGG model of language, Kress & Hodge claimed that the choice of a passive construction instead of an active (with its attendant agent deletion) helped serve to obscure original models of events (Kress & Hodge 1993, p.28). In a convincing critique, Pateman argued both that the use of TGG did not conform to the original theory and that mystification, if it were to be found anywhere, did not lie in the process relating deep to surface structure, but could be explained by conventional pragmatic techniques (Pateman 1981, pp.11ff). This can be seen as an intriguing commentary on Kress and Hodge's perceived ambiguity in the meaning of Chomsky's own description of a grammar (Chomsky 1957, p.11): 'The mystification inherent in the passive transformation allows him to sustain this ambiguous role' (Kress & Hodge 1993, p.33).

Another commentator on the two founding CL texts also pointed out the limitations of the term *mystification* and suggested that a conventional sociolinguistic view of the multifunctional nature of language would more than suffice as an explanatory tool (Murray 1981).

Sharrock and Anderson described mystification as an obscure concept and observed that '...one of the stock techniques employed by Kress and his colleagues is to look in the wrong place for something, then complain that they can't find it, and suggest that it is being concealed from them' (Sharrock and Anderson 1981, p.291). This point of view is supported by Simpson who comments that the purpose of many analyses is to reveal the ideological structure of discourse: '... and expose the (invariably) right-wing bias that is encoded therein' (Simpson 1993, p.115).

The term *mystification* began to drop out of subsequent CL writing, along with any attempt to remain faithful to early TGG theory. Exceptions include Kress, who continued to refer to it occasionally: '...in its representational function, language form is always deformed by the effects of power, leading to mystification...' (Kress 1991, p.90), and Birch (1996, p.79). A further notable exception is to be found in Hodge & Kress (1993), where the notion of transform is still very much alive. (Evidently, little revision of this feature was attempted in the second edition). Potter gives a critique of their method by questioning the nature and relation of the two forms of TGG (deep and surface), and by raising the problem of the status of the interpretation of the deep form: does it exist in and by itself, or is it a construct of the analyst's own making? (Potter 1996, pp.223-27).

But there is no use of the term *mystification* by Fowler (1991a; 1991b), who tends to employ the term *misrepresentation* as a discursive effect (Fowler 1996, p.5). It is also true that Fowler distances CL from a classical Marxist definition of ideology as false consciousness (ibid., p.10). However, the general idea of manipulation and obscurance by means of the construction of different representations of states of affairs has continued to be crucial to the CL thesis (Kress 1993a, p.174). This will be discussed below in the context of relativism.

3.5.1 Language and social meaning

Overall, it is claimed in the CL position that language, which has a close connection with social meaning, is used by some groups to dominate others by means of which the latter groups are often unaware.

But what is the precise relationship between language and social meaning? As in the use of the term *mystification*, this area also requires careful analysis. Upon examination, there seem to be the following candidates. Is the relationship one of

a. identity - the linguistic form is identical with social meaning in some way (Fowler et al. 1979, p.2);

b. determination or causality - a given social circumstance determines the use of a linguistic form, in which case the social is in some way prior to the linguistic (Fowler et al. 1979, pp.194-95);
c. inherence - a given linguistic form not only implies an associated social relationship but that relationship is a necessary property of that form (Kress and Hodge 1993, pp.204ff);

or

d. correlation - a given social circumstance may be correlated with a given linguistic form on certain specific occasions, in which case the constant priority of one over the other does not arise?

Of these four possibilities, the first can be rejected immediately: It would clearly be absurd to interpret this proposal as meaning that there is a relationship of identity between language and ideology, language and social meaning and practice. Linguistic form is clearly not of the same order as social meaning and practice. Linguistic form as constituted by abstract principles and their physical realization is a different kind of thing from social phenomena. The only way that sense may be given to the proposition is by accepting a

broad sense of language as something with some sort of necessary association with social meaning and practice.

There are also difficulties with the second. If a causal and deterministic link is ascribed to the relation between social circumstance and linguistic form, then there emerges the problem as to whether the social circumstance can be conceived as prior, and in which sense of prior, psychological, logical, or temporal. The third interpretation raises difficulties concerning the arbitrary nature of the sign which has been taken as a cornerstone of linguistic principles since the introduction of the term by Saussure (1983). It is not merely a correlation of two types of independent phenomena that is involved in the connection between language and social systems, according to CL (Fairclough 1992d, p.75).
Hodge and Kress (1993, pp.204ff) make it clear that social meaning is an indispensable part of language; language cannot exist without it. This leads them to propose that the linguistic sign is in fact motivated, as opposed to the traditional view that it is arbitrary (according to Saussure (1983)). The sign is supposedly not arbitrary, it is socially motivated (Kress 1991, p.86), and every occurrence indicates a power relationship between interlocutors. The social aspect of language is an essential, not contingent, part of language: 'As a basic premise for critical discourse analysis...we propose that linguistic signs are always motivated conjuncts of form and meaning' (Kress 1993a, p.205). Although the arbitrariness of the sign is still fully accepted within mainstream linguistics (and even in the most recent research on linguistic relativity (Lucy 1996, p.40)), Kress attempts to build his argument as follows.

Kress gives the example of a small child who draws a group of circles and calls them a car (1993a, pp.171-72; 1996, pp.20-22). It would be hard to dispute that this type of meaning is iconic and that the emphasis on circles most probably reflects the prominence of wheels in the child's eye. However, Kress' transition from iconic meaning to verbal meaning is not at all clear. While the linguistic sign may well be characterised by the producer's interest and certain possible features of the concept it represents, this is not a sufficient basis from which to argue that the sign is motivated as opposed to arbitrary in the accepted senses of these terms. But this is precisely the foundation of Kress' argument: 'Generalizing, I would wish to say that signs are always motivated in this manner by the producer's 'interest', and by characteristics of the object' (ibid. p.173).

At this point it is as well to ask what Kress means in practice by the term *motivated*. A strong argument can certainly be advanced that it is impossible to conceive of the use of a sign in human communication systems that does not

a. have social significance

b. manifest a particular interest on the part of participants in the speech event, whether producers or receivers.

But according to the accepted meanings of arbitrary and motivated (which include an important inter-lingual element) (Ferris 1983, pp.2-4; Widdowson 1995b) this proposition would not count as demonstrating that the sign is motivated. Secondly, signs with a certain social significance can change their meaning and indeed become inverted over time. This has been well demonstrated in diachronic sociolinguistics (Aitchison 1991).

In view of these difficulties a more useful and less controversial interpretation might be formed by building on the fourth possibility. In this case a restricted claim is made that in characterising the linguistic form used in a given situation, one also characterises the social relations which hold: the class position, for example, of an interlocutor is indicated by phonetic and other linguistic features.

A further specific question regards the precise relation of ideological content to linguistic form. Although in her review of the second edition of Hodge & Kress (1993) Tracy simply accepts the claim that it is possible to reveal ideology by means of linguistic concepts (Tracy 1994), Bell makes several criticisms of the CL position in his revealing account of the making of news copy (Bell 1991, p.214).

They are that

a. it is difficult to distinguish a clear relation between any given linguistic choice and a specific ideology; it is just not possible to read off meanings from forms

b. it is hard to claim that there is ideological significance in every syntactic option

c. even if this were to be so, it would be hard to identify that choice in every one

d. such a conscious view of linguistic choice motivated by ideological considerations is highly unlikely and certainly not borne out by research into news production (Bell 1991).

These are certainly powerful objections to what may be termed the strong interpretation of language as ideology (whereby language and ideology both somehow constitute each other, and where ideological content can be read off linguistic form), and yet it does seem possible to read this interpretation from the remarks given by Kress (1983a p.125; 1985c p.30).

However, in defence of the earlier CL position, a modification may be made whereby it would be admissible to say that it is theoretically possible to read off meanings from each unit (given general agreement), but certain units will be more significant and/or easier to read off than others, or less controversial. The insignificant units will contain background cultural information that is common to all or most people operating in that language community. The significant units will demonstrate orientations to ideological paradigms where the speaker/producer differs from others in an interesting way. This could also be described in terms of marked and unmarked forms, in accordance with mainstream terminology.

Thus, while Bell's interpretation of Kress may be deemed a strong reading, a weak reading would seem to be tenable, and there is some indication of support for this position in later work: 'There is no invariant relationship between textual structure and its social meanings...' (Fowler 1991a, p.90). This is a claim which Fowler repeats later: 'Significance (ideology) cannot simply be read off the linguistic forms that description has identified in the text, because the same form...has different significances in different contexts...' (Fowler 1996, p.9).

3.6 On the position of the analyst in CL

In CL in general, it is not easy to find any explicit self-examination of the analyst's own point of view, background and position in relation to alternative readings (although see the comments below on Lemke (1995) and Ivanic (1998)). Secondly, the question of what ideological status an account of ideology should have is not generally addressed (Simpson 1993, p.115).

To be sure, in the highly politicised environment where CDA locates itself, and amid the overwhelming sense that practitioners have that what they are doing is morally right, there exists at least some recognition that they should take their own preconceptions into account. McHoul and Luke (1989, p.327) make a general call for recognition of political location within discourse studies. Fairclough comments '[b]ut if analysts are drawing upon their own MR

[members' resources] to explicate how those of participants operate in discourse, then it is important that they be sensitive to what resources they are themselves relying upon to do analysis' (Fairclough 1989a, p.167). So the analyst is to be sensitive, should have have a high degree of awareness of the elusive nature of discourse, and should draw their own resources from a social theory (ibid., p.167 passim). In a broadly sympathetic review of Fairclough (1995b), Chng (1996) approves Fairclough's comments to the effect that CLA (critical language awareness) must neither exceed the provision of a resource for emancipation nor set out blueprints. According to Chng, this is tantamount to an admission that CDA is also an ideological enterprise and must resist attempts to establish itself as a dominant paradigm.

However, in a guest editorial of Discourse and Society, Michael Billig (2000) comments on the paradox that whereas CDA began as a protest movement it is now in the mainstream. He also calls for self-reflection on the part of CDA analysts and recommends that they critically examine their own terms and even identity (ibid., p.291). In terms of academic recognition, Billig points out that CDA has achieved considerable success with a significant body of literature, academic positions and degree courses. On the other hand, while it may be true that CDA has entered linguistic orthodoxy (at least in some quarters) it is very doubtful whether it has had any real impact on major areas of the world outside academia. This is certainly true regarding the business world where managers have not even heard of CDA and it is not referred to in the latest business academic literature (Peters 1997).

Wodak (1989b) gives a clear statement of the aims and practice of CL. She sees a necessary subjectivity in choice of research and position towards that research tempered by the requirement to consider other points of view as objectively as possible and to lay bare the analyst's own position: 'It is important, therefore, to state these values explicitly, to analyze all aspects, to take into account multiple data and methods before drawing any conclusions or before starting to interpret or explain. A certain distance from the subject under investigation is necessary' (ibid., p.xiv). In addition, Kress asserts that CDA practitioners '...would insist that, while their activity is politically committed, it is nonetheless properly scientific, perhaps all the more so for being aware of its own political, ideological, and ethical stance' (Kress 1991, p.85).

Finally, two quite explicit statements of the analyst's position are to be found in Lemke (1995) and Ivanic (1998) (admittedly within a broader CDA tradition). Lemke sets out his own position to the extent of giving a brief autobiography (even including sexual orientation) (Lemke 1995, pp.4-6). Ivanic takes a different approach by the insistent use of the personal pronoun *I*. She takes the revelation of subjectivity to an extreme by so pointing out instances where her personal point

of view and opinion are employed (Ivanic 1998, p.31). Both writers claim to be exceptional, even unique, in such self-examination or self-revelation of their position. However, in the case of Ivanic, it could be argued that her text then becomes an exercise in rhetoric and persuasion.

These comments do go some distance in answering criticisms such as that made by Gage (1980) that the text of Hodge & Kress (1993) is heavily imbued with the ideology of the authors, and by Grimshaw that the final chapter in Fowler et al. (1979) contains some suggestive notions but '...it is difficult to read because those notions are embedded in a text which is itself variously ideological, misinformed, and naïve' (Grimshaw 1981b, p.24). And, it may be added, in that case a further critical linguist will be needed to explicate the ideology in the text produced by the first, thus paving the way for an infinite regress.

On the other hand, such statements by Wodak, Kress, Lemke and Ivanic are few and far between, and within CL and CDA there is certainly little consideration of different points of view, alternative analytical positions, or alternative readings of texts. (A notable exception is provided by Kress' presentation of four possible readings of a text depending on the point of view of the reader (Kress 1994)). Generally, CDA analysts neither set out nor consider alternative interpretations of texts.

Moreover, it is essential to note that these requirements do not guarantee the objectivity of the analyst. The analyst may meet all of these requirements and still intend to interpret the results in the light of a particular political theory. In other words the results may contain deliberate political judgements as to how society should be organised as opposed to analytic descriptions as to how it is organised.

3.6.1 The status of readings

The status of the reading or interpretation (in terms of whose it is) is a related area where little reflection has taken place. Richardson (1987) takes CL to task for an exclusive concentration on academic readings and a failure to consider the validity of lay readings (ibid., p.149). It is true, as Richardson says, that little has been done on lay readings in CL work, but in mass media research much has been done to investigate receiver interpretation of messages (Bell 1991).

Richardson distinguishes three main types of readings: the diagnostic, which derives from the analyst's viewpoint; the reconstructive, in which the

intentions of the author(s) of the text are described; and the symptomatic which would appear to refer to facts derived from the text which may not necessarily accord with any lay reading or analyst's point of view (Richardson 1987, pp.147ff). The first reading could be provided by academics, the second by lay readers, and the third by any critical observer.

In the first and third cases a crucial distinction is made between the analyst's own knowledge and knowledge existing in a text. There is then a further question whether this distinction can in fact be made: some of the analyst's own knowledge will have to be used in order to make any interpretation of the text. In the second the question of the legitimacy of a diagnosis based on a hypothesis of how the lay reader would interpret the text is posed. Just how do academics know what lay readers may or may not understand, misunderstand, or simply miss in a text? This question is linked to the need to define what force a reading may have. It is certainly important to distinguish the validity of a reading (a reading may be justified, but so may be others) from the authority of a reading (a reading may enjoy greater authority over others) (ibid., pp.158-60).

Richardson also raises the important objection that where the knowledge system presupposed by CL analysts is Marxist, other systems are thereby excluded: 'My own concern is how much can be 'refused' knowingly by anyone out of sympathy with the informing beliefs of a reading - Marxist, feminist, Christian fundamentalist, Freudian, anti-nuclear, etc. - and the intellectual and practical consequences of different answers to that question' (ibid., p156-57). She goes on to give a convincing development of her position in a demonstration that Fowler and Marshall (1985) conflate two assessments on the language and thought processes of the pro-nuclear lobby (ibid., p.159). In all, Richardson's work is significant for raising these issues: the status of different readings of a text; the justification of using one knowledge base as opposed to another in a diagnostic reading; and the validity and authority of a reading.

Finally, a similar debate re-appears ten years on when Schegloff (1997) accuses CDA protagonists of '…a kind of theoretical imperialism, a kind of hegemony of the intellectuals … whose theoretical apparatus gets to stipulate the terms by reference to which the world is to be understood…' (ibid., p.167). Schegloff's point is that in the CDA tradition a particular evaluative stance is adopted at the outset. The data is not examined by neutral tools and then assessed in the light of social and political theories. Schegloff's arguments are close to those of Widdowson (1995a; 1995b; 1996) and the exchange between Wetherell (1998) and Schegloff (1998) is comparable to that between Widdowson (1996) and Fairclough (1996b).

3.6.2 Some typical CL material analysed

With regard to the views and opinions enjoyed by analysts in the field, an answer to the question of the position of the analyst has already been indicated in the above account of the purpose of CL. Although some indication may be traced in the work of Fowler (1991b) that the model is potentially a neutral tool, he is quite ready to promote active political intervention on the basis of evidence brought up by CL. Other commentators are certainly willing to take this step and to advocate it actively. If a survey is made of the material which is subjected to examination by analysts working within CL, it will be found that it is mainly concerned with criticism of the established social and political order. The list shown below in table 6 indicates a fairly wide and representative range of examples.

Analyst	Typical subject material of texts analysed
Fowler et al. (1979, pp.100ff)	Law and Order in Rhodesia: the negative portrayal of blacks in the press.
Chilton (1982, passim)	The positive portrayal of nuclear power in the press immediately after the first hydrogen bombs were dropped.
Fowler (1991b, pp.134ff)	Law and order: the negative classification of protesters in strikes (and other public protests) in the 1985 White Paper "Review of Public Order Law" and echoes in the press.
Kress & Hodge (1993 chapter 9)	The Gulf War: the normalization of facts of war.
Kress (1983c, pp.43ff)	Labour unrest: the media structures events to support a negative picture of workers and unions.
Hartley and Montgomery (1985, pp.238ff)	a. Russians versus British
	b. Tories versus labour
	c. Zimbabwean army versus ZIPRA guerrillas
	d. Spanish government versus
	Basque separatists.
Montgomery (1995, p.234)	Nuclear weaponry: euphemistic names.
van Dijk (1991, pp.121ff)	Ethnic minorities: negative portrayal in the press.
Wodak (1996)	Doctor and patient, and school discourse.

Table 6: typical subject matter of texts analysed in CL and related work

This list is not at all intended to be comprehensive (Fowler's (1991b) major study on the representation of the 'Salmonella in eggs affair' in the press is

omitted, for example), but it is representational of the work to date (see also 4.2.1 and Appendix 2).

Of course, there is a sense in which this list is not surprising at all. If the task of CDA as a whole is to reveal power imbalances in texts that may not be obvious to participants, then texts relating to people and institutions of power will be obvious material. What may be surprising, though, is the exclusion of non-political or social texts, or other texts with an overt concern with power.

More interestingly, the question of the status of these imbalances with regard to how they are perceived is a substantial issue. Regarding the production of newspaper text, Fowler tells us, commentators on the political left claim that '...bias is endemic because of the ties between media production and industrial- speculative capitalism, and can be countered only by radical changes in the financing and procedures of news production, and by the provision of alternative news sources...' (Fowler 1991b, pp.11-12).

However, Fowler does recognise that there is misrepresentation everywhere, including, by implication, in such newspapers as the Socialist Worker (ibid., p.12). Yet the term *misrepresentation* may imply that there is a correct, or agreed version of events that would be characterised by general assent. Fowler goes on to comment that the view that in a good world the papers would report the unmediated truth is `...drastically and dangerously false. It allows a person to believe, and to assert, complacently, that their newspaper is unbiased, whereas all the others are in the pocket of the Tories or the Trotskyists...' (ibid., p.12). Fowler also suggests that we dispense with the term *bias* and use *mediation* or *representation* instead.

Some analysts (particularly within the TODA tradition), on the other hand, see it as a legitimate duty to intervene, make political judgements, and even encourage others to intervene (Fairclough 1989a; 1992d; Toolan 1997).

3.7 On the philosophical foundations of CL: relativism and objectivity

Two major underlying questions now begin to emerge. The first regards the general problem of *relativism*, and it can be divided into three particular areas: the location of the CL project within the Whorfian discussion (Whorf 1956); the position of CL with regard to the status of systems of knowledge in the debate surrounding Thomas Kuhn's theory of *paradigms* (Kuhn 1962); and the possible orientation of CL (or CDA) in current debates on mentalities within anthropology (Lloyd 1990) and on the development of rational ways of thinking in ancient science (Lloyd 1979; 1996).

The second, related, question concerns the objectivity, or subjectivity, of the analyst, and the status of the readings or interpretations made on the basis of textual analysis. Both questions are important in a re-appraisal of the foundations of CDA. If a counter-weight to the thesis of relativism is not brought forward, then it is difficult to see how any competing model of CDA could claim any greater explanatory power than the existing one. Throughout the field the validity of the various interpretations depends on two theses. The first one is that, if some ultimate relativism is assumed, no one reading has any greater validity than another since there is no true or correct version of events that exists outside an individual or group frame of reference. The other is that it is legitimate to assume a political orientation towards a text which is based on a certain set of ethical principles which in turn form part of a political philosophy.

There is, therefore, a tension where a tendency towards both extreme relativity and the correctness of the CL interpretation are to be seen (Fowler 1991b; Birch 1989, p30-31). The tension arises from the way the readings are presented as correct in two senses, in both an analytical sense (where the linguistic tool is presented as a scientific means of establishing a true or correct reading) and a moral sense (according to one political theory) whereas the philosophy of relativism would allow other equally valid readings to be made by means of the tool.

A serious problem, then, for CL is how the validity or legitimacy of different readings of the same text should be assessed. Until this is addressed, CL will continue to be open to charges of subjectivity and one-sided promotion of its own ideology (Gage 1980; Grimshaw 1981b; McHoul & Luke 1989, p.330), as will any other version of CDA built on the same foundations.

3.7.1 Whorfian influences

From the very beginning, CL made extensive use of Whorf's theory on the relation of language to thought (and the theory is still held to be a problem for CDA (Stubbs 1997)). The theory may be formulated in two dimensions, each of which may be perceived to have a strong and a weak version. In the first dimension there is a vertical relation between language and thought. Proponents of the strong version would claim that language determines thought, in other words linguistic form determines the concepts available to the speakers of any given language. Defenders of the weak version would not accept that the relationship between language and thought is deterministic. Words such as 'influence' or 'affect' would be applicable to describe it. In the second dimension there is a horizontal relation between two 'language and thought' complexes. Here a strong version would commit its supporters to the mutual

unintelligibility of two languages, while a weak version would allow for the existence of basic semantic elements (Ferris 1983) common to all languages which would provide a foundation for translation. For convenience of exposition, the two dimensions and their strong and weak versions will be labelled W1s/W1w, and W2s/W2w respectively.

Pateman (1981) attempts to ascribe determinism to the early CL theory both in a top-down relation of language to thought and in a bottom-up relation of social structure to language, and he sees a confusion of the two. Richardson also sees a deterministic view of social subjects (Richardson 1987, p.149). Pointers can certainly be found towards a confusion between the two relations (Fowler et al. 1979, pp.194-95) and, indeed, clear statements as to the deterministic, bottom-up, relation of social structure to language. Yet signs of a tendency towards W1s in early CL writings (Fowler et al. 1979, p.185; Hodge & Kress 1993, pp.5-6; ibid., p.128) would not serve as conclusive evidence for a firm commitment. Indeed, certain CL practitioners specifically distance themselves from W1s both in early work (Hodge & Kress 1974, pp.17-18) and in later work (Fowler 1991b, pp.30ff; Kress 1993a, p.177). Today, there is no general acceptance of W1s, although W1w does have some currency (Ferris 1983, pp.146ff; Lloyd 1990, p.136).

3.7.2 Types of choice

On the relation of social structure to language, early statements of principle embrace an explicit determinism: 'Another doubtful implication of such work [correlational sociolinguistics] is that the forms of language are freely chosen by language-users...This influence operates in a deterministic fashion: social structure x demands linguistic variety a' (Fowler et al. 1979, pp.194ff). Later statements contradict this. Kress asserts that CDA is not deterministic and that the principle of choice is essential: ' 'Choice' is the category that captures and reflects, on the one hand, degrees of power and control at issue in an interaction, and on the other, the potential degrees and characteristics of real-not determinate-action which are available to participants in linguistic interactions, whether spoken or written' (Kress 1991, p.88). Some notion of choice would seem to be essential to CL, otherwise there would be no meaning in exhortations to political action. But clarification is required as to the meaning of choice between the levels of human action and linguistics. In the former the issue is whether human action is determined or whether there is free will to make choices and act. In the latter there are two analytical questions: the relation of social feature to linguistic feature (if a given social feature is always accompanied by a given linguistic one then there is a relationship of determinism in some sense); and the meaning of options in a system where language is conceived as a flow characterised by the realization of choices

between several options at each point (linguistic choices in a Hallidayan model of language).

Moreover, in relation to the free choice of human action, a distinction must be made between the choices that can be made by the producer of a text and those that can be made by the receiver. If it is assumed that CL allows choice on the level of free will, there follow some interesting consequences for the method of analysis. According to the operation of choice it should indeed be possible that the receiver choose between different readings or systems of interpretation. However, if that is the case then the CL method, by normally allowing only one choice or interpretation, actually denies choice to the receiver (or, at the least, indicates preferred, and, therefore, limited choices). It further follows that the first choice was in fact a non-choice. Finally, in what sense can it then be claimed that the result of CL analysis is demystification? The result is simply that one choice system has been replaced by another to the exclusion of other possible systems.

Overall, if there is to be any meaning at all then choice is implied. If a deterministic model is assumed (on whatever level) then there would exist no question of assigning alternative meanings. Lyons comments that choice is one of the most fundamental principles in linguistics: it is '… a necessary condition of meaningfulness … This principle is frequently expressed in terms of the slogan: meaning, or meaningfulness, implies choice' (Lyons 1977, p.33)

Once these distinctions are drawn out space may be created for both types of choice and especially the consequences of the human kind within a discourse model that may evolve from CDA.

As for the second dimension of the Whorfian hypothesis, there is plenty of discussion of this where it is formulated in terms of differences in world-views. Further, it is at this point that a conjunction with critical theory is reached. A clear statement of this position, within the context of critical theory, is made by Fowler:

Critical linguistics insists that all representation is mediated, moulded by the value-systems that are ingrained in the medium (language in this case) used for representation; it challenges common sense by pointing out that something could have been represented some other way...This is not...simply a question of "distortion" or "bias": there is not necessarily any true reality that can be unveiled by critical practice, there are simply relatively varying representations (Fowler 1988a, p.483; and see Fowler 1996, p.4).

This view is confirmed by Birch (1989) who draws a further conclusion that since values are inseparable from anything an analyst does, and since there is no sense to the expression 'knowledge for its own sake', then political neutrality is impossible. The argument is that a stance must be taken, and if the analyst does not take an overt one, then there is no escaping a covert one (Birch 1989, pp.30-31).

However, some allusion can be found elsewhere to the existence of an independent reality or true version of events: '...second, in its representational function, the material form of language always has a mediating effect, necessarily leading to skew in certain ways...' (Kress 1991, p.90).

One consequence of the relativist position, however viewed, is the possibility of the questioning of science as a value-free practice capable of making true statements of fact (Kress 1991, p.85). This may be construed as a part of the strong form of the sociology of scientific knowledge whereby the status of independently and externally existing facts is put under question (Berger & Luckmann 1976; Wolpert 1992) and in some cases their very existence (Searle 1996).

Kress argues that choice of linguistic item may influence whether a text is taken as scientific or not. A text which reveals the writer's point of view by the use of the first person singular pronoun and the active voice of the verb may suggest subjectivity, while a text which conceals point of view by the use of the passive construction may suggest objectivity (Kress 1989c, pp.19-20). It is claimed that impersonality '...lends objectivity, and therefore the appearance of factuality to the statements of science...' (Kress 1988a, p.57) and that through this mechanism science and scientists can wield great power. But in reply it is reasonable enough to ask what status would be allowed to scientific fact and how such facts might be expressed. Or, if subjectivity is all-pervasive (whether open or hidden) is it necessary to reveal the subjective stance at every point, and is the legitimacy of every point of view under question? This question is left unanswered by Kress, although the need to be able to manage

impersonality and personality in writing skills is acknowledged (ibid., p.20). Most recent work in the TODA field exemplifies a tendency towards a style opposite to that of scientific writing: Ivanic (1998) uses *I* throughout and openly acknowledges subjectivity. The question then arises on what systematic basis could Ivanic's work be criticised?

3.7.3 Objectivity and Kuhnian paradigms

So far Whorfian influences have been identified on the relativism of CL. A second major influence (direct and, more importantly, indirect) is that of Thomas Kuhn and his theory of paradigms in the history and philosophy of science (Kuhn 1970a). (And Hodge & Kress (1974) claim that Whorf has influenced Kuhn). This theory enjoys extensive mention by Birch (1989) where absolute truth and objectivity are denied and replaced by a claim that knowledge is related to a particular discursive practice at a particular time.

Kuhn's initial and significant contribution was to propose a notion of paradigm or framework (Kuhn 1970a). This has generally been interpreted to mean a set of assumptions or views within a given science that provide a dominant point of reference for ongoing research. Work undertaken within chronological periods marked by a particular paradigm is described as normal science. When, however, results begin to conflict with expectations derived from the paradigm, the paradigm may eventually be overturned and a new one established in its place. There is clearly some contiguity between Kuhn and CL in that the latter allows for a number of ways of looking at the world which cannot be assigned the label 'true' since they are all equally valid according to internal criteria of consistency.

Another point of contact between Kuhn and CL is the common ground to be found in Kuhn's use of paradigm to mean a coherent belief set in the field of science and that of Fowler's use to mean, for example, an underlying belief system which may define figures such as *mother* or *patriot* (Fowler 1991b, p.17) and official belief systems which a ruling group may hold subconsciously (Fowler & Marshall 1985, p.4). Although the term *paradigm* is applied on a different scale and to different contexts, there is a clear resemblance of meaning.

A further important aspect of paradigm theory is the assertion of the incommensurability (but not untranslatability) of paradigms, and the denial of any neutral scientific vocabulary. According to Kuhn (1970b), point-by-point comparison of two theories would demand a language into which both can be translated without change. Its primitive vocabulary would comprise sense-datum terms plus syntactic connectives. That ideal has been abandoned but many

philosophers continue to assume that theories can be compared '...by recourse to a basic vocabulary consisting entirely of words which are attached to nature in ways that are unproblematic and...independent of theory' (Kuhn 1970b, p.266). This is the vocabulary in which Popper's basic statements are framed. Kuhn argues that no such vocabulary is available:

> In the transition from one theory to the next words change their meanings or conditions of applicability in subtle ways. Though most of the same signs are used before and after a revolution-e.g. force, mass, element, compound, cell-the ways in which some of them attach to nature has somehow changed. successive theories are thus, we say, incommensurable (Kuhn 1970b, pp.266-67).

Translation, however, is possible: 'Translation.. always involves compromises which alter communication' (p.268). But it is difficult because `...we have no access to a neutral sub-linguistic means of reporting' (Kuhn 1970b, p.268).

Kuhn's work prompted an intense argument over the nature of scientific method with regard to both the nature and existence of paradigms and the question of scientific method, and the question of the mutual intelligibility of paradigms. An energetic debate arose between Kuhn and his sympathisers on the one hand, and Karl Popper on the other (the arguments and positions are well summarised in Andersson (1994)). For present purposes, an important point to be raised is that while the subjectivist line in the philosophy of science is indeed strong, it is not the only one, and it is, moreover, balanced by an objectivist tradition of equally powerful lineage. The paradigm theory articulated by Kuhn has indeed come under intense scrutiny (Lakatos & Musgrave 1970) to the extent that no less than twenty one uses of paradigm have been identified, each one with disputed meaning (Masterman 1970).

Then, the relativism apparent in the definition of a paradigm has been powerfully criticised by Karl Popper:

> The central point is that a critical discussion and a comparison of the various frameworks is always possible. It is just a dogma - a dangerous dogma - that the different frameworks are like mutually untranslatable languages. The fact is that even totally different languages (like English and Hopi, or Chinese) are not untranslatable, and that there are many Hopis or Chinese who have learnt to master English very well (Popper 1970, p.56).

Popper calls this relativism the 'Myth of the Framework' and describes it as the 'central bulwark of irrationality in our time' (ibid., p.56).

The discussion of relativism is not confined to the philosophy of science. In anthropology a debate concerning the definition of the term *mentality* and the question of how understanding of different mentalities can be achieved, if at all, can be traced through the literature ever since Levy-Bruhl (1923) first put the issue in sharp relief. In the most recent thinking in this field there is a reluctance to pose questions in terms of mentalities (there is an obvious danger of circularity), but rather to examine the linguistic categories employed in the text itself (whether oral or written) of the society under investigation (Lloyd 1990). Lloyd (1979) has also given a significant account of the development of the first rational and scientific modes of thought in ancient Greece in contrast with the magical and religious (ibid., pp.29ff; Lloyd 1990, pp.43ff). One of the most interesting aspects of the transition to rationality is the coexistence of what in CDA terms could be conceived as different discourses which exhibit intertextual features.

Lloyd sees problems in what counts as a mentality; whether one language can display a mentality, whether different mentalities can exist within one culture and language, or indeed within one individual. Preferring to see the problem in terms of the linguistic categories available in the culture under discussion and the social circumstances prevalent, Lloyd offers a way out of the conundra surrounding mentalities and the controversy arising from relativism, which has '...a rather sterile air...' (Lloyd ibid., p.40). Indeed, the emphasis Lloyd places on modes of reasoning, the nature and contexts of communication, linguistic categories, and social interaction and participant expectations as contributors to an explanatory framework for material previously collected within the rather undefined notion of mentality, accords quite well with current CDA concerns. In other words, a CDA type of analysis may be used as an investigative tool within other disciplines, too.

The emergence of new linguistic categories also applies to the development of early science. According to Lloyd, the distinguishing feature which marked science from non-science in ancient Greece was the drive for justification and verification in argument. The proto-scientists of ancient Greece (proto in that their investigations and methods are clearly primitive by contemporary standards, and their results poor) developed a form of reasoning, a discourse of argument, whereby systematic procedures of demonstration and proof were employed. In practice, this discourse has endured to the present day, even if it has come under attack recently.

Another objection to the idea of a scientific endeavour as neutral and objective is that in one person a variety of behaviour types may be recorded

(both in temporal succession and at the same time). A physicist may be religious, and/or superstitious, and paranoid about competitors. But this does not detract from the core practice of science as a process of argument, demonstration and proof, on the basis of agreed points of comparison, and, more importantly, the possibility of changing that basis, with results aimed at manipulating the natural world. And science is fundamentally about altering, arresting or even reversing the course of nature. Even though science may come with a heavy baggage of mystification in its specialist discourse, it is a fundamental mistake to claim or imply that the content of science can purely be characterised by a way of speaking, or indeed to overplay the way that style of delivery may constitute content. This is tantamount to denying the validity of those early distinctions made by the Greeks: 'But conversely there is the mistake of an attempt to collapse, after all, the distinctions that those Greeks forged and made explicit in part in the rhetoric of persuasion' (Lloyd ibid., p.71). A system of rational evaluation on agreed bases of comparison, ultimately linked to the physical world, is inescapable.

While CL (and CDA as a whole) still works with an implicit and explicit acceptance of relativism, influenced both by critical theory and by a strong interpretation of Kuhnian relativism, Lloyd thus points to a way out of the difficulties of these parameters and suggests a new way of tackling the problem.

If Lloyd has indicated one way out of the dilemmas associated with relativism (and his work offers an explanatory framework both for different languages and cultures - Chinese and Greek (Lloyd 1996) - and for a single one - Greek (Lloyd 1979)), then Lucy offers a further avenue through his reexamination of Whorf's position.

Lucy (1992a; 1992b; 1996) offers a fresh look at the issue of linguistic relativity. He moves the debate on both from the rather loose thinking around the notion of language determining thought and from the post-war approaches such as those dominated by the assumption of universal grammar. Lucy identifies many problems in the current debate. These include the severe lack of empirical studies, their dubious quality (in terms of artificial evidence and constructed textual material), and the types of relativity (semiotic, structural, and discursive), to name but a few (Lucy 1992a; 1996).

When it comes to the existence of an external reality, Lucy claims that Whorf assumed a basic reality which was presented to all but which could interpreted differently in concepts presented by language (Lucy 1992a, pp.50-54). Lucy clearly interprets Whorf as holding the belief that there exists an independent reality: 'Notice finally, that there is an additional element to Whorf's formulation beyond language and thought: a reality against which the two linguistic patterns

are tacitly compared but which was not itself seriously analyzed or explicated by him' (Lucy 1996b, p.43).

Lucy explains that Whorf worked within a tripartite structure of representation, which he never explicitly presented as a systematic theory. Lucy summarises this as consisting of percepts (essentially unstructured stream of experience), concepts (views of the world implicit in habitual thought) and language (expression of these views) (Lucy 1992a, pp.40-45).

In his major comparative study of the number system in English and Yucatec Maya, Lucy identifies the central methodological question as the use of

> ... an external non-linguistic *reality* as the metric or standard for calibrating the content of linguistic and cognitive categories. The development of an adequate, neutral metric represents the crucial analytic problem in any project on the relativity issue (Lucy 1992b, p.2).

Lucy's work goes some way to the establishment of such a neutral language using a methodology whereby neither grammatical category of the two languages is privileged:

> By framing the analysis comparatively from the beginning, it was possible to contrast the two groups within a framework of broader cross-linguistic regularities and thereby formulate a neutral characterization that did not privilege English language categories or conceptions of reality as more correct, accurate, developed, or complex (Lucy 1992b, p. 150).

A second means of establishing an objective procedure is the use of pictures in order to elucidate linguistic responses from respondents of the two languages under scrutiny. Different elements are accorded higher or lower prominence by respondents and this is reflected in linguistic choices (for example as to number or mass, and as to substance) (Lucy 1992b, pp.156-58). Slobin (1996) also employs a related methodology to that of Lucy and presents a study based on the description in two different languages of events portrayed in a picture, where the focus is on the representation of verbal aspect. Furthermore, in their introductory remarks on the transitivity system in systemic grammar, Martin et al. also point out that it is possible to construe elements of a picture (a kite winging across the sky) in different ways and with different linguistic representations (Martin et al. 1997, pp.100-01).

Lucy's work has received an extremely favourable reception from a number of commentators. Denny (1994) provides a substantial review of Lucy (1992a; 1992b) and comments that

> In the midst of a strong revival of the Whorfian hypothesis, Lucy's investigation makes a major contribution to the empirical support for the theory, because of its methodological sophistication (ibid., p.254).

Denny further states:

> Lucy's cognitive hypothesis is that English speakers will emphasize in their thinking the frequency of animate and discrete inanimate objects more than the frequency of non-discrete masses, whereas Yucatec speakers will emphasize the frequency of animates more than discrete or non-discrete inanimates. This hypothesis was exactly confirmed by data from a non-verbal similarity judgment task…' (ibid., pp.254-55).

And

> Those results are buttressed by a number of excellent methodological practices. First, different qualitative patterns were assessed that were expected for each group, thereby avoiding a quantitative comparison in which one group might be seen as having a deficit. Second, to compensate for strangeness of psychological experimentation for the Yucatecs, the task pictures were biased toward Yucatec daily life and showed objects in reasonably complete and natural contexts (ibid., p.255).

Denny's conclusion is that 'The overall achievement of Lucy's studies is very high…' (ibid., p.256).

In her re-evaluation of Whorf, Lee (1996) points out that Whorf did not deny non-linguistic thinking, indeed he carefully differentiated '…linguistic and non-linguistic 'interpretations of experience'' (ibid., p.xiv). According to Lee, Whorf was looking for a canon of reference, a cross-culturally valid frame of reference (ibid., p.109). In this regard she indicates the significance of Lucy's work: 'Lucy … is one of the very few … who has commented on Whorf's interest in [non-linguistic] frames of reference …' (ibid., p.117).

Foley (1997) describes Lucy's work as important and '…the most extensive study of the Principle of Linguistic Relativity since Whorf…' (Foley 1997, p.209). Foley differentiates Whorf from Lucy in that the former saw linguistic relativity as an axiomatic principle the validity of which could not be tested by experiment, whereas the latter viewed relativity as a hypothesis to be tested (ibid., p.209). Foley further describes Lucy's work as

> …important empirical work which will hopefully help to reinvigorate research within the Boasian tradition. He has forged a new rigor into the study of linguistic relativity by his careful joining of thorough linguistic analysis and contrastive typology with experimental cognitive psychology (ibid., p.211).

The collection of articles on linguistic relativity in Gumperz & Levinson (1996) represents a substantial contribution to the field from a range of disciplines. As an indication of his importance, Lucy provides the first article in the collection. In her review of Gumperz & Levinson (1996) Hickman (2000) gives great prominence to the opening paper in the collection by Lucy. In particular, Hickman comments that Lucy takes good account of questions concerning the complex interplay between structure and function in the relativity debate, and also provides examples of future research directions.

According to Darnell (1997), the work found in Gumperz & Levinson (1996), and including Lucy's opening paper

> …effectively reflects the numerous angles from which anthropologists, linguists, and psychologists are reworking the ideas inherited from Whorf, Sapir, and Boas, in terms of ethnographic data, methods, and interdisciplinary theoretical perspectives not available to their predecessors (Darnell 1997, p.153).

The above evidence constitutes some agreement on the importance of Lucy's work. Moreover, it would certainly appear true to say that in his empirical study of Yucatec Maya (Lucy 1992b) Lucy makes a number of major advances in methodology and procedure and provides clear results. The study is detailed, thorough, and was conducted over a long period of time (three years in total,

including stays of up to seventeen months in the Yucatec village). In particular, he highlights the necessity of an account of external reality, which should form the foundation of a comparative study of two or more languages (in this case English and Yucatec). Lucy goes a long way to providing a description of such an account, at least with regard to the system of grammatical number, which comprises the focus of the study. This is manifested in the development of a comparative feature analysis which provides an autonomous reference point (ibid., p.77). While focus on a clearly defined area of grammar is a strength of the study, further work needs to be done on areas such as time and tense and the referential system. On the cognitive side, Lucy uses visual stimuli (picture sets) to evoke linguistic responses from speakers in order to assess the interplay between language and thought. It may be easier to set up empirical procedures with the number system than with the tense and referential systems. However, Slobin (1996) manages to describe different linguistic and cognitive responses to pictures with regard to verbal aspect. This represents an attempt to deal with language as process as opposed to the comparison of items or systems treated as frozen. Finally, Lucy puts forward clear and comprehensible conclusions. The main result is encapsulated well by the comment that

> In particular, it appears that the scope of pluralization and certain regularities in fundamental lexical structure predict the ways individual speakers will categorize and remember objects and their attributes (ibid., p.150).

Future directions of this research might include (at least) a comparative study of language functions (recognized by Lucy (1992b pp.160-61; 1996), an extension of grammatical categories to be examined, and more attention to language as process.

There are several further ways of accessing an independently existing reality that do not depend on language. Searle (1996) demonstrates how the same geometrical pattern may be described in different ways in the same language. Then there is the phenomenon of music. The same piece of music may be described differently both within one language and in different languages. Finally, there is the unchanging world of mathematics, partly constitutive of the Platonic ideas, which have clearly been accessed by scientists and mathematicians in many cultures and languages (Penrose 1997). Linguists often afford language pride of place as a semiotic system. But these mathematical truths exist objectively and independently of any observer, and communicable mathematical thought is not dependent on language (ibid.).

These points provide some means of defining and describing the 'nonlinguistic observables' which Lucy places at the foundation of Whorf's system of representation (Lucy 1992, p.58). These observables may be nonlinguistic, but that does not mean that they are not describable or communicable except through language and its presumed relativity trap, nor does it mean that a neutral scientific language of description is impossible. They also represent the beginnings of both theoretical and methodological means of countering Kuhn's denial of the possibility of a basic unproblematic vocabulary of scientific description (Kuhn 1970b, p.268).

3.8 On CL and scientific method: Popper, falsification and Marx

A final means of escaping the relativist limitations of CL is still to be found in the Popperian tradition. There can be no doubt that CL practitioners operate within a relativist framework. It is also true that their avowed political environment is socialist, and for some, Marxist. As has been mentioned already, there is a great deal of evidence that locates CDA within a socialist political sphere (Kress 1991, 1989a) and there are also indications of associations and affinities to Marxism itself. Kress expresses a desire to see the maintenance of Marxist theory in the face of modern rejection (Kress 1992, p.127), and Fowler expresses the opinion that Marxist criticism is of more use to CL than literary criticism (Fowler 1988a, p.482). Hodge goes as far as to compare Marx's model of production and the division of labour with intellectual and linguistic production in that academic syntax is impersonal: 'This is the syntax of Marx's 'abstract consciousness', the linguistic mechanism that allows it to 'flatter itself that it is something other than consciousness of existing practice'' (Hodge 1977, p.15). Impersonal syntax can be used to repress and conceal the identity of the oppressor. Amongst the many indirect, but nevertheless clear, allusions to a socialist and Marxist conception of society reference can be made to Fowler's belief that newspapers do not run at a financial profit but are rather organizations designed to produce readers who will vote for governments which favour the other industrial ventures of their owners (Fowler 1988b, p.144; 1991b, p.20). The notion of ideological manipulation is ever-present in the writings of Fairclough (and will be considered in more detail later) (Fairclough 1985; Clark et al. 1991). The discussion here will begin with ontological issues and proceed to historical and social questions.

3.8.1 Falsification

Karl Popper's theories have already been mentioned in the context of the debate between relativism and objectivity. From the many aspects of his work it will be relevant to focus on one major part here: the principle of *falsification* or *falsifiability*. Many of Popper's essays on this topic are found in Miller (1983, Part II).

The principle of falsification may be used as a defence against the relativist argument (Miller ibid., pp.133-42). Scientific method, however conceived, is subject to attack by the relativists. Amongst other things, what relativists find hard to conceive is squaring objectivity with point of view. If, the relativist argument runs, point of view is inescapable, then objectivity is impossible in any activity. It then follows that not only all interpretations but also the framing of questions are both equally valid and theory-laden. However, Popper's conception of the objectivity of scientific method does not necessarily include the notion of an externally existent and absolute truth.

According to the criterion of demarcation between science and non-science, any theory drawn up to account for observed phenomena must in principle be falsifiable (Miller ibid., pp.118-30). It must be possible to expose that theory to a number of agreed tests which can be specified in detail. If it fails then it is discredited and another theory must be drawn up in its place (Magee 1985, pp.36-37). This process of conjectures and refutations continues until a working theory emerges. If it is impossible to discredit the theory, in other words either there is no one test that can be agreed upon and/or the results of the same test are in serious dispute, then the theory is not scientific. Exponents of such a theory can make any claims they wish, and the effectiveness of these claims will probably depend on their rhetorical ability. Indeed, Popper was highly critical of Freud and aspects of Marx on this basis (Miller ibid., pp.127-28).

Karl Popper's work still has validity as a method of criticism and of scientific exploration. Working within the field of astro-physics, Hawking outlines the principle of falsification, and comments that if an observation is found to disagree with a theory then we have to abandon or modify it. And yet speaking as a practical scientist, he says 'In practice, what often happens is that a new theory is devised that is really an extension of the previous theory' (Hawking 1988, p.10). Two theories may be used simultaneously each with some explanatory force on a different level. However, it must be the case that some theories have to be abandoned. The world is round, after all. Hawking also describes the proposal that the universe is in the no-boundary state as a good scientific theory '...in the sense defined by the philosopher Karl Popper: it can be disproved or falsified by observation' (Hawking 1993, p.86).

It is clear that a working sense of the principle of falsification is used by scientists, even though different forms of the principle have been described (Lakatos 1978).

In the humanities, Stevick has suggested that a Popperian approach be taken to the problem of how to assess humanistic language teaching methods that have been promoted dogmatically (Stevick 1990, p.7). Stevick gives a concise account of Popper's three worlds and his scientific method. (The three worlds are: world 1, the world of physical objects or states; world 2, the world of mental states; and world 3, the world of objective contents of thought (Miller 1993, p.58)). Two of Stevick's observations are important here. The first is that Popper's critical method is just that, an independent method for the assessment of hypotheses which are formed intellectually. It is not a way of discovering absolute truth or truths (Stevick ibid., pp.9-11). The second is that there are certain kinds of things that cannot be subjected to critical judgement in Popper's sense. These non-intellectual causes of action include emotions, and articles of faith: '...beliefs about how things fit together in life, about what is desirable, and about what gives meaning to existence...' (Stevick ibid., p.16). Now, it is a thorny question as to whether a human being may ascribe to a theory without at the same time experiencing an emotion or holding a belief. And such problems have been debated in philosophy since the ancient Greeks. Here, Stevick's distinction may prove a useful working method when assessing the methods and views of protagonists in the TODA field especially, where strong personal beliefs are expressed in emotive language (Clark et al. 1991, p.46).

Objective method in a Popperian sense then does not at all commit its supporters to a search for an independently existing set of laws or principles that underlie a discoverable reality (even though such principles may in fact exist (Searle 1996)). What it does make feasible is to establish a systematic basis of comparison between theories or frameworks. This principled way of working was established by the ancient Greeks (Lloyd 1979) and is still valid: 'What is rational about scientific activity is not that it provides us with reasons for its conclusions, which it does not, but that it takes seriously the use of reason - deductive logic, that is - in the criticism and appraisal of those conclusions' (Miller 1994, p.ix).

This is not to say that Popper had no conception of absolute truth at all: he in fact talked in these terms in relation to the objects of world 3, the objective contents of thought which exist independently of minds. But the truth of propositions in world 3 lies out of human reach (Miller 1983, pp.58ff).

3.8.2 Popper and Kuhn approach each other

Popper's model is not necessarily completely incompatible with Kuhn's on every count. After all, he does acknowledge the existence of a definite framework within which the scientist works and from which the scientist approaches each new problem (Popper 1970, pp.51-52). The major difference lies in the principle of falsifiability as the criterion of demarcation between science and non-science. And Kuhn, in his later work, openly espoused large parts of an objectivist thesis. Kuhn did indeed retreat from the extreme subjectivity ascribed to him by critics and denied that his ideas '...make of theory choice "a matter of mob psychology"' (Kuhn 1977, p.321). Here he embraces a principled approach to scientific research and identifies five characteristics of a good scientific theory; '...accuracy, consistency, scope, simplicity and fruitfulness...' (ibid., p.322). These are said to be objective factors: a basis of comparison to be used in discriminating between competing theories. Even though there may be disagreement as to the interpretation, application, and weight of any individual criterion, there is sufficient, and has to be sufficient, agreement on their basic meaning and use. These are accompanied by such subjective factors as the scientist's personality and background, the philosophical and social influences of the time, and the attitude to risk. This means that a simple criterion of falsifiability would fall far short of an adequate description of what actually goes on in the development of a new theory in competition with an old one. But Kuhn is anxious to state his commitment to an ultimate basis of comparison; '...such a mode of development [the testing of a new theory to the point of acceptance], however, requires a decision process which permits rational men to disagree...' (ibid., p.332), and further '...I have implicitly assumed that...the criteria or values assumed in theory choice are fixed once and for all, unaffected by their participation in transitions from one theory to another' (ibid., p.335). In this case, a strongly relativistic interpretation of Kuhn's paradigm theory would seem to have questionable validity.

3.8.3 Marx, historicism and CL

Popper himself attacked the strong interpretation of the Marxist programme of historicism (the thesis that the course of history is inevitably determined by material economic process) as containing a number of falsifiable predictions (Popper 1992). (Berlin (1969, Chapter II) gives a clarification of various aspects of historicism). In the late twentieth century it is not difficult to match detailed specifications of conditions of falsifiability to outcomes of Marxist predictions and find the latter wanting. Although it is doubtful whether Marx himself espoused a strong form of historical inevitability (McLellan 1986, p.41; Giddens 1971, p.21; but see Williams 1993, p.243 for an alternative view),

there is an assumption and expectation of the probability of change according to Marxist theses.

In the light of contemporary circumstances serious questions can be asked of these very theses that CL (and CDA) may be taken to assume (Fairclough 1989; 1992e). Marx failed to predict the rise of the workers into the middle classes through the means of education necessitated by technological change. He thus did not see that they would become capitalists themselves through the eventual use of their value in terms of the skills they possessed or could possess. Rather, they were seen as carrying out elementary tasks in factories that could eventually be replaced by machines at which point they would become redundant (Marx 1990, pp.162-64, pp.177-78). At the time of the first industrial revolution it would have been impossible to predict the high level of automation in present day factories, the level of skills and education needed to manage that automation, and the large service sector that has grown to absorb many of those who have left the manufacturing sector. But Marx did foresee the full use of man's many potentials under advanced capitalism, and presumably later in a communist system. Yet he could not see how this might work under an enduring and evolving capitalism (McLellan 1986).

Two of Marx's main predictions on the nature of late capitalism are firstly that increasing consolidation and competition would result in a decrease in the rate of profit, and secondly that technological progress would force capitalists to invest more money in machines than in workers. History has shown this not to be the case. While it is true that the larger the turnover of a firm the narrower the profit margin becomes, new firms are continually coming into existence with high margins and a demand for employees, and large established firms now use recognised techniques to break themselves down into smaller entities in order to maximise profit (Peters 1992). Further, while it is true that technological change demands more expensive machines, a better educated and better paid workforce is required to operate them if change is to be managed successfully (see chapter 7).

Some currency, therefore, is to be gained from taking a Popperian stance generally towards the relativism of CL (and CDA) and specifically towards the Marxist framework it assumes. If relativism is countered by objectivity as defined within the criterion of falsifiability then the assertions of the relativists may be rejected with justification. If specific Marxist assumptions and descriptions of the economic structure of society are questioned on a principled basis then it will be possible to propose a new set of definitions.

Practical consequences of these conclusions would include a more principled basis in the choice of research material, the position of the analyst, and assessment of competing interpretations. These consequences will be developed in chapter eight.

3.9 On objectivity and CL – final remarks

There are strong grounds for rejecting the relativism and Whorfianism interest in CDA. According to Sharrock & Anderson (1981) Whorfianism should be dropped by CL (and thus CDA) because it is simply too controversial. Then, Torode indicates that it is a pity that Fairclough does not assign discourse analysis an independent function (Torode 1991, p.122).

Simpson puts the case in the following way:

> ...being a participant in the discourse does not prevent scrutiny of that discourse and the machinery of linguistics can help foreground the ways in which ideology is expressed in language. This is an entirely viable means of exploring language as a form of cultural expression, provided, of course, that the element of subjectivity in such exploration is recognized (Simpson 1993, p.116).

Thompson (1986, pp.70ff) states that meaning is to be interpreted creatively. But he concedes that 'To offer an interpretation is to make in intervention, it is to step into the arena of claim and counter-claim, of allegation and riposte' (ibid., p.76). And yet he would also find it desirable that a theory should stand aloof from ideology itself and furnish an independent means of assessing claims about the social world (Thompson 1984).

It does indeed seem that as if by instinct commentators seek a position from which to make commentaries without implicating themselves. Furthermore, many objections can also be made to the politicization of everything. For example, this does not account for pure enquiry and pure inquisitiveness (Sokal 1997), nor for ideas formed as a result of inspiration and intuition.

In conclusion, it is obviously important to get thinking somewhat straighter on the issue of objectivity and subjectivity and the status of descriptions and opinions in linguistic work which involves context. There seems to be a lack of clear thought within critical linguistic writing. This argument will be resumed in chapter eight when greater clarity will be seen to be essential to the foundation of discourse stream analysis.

3.10 Chapter summary

In this chapter the main principles of Critical Linguistics were laid out. CL was seen to be connected to critical theory, which includes the processes of enlightenment and political action in the politics of the left. In linguistic terms, this means that awareness of meanings in texts may lead to political engagement. Problems were identified in this respect concerning the notion of mystification and the status of readings of text. Finally, the issue of relativity and objectivity was discussed both regarding the position of the analyst and the claims in certain CL quarters that knowledge is fatally mediated by text. These claims were disputed.

4. A critique of textually oriented discourse analysis (TODA)

This chapter parallels the preceding chapter in that an account of TODA (which has come to form perhaps the most important aspect of CDA) is given and then subjected to a critique. A great deal of the purpose, means and method of TODA (as proposed by Fairclough 1992d) are coterminous with those of CL. But there are three main areas where important differences may be found. The first is in the broad scope and definition of the analytical model, in terms of a union of linguistic, social and political theory. The second is in the precise location and purpose of the discipline in the field of political action through education, and the third lies in the particular definition of the subject, ideology and power. The method used here will be to examine each of these in turn and offer a critique of basic principles.

4.1 The overall TODA model

Articulated primarily by Fairclough (1988a; 1992d) (and also found in Clark et al. 1988; Ivanic 1998), TODA appears to be founded on a linguistic, epistemological, and socio-political model which assumes a largely socialist, and indeed broad Marxist, conception of history and society. Key influences on TODA (as cited in repeated references in Fairclough's work), apart from Marx himself, include Habermas (1984) (critical theory), Bourdieu (1977; 1991) (hidden social structure), Voloshinov (1973) (ideology and the sign), Althusser (1971) (ideology and the subject), Pêcheux (1982) (discourse and the subject), Foucault (1992b) (discourse, the subject and power), and Gramsci (1971) (hegemony). Of these, some discussion of the impact of Voloshinov, Althusser, Pêcheux, Foucault and Gramsci will be offered below. There is also a strong relativist stance whereby the conventional scientific basis of linguistics is rejected (Fairclough 1992d).

The ubiquitous occurrence of words and phrases such as 'struggle', 'emancipation' (Clark et al. 1991, pp.3-4), and 'critical awareness of ideological processes' (Fairclough 1992d, p.90), serve to locate TODA in a Marxist perspective (Hammersley 1996). Although the Marxist model appears to be contemporary, the use of the term 'late capitalism' (Fairclough 1992e, p.10; Birch 1999, p.32) seems to suggest some acceptance of Marx's evolutionism with regard to economic formation. (Fairclough does not specify what he means by 'late capitalism', but earlier briefly presents his perception of the global concentration of capital (ibid., 1989, p.35).

Further general aspects of TODA comprise a notion of power as a subtle force running through networks in society (power is manifested in immanent

discursive practices rather than in overt action), and a notion of the subject as decentred and constituted by a constellation of discursive positions and aspects. Ideology completes the trio seen as a body of naturalised norms and conventions built into social structures. These ideas, derived from Althusser (1971) and Foucault (1992b), will be elaborated upon below and in chapter seven.

4.1.1 The scope and definition of TODA as analytical model

The most highly articulated and prominent theory of critical discourse with the above mentioned features is that found in Fairclough (1992d). The following discussion will thus be related to that text which may be taken to be a comprehensive statement of the theory. TODA rests on a certain definition of discourse.

Discourse is said to be constituted on three levels by

a. text
(a linguistic level)

b. discursive practice
(the production, distribution and consumption of text: an institutional level)

c. social practice
(social behaviour: a human interactional level).

(As reproduced from Fairclough 1992d, pp.62ff). Fairclough's tripartite model of the dimensions of discourse has often been presented in the CDA literature in largely the same form (Clark et al. 1988, pp.21ff; 1991, pp.45ff; Fairclough 1988a, pp.1ff; 1989a, pp.17ff; 1990b, pp.13ff; 1992c, pp.10ff; 1992e, pp.6ff; 1996, p.9; Ivanic 1988, p.41). Within TODA attempt is made to fuse these three aspects into one unified concept of discourse.

A major part of the linguistic component of discourse corresponds (with little or no modification) to that in CL. What is new is a more extensive exploration of intertextuality (Fairclough 1992f), the feature whereby both evidence of text from one source is found in a further text and voices are identified as running through different texts.

The   component of discursive practice is   relatively straightforward, although the possibility of receiver   reaction is neglected,   and   so the concentration on the producer's side is a weakness. Bell (1991) gives a comprehensive account of the production, distribution and consumption of

newspaper text. This is an interesting account of how receivers make different interpretations of the data and provides a counterweight to the lack of attention to the receiver's point of view in CDA as a whole and TODA in particular. Bell's work also serves to highlight a major omission in TODA analyses, that of any systematic and deep account of discursive practice and social practice. Torode comments: 'Unfortunately, Fairclough does not assemble evidence of texts and their production and consumption. Usually just one stage is available, the others are inferred' (Torode 1991, p.121).

It is the component of Social Practice where more serious theoretical problems seem to lie. Related to this level are concepts of ideology, the subject, and power which are open to criticism. But the first question to be considered is the motivation itself of TODA.

4.2 The objectives of TODA

There is overwhelming and often open evidence that the objective of TODA is to implement a political programme of a kind of socialist reform, even if that programme is nowhere described in detail (Clark et al. 1988; 1991; Fairclough 1989a; Fairclough & Wodak 1997). Indeed, implementation of Toolan's call for action might well result in the formation of a political party (Toolan 1997, p.89). Secondly, TODA assumes a social, political and economic model of society that is ultimately based on Marxist conceptions (Fairclough 1992d), and it might be speculated that a related objective would be a change in the economic order. A third objective might be characterised as the foregrounding of a social theory of discourse with the result that traditional linguistic analysis is marginalised (Hawkins 1997).

The notion of society represented by a pyramid with a powerful and wealthy minority at the top and an exploited poor majority at the bottom is fundamental to TODA. Although TODA draws on a development of Marxist thought articulated by Althusser (1971) and Gramsci (1971), the discourse of TODA itself assumes this fundamental relationship throughout (Fairclough ibid.). Indeed, in practice the discourse is set in terms of a simple power imbalance between the 'haves' and 'have-nots', the owners of capital and their representatives, and the workers (Fairclough ibid., pp.1ff).

Assuming a basic Marxist definition of the structure of society, the purpose of TODA is to reveal the present-day techniques whereby this structure is maintained. These techniques are linguistic, as can be seen in this series of quotes:

> ...it is perhaps one indication of the growing importance of language in social and cultural change that attempts to engineer the direction of change increasingly include attempts to change language practices (Fairclough 1992d, p.6).

The example given is the extension of the market and market terms to the public sector.

> Language use is assuming greater importance as a means of production and social control in the workplace (ibid., p.7).

Here the changes under way are implicitly judged to be wrong. They appear to be seen as an instrument of control. Further, although it may not necessarily be the case, it is reasonable to draw the implication that TODA sees a conscious movement on behalf of management and leaders to control workers by redefining the linguistic landscape.

> Moreover, the increasing salience of discourse in social transformations is being matched...by a concern to control discourse: to bring about changes in discourse practices as part of the engineering of social and cultural change (ibid., p.8).

This process is labelled the 'technologization of discourse' '...in which discursive technologies as a type of 'technologies of government'...are being systematically applied in a variety of organizations by professional technologists who research, redesign, and provide training in discourse practices' (ibid., p.8).

By technologization of discourse (a term prefigured in Chilton 1982, p.12), Fairclough means the conscious and systematic practice of changing the discourse of others in order to achieve certain results favourable to the initiator of the change. The term technologization also has associations of impersonal mechanistic power such as might be channelled through media technologies. It can of course be argued that TODA itself is a prime example of technologization of discourse in its attempt to arouse critical language awareness. If TODA succeeded in influencing discourse (not only of the oppressed but also of its academic peer group) then TODA analysts would be obliged to argue that this

would benefit the oppressed (and the peer group), but an observer might add that it would also benefit TODA itself in terms of an increase of academic power and social prestige.

4.2.1 The evidence: example texts subjected to TODA analysis

As evidence for the areas of interest TODA centres upon, it is possible to compile a list of example texts analysed in the writings of Fairclough between 1985 and 1997. From a review of almost all the major example texts analysed by Fairclough a limited number of categories may be abstracted. These categories are listed in order of number of contents in Appendix 2.

At the risk of over-generalization, it may be fair to say that Fairclough's interest in the analyses of these texts falls under one or more of these headings:

a. discourse colonization

The invasion of one discourse by another leading to the possible dominance of the new one. A typical example is said to be the intrusion of the language of the market into academic texts such as the university prospectus: the institution attempts to sell itself to potential students (Fairclough 1992e). However, other evidence concerning university mission statements points to a more complex picture whereby various messages are negotiated or negotiable (Connell & Galasínski 1998).

b. personalization, conversationalization and democratization

The introduction of conversational discourse into discourses hitherto marked by formality, and the consequent social levelling (real or apparent) (Fairclough 1994a).

c. struggle over and within discourse

The producers of one discourse type resist the introduction of another type (Fairclough 1992a).

4.3 From awareness to action: theoretical and practical problems

In addition to revealing the methods and character of discursive technologies, the objectives of TODA include developing a method of discourse analysis to investigate social change.

But TODA also enjoys a strong element of practice and action:

> Fourthly, it would need to be a critical method. Relationships between discursive, social and cultural change are typically not transparent for the people involved. Nor is technologization of discourse. 'Critical' implies showing connections and causes which are hidden; it also implies intervention, for example providing resources for those who may be disadvantaged through change. In this connection, it is important to avoid an image of discursive changes as a unilinear, top-down process: there is struggle over the structuring of texts and orders of discourse, and people may resist appropriate changes coming from above, as well as merely go along with them... (Fairclough 1992d, p.9).

Having revealed the linguistic techniques of exploitation, therefore, the TODA analyst's second task is to help the exploited majority resist the attempts of the powerful minority to control it. Awareness is not sufficient, action is needed and indeed morally required when the social implications of the knowledge gained through analysis are recognised.

CLS (critical language study) and CLA (critical language awareness) were developed by a group at Lancaster University as a means of implementing TODA theory (Clark et al. 1988; 1991; Fairclough 1995d). CLS is the process of critical study alone of language whereas the practice of CLA involves both the education of students and the encouragement to contest accepted and 'naturalised' linguistic forms and conventions and to change them through struggle (Clark et al. 1991, pp.43-44). The target group includes the less privileged, such as certain groups of women and ethnic minorities. CLS/CLA also evolved from a reaction to trends in mainstream education in the mid 1980s in England and Wales where it was recognised by policy makers that linguistic diversity deserved respect and recognition. All children were to be made aware of that diversity by a programme of **language awareness** (LA) (Hawkins 1984).

A similar moderate attitude towards language in terms of awareness and acceptance is to be found in American sociolinguistics. Hymes (1979) does not acknowledge any political programme in his concern to change the way that language and communication problems are viewed in the education system. Although he wishes to promote equal opportunity in the system for all ethnic minorities, the means he advocates to do this is increased awareness. Hymes calls for a linguistics where patterns of social life are the starting point for a linguistics that is '...part of the study of communicative interaction' (ibid., p.10).

In a clear linguistic and political reaction to LA, the activity termed CLA is said to encompass large differences. LA is accused of accepting the legitimacy of the existing social and sociolinguistic order and of aiming to integrate children into it. CLA does not accept this legitimacy and aims to prepare children to contest it and change it (Clark et al. 1988, p.3).

On the LA side of the debate, Hawkins is well aware of the charge of manipulation and complicity. Hawkins' reply is that 'The argument is mischievous and has muddled and confused many young students and teachers exposed to it on training courses' (Hawkins 1984, p.64). And again, 'All attempts to give children the means to lead fruitful lives within the context of the community and the state of which they are citizens must be seen, by the convinced anarchist, who does not believe in the state, as 'manipulation' of children' (ibid., p.64).

One implication, then, which can be drawn from the CLS/CLA position is not only that all established systems are in some sense wrong, but also that any attempt by the major forces in society to establish a system is doomed from the start. Thus the only starting point must be a CLS/CLA one, but the practicality of this operation begins to come into question.

4.3.1 Is CLS/CLA practical?

According to CLS/CLA one of the means of achieving change is the creation of emancipatory discourse (Clark et al. 1988). So CDA theory would presumably endorse this argument. If discourse is the key to power, then the encouragement of certain social groupings to create their own discourse may provide an opportunity to reach that power, or to empower themselves to access or create alternative sources of power. Control of the means of production may have been critical in nineteenth century conditions, but in the late twentieth century those who control dominant discourses enjoy power. Concrete examples of emancipatory discourse are working class writing, empowerment of the dominated in contact with bureaucracy, and critical and oppositional reading.

There is a call to develop 'Practices of critical and oppositional reading, listening and viewing-of advertisements, for instance. At a high level, development of fully-fledged non-oppressive alternatives to dominant discourse conventions which can 'take them on' and even defeat them' (Clark et al. 1991, p.47). One obvious danger with this approach is that a confrontation is being established where the belligerent side (the learners') does not have the resources to engage in even combat. Only scant recognition of the existence of their problem appears in recent TODA writing (Fairclough 1995e, p.252).

Although CLS/CLA is presented as an appropriate teaching exercise for all types of people, the target group actually discussed includes members of unprivileged minority groups; immigrant communities, disadvantaged women, the 'working class'. (And CLS/CLA proponents argue that these would need it most (Clark et al. 1988)). These are the very members of society who would be least able to understand and use the model (because of poor access to higher and further education and linguistic training), even where considerable pedagogical resources were employed. Indeed, the example given of a school project uses almost exclusively sociological methods (Clark et al. 1991). The linguistic side is practically ignored. This is not surprising since the level of sophistication required would be beyond most secondary school children (and the authors implicitly recognise this).

Furthermore, it is hard to see how such disadvantaged groups would benefit from a detailed description of just how they are oppressed. Such an attempt could even be construed as insulting. Another consequence might well be the placing of subjects in situations where they are completely out of their depth, which may lead to demoralization. In this case are subjects being used as tools in a political struggle where the potential is quite limited? In the nineteenth century, at least the working class existed en masse employed in large scale heavy industry. Today the fragmented pattern of employment works against the type of solidarity (large group and face-to-face) which might serve as a powerful weapon in a Marxist type of class struggle. New technology (such as email and the internet) may offer future opportunities for the building of oppositional groupings, but the very nature of the technology might lead to fragile and fluid situations.

Finally, there is no suggestion that CLA/CLS can be used with the producers of dominant discourses. These are generally well-educated people who should, it can be argued, be able to understand the analytical tool, at least if presented simply. There are many people in such positions who are well-disposed towards helping oppressed and disadvantaged minorities (such as those who sponsor, support and run charitable organisations). They might be human resource managers in companies or administration managers in the public sector. By concentrating on oppressed and disadvantaged groups, practitioners of CLA/CLS run a serious risk of marginalising themselves and their work, and of excluding those in positions of decision-making. And yet the confrontational stance of CLA/CLS would not prove attractive to those in positions of power whose very discourse would come under attack (some of whom might otherwise be disposed to be sympathetic).

4.3.2 Is 'domination' always wrong?

There appears to be a presupposition (which runs throughout TODA and which is not raised or debated) that domination of one group by another is always wrong. This question may be reformulated in this fashion: are there ever any circumstances when it is right that one group should be dominated by another, and what does domination mean? There may be cases where one group has the right to greater power by reason of professional position. At the end of the day this must be the case, even though greater accessibility in terms of language and practice to professional institutions such as the law or health care may well be beneficial to those needing their services. Indeed, while many family doctors recognise the need to inform and even teach the patient in layman's terms, they preserve power through accumulated knowledge which is essential for the patient's benefit.

It is also true that there has been a questioning of experts in recent times. Conventional medicine is again a case in point. People are both willing to question the judgements of the medical profession and try to see through the exclusive discourse used. They also turn to alternative types of therapies such as homeopathy. TODA analyses put into question both the relationship between doctor and patient and the representation of that relationship. In medical interviews an authoritative stance on the part of the doctor has been unfavourably compared with a more sympathetic and conciliatory one (Fairclough 1992d, pp.138ff). And yet when it comes to the discourse and mystique of the academic world itself a certain nostalgia can be found for the times when academic status alone served to impress and attract students to courses in higher education (Fairclough 1992e). A further supposition that runs through much CDA work is that equality is always good and desirable. In her review of Wodak (1996), Tracy comments '...Expertise and authority often are problematic, but they are essential ingredients to an institution's accomplishments of whatever good it does do' (Tracy 1998, p.422). In other words, without authority located at certain points there would be no results.

The question, then, of how a doctor speaks to a patient is a sensitive one. In many cases a conciliatory approach would be correct. However, to ask medical professionals to use personalised language as a matter of course runs two risks. The first would involve the loss of objectivity in the recording of cases and the second would involve an intolerable burden on the professional's capability to internalise the sufferings of others. Indeed, it could be argued that the professional should distance him or herself from the personal situation of the patient in order to deliver the best care. The relation of language to his or her distancing is clearly a complex matter. There can, then, be no question that the deprivileged in any society need help in all aspects. The real problem is how to

provide that help. The question facing CLS/CL is whether it is a suitable method, given the severe limitations indicated above.

In sum, a strong case can be made that the notions of domination, equality and manner of communication need to be examined more deeply in the CDA context from a practical point of view. Experts must be given the chance to be experts and authority in some form is necessary in institutions otherwise nothing would happen. Paradoxically, CDA and TODA proponents set themselves up in exactly this position of being experts. They would no doubt argue that this is in the interests of those to whom they address their writing and that their purpose as shown is to promote change, through the exercise of their expertise in discourse.

4.3.3 The call to action: critique of an example

The student of CLA/CLS is urged to take action by Janks (1990). In this extended version of the previous 1988 article, the emphasis is once more on awareness leading to social action (Janks 1990, p.127). The process of CLA/CLS can be described as the achievement of knowledge which leads to a choice as to whether to conform to existing rules or to challenge them and break new ground (ibid., p.128).

In this process the student is supposed to gain self-assurance, which is preferred to terms such as confidence training and assertiveness training (types of commercial courses) since it has a less 'pushy' feel to it (ibid., p.130).

However, there is a clear ambivalence in Jank's writing as between a hard position and a soft position that the student could assume. Linguistic evidence for the former includes

...challenging them [conventions]...helping to break new ground (ibid., p.128)

and for the latter

self-assurance...it doesn't emphasise pushing yourself forward (ibid., p.130)

Three examples of challenge are given:

> They may not accept it when someone doesn't attempt to pronounce their name properly; they may request certain other information in a language other than English; they may codeswitch with monolingual friends without feeling guilty; they may use non- standard forms of English in writing and demand that they are recognised as acceptable. These are brave social actions, because they are likely to be dismissed as self-important, inflexible, rude, wrong (ibid., p.130).

Here is a recognition that the student is being encouraged to act in ways some of which many would indeed call aggressive and pushy, and which could be counter-productive in certain situations.

One reply to such criticism may be that in some situations this behaviour may work. However, the list needs to be broken down and each component analysed. As this commentary shows, it will not be possible to avoid aggressive confrontation in all cases, and it is highly questionable what benefits would accrue to the initiator:

a. incorrect pronunciation of a name

i. linguistic behaviour

You don't accept it when someone doesn't pronounce your name properly.

ii. situations and results

If the interlocutor doesn't know how to pronounce your name but has a reasonable go then it is polite to help him/her by providing the correct version.

If the interlocutor deliberately mispronounces your name then it is still polite to help with the correct version. You may be ill-advised to return aggression with aggression since it may not further your cause, although force is always a last resort!

b. codeswitching

i. linguistic behaviour

You codeswitch in the presence of monolingual friends.

ii. situations and results

Where you know the friends well enough to do this without causing offence this will be acceptable. You may still be asked to translate, although the context might sometimes render the meaning unproblematic.

Where you do not know such people very well it would be considered rude and offensive not to translate or to continue the conversation in a language common to all.

c. non-standard written forms

i. linguistic behaviour

You use non-standard written forms and demand their acceptance.

ii. situations and results

In contacts with official bodies you will simply not be acknowledged. If some common standard forms are not used then communication will break down.

In creative writing classes the expression of your own vernacular may be an entirely appropriate exercise.

It is clear that when these three possible situations are considered in detail then either the CLS/CLA student is being encouraged to be appropriate and polite or to be somewhat reckless, aggressive and rude. If contexts of situation are not explained in full, any encouragement which may in fact lead to the latter course of action may be questioned in terms of its responsibility.

Another way of putting the problem is to ask what nature should confrontation take? As remarked above, if CLS/CLA does advocate an open and aggressive confrontation then it is in danger of remaining a fringe activity.

This behaviour goes far beyond anything taught in assertiveness training (which is rather about how to put your point of view forward in a forceful but polite

manner without yielding to the other side) and even further than whatever the mildly-presented 'self-assurance' might appear to imply. Moreover, these CLS/CLA examples of training are typical of the technologization of discourse that Fairclough objects to (Fairclough 1990a). If this is the case, it may be asked whose technologization of discourse is better or more valid, and on what grounds may a choice be made between them?

A further implementation of the call to action is found in the work on academic writing by Ivanic & Roach (1990), Simpson & Ivanic (1990) and Ivanic (1992; 1998). In all these references there is a general concern to put into practice Foucault's theory of discursive formation and definition of the subject as elaborated in Fairclough's tripartite model of discourse. The environment is the assistance of mature students in return to, or commencement of, higher education with specific regard to writing skills. The thrust of the argument is that academic discourse is a privileged type of communication which by its very form excludes outsiders unable to manipulate its conventions. These conventions, the argument continues, involve the disguise of opinions and values and the authors to whom they belong. As a remedy it is suggested that a new type of academic writing be developed which would include elements of the everyday variety of the author, and would certainly include extensive use of the personal pronoun *I* along with other clear indications of the origin and writers' own authorship of ideas and opinions.

Objections can certainly be made to this thesis. It is sufficient to mention just two here. Difficulty might arise where a subject is encouraged to place him or herself in circumstances where a certain usage is not accepted or causes antagonism (as in written or oral examination). This could well result in destabilization, disappointment and loss of confidence. This is an argument to the effect that such practice could lead to marginalization and exclusion (which is given occasional recognition (Fairclough 1995e, p.252)).

A second, linguistic and philosophical argument would centre on the direction in which a vernacular used academically may very well proceed. One important process in academic thought and writing is that of categorization and taxonomy. For example, *rain*, *snow*, *sleet* and *hail* all fall under the umbrella term of *precipitation*. In other words the superordinate *precipitation* has a number of hyponyms. If ordinary language is accepted as a means of expressing academic discourse then in all likelihood it will quickly develop a dialect of its own in order to achieve economy of expression and precision of thought. Indeed, this means that a demand to develop terms such as *precipitation* may well arise so as to satisfy this need for economy of expression and precision of thought.

A final criticism of the call to action is that it rests on a highly culture-specific ethical model. Lopes (1993) has pointed out that the model is centred on the developed west in a narrow historical period (although some recent work has emerged in the context of Singapore (Birch 1999: Pennycook 1999)). Talib (1995) comments on the dangers CDA might incur in certain developing countries should the authorities be challenged. Little mention is made of the possibility of using CDA techniques in the investigation of discourse colonization across languages and cultures (Fairclough 1996a, p.6).

Janks & Ivanic (1990) write from a clear western standpoint in their example of a male Urdu speaker oppressed in British culture but dominant in his own.

> So he may be disempowered at work and in the streets, but he may be dominating his wife and children at home, and he may be treating gay people and members of other religions with disrespect in the community (p.307).

A complex interplay of historical and cultural factors is at work here and these must be dealt with in any attempt to intervene in the behaviour of this speaker. The problem of whether or not it is valid or indeed practical to import western values (such as equality for men and women) into non-western cultures (where men and women may have quite different and fixed roles) should at least be recognised. Further, each culture may assign its own meaning to a term such as *equality* which may differ markedly from those of others.

4.4 An alternative approach in practice

The model of conflict is not the only one employed to help underprivileged groups. Within the English as a second language (ESL) field a great deal of work has been done with disadvantaged minorities. The Industrial Language Training (ILT) service was established in the 1970s to address the language and communication problems of ethnic minorities (mainly Asians) in the workplace.

Roberts et al. (1992) give a comprehensive historical and theoretical account of the service. The possible relevance of CDA (ibid., pp.77-79) is acknowledged, along with the descriptive - prescriptive dilemma (ibid., p.30). Further, the authors do believe that a case can be made for minorities to challenge notions of appropriacy in communication, but the drive to overturn existing conventions which characterises CLA and CLS is notably absent. Indeed, the overall emphasis is laid upon cooperation and understanding on all sides: 'This involvement has entailed cooperation between shop-floor workers, trade unionists and management' (ibid., pp.364-65). The goal of this

cooperative process is effective communication in the existing linguistic environment by means of increased awareness and sensitivity, improved language and communication skills, and change in procedures where appropriate (ibid., pp.368-69).

4.5 What is the position of the analyst in TODA

Some answers to this question will already be apparent from the above discussion. And many points in common are to be found with CL. Critical theory provides a starting-point for both, although TODA draws on explicit statements of hegemony (Gramsci) and contestation of meaning in discourse (Foucault). The job of the analyst is thus to reveal techniques of control in discourse so that those subject to these techniques may, with help, resist them as part of the process of building a historic bloc of opposition. Here the TODA analyst places him or herself in the position of a technologist of discourse.

In spite of the pioneering tone of a great deal of TODA writing, it is nonetheless true that there are other well-documented examples of academics intervening in social and political issues. In recent years Chomsky (for example in 1969, pp.256ff) has put forward a strong view that intellectuals have had a responsibility to speak out against American foreign policy in the Vietnam war.

Labov's (1982) account of the Ann Arbor law case concerning discrimination against black children is a good example of academic linguists taking responsible action. In this case there was disagreement as to whether the lower school grades afforded to black children were due to their English being simply an inferior version of the standard or a variety in its own right. The evidence of linguists won the day and the latter claim was accepted.

These points would lend support to a claim that CDA can be viewed as primarily as a political activity, and in the eyes of some it is indeed more political than academic: 'The term 'critical' invokes political critique, rather than academic, though its users would probably reject that distinction' (Edwards 1997, p.229). However, recent comments by Fairclough seem to support this view. Writing in Discourse and Society in an editorial, Fairclough (2000c) appears to move further towards the notion of political action as the correct arena for critical discourse analysts. He calls for '…coordinated action against neo-liberalism on the part of critical language researchers' (ibid., p.147) and claims economic expertise: 'If markets are not constrained, the results will be disastrous' (ibid., p.147).

Widdowson makes a similar criticism to that of Edwards'. In his review of Fairclough (1992d) Widdowson makes the serious claim that Fairclough's linguistic model is weak and that his discourse of TODA may be

> ... a different kind of discourse, namely an exercise in persuasion. In this case, it does not matter how cogent or coherent the argument is so long as it carries conviction, and primes the reader to accept the descriptions in the latter part of the book as having theoretical warrant (Widdowson 1995b, p.512).

However, Widdowson is not concerned to accuse Fairclough of a lack of integrity or poor scholarship. He rather sees him as attempting to make linguistics relevant (ibid., p.513).

4.5.1 What changes in society is TODA designed to reveal and resist?

As previously mentioned, TODA works within a Marxist economic framework. For example, Marx predicted that large companies would tend to monopolise the market. Fairclough comments '...the scale of concentration is now international: a relatively small number of massive multinational corporations now dominate production in the capitalist world' (Fairclough 1989, p.35). Present economic trends are seen as negative (Fairclough 1996, pp.8-9). Fairclough also refers to 'late capitalism' (Fairclough 1992e, p.10) but it is not clear whether the use of this phrase implies a belief that capitalism is in its final stages and will soon break down, or whether it merely reinforces the location of TODA's economic theory within a Marxist perspective where large companies are not favoured.

However, TODA does see changes in economic structure as merely superficial, and it questions whether fundamental change is under way. It continues to hold to a hierarchical view of society and the workplace in particular. This view allows for a capitalist structure consisting of owners, managers, and workers. The structure may be described as the classic pyramid which many leading recent management practitioners and theorists have sought to tear down (Carlzon 1985; Peters 1992) (see chapter 7).

TODA holds that technologies of discourse are being employed to promote and assist industrial and social change, but questions whether real change in social relations is in fact occurring.

These are said to be characterised by the manipulation of people by specific ways of speaking such as the introduction of conversational language into the workplace and other public domains (Fairclough 1990a, 1992e, 1994a).

Following Foucault, Fairclough believes that there is still domination of the majority by powerful elites, but that it is discourse that provides the means, not physical force (Fairclough 1988d). This basic position is adhered to consistently, even though some doubt begins to enter the picture in later writings where a greater appreciation of the democratic potential of the phenomenon of conversationalization is shown (Fairclough 1994a; 1995a; 1995c, p.181). Real concessions are made to the possibility that conversationalization might not only be a tool for manipulation: 'But conversationalization cannot ... be simply dismissed as ideological: it might be ideologically invested or appropriated and indeed often is, but it does nevertheless represent some degree of cultural democratization' (Fairclough 1995a, p.13). The example given is a text where conversationalization helps to make technology more accessible. But a return is later made to basic suspicion and hostility (Fairclough 1996, p.8), and in most recent work there is evidence of a negative stance towards flexibility on the workplace (Fairclough 1999, p.73).

This accords with Halliday's call for a rejection of what he sees as the fossilised language of science (with a plethora of nominalizations) and an adoption of a more open style which might rely on the verbal group (Halliday & Martin 1993). One final and important point is that conversationalization employs an open dialogic form which provides the techniques of reply to all sides. At the very least, the existence of an opportunity and technique of reply is better than none at all.

4.5.2 Two targets of TODA: industrial organization and advertising

But what are these changes in the nature of society which these so-called technologies of discourse are supposed to engineer? TODA acknowledges that the nature of industrial production is undergoing change. Fairclough 1992d (p.7, central paragraph) provides a piece of key evidence. As part of a social and economic background which constitute the environment in which TODA is to work, several characteristics of so-called 'post-Fordist' production are mentioned. These include the expectation on the part of management that workers play a more participatory role in flexible teams:

> One result is that people's social identities as workers are coming to be defined in terms that have traditionally been seen not as occupational, but as belonging to the sphere of private life (ibid., p.7).

> ... traditional employee-firm relationships have been seen as dysfunctional ... they have therefore attempted to transform workplace culture ... by setting up institutions which place employees in a more participatory relation with management, such as 'quality circles' (ibid., p.7).

Moreover, it is claimed that the division between the language of private life and the language of work is becoming blurred with that of the former being employed in the work place.

However a basic confusion underlies the analysis. Fairclough appears to embrace two contradictory positions simultaneously. If TODA accepts that there is a fundamental change under way in the nature of industrial production (as it appears to do (as cited above)), then it must also be committed to the acceptance of a likely linguistic change in the way the world is represented (see also Fairclough 1995d, p.220).

Indeed, it is inconceivable that radical, qualitative changes in the nature of industrial production would not be accompanied by changes in discourse and social organization. After all as the world changes, the language used to describe a new situation can also be expected to change in parallel and by definition. If the first proposition is accepted then severe difficulties would accrue in the rejection of the latter. However, by asserting that the object of discourse change is merely a new means of social control (with no real change in the nature of the society controlled), TODA implicitly commits itself to the old industrial order.

The evidence for this confusion may be found in the following series of quotes from Fairclough with a simple CDA analysis applied to his TODA discourse.

> industry is moving towards what is being called `post-Fordist' production (ibid., p.7).

Through the use of the present continuous active the change is admitted: TODA commits itself to the belief that change is happening.

> traditional employee-firm relationships have been seen as dysfunctional in this context (ibid., p.7).

The use of the passive voice of the verb and the choice of the verb *see* indicate that the phenomenon is perceived as apparent and could imply that TODA may have a different opinion on the matter. It is a matter for speculation as to what this might be. Given the overall stance of TODA one candidate might be that traditional relations ought not to be overturned. Secondly, the use of the present perfect might imply that a certain view has held to date but that this might be open to challenge.

To describe these changes as 'cultural' is not just rhetoric: the aim is new cultural values, workers who are 'enterprising', self-motivating, and as Rose (MS) has put it, 'self-steering'. These changes in organization and culture are to a significant extent changes in discourse practices (ibid., p.7).

While the aim of management is real change in cultural values, in fact the real change lies in discourse practices. Two nominalizations (*These changes in organization and culture* and *changes in discourse practices*) are boldly presented as equivalent in meaning by means of the present simple tense.

Language use is assuming greater importance as a means of production and social control in the workplace (ibid., p.7).

Through these changes the management can continue to exercise the real power. Again, a series of nominalizations is used.

One result is that people's social identities as workers are coming to be defined in terms that have traditionally been seen not as occupational, but as belonging to the sphere of private life (ibid., p.7).

The use of the present continuous passive here (*...are coming to be defined...*) reveals that the author believes that a new identity is being imposed on workers. Taken in conjunction with the previous quote it may be fair to say that this is perceived as one technique in social control. One implication may be that the management confuse the workers by using the informal language of private life with them which masks the real relations, which remain the same as they have always been.

In conclusion to this phase of a critique of TODA it is important to point out that no analysis whatsoever of any text from an industrial or commercial source is to be found in the whole of the TODA literature up to now (see Appendix 2). It may thus be asked, with some justification, on what grounds the claims criticised above are based. A more solid basis for such claims would also include an analysis of texts supported by extra-linguistic evidence.

Advertising is another area where TODA analysts find evidence for distortion and manipulation. However the emphasis in TODA is firmly on the power of the producer of advertisements to produce and construct the consumer by means of advertising discourse (Kress 1987b; Fairclough 1989a, pp.199ff). TODA analysts seem to pay little attention to the actual processes of reading, interpretation, or audience reaction. Indeed, Kress views all texts in terms of an economic system biased in the producer's favour where the market '... is always

characterized by asymmetrical relations between the producers and consumers of texts' (Kress 1988b, pp.126-27).

The history of advertisements and the reaction of analysts is an interesting one and it is worth some comments by way of background. Barthes (1972) provided some early analyses of levels of meaning in advertisements and their effects on recipients.

Barthes expressed his impatience with the '... 'naturalness' with which newspapers, art and common sense constantly dress up a reality which...is undoubtedly determined by history' and his intention to track down, in the decorative display of what-goes-without-saying, 'the ideological abuse which...is hidden there' (Barthes 1972, p.11). Writing in the immediate post-war period when there was a shortage of consumer goods and when mass advertising was a new phenomenon, Barthes offered acute criticisms of the manipulative power of the advertising industry. The vision of society he assumed was one of a passive mass audience at the mercy of the producers and their agents. This vision is still shared by present-day TODA protagonists: '...in the form of consumerism, the economy and the commodity market have a massive and unremitting influence upon various aspects of life, most obviously through the medium of television and in advertising' (Fairclough 1989a, p.197). In a comprehensive and penetrating analysis of contemporary advertising by Cook (1992), however, this simplistic portrayal of the passive consumer influenced by the advertising industry is convincingly challenged.

Cook makes the point that in western societies a whole generation has now grown up alongside advertising: 'People grow up with it and grow used to it, so that even when it is perceived as an evil it is also perceived as inevitable and unremarkable' (ibid., p.17). Cook further comments that 'The absence of attention to receivers leads to a considerable simplification of their roles and abilities, and in analyses of advertising receivers are often simplified, patronized and misrepresented' (ibid., p.197), and again that 'Many analyses of ads depend on the unproven assumption that addressees have only one impoverished way of responding to discourse, and are too simple to distinguish fact from fiction' (ibid., p.198).

It is rather the case that 'As advertising is a prominent discourse type...of which people have vast and daily experience, reactions to it are correspondingly complex, experienced and sophisticated' (ibid., p.199).

Cook also gives a concise account of academic attitudes to advertising since the 1960s. The overriding position has been one of anger and hostility against a discourse type that has been seen to epitomise mystification and manipulation

(ibid., pp.204ff). Cook questions the assumption that there can be or there do exist natural and real representations in distinction to the misrepresentation of ads, and the confidence of academics that they have the ability to distinguish the two. His further points on the process of decoding are relevant to the previous section on the position of the analyst in CL (see chapter 3, section 3.6).

> There is a contradiction between the professed opposition to a hierarchical, exploitative and elitist system - their supposed championing of the oppressed - and the elitist assumptions of the analyses. Despite the claim to uncover and decode hidden meanings and ideologies, they [analysts such as Fairclough] produce yet another version...of one of the myths underpinning the patriarchal system they attack (ibid., pp.208-09).

Cook thus provides good evidence that the relationship between producers and consumers, mediated by advertising, is not as straightforward as earlier simplistic Marxist models would suggest.

This argument is supported by Goldman (1992) in his analysis of the Levi Strauss 501 jean campaign of the 1980s. Goldman demonstrates that the nature of the ads confounds the traditional conception of hegemony (as presented below with regard to Gramsci) in that ad producers recognise audience opposition to their traditional positioning attempts and try to incorporate subjectivity and choice into a new generation of ads. In other words they try to work with the audience by looking for their consent.
Goldman comments

> Ad campaigns such as Levi's recognize that today no shared moral grounding exists as a basis for securing consent and legitimacy. A disjuncture now exists between hegemony and legitimacy in the 1980s ... Rather than a singularity of interpretation, hegemony now rests on atomized, subjectivized interpretations which block the formation of shared public discourse (ibid., p.198).

Goldman characterises the difference between early and contemporary types of TV ads as one of closure and openness. Where the interpretative space is closed the ad seeks to promote the preferred interpretation only. Where it is open, the audience is invited to choose between interpretations and almost to play a game within the ad space (ibid., p.200). Furthermore, Cook (1992) points to certain adverts which are linguistic games or puzzles such that audience resolution of ambiguities and choices are required in order for them to be understood.

Changes in the ad industry itself corroborate these points. Adam Lury, founding partner of an advertising agency, confirms that the present relationship

between the participants in advertisements is highly complex (Lury 1994). Consumers have become part of the overall discourse, they are aware of it and they are able to act upon it. This leads to a situation, characterised by Lury as 'A world of reflecting mirrors' (ibid., p.95) where consumer research is no longer simple. Lury states 'What I have found is that the consumer is no longer the 'tabula rasa' she/he once was. People are no longer passive databases revealing 'pure' or straightforward feelings about advertising' (ibid., p.96).

In his conclusions, Lury makes interesting predictions as to the future basis of advertising, including:

> Future advertising will talk to the consumer on an equal footing
>
> The implicit model in old-fashioned advertising has been parent-child, 'We know what's best for you. Buy this product and improve your life.' The assumption is that passive consumers are sitting there anxiously waiting to be told about ways in which their lives can be transformed. Future advertising will work from a different assumption - that of the consumer as an equal. The consumer as equal partner in any communication means that the strategies, approaches and advertising devices will have to change (ibid., p.99).

And again

> Future advertising will take on the role of the public persuaders
> ...
> Advertising is part of everyday conversation. It is not feared and loathed. Surveys show that it is actually respected! All this means that the era of the 'Hidden Persuaders' is well and truly past. In the new era of Public Persuaders advertising people can share their 'games' with a knowing audience (ibid., p.100).

In Cook's view (1992), therefore, the consumer is treated as a partner in the game who is capable of working out implied meaning and of making choices. There is considerable distance between this vision, based on actual practice, and the TODA view. It is indeed arguable that there are good grounds for the acceptance of this picture as contributing to a realistic hypothesis on the nature of representation and changing power relations between participants in society rather than out-dated Marxist approaches.

4.6 The conception of ideology, the subject and power in TODA

Within TODA Althusser is viewed as the most influential modern figure in the debate about discourse and ideology, and he provides the first component of the TODA theory of ideology. Voloshinov is also considered to be an earlier substantive contributor.

The discussion of ideology since the time of Marx himself has centred around two questions:

a. what is the nature of ideology?

b. where is ideology located?

It is difficult to talk about a classic Marxist definition of ideology since Marx's thought underwent a process of development wherein inconsistencies and differences may be perceived (McLellan 1986). However, the conception of ideology that is commonly credited to Marx includes, at least, the notion of false consciousness (the masses are unaware of their manipulation by the capitalists and need educating to see this) as well as the concept of ideological struggle (between the main social classes). Violence was also a means of repression used by the state apparatus.

Althusser (1971) refined this notion by identifying an extensive number of *ideological state apparatuses* (ISAs) such as the education system, the family, and the media, where classic theory had been more restrictive. Indeed, the list of ISAs given could be said to make up all institutionalised social groupings that constitute society. The dominant ISA is said to be the education system. In addition, he claims that the ISAs are both the stake and the site of ideological struggle (ibid., p.140).

So far, the answer to the question of what ideology is seems to be a belief-set of how things should be which emanates from the establishment (including the bourgeoisie and capitalists) and which operates in the ISAs, especially in education. Belief-set may thus be taken to mean propositions, assertions and relations which may be articulated in language (as exemplified in Althusser ibid., p.147).

Apart from the notion of ISA, Althusser is significant for his insistence that ideology has a material existence in the practices of institutions. In other words ideology is also realised in how institutions are constituted and defined. This can be construed to mean that linguistic statements of a particular belief-set can be read off the constitution, in all possible aspects, of institutions. Monumental fascist architecture, for example, itself constitutes a statement of the values of fascism.

Ideology, then, is a belief-set which is located and mediated in both ISAs and in institutions. Added to this is the concept that control is exercised by the ISAs through ideology, as opposed to the violent employment of power as a means of control by the classic state apparatus (ibid., p.138).

In answer, then, to the question of the nature of ideology, and particular ideologies, TODA seems to accept the notion of belief-set, described as significations and constructions of reality. As to the location of ideology, this is discourse and discursive practice. The content of ideology, what it is about, is the reproduction and transformation of relations of domination. Ideologies achieve most effect when they appear as natural, taken for granted as part of common-sense (Fairclough 1992d, p.87).

In that case, TODA can then point to '...struggle in and over discourse as a focus for an ideologically-oriented discourse analysis' (ibid., p.87).
The idea of ideological struggle in language was prefigured by Voloshinov (1922) and Bakhtin (1986), and this shall be discussed in greater depth later in a consideration of the position and importance of ideology for CDA in chapter six.

But the tripartite definition of discourse as text, discursive practice, and social practice, leads to a new problem as to the location of ideology. Given the three-dimensional nature of discourse, the basic notion of belief-set as the defining characteristic of ideology will not suffice. Text structures and discourse events have to be considered, too.

The final statement on the location of ideology is

> ...that ideology is located both in the structures (i.e. orders of discourse) which constitute the outcome of past events and the conditions for current events, and in events themselves as they reproduce and transform their conditioning structures. It is an accumulated and naturalized orientation which is built into norms and conventions, as well as an ongoing work to naturalize and denaturalize such orientations in discursive events (Fairclough 1992d, p.89).

This may be interpreted to mean that ideology is an abstract set of principles, (in addition to a belief-set), which is fixed in so far as it explains historical events (which are immutable by definition even if their interpretation may be fluid) and the starting point for current events. However, as soon as events unfold in real time the set of principles are reproduced and may also be transformed.

According to TODA, therefore, ideology cannot only be defined in terms of belief-set. This description is incomplete. Account must be made of the means of implementation of such a phenomenon, the relation between the abstraction and the institutions and events of the real world. TODA criticises CL for its practice of attempting to 'read off' ideologies from texts.

This ignores the role of interpretation in constituting meaning, the wider social context and the fact that text 'consumers' may be immune to ideologies in texts (ibid., pp.88-89).

In criticism of the TODA interpretation of ideology and its origins, it is immediately obvious that the discussion continues to be couched in terms of ideology as a tool for the ruling classes to maintain the power imbalance. Naturally, this line of thought can be traced back to Marx himself.

Indeed, the statement

> Ideologies arise in societies characterized by relations of domination on the basis of class, gender, cultural group, and so forth, and in so far as human beings are capable of transcending such societies, they are capable of transcending ideology (ibid., p.91)

is perhaps to be interpreted in this light. This formulation appears to mean that a society whose members have seen through the veil of mystification employed by ideology will rise above such relations of domination and will not be subject to ideology: ideology will be simply inapplicable. Yet it is open as to whether other relations of domination would exist in such a society. If, as can be plausibly argued, it is true that in any relation between two subjects or groups of subjects there is one dominant partner, then it will never be possible to 'transcend ideology'. This, then, is a problem. To which relations of domination should the term *ideology* apply?

Secondly, it is by no means certain that CL is committed to the reading of ideological meaning in text without consideration of external factors (such as recipient reaction and interpretation). This is explicitly recognised in later CL texts (Fowler 1991b, pp.41-45, 232; and Kress & Hodge 1993, pp.174ff). Of course it is impossible to conceive of ideology and an ideology without institutions and events where the latter is instantiated. To this extent the location of ideology in discourse must be uncontroversial.

A third and connected criticism is the following: if it is not possible to read off ideologies from texts, what type of methodology can be developed whereby ideological content might be derived from textual evidence? Indeed, the available

evidence must include text. Other evidence may include surveys of reader reaction to text content (Bell 1991, pp.230-47). It is perhaps paradoxical that TODA uses textual evidence exclusively as the starting-point of its analysis. Apart from the initial statement of theory, there is inadequate development of any more wide-ranging methodology that would include text analysis as one component along with the use of multiple data sources and combinations of methods.

One final criticism is that the principal foundation of ideology in TODA is built on a Marxist (Althusserian) conception of social and economic life that has been discredited to a large extent since 1989, the fall of the Berlin wall and the demise of post-war socialist and communist states. This significant failure of the followers of the Marxist tradition to implement successful societies based on a socialist economic and political philosophy has left a vacuum on the political left. At a time when communist parties throughout Europe have been dropping the name "communist" and renaming themselves parties of the left (as in Sweden), it is politically justifiable to ask what place there is for the social and economic philosophy of the Marxist tradition as a real alternative for the organization of society to that of its perceived polar opposite, capitalism. Even in China, communism has assumed highly pragmatic features - presented in terms such as *socialist market economy*. These have included decentralization, privatization, and what elsewhere would simply be called capitalism.

Should a theory of discourse take a form of Marxism as its socio- philosophical base? And yet the fact that in practice and in certain areas of academia (business schools) that base has been decisively rejected may not in itself constitute sufficient grounds for rejection in other areas of academia. A review needs to be made of the forces that have led to the collapse of the model and an examination of   alternative philosophies of ideology and power that may be emerging. If this can be done successfully then a new model of discourse may be outlined that will fit new historical circumstances and give explanatory force to theories advanced in the post-Marx era.

4.6.1 The elaboration of ideology: Michel Pêcheux

Pêcheux (1982) extended Althusser's conception of ideology in several ways. In terms of how CDA theorists have used these ideas the following may be mentioned:

a. that there is a complex set of ISAs which both form the site and provide the ideological conditions of the transformation of social divisions

b. that certain ISAs become dominant through the emergence of hegemonic ideologies

c. that every discursive process is inscribed with an ideological class relation

With some security, these three points can be said to underlie TODA (Fairclough 1989a; 1992d). In addition, Pêcheux is said to have provided a refinement of the notion of subject and subject position (Montgomery & Allan, 1992) which will next be examined.

4.6.2 What conception of the subject does TODA employ?

Two fundamental questions need to be asked about the nature of the subject:

a. can the subject be defined in terms of a unitary agent?

b. or, is the subject rather to be seen as a collection of properties; a subject whose actions (and indeed thoughts) are merely an expression of alterations in those properties?

In western history, three phases can be identified where different accounts of the relation of human beings to the initiation of change are evident. The first derives from the early flowering of philosophy and history in ancient Greece. In this period the unity of the subject and its position as the main initiator of events was unchallenged (although the possibility of a uniform psyche came under serious examination (as in Plato's tripartite soul)). A second phase appeared when seventeenth century scientists began to build mechanistic models of the universe. The subject may still have been conceived as unitary, but its ability to act according to a principle of free will was put into question. One significant factor in the commencement of the third phase was the Marxist de-emphasis of individuals as the prime movers of historical change. According to Marx, the actions of individuals could be understood in terms of their position in the socio-economic formation. A further important factor was the structural linguistics of Saussure (1983). According to the principles of structuralism, objects hitherto conceived as unified were re-conceived as consisting of arrangements of relations within and across entities. Foucault's presentation of the dispersed subject is a clear contribution to the third phase.

The first definition of subjecthood, then, known as the unitary subject, had been taken as given until the late 19th and early 20th centuries (although it came under strong attack as a result of the mechanistic explanations of the

natural sciences). The idea of the individual as capable of free decision and action underlay historical analysis. In the 20th century, however, it has become fashionable to work in terms of the decentred subject in many disciplines, including linguistics, history, and more recently, artificial intelligence (Minsky 1986). There is clearly a basic tension between the two conceptions which needs to be resolved. (MacCabe (1979) gives a very lucid account of the various historical and analytical approaches to the divided subject, and Montgomery & Allan (1992) a clear account of Pêcheux's theory (1982; 1988)).

While a commitment to a notion of the subject as decentred is an attractive analytical position, it does lead to difficulties, and indeed clashes of discourse, when attempts are made to make statements of a different order. The call to political struggle, after all, and the incitement to others to act in order to change political structures can only make sense if a unitary subject is assumed, and a subject with a strong will at that!

TODA draws on two principal sources with regard to the subject; Althusser (1971) and his student Pêcheux (1982; 1988), and Foucault (1992b; 1982; 1990a). Both sources work with the concept of the decentred and divided subject.

4.6.3 The decentred subject: Althusser and Pêcheux

Once more, the CDA approach to the subject may be traced back to Althusser. According to Althusser, Ideology plays a crucial role in constituting the subject. Although Althusser allows for the category of the subject as a primary "obviousness", which would seem to imply an acceptance of the subject as agent, the description given is focused on the subject as interpellated by ideology (Althusser 1971, pp.160ff). This means that at the moment of address, and recognition of that address, the individual becomes a subject. Moreover, the structure of ideology interpellates subjects in the name of a '...Unique and Absolute Subject...' (ibid., p.168). This can be construed as follows:

a. whenever there is an address and response, ideology defines the nature of the relationship. In other words there is a point of view involved in which both sides participate, by definition

b. in this sense the subject both acts (responds to the address) and is subjected (is affected by the address)

c. subjects take a sense of identity from the reference point of this relationship

d. This reference point used to be Christianity (as exemplified by Althusser's example of how the 'Unique and Absolute Subject' works), but is now capitalism.

So the subject is both constituted in and by ideology, and is thus decentred, and acts as respondent by virtue of the relationship. But what meaning can be attached to the 'Unique and Absolute Subject'? A strong candidate for this must be the defining ideology of a given society. Under this interpretation Christianity would have served in former times, but since the industrial revolution capitalism will have replaced it. This 'Unique and Absolute Subject' can, therefore, be viewed as a metaphor for a reference point by virtue of which subjects receive their identity.

The conflict over the unitary and decentred subjects is well recognised by Althusser where he points out the contrast between the free subject able to take initiative and the subjected being '...who submits to a higher authority, and is therefore stripped of all freedom except that of freely accepting his submission' (ibid. p.169).

Pêcheux provides CDA with a more concrete linguistic basis for the investigation of the subject. In MacCabe's view, Pêcheux builds on Althusser by providing the material basis - interdiscourse, the complex whole of discursive formations - for the theory of interpellation (MacCabe 1979). Pêcheux focuses on the location of the subject at the intersection between intradiscourse (the actual production of the subject) and interdiscourse (the complex of discursive formations which have impact on the intradiscourse of the subject at a given moment). It is within this space that meaning is both constituted and contested (by means of counter discourse), for, semantically speaking, it is not a permanent feature (Montgomery & Allan, 1992).

Again, these are the ideas drawn upon by TODA in the desire to encourage contestation of dominant discourses (Fairclough 1989a; 1992d). The process of emancipation by means of CDA techniques may be characterised as the practical means of countering Pêcheux's forgetting (the metaphor used to explain how the subject is unaware of its construction in discourse).

However, MacCabe also raises the issue of the tension between the unitary subject as agent and the divided subject in discourse. MacCabe neatly brings out this inherent tension in terms of logic (form) and rhetoric (function):

> It should be noted that Pêcheux's division, as he himself formulates it, resurrects a logic/rhetoric distinction with the support effect understood as the simple substitution of grammatical equivalences (the logical) as opposed to the preconstructed which introduces the interference of the ideological (rhetoric). Thus even from a purely linguistic view there is every reason to be suspicious of the division as it stands (MacCabe 1979, p.303).

The third influence on CDA in terms of the nature of the subject is Foucault. It will be seen that strands from the above discussion will continue with regard to his impact.

4.6.4 The decentred subject: Foucault

The works of Michel Foucault are drawn upon extensively by TODA. The *Archaeology of Knowledge* (Foucault 1992b) is of fundamental importance here for several reasons. Firstly it provides a distinctive conception of history and framework for the history of ideas, secondly it gives an important elaboration on the notion of the decentred subject, and thirdly it provides a theory of discourse which may be used as a tool with which to describe history.

This framework may be used to isolate and describe changes in the way the world is perceived in terms of the formation of objects, enunciative modalities, concepts and strategies. When these can be observed to follow certain regularities in the way they are formed and expressed in language, Foucault describes them as the expression of a discursive formation (ibid., p.38).

As far as the subject is concerned, in Foucault (1992b) a philosophical account is given which concentrates on the relationship between linguistic form, proposition and statement. Key terms here are *enunciating subject* and *subject position*. It is extremely important to distinguish these terms and the levels they represent. In Foucault (1982) an account is given of how human beings as agents are moulded in subject position. It is thus possible to delineate two aspects in Foucault's thought regarding the subject. Although these aspects are normally associated with Foucault's archaeological and genealogical phases respectively, they can be seen as analytically connected and indeed interdependent. They are highly relevant to a theory of discourse.

TODA recognises the constitutive function of subjectivity in discourse, the property whereby social subjects are constituted. This is certainly an important and neglected feature of discourse theory. But the characterization of Foucault's theory of the subject as structuralist and exclusive of '...active social agency in any meaningful sense' (Fairclough 1992d, p.45) may be a misrepresentation of what is in fact a very powerful and subtle description. Indeed, Foucault himself specifically disavows structuralist method (Foucault 1992b, p.15).

Before examining Foucault's position in more detail, it is appropriate to draw out further the basic contradiction in attitude towards the nature of the subject which may be found in TODA (and also mentioned in Kress 1989c, pp.10-11). It is argued that the Foucauldian account of the subject overstates the ideological constitution of subjects and understates the capacity of subjects to act individually or collectively as agents: it is important to adopt the dialectical position; subjects are capable of acting creatively (Fairclough 1992d, pp.60-61, Fairclough 1988d, pp.12 & 31).

> The balance between the subject as ideological effect, and the subject as active agent, is a variable which depends upon social conditions such as the relative stability of relations of domination (Fairclough ibid., p.91).

These two planes of analysis (structure and agency) enjoy their own internal organization and thus do not share a common basis of comparison. It is somewhat forced to yoke the two planes and harness them to social conditions.

Williams has also succinctly pointed out the tension between the two positions and provides strong indication that any attempt to hold both together is untenable (Williams 1993, pp.250ff). (Indeed, the paradox has been pointed out several times (MacCabe 1979; Culler 1988; Cobb 1994 (with regard to the theory of intention)). And yet there is clear evidence for their uncomfortable coexistence in TODA writing:

> The new insight...is that the individual is to a large extent a puppet strung along by the values and practices of her social context, encoded in the discourses which that social context privileges and supports (Ivanic 1992, p.12)

and later;

> C.L.A. is based on a view of language in which discourses do not mechanistically determine what people say and write, but are open to contestation and change...Learners are encouraged to make choices as they write... (Ivanic ibid., p.16).

If the two positions are held simultaneously, what interpretations could be assigned to an overall theory? One interpretation could be that when relations of domination are stable then subjects tend to behave less through their own initiative as agents and more because of unquestioned definitions which determine behaviour. But then a number of serious problems arise.

Firstly, does this mean that when the relations of domination are stable we think less originally? Does it imply a necessary connection between the two? But is this not to confuse the two planes once more? If this interpretation is pursued further an examination of history shows that in some cases the opposite has been the case. For example, a great deal of original thought came out of Czechoslovakia in the post-war socialist era. Secondly, does this exclude the possibility that we may think highly originally but may be unable to change the structures? And thirdly, does it also exclude the possibility of original thought within strictly limited parameters? Why must original thought only take place when the assumptions of the framework are put into question? There may be original thought about the nature of the framework itself, and there may be original thought within a framework.

The TODA interpretation of problems inherent in the unitary/decentred subject debate thus itself raises problems. On the whole, however, TODA tends to accept and assume the unitary subject. What sense could otherwise be given to the notion of the exploited undertaking a struggle within discourse?

There is great emphasis on the fact that subjects are unaware of the means of their domination. Once they are made aware of this they will be able to take appropriate action. This reinforces the assumption that subjects are agents. A tension can be detected, again, in that in some places Foucault is credited with a '...major contribution to the contemporary decentering of the social subject...' (Fairclough 1988e, p.11), and in others reservations are made on Foucault's '...structuralist flavour which excludes active social agency in any meaningful sense' (ibid. 1992d, p.45).

The marriage of Marxist ideas with French discourse analysis, if formed with the intention to obviate the problem of ideology defined as false consciousness (Williams 1993), is not a happy one.

4.6.5 Foucault revisited

In order to approach a resolution of unitary-decentred subject conundrum, it will be useful to return to Foucault himself. What is meant by the terms enunciating subject and subject position? Before this question can be answered, the nature of the statement must be tackled, since it is basic to Foucault's theory of discourse.

The statement is the elementary unit of discourse, and to define it Foucault first distinguishes it from the familiar categories of proposition (logic), sentence (grammar) and speech act (action in language):

a. the statement is not identical with the proposition since two statements can be found in the same proposition, given that this proposition can be realised by two different sentences with distinct enunciative characteristics

b. although statements are found in sentences, there are utterances which are clearly not sentences where statements are also found (as in the group of words exemplifying a paradigm in a grammar)

c. it is not identical with a speech act since a speech act normally requires a number of formulae or separate sentences. Several statements may be needed in order for a speech act to be complete. These statements may be a necessary, but not sufficient condition for the successful realization of the speech act.

There are certainly problems with some of these assertions (such as with those concerning speech acts), but let these be set aside for the moment.

Having excluded these three candidates, Foucault asks the basic question whether any series of signs, or indeed one sign alone, may constitute a statement. By means of the example of the keyboard of a typewriter he shows that just a series of signs on its own is not sufficient. There is no statement in the keyboard of a typewriter. But when these keys are represented in a typing manual they do become a statement of the alphabetical order of typewriter keys. This is a parallel example to that of the paradigm in a grammar. Words are juxtaposed in order to show a pattern. This means that series of signs become statements by virtue of intention. In that case, the statement is indeed not a unit but a function which allows us to say whether there is a sentence, proposition, or speech act. If we accept this notion of statement and its position as the basic unit of discourse, then it should have an important place related to the linguistic component of CDA. However, it is interesting to note that TODA does not take account of the statement at all in its theory of discourse.

If the statement is a function and not a structure, how is the subject of the statement defined? Again the way to begin to tackle this question is to say what the subject is not. It is neither the grammatical subject nor the psychological subject.

It is rather an enunciating subject, or subject position:

> It is a particular, vacant place that may in fact be filled by different individuals; but, instead of being defined once and for all, and maintaining itself as such throughout a text, a book, or an oeuvre, this place varies - or rather it is variable enough to be able either to persevere, unchanging, through several sentences, or to alter with each one. It is a dimension that characterizes a whole formulation qua statement (Foucault 1992b, p.95)

The enunciating subject, as found in subject position, may represent at least the following physical individuals:

a. one or more author/agents acting exclusively on their own behalf

(as in "My aim in writing this paper is...")

b. one or more author/agents acting potentially on their own behalf, on the behalf of others, or of both

(as in "we have found in our research that...")

c. an unknown entity: as in anonymous texts

(these may include such texts as descriptive interludes in a novel, a weather report and others)

d. a neutrality: as in statements of scientific fact

(the truth of these statements does not depend on the particular temporal and spatial existence of the author who happens to say or write the sentence where they are found).

Moreover, the subject position is inherently variable and variation may take place at shorter or longer intervals in a text. Such individuals as described above may alternate with each other as to the occupation of subject position at irregular intervals.

From this account it can be seen that Foucault does not deny the existence of the social agent, the individual person or persons, and their capacity for action at all. Rather, that individual is one of many individuals that meet the requirements of subject position in statements. So there are two levels of analysis, on one of which the decentred subjected is highlighted, and on the other the unitary subject is accepted but placed very firmly in the shade. TODA is on much stronger ground in its acceptance of the role of discourse in constituting social subjects. Herein lies the principal emphasis of the theory: discourse is a field of political struggle where the identity of social subjects is continually contested. Here the genealogical work of Foucault provides the base (Foucault 1990a; 1990b; 1992a).

In sum, Foucault offers a further elaboration of a concept of discourse and discursive formation with certain alternative aspects to that of Pêcheux. However, similar objections may be made to both concepts.

4.6.6 TODA, Foucault and power

In the History of Sexuality volume 1 (1990a), Foucault makes it clear that the extension of power is not to be thought of in traditional terms of institutions and mechanisms, the sovereignty of the state, or as a system of domination. These are said to be the terminal forms that power takes. Power is rather to be envisaged as an inter-linked set of force relations and the process of struggle that maintains or changes them. Power is all-pervading, local and unstable. Moreover, the lines of force can run in various criss-crossing directions throughout society. A particular convergence of force relations can be described as a major domination. It follows from this viewpoint that power does not operate top-down but from below (Foucault 1990a, pp.92ff).

In this analysis the role of the unitary subject as agent is clearly de-emphasised in favour of relations and systems. In fact, it would appear that the unitary subject is discounted altogether in the question of whether resistance to power is possible. In a passage which seems paradoxical even to the point of self-contradiction, power relations are said to be both intentional and non-subjective: although no power is exercised without aims and objectives, power does not originate from the choice of an individual subject (ibid.). Does this mean that there are intentional states in the universe without individuals to whom they are attached? This is a difficult question, and this is not the place to attempt an answer. Suffice it to say that there are difficulties of interpretation in Foucault's account of the subject and power. The emphasis is certainly on the de-centred subject and on a definition of power as relations between sets of forces, and yet there is a place somewhere in his thought for the unitary subject as agent, as already has been seen in the discussion of the statement.

In his definitions of both the subject and power, therefore, Foucault overturns common sense projections. The subject is not primarily a unitary agent, it is a constellation of subject positions. Power is not something to be acquired, exercised or shared, it is a set of relations, a process forming a chain or system, a set of strategies. Such a definition of power only makes sense if the idea of the unitary subject is dispensed with (or at least de-emphasised) in favour of the subject position, as prime category. There is a tension here between the apparently mutually exclusive unitary and decentred subjects. In the later discussion of the subject (chapter six) a way towards a reconciliation of the two positions will be indicated.

TODA concentrates on the notion of struggle and resistance in discourse as a centre for local power relations. There is an interest, for example, in the function of discursive formations to control subjects (as in the way sexuality is marked out and categorised). It is not clear whether Foucault's definition of power is accepted in its entirety, but acknowledgement is made of the tension between the unitary and decentred subject (Fairclough 1992d, pp.60-61). TODA criticises Foucault for his concern with structures and processes instead of the agents participating in struggle in discourse. A further criticism is that Foucault does not derive his theory from a direct study of the evidence, texts.

There is certainly some validity in these criticisms, even if there are clear indications that Foucault's exposition is intended to de-emphasise (but not dispense with) the unitary subject. However, there do seem to be great opportunities for the close application of theory to actual texts, and the idea that discourse plays a central role in struggles of power (however defined) would also appear fruitful.

As regards struggle and resistance in discourse on a local level, TODA relates this to Gramsci's political definition of power termed *hegemony*.

4.6.7 Gramsci, hegemony and TODA

The main source for Gramsci's political philosophy are the Selections from the Prison Notebooks (SPN) (Gramsci 1971). Roger Simon (1982) gives a concise summary of the theory of hegemony, which Gramsci developed in part as a response to the Marxist description of relations between major forces in society and their likely development. Although this description was used and adapted by Russian revolutionaries, it was not deemed suited to the more complex and developed societies of Western Europe. An Italian, Gramsci showed a deep knowledge of the history and politics of his native land. An

examination of Roman and Italian history will reveal an ever-changing mosaic of city-states, republics, powerful families and religious factors. The development of rhetoric in ancient Greece was essential to the flourishing of a sophisticated politics. An awareness of the balance of forces in society and of the effect of rhetoric on perceptions of the truth was transferred to Rome and perfected in the late republic and early empire (Finley 1983). A strong argument can be made that the same basic political behaviour exists in the Italy of the 20th century. Italians tend to feel loyalty to the family, the town or village, and the region (in that order) before the state. It is against this backdrop that the ideas of Gramsci must be considered. This raises the question of whether hegemony is relevant to other societies, and whether it is appropriate in its present form to western society at the end of the twentieth century. However, the simple core of the theory, that in a complicated society consisting of many powerful groups no one group can hope to achieve power alone must be attractive.

Here is a list of the basic notions of hegemony relevant to discourse, drawn from Roger Simon (1982). Some of these notions will be re-examined and re-evaluated in chapter seven in an alternative model of power.

a. Hegemony, coercion and consent

Hegemony is a strategy whereby one class wields power over others by means of coercion (through the state apparatus) and persuasion (through civil society).

b. Hegemony is a concept

As a conception of power in its own right, hegemony can be used as a tool for understanding society in order to change it.

c. Civil society

This is the area where hegemony operates and where class struggles take place. It is constituted by all social forms of organization (official or unofficial) and their relations other than those of the state apparatus (such as the military and the judiciary). These forms of organization prefigure Althusser's ISAs.

d. The relations of forces; economic corporate/hegemonic

The central idea of hegemony is that of building a system of alliances in order to achieve power. Gramsci states that in developed Western economies the working class cannot seize power on its own. There are other powerful groups in society apart from the working class and the capitalists and their representatives. These groups have to be won over if change is to occur, and this can only happen by taking their interests into consideration and making compromises. This involves struggle in spheres other than the purely economic.

e. Intellectual and moral reform

A transition to a state of hegemony depends on radical change in the consciousness of the working class and other groups whose support is needed. Ideology has the function of binding together the features of this new common consciousness. Intellectual and moral reform was the name given by Gramsci to the process of ideological struggle whereby a new ideological synthesis emerged. It is the task of Marxists to encourage this development by means of education.

f. The nature of ideology

Gramsci held that ideology has a material existence in the daily actions and practices of individuals.

Gramsci defined common-sense as the relation between individuals and ideology. Common-sense is the unreflective way in which people see the world. This often falls prey to myths and beliefs far from rational considerations. According to Gramsci, one role of Marxism is to criticise common-sense and develop good sense (that part of common sense which is true) into '...a more coherent outlook' (ibid., pp.25-26).

g. Historic bloc

This is a combination of classes and forces under the leadership of one class which achieves hegemony through that combination.

h. Power

Power is a relation: it both permeates civil society and informs the coercive apparatus of the state.

i. War of position

In the Russia of the Tsar there was a clear polarity in power relations between the state and the working classes. In Western Europe civil society is well developed and it is historically inappropriate to speak of one class simply overthrowing another and seizing power. A war of position has to be fought instead. That is to say a strategy has to be followed where alliances are built up to reach a position where hegemony can be realised.

From the theory of hegemony, TODA lays emphasis on the aspect of struggle and its ongoing nature in hegemony: struggle is manifested by competing discourses in a discursive formation. The participants in that struggle are the institutions of society (Gramsci's civil society). At moments of great instability and change the evidence for struggle is most apparent. Competing ideologies are clearly exposed (Fairclough 1992d, pp.92-96).

However, TODA does not explicitly mention the crucial position of the working class in hegemony. Hegemony, according to Gramsci, is a way for the working class to assume dominance. There is no suggestion that Gramsci would have been happy with another group exploiting hegemony for its own ends. Gramsci was, after all, a prominent member of the Italian communist party. It is not clear, then, whether TODA is committed to the proposition that hegemony should be the exclusive weapon of the working class.

Connected to this is the question of moral and intellectual reform. According to the principles of hegemony, it is the duty of Marxists to provide the education that will lead to an ideological synthesis acceptable to a broad coalition of forces that may be led by the working class.

Readings of the literature concerning TODA will reveal that the above checklist of the main points of Gramscian hegemony are openly stated and also assumed in the analyses. However, the question arises whether this model of hegemony is still appropriate in the changed and changing conditions of the late twentieth century, and if not how they could be modified or replaced. This will be taken up in chapter seven.

4.7 Chapter summary

In this chapter TODA (textually orientated discourse analysis) was presented as well the terms *discourse colonization* and *conversationalization*. The aim of TODA was seen to be to encourage the opposition of social forces which are perceived to exert an oppressive influence through discourse. Although TODA is highly political in nature, difficulties were identified in the practical implementation of theory. It was also claimed that there is a lack of questioning of own values (which runs through all CDA literature). Furthermore, there appeared to be a naïve and outdated approach to the analysis of certain media such as advertising. Tensions were found in the description and use of terms such as *ideology,* the *subject*, and *power*, and the Gramscian conception of hegemony was briefly described as background to further explorations of power in chapter 7.

5. CDA: a summary of criticisms

It is clear from the above account in chapters 2, 3, and 4 that CL and TODA constitute the two main branches of CDA. The foregoing detailed discussion was intended to establish a constructive critique of CDA and to begin to indicate how a more refined and appropriate theory of discourse could be developed. Here is a brief review of those criticisms, some of which have been recognised, if not taken into account, by critical discourse analysts of both branches themselves.

5.1 Critical Linguistics

The main strength of CL is that it presents a sophisticated linguistic tool for the explanation of contextual meaning in text that may be non-obvious on first reading or to some readers. An important part of the tool is the recognition that grammatical structure can have a function in the production of social meaning. One major weakness has been that it takes for granted substantial concepts such as the subject, ideology and power, although a move towards correcting this imbalance is made in the last chapter of Kress and Hodge (1993).

Areas where the linguistic model is open to revision are in the interplay of different notions and time and how they are represented, and certain semantic refinements such as the use of vague words and scales. On a text level, an investigation of the use and significance of formulaic language would be interesting (see Appendix 1). The category of myth, together with the notion of formula, could also provide rich ground for future analysis.

5.2 Textually-oriented discourse analysis

TODA draws on the post-war continental tradition of philosophy and makes an attempt to provide a social and philosophical base to CDA in its handling of the subject, ideology and power (Foucault and Pêcheux). It also relies on a political philosophy (Althusser and Gramsci) to provide a social explanation for the evidence of struggle in discourse. TODA's dynamic three dimensional model attempts to correct a perceived bias towards a static view of discourse restricted to textual analysis merely correlated with social elements. TODA also seeks to integrate the Bakhtinian and Foucauldian models of discourse as a site for continual struggle over meaning, and in the establishment of intertextuality as a major factor in the analysis of texts. Areas where clarification is needed are the tension between decentred and unitary subject, the definition of ideology, and the concept of power.

One of TODA's principal weaknesses is that it is narrowly written from a particular political perspective with a political programme in mind. It can be

forcefully argued that the interpretations of text provided often amount to little more than the analyst's personal opinion. This perhaps cannot be seen as scientific as there is no guarantee that results can be repeated or falsified by further, independent analytical methods.

5.3 Critical discourse analysis

In addition to the above, a summary of specific criticisms on methodology directed at both CL and TODA as (comprising CDA) might include the following.

a. Arbitrary and limited selection of data

Texts are chosen in isolation, and it may be claimed that the selection is made to suit the analyst's purposes (Murray 1981). No comparisons have been made with parallel texts of smaller or greater length which might be used to establish the typicality or non-typicality of the features found. Secondly, a great number of text types have not in fact been subjected to analysis. Moreover, texts chosen for analysis are mainly fragmented and there have been little or no major studies of a single area (Fowler 1996; Stubbs 1996) (although Fairclough (2000b) is an exception).

Little non-linguistic data is considered. If a text mediates reality by linguistic techniques of representation, then why should data such as opinion surveys or historical evidence not be brought forward in corroboration of interpretations of representation? In that case certain theoretical scenarios could be investigated in context.

i. Can linguistic form and the system of representation remain the same while the underlying reality (in some sense) changes?

ii. If this happens will linguistic form and the system of representation change inevitably?

iii. Can linguistic form and the system of representation change while the underlying reality does not?

iv. If this happens will the underlying reality change inevitably?

v. Can conscious intervention on the linguistic level change the underlying reality?
vi. If so, what are the moral implications of this?

b. Lack of historical analysis

There is an absence of both theory or practice concerning historical analysis of discursive change in texts (although the need for this is recognised, for example by Fowler, 1988a). A means of historical analysis must be a major feature in implementing Foucault's theory of discursive formations.

c. The position of the analyst

It is remarkable that little consideration of alternative readings is given other than the surface reading and the sole CDA reading. There is no sustained discussion of the possible variety of readings which may be assigned to a text, or the validity and authority of those readings.

d. Lack of reflection of own principles

Not surprisingly, there is no substantial reflection on the possibility that CDA itself may be used to obfuscate and manipulate (to use its own terms), partly by means of its own use of terminology, in order to promote a political programme. Nor is there reflection on who might be the target of manipulation. An attempt at revelation may conceal a further political agenda.

e. The exclusive claim to moral and political right could be dangerous and inappropriate

The claim (formulated implicitly and explicitly) that the CDA analyst's position is politically and morally right may lead to an extreme position. Such a position, arrived at by a seemingly infallible set of arguments, could be dangerous since action with unfortunate consequences might result.

CDA locates itself in a very limited geographical and historical perspective (mainly the Anglo-Saxon world, with a few exceptions (Wodak 1996; Birch 1999)). It fails to take account of wider developments (Lopes 1993; Talib 1995) or of cultural differences between western countries and between those countries and developing countries. In short, there is little international or contrastive cultural discussion.

f. Inconsistent and selective use of other disciplines

If CDA is to be a multi-disciplinary activity, how is material from other disciplines than linguistics to be treated?   As yet, there exist few studies undertaken by scholars with a true knowledge of one or more fields (Bell (1991) is an exception in the field of journalism) such as politics and economics. On the

theoretical side, there are problems involved in simply importing one or other description or theory, which itself may be open to many interpretations in its own field. Gramsci's hegemony is in fact a case in point. Gill (1993, p.2) asserts that there is no single Gramscian school, partly due to the fact that Gramsci's ideas are interspersed through the prison notebooks. Gardiner (1992) informs us that there is no single correct Marxist definition of ideology, except in polemics. But this is not a reason for not trying to employ material from other related fields. It is simply a note of caution. The danger is that CDA may be open to any number of competing theoretical articulations, and a simple and prime use of the linguistic tool could be lost on the way. Thus, on the use of other disciplines, these criticisms may be levelled:

i. Several notions of ideology are used

ii. There is no clear resolution of the tension between the concept of the unitary subject as agent and the decentred, constructed subject

iii. There is limited discussion of the changes in the nature and location of power that are taking place in the second industrial revolution.

Awareness of industrial change does exist, but this is discussed from an implicitly (if not explicitly) traditional Marxist perspective (Fairclough 1989a; 1992d). Other perspectives are not fully taken up (Peters 1992).

iv. Attention is not paid to the post-war debate on the status of scientific method (Lakatos & Musgrave 1970; Lloyd 1990). Nor are alternative research methods considered other than those immediately advocated by CDA itself.

There is an emphasis on the subjectivity of the author which may lead to a questioning of the nature and status of scientific knowledge (Kress 1989c).

g. A one-sided preoccupation with the production side of text

There is an over-emphasis on producer intention and the construction of subjects. Not enough attention is given to the reactions and resources of text recipients (as in the analysis of advertising).

5.4 CDA: theoretical and practical difficulties in implementation

a. Which target group?

While the exposure of exploitation must be a good thing, it is not clear who will benefit most from instruction in CDA, and how. A class of underprivileged people may not be interested in analysis which may appear too removed from their everyday problems (Ivanic 1988). Perhaps those with power, who tend to be more educated and might perhaps be better able to handle the theory of CDA, should be the targets for education.

b. Which political orientation, if any?

The commitment to one political position may result in severe difficulties where approaches are made to other groups. There is no general assent in society that moral right belongs to the political left. If there exists an evangelistic attitude, this may provoke negative reactions in others and CDA practitioners may end up talking to themselves and other academics. A more open-minded orientation may yield better results and wider acceptance of stronger aspects of a CDA type of theory and practice.

5.5 Chapter summary

In this chapter the main issues concerning CDA have been summarised. In the next chapter, chapter 7, the notions of the subject and ideology will be examined further in order to begin to establish the alternative philosophical base of Discourse Stream Analysis (DSA).

Part 2 - Evolution: discourse stream analysis

Part 2 comprises three chapters, 6, 7, and 8. This part seeks first to set out the foundations of Discourse Stream Analysis (DSA) with regard to the philosophical base (the subject, ideology and power) (in chapters 6 and 7). Secondly, an attempt is made to establish the nature of the linguistic units and the techniques of analysis (in chapter 8). This is carried out in preparation for the empirical work of the study in Part 3.

6. The subject, ideology and myth

This chapter has two main objectives. The first is to present a clear discussion of the issues surrounding the terms *subject* and *ideology*. The second is to provide an account of the subject and its links to text that could provide part of the basis of the alternative philosophical base of Discourse Stream Analysis (DSA). A brief account of myth is also offered which could also be employed in DSA.

6.1 Issues concerning the subject

The question of the nature of the subject has already been framed in these terms:

a. can the subject be defined in terms of a unitary agent?

In other words what sense can be given to the notion that we each have of being a cohesive psychological entity capable of experiencing and initiating thoughts, decisions, actions and feelings?

b. or is the subject rather to be viewed on a discourse level as a collection of properties?

In this case do the physical actions (and indeed words and thoughts) of the subject merely result from, or at least enjoy a systematic connection with, alterations in those properties?

It is now necessary to attempt a more clear and precise definition of the subject which is required for an alternative model to CDA. There are two reasons why

this is needed. Firstly, there is a tension between these two notions of subject which runs right through the literature from Bakhtin to CDA (and especially TODA), through Althusser, Pêcheux, and Foucault (see chapter 4). This tension needs to be resolved in order that the theoretical component of Discourse Stream Analysis (DSA) be provided with a clearer theory of the subject. As we have seen, while Foucault seems to allow for the existence of the unitary subject it is certainly de-emphasised in his account of power. According to TODA the subject is socially constituted in discourse, and yet there is plenty of room for the unitary subject as agent, as is apparent in the insistence on the possibility of resistance in the struggle over meaning in discourse (and thus presumably the actions of those imposing such change in meaning). The fact is that both concepts of subject have an important place in a theory such as CDA. The problem is how to characterise each correctly and effectively, how to relate them together and how to apply the theory to actual text analysis (Williams 1993).

Secondly, the issue and problems of the nature of the relation between the subject and text need to be highlighted if only to raise the question itself, which has been neglected in the literature.

As Stubbs has commented:

> At the level of utterances and texts, individual human agency is clearly involved: people produce language acts with the intention of getting things to happen. And such intentions are constantly inferred as we try to make sense of each other's language (Stubbs 1996, p.234).

However, Stubbs does not explore the precise link between human agency and language acts.

The debate as to the nature of the subject goes beyond and precedes DA and linguistics as a whole. It has long been an issue in the philosophy of mind and, nowadays, artificial intelligence (AI), too. A powerful contribution to this debate has been made by John Searle (1989; 1992) who sees the philosophy of language as a branch of the philosophy of mind (Searle 1992, p.xi). Searle is concerned to lay a theoretical basis for the social sciences as distinct from the natural sciences, and to restore a central role for the mind (which can be

seen as an expression of the unitary subject) in opposition to the proponents of AI who see human behaviour as reducible to constituent parts and no more.

The basis of Searle's account is the theory of intention. This is the phenomenon whereby every mental state is directed at something: '...in general in any conscious state, the state is directed at something or other, even if the thing it is directed at does not exist, and in that sense it has intentionality' (ibid., p.130). The theory of intention originated in the work of Brentano and was developed by his student Husserl (Scruton 1994, pp.227-29). Significant expositions of the theory have been presented in the post-war period by Anscombe (1963), Dennett (1987), and Searle (1983; 1992). Related questions such as the problem of translation have also been addressed (Quine 1960).

The issue of any connection between the subject and text within the broader discussion of intention has hardly been raised. In the later post-war period discussion has rather been focussed on certain areas of great controversy such as whether a computer can enjoy a state of intentionality, and if so whether this state would be similar to or identical with that enjoyed by the mind (Dennet 1987, pp.323-37; Penrose 1989, pp.21-30).

However, it is that aspect of intention which comprises the notion of the subject and consciousness which is interesting here since it is at this point that a link can be made with text. Dennett (1987, p.335) comments that for Searle consciousness is crucial in any attempt to differentiate AI from human intelligence. It is in Searle's (1992) developed account of the aspects of consciousness that links between the subject and text can be made.

6.2 The theory of intention: main points

The discussion here will follow Searle's (1992) account, according to which a theory of intention would include these essential points:

a. a mental state always belongs to a person

b. a person enjoys mental states of consciousness or non-consciousness

c. when he or she is conscious, their conscious mental state is always directed towards something

d. when he or she is not conscious, their mental state has a potential to be directed towards something

e. it is possible to describe mental states
f. the characteristics of subjecthood can be addressed by means of the question 'What are mental phenomena?'

The above points provide the basis for an interpretation and a central position of the unitary subject.

Searle's theory of consciousness represents a substantial attempt to articulate the principle of intention. In addition to his description of the subject and the characteristics of consciousness, Searle gives an account of what he calls the background. This is a set of capacities without which intentionality would be impossible.

As a crucial part of discourse stream analysis, as an alternative model to CDA, an account of the nature of the subject shall now be presented in which the influence of Searle is duly acknowledged. These ideas shall be described, elaborated and related to linguistic form under three categories: the subject, consciousness, and the background.

6.3 The Subject

The following questions provide a useful starting point:

a. how are we to square the notion of subject as a constellation of discourse types with that of unitary subject?

b. are these two notions mutually exclusive or incompatible?

c. or, do they both have a validity in certain ways?

d. and, if so, by which principles is it possible to link one to the other?
The first step is to distinguish two levels of analysis. First there is the actual stream of discourse (broadly defined as linguistic form and context in time) constituted and influenced by a number of discursive formations and voices, some competing, some not. Secondly there is the concrete individual (or collection thereof) who produces the stream of discourse, identifiable in turn (at

this initial stage) by a clear break at the beginning and end of the utterance. A clear difference is to be found here.

However, there seems to be a problem in that there appears to be no one-to-one correlation with the unitary subject and the various voices and indeed subject positions in the stream of discourse. An identifiable voice can be fragmented within and across discourses. In that case, is there a relationship between the unitary subject, voices and subject positions, and if so what is it?

The crucial role of the unitary subject is to give meaning to utterances through the principle of intentionality. In other words without such a subject both to produce an utterance with intention, and to interpret an utterance by assuming intention, language would be meaningless in the semantic sense.

If there are broadly two dimensions of meaning in language, one horizontal (the relation of linear syntactic symbols) and one vertical (the relation of representational semantic symbols) then the character of the unitary subject is guaranteed by virtue of the fact that it is the only candidate that can assign an interpretation to symbols in the vertical dimension. If a computer was given the task of assigning meaning to vertical symbols we would finish up with an infinite regress since it would continually be forced to ask the question 'Well, what does this next symbol mean?'. However, the human unitary subject does not have to ask such a question. The question itself is inapplicable. Strong arguments are found for this position in Searle (1992) and Penrose (1989).

Given that the existence of the unitary subject is a necessary condition for the successful assignment of meaning to utterances, what about the existence of various and sometimes divergent voices and subject positions in discourse? Let us take voices first. Does the existence of different voices from different traceable sources, through the principle of intertextuality, mean that the unitary subject is not responsible for their production, in some sense? Can this in turn mean that the intentionality of the subject somehow lapses when these parts of the utterance are produced, or that another factor (or factors) controls the production of those parts? (It is absurd to imagine intentions floating in the universe which are not attached to subjects). This would seem unlikely, so long as we accept the definition of intentionality as a human state of consciousness directed at something. A preferable interpretation is that intertextuality is a discourse tool manifested and employed by the subject (whether consciously or unconsciously) to express intention. In that case it is parallel with grammar.

As for different subject positions, does it necessarily follow that where these exist in a discourse there is a disconnection between that part of the discourse and the unitary subject? The answer must be no, for this reason. Even where

the subject position is anonymous or neutral, or vague (it may or may not include the author) or exclusive (it does not represent the author, as in a quotation) this does not necessarily exclude the intention of the author or an author. Indeed, it is a critical part of the argument that the intention of the author is a necessary condition of the existence, and interpretation, of the discourse. The discourse is intentional in that the author has directed his or her mind to something. The intention of the author does not have to be reflected by him or herself as author occupying every subject position.

The next question to ask is whether the methodology underlying the description of the decentred subject is scientific? Foucault's approach would appear to be of this nature when he talks about the rules of a discursive formation (Foucault 1992b). By using surface data and redefining terms such as *subject* and *power* to exclude human agency, he would appear to be affording such data the same status as that of the subject matter of the natural sciences. In scientific methodology a description of a phenomenon also constitutes a statement of rules governing that phenomenon. From these rules predictions of some accuracy may be made about the future. But this is not possible in the case of discourse since the subject matter is of a radically different kind. In discourse the data is inextricably linked to the intentionality of the unitary subjects that produce it. So while close recordings and descriptions of surface form are possible, highly accurate statements of rule and prediction are impossible. If they were possible we would be able to provide accurate predictions of human behaviour in all its aspects, including political and economic. Although trends and tendencies may be identified in connection with behaviour, human intention can change in unpredictable (in principle) ways and thus render the conclusions of a given social science invalid. In that case new theories have to be constructed to account for the change in the intentional structure. Searle (1989) gives the example of changes in economic theory to account for changed historical and contextual circumstances.

This argument can also be used against a Marxist interpretation of historical and economic development as determined according to scientific laws (although it is likely that Marx himself was not a strict determinist when it came to historical development (Giddens 1971; McLellan 1986.)). If, therefore, historical change warrants new economic and political accounts, and this assertion is supported by the theory of intentionality in discourse, then there is good theoretical reason for challenging the view of ideology and power put forward in CDA.

A further consequence of the status of discourse analysis as an activity within the social sciences (and thus not available as a source of predictive statements) is that the interpretative aspect of the results of Part 3 will not have predictive

power to any high degree of accuracy. However, the question of the scientific status, or otherwise, of discourse analysis, is not the main motivation behind this discussion of the subject. It is rather to attempt to furnish the theory of discourse with a link between the unitary and decentred subject.

6.3.1 Characteristics of the subject and their manifestation in text

If the foregoing arguments for the existence and importance of the unitary subject as agent are valid, then what can be said about this subject? Searle (1992) gives a list of structural features of everyday consciousness that could certainly form the starting point of an account of the unitary subject.

Here is a selection of important characteristics of the biological subject as agent from the point of view of CDA, together with some ideas as to how they might be manifested in text.
a. Finite Modalities

We experience consciousness by means of a finite number of modalities. These include

i. the five senses

We may experience pure or mixed sensations.

ii. verbal thought

Our verbal articulation may be internal or external.
iii. iconic thought - visual images

Direct and symbolic representations come into our (non-verbal) thought. Other elements may also enter our thought (such as mathematical ideas: Penrose 1989, pp.548-50).

iv. feelings

These include emotions, desires and a whole range of feelings which can be of long or short-term duration.

One or more of these modalities may occur alone or, more often, co-occur with another or others. Each modality can be experienced within the dimension of pleasure or unpleasure (see below).

b. Unity

i. horizontal

Language has a distinct linear movement. We are aware of beginnings and ends in language.

These are perceived in utterances, sentences, assertions, questions, exclamations and so on. We are also aware of complete and incomplete units of all types in language.

ii. vertical

This may be characterised as the awareness of the subject that it is located in an environment. This environment can be envisaged as a sphere or a galaxy full of objects of which the mind enjoys a simultaneous awareness.

iii. time

In this conception time consists of a succession of spheres. The conscious subject can travel backwards and forwards, up and down, and diagonally in this environment. The spheres of other individuals interact and overlap in two ways; directly (in direct social interaction), and indirectly (through intertextuality).

This account of the unity of consciousness allows for a description of psychological time. Whereas it is easier to document real time and verbal time (in the tense system) it is more difficult to describe psychological time and its relationship to the other two. One reason for this is that the perception of psychological time is highly personal and less open to direct observation from a second party.

c. Intentionality

Every conscious state is directed at something, somewhere, and at some time (of whatever type).

d. The connection between consciousness and intentionality

Consciousness is a necessary condition of intentionality. It is not possible to conceive of anything with an intentional state without it also being conscious. This point provides further strong support for the unitary subject.

e. The figure-ground of conscious experience; the centre and the periphery.

The objects at the centre of our attention stand out against a background. There are limits to this background. Around the objects at the centre are objects in the periphery. Further, there is always a structure to our perceptions. Thus we are always conscious of something structured in a particular way.

f. Familiarity

This is to be distinguished from recognition in that recognition implies action. The everyday objects that are around me as I write this text (books, windows, cups of tea and so on) do not require an act of recognition on my part when I sit down at my computer. They are, however, familiar to me. Contrast this with an inverted cup of tea suspended in the air. I do not expect to see this as I walk into my study. If I did see one I would be forced to conclude that either I had been transported into a zero-gravity area or the laws of physics had altered! Nor is familiarity a feeling; it is rather an aspect. In order for things to be familiar I do not need to experience particular feelings when I experience them, although there will always be present the aspect of pleasure/unpleasure (see below). Familiar categories of perception are part of the background (see below).

g. Overflow

Searle gives two examples of overflow: a thought which comes to us in a flash is immediately expanded; a description begun of something you see through the window is then elaborated. Does this mean that the consciousness always starts a new state directed at something alone, a centre whose background is then filled in? It is difficult to say this since a centre must already have a background by definition. It may be more correct to say that when a change is made from one state to another the initial focus on the centre may be quite strong, but overflow to the surroundings may happen later. Overflow is different from figure-ground in that it emphasises the fluid nature of the working of consciousness. We pass from one centre to another with ease.

h. Boundary conditions

The location of a conscious state is determined by spatio- temporal and socio-biological boundaries. We have an idea of where, when, and who (in several senses) we are. We also define our location in relation to other subjects. Searle says that this capacity '...for assigning a special status to other loci of consciousness is both biologically based and is a Background presupposition for all forms of collective intentionality...' but confesses that he does not

yet know how to demonstrate these claims or how to analyse the social element in individual consciousness (ibid., pp.127-28).

If language is taken as one of the major, if not the major, modalities of consciousness then one important method of performing that very analysis could be through the concept of intertextuality and its relation to each type of time.

i. Mood

Some of the time we have moods that are not intentional; they are not directed at any particular person or thing. They simply set a tone on our existence (as a state or series of states) at that time.

j. The dimension of Pleasure and Unpleasure

Whatever conscious state or series of states we happen to be experiencing there is an accompanying dimension of pleasure or unpleasure, good or bad. On rare occasions these two forces can both be present with extremely uncomfortable results (as when one person both loves and hates another: there are conflicting feelings, but more than this the subject does not know whether he or she sits in the dimension of pleasure or unpleasure).

These ten features of the conscious unitary subject may be summarised in this way:

i. consciousness is always expressed through a number of finite modalities

ii. it has unity in time (vertical and horizontal)

iii. it is intentional (always directed at something)

iv. in order to be intentional a being must be conscious

v. conscious states are always directed at something in the centre against a background

vi. attention tends to overflow from the object in hand, giving consciousness a character of flux and change

vii. there are boundary conditions which are spatio-temporal and socio-biological

viii. consciousness is always characterised by a certain mood

ix. all moods occur in one of two aspects: pleasure or unpleasure.

To what extent can these features be applied to non-biological subjects? Prime examples of these would be a limited company (known in law as a 'legal person') or a computer. In so far as they act, occupy subject positions, and interact with other subjects (of whatever kind) they may be said to be subjects. This is not the place to take up in detail the controversial question of whether highly sophisticated computers can be said to be intelligent in any human way (Penrose 1989). Suffice it to say that many of the features of consciousness seem to be lacking in non-biological subjects (most of the finite modalities, for example).

However, we do regularly assign agency to non-biological subjects. This is performed by making analogies with aspects of consciousness that seem appropriate. (We also make analogies which are certainly fictitious, such as talking about the feelings of a motor car). But analogous behaviour is no proof of identical status in terms of working principles. Allowance must certainly be made for the non-biological subject with a sort of independent life, but with the reservation that these objects ultimately derive their existence and nature from biological subjects.

6.3.2 Textual evidence for the features of the subject

The features of the unitary subject can be manifested in many ways in text. While a treatment of these features lies outside the scope of this study, here an a priori checklist is presented in terms of what might be expected.

a. Consciousness is always expressed through a number of finite modalities

It may be possible to trace the development through time of a number of these modalities as shown in text. Depending on their character, some will be more accessible than others. To be sure, non-verbal thought will be impossible to trace. Icons and images will only be accessible where they are recorded in text in the language of imagery and metaphor. Verbal thought expressed in text will be prime evidence for the development of themes and propositions. It will also be possible to record feelings through semantic shading, although where the analysis concentrates on written text a great deal of suprasegmental evidence will be absent.

b. It has unity in time (vertical and horizontal)

At any given point in a text the subject will exist in an intentional state at a certain point of time. In that case, it should be possible, by means of linguistic analysis, to locate the subject in whatever dimension of time. It will then be interesting to correlate the location in that dimension of time with phenomena in the other two dimensions.

For example, it will be possible to ask these questions:

i. Where in time does the subject perceive him or herself to be?

ii. Where in time does the verbal system tell us he or she is?

iii. Where in time are the events undergone, described, or referred to?

An example of time dimensions in conflict can be found in the event of a country that has fallen behind others that are changing more rapidly. Czechoslovakia in the post-war era is a case in point. From 1945 until the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, the country was caught in a kind of time warp. Until the major change of government and political and economic system in the late 1980s and early 1990s, life went on in some ways as if nothing had changed since the war. Another example is the British obsession with television situation comedies about the second world war. Other countries, such as Germany, have progressed and put the war behind them (in other ways). They see the past, present, and future in a different light.

c. Conscious, intentional states are always directed at something in the centre against a background.

Linguistic work on the notion of prominence is relevant here, such as topic-comment sentences, the distribution of given and new, and the use of syntax to achieve foregrounding.

d. Attention tends to overflow from the object in hand, giving consciousness a character of flux and change.

Thematic structure is one tool that can be used to show links between areas of prominence in text.

e. There are boundary conditions which are spatio-temporal and socio-biological.

Boundaries that may be interesting to investigate in a continuation of this study are those between the United Kingdom (UK) and the continental countries. In other words this may show how near or distant the British are perceived to be to the European Union (EU) in such terms as behaviour, culture and tradition, and politics.

f. Consciousness is always characterised by a certain mood.

At first sight mood is liable to be confused with feelings. They are distinct in that the function of mood is to set a tone as a backdrop to successions and mixtures of feelings. Moods can be of long or short duration. Here are two examples, one on the level of the individual and the other on that of society as a whole (treated as if it were an individual).

i.   In a hopeless mood due to unrequited love, a lover can experience extreme happiness at a small kindness stemming from the loved one.

ii.   Since the turning-point of the British Empire (perhaps marked by the first world war), there has been a mood of decline in the British people. But during this period there have been periods of elation (in the economic boom of the mid and late 1980s) and despair (in the economic recession of the late 1980s and early 1990s).

There is plenty of linguistic evidence for mood. In written text this is primarily lexical. An interesting exercise would be to chart change of mood over a period of time. The UK attitude towards membership of the EU is often one of making the best of a bad job: we lost our empire and the best we can hope for is to wield influence in Europe, but even then we usually get a bad deal. Should there be a time when British influence came into the ascendancy in EU affairs, and looked like remaining in that position for a long time, then there should be evidence for this mood swing in text.

g. All moods are in one of two aspects: pleasure or unpleasure.

Any state of affairs is experienced as basically good or bad for the subject. This very basic feature of consciousness is simple and clearly detectable in text, but details of mood and mood swing will be more interesting for linguistic explication. The notion of semantic prosody is relevant here (Stubbs 1996), the feature of text whereby a lexical item can have a broadly good or bad connotation. This resonance can be traced across large amounts of text.

6.3.3 The subject and DSA

A great deal of CDA writing is conducted with an implicit assumption of the theory of intention and an explicit acceptance of the theory of construction (Cobb 1994). The theory of intention offers a way out of the twin horns of the constructed / unitary subject dilemma. According to the provisional and preliminary theory of DSA articulated here, construction is dependent on intention. In other words, there can be no discourse or discursal effects without subjects and intention. In that case, DSA seeks to restore the primacy of the unitary subject while accepting a continued role for a notion of discourse and discursive formation.

In light of Searle's account of the subject and consciousness, connections can be made between the unitary subject, intention, and text at several points. The subject acts by virtue of the theory of intention in that it enjoys (at least) the following characteristics which can be related to text.

a. Unity in time.

The conscious subject has an awareness of its unitary existence in time. It is aware that time moves forward in a linear fashion. The subject also has an awareness of its potential to manipulate and represent events in time of all kinds, whether physical or conceptual. This is effected linguistically through the tense and transitivity systems.

b. Unity in space.

The conscious subject attends to objects (physical or conceptual) which are foregrounded. Linguistically, these objects are expressed by the lexical system.

c. Unity in mood.

A certain mood is always attached to the unitary subject. It is sometimes possible for the subject to alter that mood. Mood is expressed linguistically through devices such as modal verbs, lexical shading, as well as by paralinguistic features. While, then, the precise point of contact between the subject and text in terms of the operation of agency does seem to be neglected in both the philosophical and linguistic literature (especially regarding CDA), the above remarks may serve as an attempt to lay out the beginnings of a theory where a systematic linkage may be fashioned.

6.4 Ideology

Ideology obviously plays a key role in the views of language, power and society in the above discussion of CDA. However, there exists a surfeit of definitions, both implicit and explicit, many of which depend on the political orientation of the analyst (Simpson 1993, p.5). The same charges of loose thinking in the relativism debate (Searle 1996, p.158) could be applied to current approaches to ideology.

While this is not the place to attempt comprehensive solutions to the many conundra surrounding the meaning of ideology (Gee (1990) gives a concise historical introduction, and Eagleton (1991) and Thompson (1984; 1990) comprehensive surveys of the term), it is important to offer some discussion for two reasons. On the one hand, all versions of CDA employ some notion of ideology, and some give it prominence (van Dijk 1998). On the other hand, a clear outline of some meaning of ideology will be essential in the development of the concept of the paradigm organism within DSA, and any new version must at least display some clarity of thought on its own nature and use.

6.4.1 CDA: ideological underpinning

Discussions of ideology in CDA are partly underpinned by the following aspects.

a. Ideological sign.

A form of any kind (linguistic, visual, physical and so on) which has as part of its essence meaning or meanings derived from an ideology.

In other words in every sign there is a message, an opinion as to how things ought to be (Kress 1993a).

d. Ideological terrain.

A system of such forms over which meanings fluctuate (Kress 1988a).

d. Ideological process.

The continual process whereby meanings interact and change.

The notion of ideological sign, terrain and process derive from the work of the Russian linguists and social philosophers of the early part of this century, and in particular to V. Voloshinov and M.M. Bakhtin (members of the circle).

Voloshinov (1973) presented a rather different conception of ideology from that outlined above and from that of Marx. Instead of using the word ideology to refer primarily to a belief-set, he used it to mean a system of representation. As a system it is of a completely different order from ideology as a set of beliefs.

Voloshinov puts forward the interesting idea that every sign is subject to ideological investment:

> Every sign is subject to the criteria of ideological evaluation (i.e., whether it is true, false, correct, fair, good, etc.). The domain of ideology coincides with the domain of signs. They equate with one another. wherever a sign is present, ideology is present, too. Everything ideological possesses semiotic value (Voloshinov 1973, p.10).

Voloshinov goes on to claim a material reality for the sign: 'Every ideological sign is not only a reflection, a shadow, or reality, but is also itself a material segment of that very reality' (ibid., p.11). Signs are said to be embodied in sound, physical mass, colour, and so on. This last is a point of extreme importance since it anticipates Fowler (Fowler et al. 1979) and Kress (Hodge & Kress 1993) and their strong claim that language is in some way ideology.

e. Ideological struggle.

The continual conflict between related meanings, especially important in times of substantial and/or rapid change in society (Fairclough 1988a; 1989a; 1992e).

This area may be related to what Gardiner (1992) refers to as the dominant ideology thesis. According to this thesis in any given society there is a dominant ideology which has a controlling influence in setting standards and against which opinion and action is measured. Although the operation of ideology on such a scale has been successfully questioned (Abercrombie et al. 1990a; Abercrombie 1990b), there is nonetheless a common sense view that there are dominant belief-sets in society. The extent and coverage of these is another matter. From Fairclough's writing it would appear that he is concerned with the contestation of dominant or established beliefs.
All of these terms may be viewed as hyponyms of the superordinate *ideology*. Ideology viewed as represented by a complex of superordinate and hyponyms serves to explain the mix of assumptions behind the use of the term ideology in CDA.

6.5 CDA analysts and ideology

CDA analysts tend to mention ideology in terms of the contestation of dominant belief-sets and the location of ideology in discourse (Fairclough 1992d), the linguistic sign (Kress 1993a), in terms of cognition and mental models (van Dijk 1991, pp.118ff; 1998), and in terms of paradigms (Fowler 1991b).

In order to encapsulate CDA approaches to ideology, their various stances can be measured up to the parameters of the above discussion by means of a table (table 7).

Parameters	Position	CDA analysts
Ontology (What?)	a belief-set and collection of sets a system of sets	all CDA analysts all CDA analysts
Sociology (How?)	on any scale, for any group	van Dijk (1998) Frow (1985)
	on a large scale, for dominant groups by manipulation and obfuscation	Most analysts, including Wodak (1997) Chilton & Schäffner (1997) Halliday & Martin (1993) Hartley & Montgomery (1985) Fairclough (1992d, 1995b)
	neutrally critically	no CDA analysts all CDA analysts
Semiotics (Where?)	in discourse, in the linguistic sign and other semiotic systems	Kress (1993a)
	in cognition, in mental models (symbolic conception)	van Dijk (1995a; 1995b; 1998) Fowler (1991b)
	in neural networks correlated with discourse events (process conception)	Gee (1992)

Table 7: CDA approaches to ideology

The table indicates inconsistencies between CDA approaches. Clearly, it would be desirable for the overall CDA approach to display more clarity in the definition of ideology, as Thompson points out (1986, p.66), and for there to be more exact accounts of the relationship between ideology and language (see Montgomery (1986, p.59) for a criticism of Thompson (1986)). For example, what is the precise relation between belief-set, system, and agent, and between ideology and

language or discourse? There are also difficulties within certain individual approaches, notably that which involves the general concept of mental models.

6.6 CDA, ideology and mental models

One area in the description of ideology on which great reliance is stored is that of mental models, variously described in terms of paradigms, frames, scripts and schemata. This is a clear strand of thought which runs through the CDA literature from the early CL-related work of Downes (1978) on frame and prototype, and van Dijk's work on *macrostructures* (1980) to the later work (Fowler 1991b). When Fowler assumes a definition of ideology as indicated in the above table, he also introduces the term *paradigm* in this connection. Indeed, the term *ideological paradigm* was introduced by Fowler, who places paradigms alongside frames, schemata, stereotypes, and general propositions which are to be explained as '...tacit mental categories for the sorting of experience...' (Fowler 1991b, p.17). Later he explicitly mentions ideological paradigms (ibid., p.42) which arise as part of a systematic set of values in a newspaper editorial.

This concept surfaced in more detail in an earlier article on language and ideology in government texts against the peace movement of the mid 1980s, although the term *paradigm* occurred on its own. In their study, Roger Fowler and Tim Marshall aimed to explicate British Government ideology by invoking paradigms, in other words official belief systems. (Fowler & Marshall, 1985).

They claim that these are not necessarily formulated consciously. The ruling group may not be aware of its ideology. It may be different from what is asserted on the surface:

> These beliefs are not necessarily formulated consciously and then promulgated in the population in a conspiratorial manner; indeed, the ruling group may not be aware of the structure of its ideology (or it may be different from what is asserted). What we try to do in this paper is to bring to the surface certain official belief-systems (which we call PARADIGMS) and suggest how language operates in mediating these paradigms (ibid., p.4).

They further claim that the propositions concerned also underlie language not necessarily concerned with nuclear matters but connected areas such as defence in general.

Ideology, according to Fowler and Marshall, may or may not be the result of conscious production and may lie underneath surface forms. This study is also

significant for its recognition that the language of one discourse may appear in that of another, and for its attempt to trace the evidence over time.

The notion that ideology lies beneath surface forms underpins a great deal of CDA work (Fairclough 1989a, pp.158-59; van Dijk 1998, pp.78-82). In particular, van Dijk (1998) is concerned to describe a theory of social cognition. The essential point of this theory as found here (and in the CDA model in general) seems to be grounded in a description of scripts and schemata typically articulated by Schank and Abelson (1977) and elaborated as scripts and frames by Minsky (1986). In this approach, scripts are presented as routines which the mind follows in order to accomplish something, and frames and schemata as models of (at least) everyday phenomena which enable the mind to recognise those phenomena. With regard to frames, this may be termed the snapshot theory of cognition (where snapshots can be of different kinds, and not just visual representations), whose origins may ultimately be traced back to Plato's theory of ideas (also called forms). This theory may be stated as follows:

a. The mind continually searches for a relevant snapshot against which to measure up present experience, defined as a series of instants. There exist a number of default snapshots for the mind to measure its experience against.

b. It finds a match.

c. Action then proceeds accordingly. This action may be mental, verbal, or physical.

d. The snapshots referred to have both already been formed at some point in the past, and are being formed all the time. If at least a good deal of them had not already been formed then action would not be possible. If some of them are not being formed at some present moment or over some present moment of time, then the possibility of change is denied.

e. Representation thus works simultaneously on two levels, discourse (the outward manifestation of the process) and cognition. Van Dijk (1998) seeks to emphasise this point.

There are many objections that can be made to the snapshot theory of cognition. Some of these will be familiar from arguments that can be advanced against Plato's theory of ideas.

a. There is an implication that an infinite specification of snapshots of the world is required. This appears to be impractical if not impossible in terms of processing power.

b. There is a problem in how to distinguish and identify two snapshots similar in appearance. At what point and how does a chair become a table?

c. How does the mind know that a snapshot of a table is just that? Is there a further snapshot by virtue of which it is so recognised? Or, how does the mind know how to recognise a match?

d. The snapshots are static. The model depends on a series of static images.

e. The model is generally passive. It is not clear how it would handle the possibility of the creation of totally new models from a producer point of view.

f. It is not clear how all types of cognitive representations might be ideological. If they are not, what is the status of non-ideological cognitions?

g. On what basis are the models (content and structure) determined?

van Dijk consistently relies on a theory of semantic macrostructure whereby text topics are organised by certain principles (van Dijk 1980; 1995c; 1998). There arises the issue of the status of a macrostructure and its organization of topics in a text. Is it a cognitive structure? In that case what is the evidence for it, and what is its precise nature as a cognitive item?

Early and serious criticism of the theory of macrostructures is found in Brown & Yule (1983).

> What must be of concern to linguists interested in notions such as 'discourse topic' is the fact that the formal means of identifying the topic for a piece of discourse claimed by van Dijk is, in fact, an illusion. Neither the topic representation nor the semantic representation of the whole text derive from anything more formal than the analyst's interpretation of what the text means. To produce the topic, van Dijk does nothing more than what schoolchildren are frequently asked to do by their English teacher - produce a single sentence summary for the text under consideration (ibid., p.110).

If that is the case (and even if it is not the case), van Dijk's analysis would produce a further text which would seem to require further analysis in terms of macrostructure and topic.

If Brown and Yule provide early criticism of the theory of macrostructures, recent related comments can be also be found. In his review of van Dijk (1998), O'Neill (1999) calls for detailed empirical work connected with the van Dijk's theoretical exploration of ideology: 'The real challenge for critical discourse analysis will be developing detailed empirical studies of the cognitive and discursive interfaces between general social beliefs and the practical ideologies of everyday social life' (ibid., p.440). This shows that the questions raised by van Dijk in terms of the relation between semantic structures and surface text have continued to be debated over the years.

6.6.1 What are mental models

What is the relationship between ideology and language or discourse? This is recognised to be a difficult area. For one, Thompson (1986) admits that he is not clear on this, while within CL Fowler has been careful to avoid the definition of ideology as false consciousness (Fowler 1996, p.10) and states that a more inclusive view of what constitutes ideology than that represented by the clause and vocabulary structure is needed (ibid., pp.11-12).

The components of the theory articulated by van Dijk and Kintsch since the early 1970s can be found in van Dijk 1995. These components appear to be

a. Mental models.

a mental model is said to be a concrete instance of an interpretive construction of a given situation, located in episodic memory.

b. Frames and scripts.

These are claimed to be general plans or blueprints against which the subject can interpret a situation.

c. Superstructure.

This is said to be the overall summary of a particular text.

d. Semantic macrostructure.

This is described as the global representation of a particular text in terms of coherence.

e. Semantic microstructure.

This is said to be the local representation of a particular text in terms of propositional and sentence grammatical relations.

Apart from these five aspects of the theory of text production and interpretation, other key features include

f. A dynamic and strategic modular processing function.

It is claimed that in the act of interpretation, the subject continually processes information using various strategies (such as syntactic, semantic, and social).

The largest current problem according to van Dijk (1995 pp.404-06) concerns the representation of models, which he calls '...this complex and at present unsolvable problem' (ibid., p.405). However, van Dijk does offer some suggestions as to the nature of models (they include semantic structures, representations of event settings, and also discourse structures (ibid., pp.405-06)).

The central issue regarding the van Dijk / Kintsch theory can be encapsulated in one question. This is whether or not the model theory (in whichever aspect)

necessarily include representational objects which somehow exist in the mind or brain. If the answer is positive, then problems arise. If the answer is negative, as is argued here, there arise two questions: firstly of both the status of the model aspects and their usefulness; and secondly of what alternative can be offered?

As regards an alternative to the model theory, Gee (1992, pp.26-49) has proposed a connectionist account whereby a network of neurons develops patterns of firing in response to input stimuli. Naturally, this is a complex account and this is not the occasion to set it out in detail. However, Gee (1992) makes a strong claim for its validity as an alternative to schemata.

A network contains no representational object that is a schema. Rather, schemas emerge at the moment they are needed from the interaction of the units in the network all working in concert with one another. The key to the network's ability to "mimic" schemas, without having to actually store them, is the notion of sub-patterns of units that tend to come together, because of excitatory links... 'Yet there is no need to decide in advance on a particular set of schemas to store. Instead, the network learns (or is told) patterns of co-occurrence of individual items making up the schema...' (ibid., p.43).

6.7 CDA and myth

Apart from ideology and ideologies, there are other collections of concepts and ideas which may be identified in text. Of these myth may be mentioned in the first place. Myth may well provide an umbrella under which to place Fowler's stereotypes. Fowler (1991b) comments:

A stereotype is a socially-constructed mental pigeon-hole into which events and individuals can be sorted, thereby making such events and individuals comprehensible: 'mother', 'patriot', 'businessman', 'neighbour', on the one hand, versus 'hooligan', 'terrorist', 'foreigner', 'wet [Tory]', on the other... (Fowler 1991b, p.17).

An essential feature of these stereotypes is that they are creative: '...they are categories which we project onto the world in order to make sense of it' (ibid., p.17). While Fowler mentions techniques in cognitive psychology designed to account for this phenomenon, the categories of myth could be an alternative way of identifying and describing them. The mystifying function of myth is mentioned by Montgomery (1995) in relation to the naming of nuclear missiles as Vulcan, Titan and Poseidon.

Montgomery comments that

> ...the names are quite mystificatory, since they consistently tend to 'supernaturalize' the weapons, depicting them in ways which help to remove them conceptually from processes which involve human agency and technical inventiveness (ibid., p.235).

Moss (1985) specifically focuses on myth in text in an article where he describes the American myth of the pioneer. Moss distinguishes myth from ideology in that the former concerns the origin of beliefs from historical experience and the latter concerns the shaping of beliefs by social factors: myth has a binding function within society while ideology serves to segregate and serve 'special interests'.

Moss asserts that there is an aspect of popular myth in American culture which he describes as '...the attachment to an individualistic primitivism' (ibid., p.45). Underlying myths of this sort may be found in political speeches, policy statements, and other defence texts. The main features of the myth is that of the pioneer, ready to tackle new challenges, to meet new dangers head-on, morally well-equipped by strong religious belief, and with a strong sense of loyalty and solidarity with fellows. 'Reagan's skill is that he massages these traditional nerves and makes them co-terminous with policy' (ibid., p.45). Moss illustrates this by looking at one of Reagan's speeches on defence. Thus the use of *we* to encourage solidarity in the face of danger is highlighted.

He also points out the underlying pioneering spirit in a manual on how to survive the bomb. In an analysis of a Defense Department report on world political events he uses the conceptual framework of Halliday's Functional Grammar (Halliday 1994). In this he applies Halliday's six main process types (material, behavioural, mental, verbal, relational, and existential) to the verb phrases in the report. The result is that a world view is identified where America sees itself as an actor moving across a type of terrain where events happen of a hostile nature, whether potential or actual. America, indeed, acts as a pioneer. This result is based on the choice and distribution of processes. From this perspective, Moss shows how mythical and cultural beliefs fuse with ideological content in official statements to produce a uniform environment. This is a highly promising line of analysis, even though it is another term employed in CDA in a general, non-defined manner (Wodak 1997). But before myth can be incorporated into a model of discourse, some attention will have to be paid to the delimitation of its categories.

6.7.1 DSA and categories of myth

In a brief discussion of myth and how it might be related to DSA, mention can first be made of Roland Barthes (1993). His work constitutes another influence on CDA (as mentioned by Fairclough 1989a; 1992f, and Fowler 1991b) in the claim that language can be used to naturalise and normalise certain states of affairs.

Common-sense views of myth ultimately derive from associations with classical mythology. Barthes furnishes an alternative definition of myth within a semiological framework. Barthes sees myth as a linguistic figure: the linguistic sign (comprising the signifier and signified) becomes itself the signifier of myth. An example he gives is of a picture of a negro soldier saluting the tricolour on the cover of the magazine *Paris Match*. This picture conveys more meaning than simply a soldier saluting the flag. The fact that it is a black soldier signifies that the sons of the great French empire serve it loyally. Objections can be raised against Barthes' analysis (such as what is the precise difference between myth, imagery and metaphor?), but it is at least clear that non-literal meaning is an important aspect of language, and an essential part of myth whatever definition is assumed. But Barthes has other important contributions to make on the nature of myth. Myth has a depoliticising function; by fossilising reality it removes opportunity for debate and discussion. Myth fixes certain processes and events as natural, to be expected, and thus not open to historical enquiry which involves disagreement (ibid., pp.140ff). Barthes also criticises French bourgeois culture of his time as being obsessed with consumption; the whole of France is immersed in this ideology (a term he uses in the sense of belief-set). This ideology permeates film, theatre, rituals, pulp literature and practically every aspect of society (ibid., p.140). An early analyst of sign systems in society (*Mythologies* was first published in 1957 when the post-war consumer culture had really gained momentum) Barthes is important for his recognition of the all-pervasive nature of ideology in society, his attempt at a semiological definition of myth, and his claim that myth fixes interpretations and denies discussion.

A second and more substantial source for ideas on myth can be found in classical scholarship. When the term *myth* is mentioned many people think of the myths of ancient Greece. Since it is without doubt true that most theoretical and practical work on myth has been carried out on Greek myth (Kirk 1962; 1974; Dowden 1992), it will be of value to enquire as to whether disciplines such as classics (and anthropology) can offer any help in providing a usable categorization of myth for DSA.

In a thorough review of Greek myth, its types, functions and schools of interpretation, Dowden (1992) begins by relating the common sense view of myths as '...not factually exact: they are false, not wholly true, or not true in that form. But they have a power which transcends their inaccuracy, even depends on it ... myths are believed, but not in the same way that history is' (ibid., p.3). So there is a clear contrast with history, which is the systematic investigation of the past on the basis of evidence which may be corroborated independently by others. Having made a distinction between myth and history, Dowden goes on to describe different types of traditional narratives. These are saga (stories based on a family), legend (stories with some definite historical content), folk-tale (country stories with a moral), fairy story (folk tales involving minor supernatural beings), and myth (stories including gods, heroes and ritual). It may well be of use to pursue this categorization in an investigation of text, but for the purposes of this study it will be sufficient to limit the descriptive framework to that of myth alone.

Unfortunately, even contemporary debate is of limited help in providing a precise account of what myth is. Griffin (1991) is unwilling to offer a definition, giving as a reason the wide disagreement between experts. However, he does list several identifiable functions of myth in ancient Greece.

a. Ritual function.

Myth is used to relate religious events and to describe ceremonies which were performed once and may still be performed now.

b. Order reversal function.

Myth relates occasions when the normal social and world order can be reversed: women reject their usual female role, for example. Myth helps to contain and normalise abnormal occurrences which seem to defy nature, both social and physical.

c. Political function.

Some myths relate how ancestors were instrumental in forging political alliances and founding new states. These myths are called charter myths.
d. Historical function.

Stories in myths were the only source of history for most of the population until the first historians, and especially Thucydides in 5th century Athens, began to write history in a systematic way. Even then, myth continued to be a source of information for most people for a long time.

e. Cathartic function.

Myth provided a framework for the discussion of abnormal behaviour such as incest, family murder, cannibalism and bestiality.

f. Social framework function.

Myths provided a framework in which relations between men and women were defined, and relations between man and the Gods, too.

There is also one further function, little found in Greek myth but widespread in other cultures, that is the

g. Cosmogonical function.

Myth has an explanatory function for phenomena such as time, the universe and its origins, and the reason of existence.

Following Barthes (1993) one further point can be added to the functions of myth as outlined above. It can be called the

h. Normalising function

According to this function, myth has the power of ensuring that beliefs regarding certain state of affairs hold without question, regardless of the truth of falsity of their propositions. At times of great change myths will explode and new ones will take their place. The destruction and formation of myths regarding the relationship of the UK and the EU will provide analytical material in Part 3.

Here, then, there is a basic framework for the identification and description of myth in text which will be referred to in the conclusions regarding *federalism*.

6.8 Chapter summary

In this chapter the tensions and contradictions inherent in CDA use of the terms *subject* and *ideology* were explored. An alternative account of the subject was put forward which draws upon Searle's account of the aspects of consciousness. These elements of consciousness were described and their relation to text was indicated. This formed the beginning of an alternative theory of the subject and its relation to text. Secondly, the various meanings of the term *ideology* were examined and connected to uses in CDA. The notion of *ideological paradigm* was focused upon and some criticism of the theory of mental models was advanced. Finally, a brief discussion of myth was given which could contribute to DSA.

7. The changing nature of power

The aim if this chapter is to give a practical and contemporary account of power which will serve to provide a certain context to DSA and the analyses in chapter 10. Emphasis is placed both on a theory of power-sharing with particular regard to *empowerment* and *federalism* (and also as an alternative to Gramscian hegemony) and on the practical implementation of that theory. In dealing with power, the chapter complements the previous chapter, which was concerned with the subject and ideology.

7.1 Power dimensions

There are two areas where the nature of power, or at least power relations, seems to be changing. These include the distribution of power within large organizations (such as corporations) on the micro level, and that between nation states (such as the member states of the European Union) on the macro level. The term *federalism* serves as a major link between the two levels. The nature of power on the two levels has a basic foundation, that of making alliances and creating networks with partners, of sharing power in order to advance the whole.

On the language of leadership Handy has the following to say:

> ...these new ways need a new language to describe them, a language of federations and networks, of alliances and influences, as well as of shamrocks and do'nuts. The language, and the philosophy which it describes, requires us to learn new ways and new habits, to live with more uncertainty but more trust, less control but more creativity (Handy 1989, p.105).

A second link between the two levels is the fact that large corporations aim to have a significant presence in every large international market. They employ sometimes hundreds of thousands of people and in some sense are a state in themselves. Handy examines this idea at length. Stating that large corporations are beyond government power, he describes them as '... free-roving alternative states' (Handy 1997, p.77).

Using textual and some contextual evidence the purpose of this study will be to outline the beginnings of a theory and description of power relations in terms of power-sharing. CDA has taken an interest in the former field in its criticism of post-Fordism. A summary of the CDA position in this regard will be presented below (pp.229-33.) along with a possible response. In the light, then, of the foregoing criticisms of CDA (particularly in chapters three and four), there is scope for an examination of the theoretical basis of power on the two levels. This

will provide the beginnings of a foundation for the description of power relations as found in the textual evidence. On the micro level, there will be an attempt at some specification of context (as called for by Fowler (1991a). Difficulties lie here in several respects. There follows a short review of these problems and the answers which may be made.

a. Is the applied linguist qualified to make comments outside his or her field?

In my own case I have run a business for eleven years, first as a sole trader, then as a partnership, and finally also as a limited company. The core activity comprises the teaching of business English to overseas managers of all levels (private and public sector). I may thus claim some right to understand the business and economic context.

b. Can the applied linguist take into consideration a representative sample of literature from the business field?

It would be extremely difficult to consider a comprehensive amount of business and economic literature. The approach taken here has been to be highly selective in two ways: firstly to consider which sources CDA analysts have reviewed; and secondly to consider a limited number of authors who are recognised by practising managers to be highly influential.

c. Can the applied linguist gain access to material and other information in the world of action?

It is very difficult to gain information from organizations, and what information there is tends to be archived inconsistently or not at all (Swales & Rogers 1995; Collins & Porras 1994). Further, even an insider experiences difficulty in handling events such as the immediate deletion on disk of a policy or the rise of oral means of communication at the expense of written (Wild 1997). In that case reliance here has been placed upon personal communication from a large number of managers of all levels, and textual evidence both synchronic (personnel documents) and diachronic (search results from newspapers on CD-ROM) (see chapters 10 and 11).

The above comments are meant to counter the potentially inherent weakness in any multidisciplinary work, that fields peripheral to the researcher will not be treated systematically and with due consideration. However, for the purposes of this study it would seem over ambitious to attempt to specify context for both levels, micro and macro. In that case the analysis of the evidence on the micro level will be presented with a certain depth of background, while that of macro level will only employ a brief contextual reference.

7.1.1 Power relations the late 20th century

So far several definitions of power have been put forward on a theoretical level. These have polarised between abstract structural conceptions (such as those of Michel Foucault) and concrete 'naïve' conceptions (such as those of power inherent in Gramsci's hegemony and implicit in both schools of CDA). These conceptions are labelled naïve in that they assume the existence of the unitary subject and his/her autonomous capacity to wield power, although in some cases there is an unease as to the apparent conflict between structural and subjective accounts of power (as in TODA). Through an exploration of consciousness and intention (accompanied by an attempt to restore the paramount role of human agency) it is to be hoped that a means of reconciling the decentred and unitary subject has been established, and in turn structural and subjective accounts of power. Power can indeed be seen in terms of relations and structures, but it is ultimately derived from human agency. By analogy we may assign power to non-biological subjects, and we may speak of institutions having the power to do so and so.

7.2 The theory of power-sharing (general)

In this description, then, a definition of power shall be assumed that rests on the freedom of the unitary subject to act according to internal capabilities and external limitations. The term *power-sharing* is introduced because of the recognition that in order for the whole to progress in the most successful way possible, power has to be redistributed in the hierarchy (in the case of corporations (Peters 1992)) and shared between centre and periphery (in the case of political federations such as the EU (Brittan 1994)) in new and innovative ways. Indeed, the main motivation for sharing power is self benefit greater than that which would otherwise be achieved by isolated action. By sharing power all parties attain greater individual and mutual benefit than by acting alone. It will be argued that this represents a significant difference from previous arrangements due to advances in knowledge, technology and education (Kanter 1983).

The following theory of power-sharing can be articulated on two levels: macro and micro. The features of both sides derive from the momentous changes in society and industry that started during the late 1960s and early 1970s and continue during the 1990s (Drucker 1992). There are good reasons to label these changes revolutionary or indicative of a Kuhnian-type paradigm shift (in the commonly received sense of change of basic conceptual framework) (Kanter 1983, p.42; Handy 1995, pp.243ff). This would contradict Fairclough's apparent view of economic development, based, as it would seem on a Marxist conception of the evolution of capitalism (Fairclough 1992e, p.10).

The macro level of power-sharing concerns relations between states in the developed world, and indeed, relations between agents along power dimensions which intersect states. The micro level is concerned with power relations within and across local organizations. The example taken will be that of companies (other examples could be central and local government departments, charities, and other organizations). Since many large companies are transnational, there will exist an interface between the two levels of the theory, and in some cases it is possible to view the same phenomena from both perspectives. Cross-cultural issues are identified as important by Handy (1995, p.116), and amongst major studies of business behaviour across cultures mention can be made of Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner (1997) and Hofstede (1994). CDA analyses, however, do not deal with the issue.

The theory of power-sharing is presented in terms of a series of forces and principles. The theory consists of two parts: the driving forces of power-sharing (common to both macro and micro levels) and the principles of power-sharing (which form two distinct but related sets according to level). Here is the macro side of the theory.

7.2.1 The driving forces of power-sharing (macro level)

Kanter states that a more fundamental change is occurring in the economic system than when it was formed at the turn of the century. This regards '...the labor force, patterns of world trade, technology, and political sensibilities' (Kanter 1983, pp.37-38). She compares the two periods of history as can be seen in table 8.

Traditional organization design factors (1890s-1920s)	Emerging organization design factors (1960s-1980s)
Uneducated, unskilled temporary workers	Educated, sophisticated career employees
Simple and physical tasks	Complex and intellectual tasks
Mechanical technology	Electronic and biological technologies
Mechanistic views, direct cause and effect	Organic views, multiple causes and effects
Stable markets and supplies	Fluid markets and supplies
Sharp distinction between workers and managers	Overlap between workers and managers
(adapted from Kanter 1983, p.42).	

Table 8: Changing patterns in the economic system

These major changes are causing an alteration in the nature of power relations. Large transnational companies are leading the drive towards power-sharing. Although it is true that global dominance is sought by a number of companies in a number of key industries, this position can only be achieved by aspects of a typical Gramscian hegemony. Such a company must be prepared to share power and information in many aspects if it is to succeed. Power must be shared with competitors (through strategic alliances) and suppliers (through cross-ownership and mutual exchange of information), for example (Kanter 1989, pp.117ff). It is the spectacular growth of large companies and industries that in large part necessitates a development in the theory of power. This extraordinary growth which has taken place in the post-war era has been fuelled by several factors.

a. Markets

Business always seeks to increase market size. And economic history may be seen as a succession of attempts to increase the internal market of each state (Forsyth 1981). In the past this was largely achieved by the establishment of empires. In the late twentieth century developed states cooperate together to form large open, single markets (Katzenstein 1978b; Galbraith 1994). The largest and most fluid market of all is now that of global capital. This market has expanded since the free market reforms of Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher to become

such that nation states and trade blocks compete in order to be attractive to capital (Soros 1998).

b. Technology and the information explosion

Rapid developments in technology mean that new products can quickly be designed, produced and distributed to markets all over the world (Peters 1988; 1992). New manufacturing techniques mean that the only limitation to product range is the human imagination. The explosive growth in the treatment and transmission of information through computer hard and software could truly be said to be revolutionary. This is the case both in terms of quantity (the volume and speed of information) and quality (the way this has facilitated innovation, new structures and approaches to problems) (Handy 1994). It is also the case both in terms of the creation of material goods (car manufacture) and intellectual goods (the instant creation of an academic journal on the world-wide-web) (Peters 1997).

c. Education and training

Advances in technology and infinite manufacturing capability mean increasing demand for better education and training. Knowledge-based industry (in manufacturing and services) is making unskilled mass labour redundant. Handy comments: 'A study by McKinsey's Amsterdam office in 1986 estimated that 70 per cent of all jobs in Europe in the year 2000 would require cerebral skills rather than manual skills. That would be a complete reversal of the world of work some fifty years earlier' (Handy 1989, p.26). An educated workforce has to be treated with more respect if good results are required. The inexorable conversion of large parts of the labour-force from a predominantly unskilled mass to a highly differentiated society of skilled individuals has led to the disenfranchisement of the left wing of politics. Education and training are now seen as critical to economic success (Dukakis & Kanter 1988, pp.107-08). They are also crucial to the new breed of working people who succeed through the processing of information in various ways (dubbed 'symbolic analysts' by Reich (1992)), including financial and business analysts and consultants, educationalists, and psychotherapists (to name a few).

d. Mobility

The communications explosion means that information can travel instantly across the globe by means of electronic media such as the internet (Peters 1997). Significant types of information include business, cultural, technical, scientific, and political. Capital is also mobile (Johnson 1990; 1991). Companies and individuals are free to move capital (both securities and investment for industry)

across borders. People are also more mobile, to a greater or lesser extent (within North America and within Europe respectively). According to Parfit (1998), 2% of the world's population were born outside their current place of residence, with particularly high proportions in countries such as France (10%), Canada (15%), Australia (23%), French Guiana (49%) and United Arab Emirates (90%).

Rapid and simultaneous development in all of these four areas have formed the driving conditions for power-sharing. These factors have all proved instrumental in changing the power landscape. In general terms, it is the rapid development and mobility of factors and the size of transnational corporations which has resulted in the greatest changes and in the challenge to the traditional (Althusserian and Gramscian) model of industrial, political and class structure assumed by CDA.

As an example of the revision of the notion of hegemony that is required, specific mention can be made of the currency crisis of autumn 1992. Speculation can be made that the big financial actors prompted the currency crisis of September 16 1992. The major UK (and foreign) banks in London decided that the UK government's currency policy was not correct with regard to the economic fundamentals. So they began to sell sterling in order to force it out of the exchange rate mechanism, or at least to force a realignment downwards (Soros 1998, p.38; and on the power of global financial capital, ibid., pp.101-108.)

A similar situation may have happened with the Swedish Crown. It is quite possible that the Swedish Forestry companies initiated big selling programmes of the crown to force devaluation and an abandonment of the government policy of shadowing the Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM) (Christer Ågren; personal communication, autumn 1997). This was probably facilitated by Handelsbanken, an important banker to many of the forestry companies. The principal actors in the various treasury departments would not, of course, admit publicly that they had deliberately taken this action. That would be to confirm a type of political intervention. But the strong likelihood that this did indeed happen suggests that the large corporations determine economic policy, and that politicians exist to serve them to no small extent. While large corporations do not actively guide policy, they acquiesce in government decisions as long as it suits them. When government policy and decisions do not suit their purposes they will act in order to protect their own interests which often results in pressure on government to change policy.

Now that exchange controls have been completely lifted in most Western countries, the markets are free to move capital in large amounts in a matter of seconds. Only by re-imposing exchange controls can governments regain this measure of economic control. This is now impossible for a majority of European

Union states (without revision of international treaties). The introduction of the European single currency on the first of January, 1999, has further taken power away from elected politicians. The European Central Bank is not accountable to any political structure, although its existence and powers derive from an international treaty signed in 1992 (the Treaty of Maastricht). The job of government is thus increasingly one of creating the right conditions for business investment. If the wrong conditions are imposed, investment will move elsewhere. This principle also applies to the representatives of organised labour, the Trade Unions. If they do not play by the rules of big capital, then investment will be switched to other countries. It remains to be seen whether unions can organise themselves across borders within the EU, given the problems of language and culture (Wild 1997). Furthermore, cross-border investment is very large nowadays. Foreign companies do not have the same loyalty to an investment location that domestic companies do, so they feel less bound to stay when conditions are perceived to be unsuitable. This further strengthens the hands of international capital. Increasingly, therefore, the function of government is to provide the framework for activity. According to this argument, politicians and governments thus enjoy only an illusion of power. It is interesting that such large corporations even have the power to alter the macro-economic policy of an institution as large as the EU.

7.2.2 The principles of power-sharing (macro level)

a. The principle of the fluid power landscape

Power-sharing does not mean equal distribution of power amongst all actors in a given area. It certainly allows for dominant forces and concentrations. What it does mean, however, is that the occasions for sharing power are increasing in the power landscape, and that the landscape itself is thus quite fluid. Even apparently high regions depend on a supporting power network for their existence. Overall, therefore, the power landscape should eventually tend towards an even texture as mobility of factors increases. The fluidity of the landscape is enabled by certain factors. One is the possibility of instant transfer of information. Companies can very quickly gain access to stores of knowledge. Another is the role of states and collections of states in the prevention of monopoly, even if regulation can often be imperfect (Wilks & McGowan 1996). On both these counts there is an interesting analogy with politics. The internet is clearly beginning to have an impact on both democratic procedure and participation in western democracies (van Dijk 1996) and there is also a vast potential in states such as China (Xiaoming et al. 1996). A further manifestation of the new ease of communication is found on the level of intra-corporate communication where informal means (such as email) are supplanting formal (meetings) (Wild 1997).

However, there are at least two factors which can lead to over concentrations of power. Firstly, while information is increasingly open, this does not necessarily mean that personnel are capable of understanding it and exploiting it. Secondly, in some industries (such as the mass manufacture of automobiles) the amount of capital required to start a new venture on a large scale is prohibitive. With regard to the former point, the developed world is well aware of the importance of education and it would appear that open democratic societies offer the best environment for invention, if not innovation. It remains to be seen how non-western societies will develop and whether their development will depend on the importation of a rationality, Greek in origin, which underpins political and intellectual pluralism in the west. As to the second point, in an area of equal development a monopoly could arise if no anti-trust legislation were in place and effective.

b. The principle of transnational compatibility

According to this principle the more states deal with each other on a number of levels (with trade the most important) the more they will attempt to harmonise their internal structures with those of their external partners.

Katzenstein (1978b, p.4) sees the goal of foreign economic policy to achieve compatibility between domestic politics and the international political economy. But domestic forces can still have a great deal of restraining influence on foreign economic policy, especially in time of external (or internal) shock, as is evident from the variety of responses to economic crises (such as the 1970s oil crisis) which emerge from different states. Yet this goal of compatibility must always be paramount for economies with significant international trade. As developed nation states become more and more integrated the capacity of their domestic institutions to influence foreign economic policy will lessen. So the drive towards ever greater compatibility between domestic and foreign policy will accelerate and eventually the two will merge into a continuum. The process would reach a logical conclusion in the case of the EU member states (MSs), should a complete integration of structures and the establishment of genuine supra-national institutions occur.

c. The principle of psychological mismatch

A perception is still to be found throughout British society that nation-states enjoy significant independence or sovereignty even though patterns of trade and investment prove otherwise. This is because while those facets have become quite integrated and inter-dependent over a very short period of time, the same tendencies cannot be perceived and absorbed as quickly on the human level. Actual populations, at least in the EU, are not mixed and integrated to the same

extent. It is, of course, part of EU policy to encourage more movement of people around the Union (Brittan 1994). However, it is recognised that there will never be the same movement as in America: cultural and linguistic differences are too acute.

Economic interdependence could, indeed, lead to problems if it takes human beings in directions in which they are psychologically ill-equipped to travel. In other words, it is almost certainly the case that we have advanced much further in our economic and technical integration than in cultural and psychological aspects.

The principle of psychological mismatch is therefore meant to account for two conflicting tendencies. While the process of transnational economic and technical integration accelerates, the process of mass cultural and psychological integration lags behind by a very large extent. People still see themselves as German, British, or French with their own distinct national, regional and local identity. Politicians are thus faced with a dilemma: economic and technical integration calls for degrees of international cooperation and power-sharing that their electorates cannot understand and often reject. Again, these are themes that will crop up in the text base of Part 3.

d. The principle of transnational hegemony

Three definitions of hegemony might be

i. The traditional definition

A nation state exerts economic and military dominance over a group of other states. The agents in this dominance are the government, the military, and the business establishment.

ii. Gramscian hegemony

This applies within a society and refers to the dominant position of a class or group based on a combination of its own significant power and its ability to persuade (by ideological means) other classes and groups (of whatever kind) that their interests lie with that dominant class.

iii. Transnational hegemony and power dimensions

As the process of integration in modern states increases it is no longer appropriate to speak of one state leading the others in a traditional way. Instead, there are a number of power dimensions on different levels which run through states. It

is the coordination of these power lines by agents within individual states that drives progress in the new world order. Examples of power dimensions are language and culture, transnational companies (global industries), common inter-governmental decision-making bodies, and the global financial system (Soros 1998).

Apart from looking at power relations between nation states in terms of hegemony, there is the further question of the power of the state itself to act in the business and industrial sphere. The new power dimensions not only question the validity of hegemony, but also challenge the traditional division between states as strong / weak, interventionist / non-interventionist (Wilks & Wright 1987). Historically, the UK is regarded as a weak state. Government prefers to set a framework within which business may do as it pleases. The autonomy of the firm is sacrosanct. France and Japan, on the other hand, are viewed as strong, interventionist states. Protection of domestic markets through state regulation is considered legitimate, and it is normal for government departments to intervene in industrial policy. In spite of the fact that these dichotomies are not so clear-cut as they might seem (Wilks & Wright, ibid.) there is certainly a perception in business and politics that they exist, and to that extent they influence decisions.

Instead of looking at power aspects of strong and weak states, Wilks & Wright (ibid., pp.294ff) propose new terms with which to characterise policy decisions: *policy universe* and *policy network*. These ideas can be incorporated in the next principle.

e. The principle of transnational policy

This principle states that power is exercised within the policy universe and through the policy network. A policy universe includes all actors with an interest in a policy area or function. These actors are linked together in a policy network, an informal system of communications. Within the policy universe there are policy communities, that's to say sub-groups who focus on one or more of the policy issues in a policy universe. This is an interesting way of demarcating a speech community and its concerns, and linguistic evidence for such policy universes, communities, and issues will arise in the text analyses in part 3 on both the micro and macro level. These categories can be used to define the operations of the transnational power dimensions: Wilks and Wright themselves acknowledge that they cut across country borders (ibid., p.297).

Policy networks work on the basis of the mutual dependence of the participants in order to obtain mutual benefit. Networks are typically constituted by

i. informality and exchange of social information

ii. trust and recommendation

iii. mutual benefit

iv. agreed formal (legal) and informal remedy

Participants in the transnational world of politics, business and the professions thus treat each other as trustworthy friends, and often from an early point in the relationship. This is especially true where recommendation is involved. The above list is, of course, highly generalised. Some cultures are more formal than others (French behaviour is more formal than American (at least west coast!)) (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner 1997), but there is a thrust towards informality. This most likely derives from the informal practice of American culture (in leisure, politics, and especially business). Indeed, versions of Anglo-Saxon informality pervade transnational power dimensions.

Transnational policy is increasingly designed to serve large companies. The driving forces of power-sharing favour the development of companies as loci of power. The increasing internationalization of business means that decisions are more and more taken in company group headquarters rather than in cabinet meetings. Where large parts of a country's industry is foreign-owned a government cannot introduce unwelcome regulations. In that case it is easier for a foreign firm to sell up and relocate elsewhere. It is simple to do so and there is not the same national loyalty and commitment involved. It is also true that as it becomes easier to move capital and investment between states then even local companies may threaten to move abroad if there is any suspicion of adverse government policy.

In sum, the phenomenon of power-sharing on the macro level is quite complex and involves many dimensions and processes. It is clear that the Gramscian model assumed by CDA has been superseded in a number of aspects. In particular, the definition of the working class is now suspect, let alone its role. When Gramsci was writing a paper mill would have employed thousands of operatives. Today a few hundred tend the mill (whose productivity soars year by year) and the operatives need to be trained in computer applications in order to manage the sophisticated equipment (Ola Pettersson; personal communication, autumn 1998). It is a commonplace that the millions of jobs lost to manufacturing in the 1980s and 1990s have re-surfaced in the service sector in human and intellectual

occupations. There simply is no clear-cut working class as there was up until the end of the 1960s. Moreover, there may not be any other clear-cut classes in late twentieth century society. There are gradations of knowledge and skills, and greater and lesser degrees of flexibility, both individual and structural (further arguments for this position will appear below).

Other aspects where the Gramscian model has been rendered obsolete include intellectual and moral reform. It is now naive to conceive of a large working class unaware of their exploitation. Apart from the changes in society outlined above, including rising general levels of literacy and education, there is a free flow of information of all kinds and quality from the media, and there is an interaction with forces such as the advertising industry. People of all types are influenced by this information, and their thoughts and actions in turn influence social behaviour. The world has become an ever changing kaleidoscope of images and views which cut across all social groups and have a complex relationship to action. Then, these factors make it inappropriate to speak of the formation of a Gramscian historic bloc and war of position. This is not to deny that power groupings exist at the turn of the second millennium. There clearly exist concentrations of power in large corporations, in nation states and in international and supranational organizations. What is seriously in question is whether the Gramscian model can account for these conditions. If this is the case, CDA analysts lack a suitable and relevant post-Gramscian theory of power from which to compose analyses and make exhortations.

7.3 The theory of power-sharing (micro level)

Additional principles are relevant on the level of the firm. There is considerable evidence that these principles are being implemented to an increasing extent. Company Human Resource managers are one of the principal channels through which the ideas flow. These ideas spring from two sources. One is the business guru phenomenon of the 1980s and 1990s. A small number (perhaps as few as around ten) of prominent business consultants and academics exert influence at managerial level (Economist Magazine 1993).

Spurred by the competitive success of the Japanese in the 1970s in markets hitherto dominated by the Americans, a new breed of business gurus set out to investigate the reasons for America's corporate decline and promote drastic remedies. The need for change has been particularly acute in America and Britain - two old industrial nations over-dependent on defence industries after the second world war and facing long-term decline. New models for change were also available in these areas in the direct investment (car factories and other industry) of the Japanese. Although the guru phenomenon had been present for some time (Drucker's study of General Motors in the 1940s is a

prominent early example (Drucker 1964)), an explosion of activity occurred in the late 1960s and 1970s (Larsson & Larsen 1992). This was due in part to the increase of academic activity in general within the business community but also to the challenge posed to American industry by the Japanese. Today there is a small number of business gurus with world prestige (mostly American) and their ideas are highly influential in the Anglo-Saxon business community and further afield (such as in Scandinavia). While the major forces behind a revision of the distribution of power in organizations stem from the Anglo-Saxon world and are naturally suited to English-speaking cultural groups (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner 1997), these forces are beginning to penetrate other cultural and geographical areas. There is evidence that their influence is reaching such business communities as Germany, as structural decline prompts a need for reorganization in the 1990s, and as the senior management of large groups becomes more international (Karl-Heinz Haff; personal communication, 1997).

Some of the most well-known gurus are Rosabeth Moss Kanter (1983, 1989), Tom Peters (1992; 1997), Michael Hammer & James Champy (1993), and Charles Handy (1994; 1997). Again, it is widely accepted (and this is evident from my own discussions with many senior managers of international corporations) that a relatively small number of gurus (including, pre-eminently, the aforementioned) wield a high level of influence on managers in large organizations (The Economist Magazine, 1993).

The other source is my direct experience of Human Resource managers themselves in Swedish companies such as Volvo Car Corporation AB, the Stora group (headquarters and Stora Cell AB), SKF Actuators AB, Astra Hässle AB, SCA Hygiene AB, Sandvik Coromant AB, and MeritaNordbanken AB. I have noticed the same developments in attitudes towards the organization of personnel and their reward in a range of companies and sectors. It is interesting to note that in some cases the ideas have arisen without direct awareness of the writings and seminars of the gurus. There is, however, a professional network of Human Resources managers who meet regularly and attend seminars together. Established channels thus exist for the dissemination of ideas. These ideas and influences are dynamic and evolving, which befits a business environment which itself is subject to constant change. Here then is a list of six principles of power-sharing on the micro level.

a. The principle of continuous change.

One of the most important features of the present business climate is that we are working in an environment where change is continuous. This is due to advances in technology, whereby competitors are capable of inventing new products, services and markets all the time. Because of technology and education, the only limitations are the human imagination. It follows that in order to survive the inhabitants of this environment must change all the time (Peters 1997).

b. The principle of skills security, training and learning.

By accepting a continuous process of up-grading one's own skills (personal, technical, business) the notion of security is tied to ability rather than employment. Instead of job security, employers and employees should consider employability security (Kanter 1989, pp.321-27).

Contemporary management theory stresses the importance of learning to the whole organization (Rhodes 1991), and the role of all the employees as crucial to the success of the enterprise (Pfeffer 1994; Pearn et al. 1994). Indeed, the term *learning company* is used to indicate the essential nature of learning to the organization (Burgoyne 1994; Burgoyne et al. 1994). Not only is emphasis placed on learning per se, but the nature of learning also comes under scrutiny. Hawkins lists nine facets of a new way of learning which include a shift from learning facts to being dialogical and co-creative (Hawkins 1994, pp.9-11).

In the Swedish context, Peter Larsson, a management consultant, has written on the need of managers in a leadership role to abandon traditional symbols and structures of power and control and to view the development of themselves and others in an organic, rather than hierarchical sense (Larsson 1985; Larsson & Larsen 1992).

Larsson presents the image of the football pitch as the arena where the struggle over leadership is acted out. During half-time (the 1970s, in the post-war period) over 4,000 articles and books are produced on the subject. When the match is over, the pitch is covered in paper, but the players have long gone (Larsson & Larsen 1992, p.13). While the absolute number of management publications over a given period and from a given perspective is extremely difficult to quantify, Larsson's point is that an enormous amount of literature has been produced, in all likelihood to little effect. His further point is that traditional learning styles and situations, based as they are on literature, are inappropriate to the rapidly changing world of the commercial manager (ibid., pp.26ff). The rejection of

formal learning styles also involves the removal of a typical barrier between levels in an organization.

One example of practical learning methods which can unite individuals in an organization is Action Learning (Revans 1983). Indeed, in the case of one major Swedish company, action learning (previously used at management level) will be extended down the organization in 1997 to project team members (Peter Larsson; personal communication, October 1, 1996). A second such venture is also proposed for 200 blue collar workers at SKF AB (main industrial division) in Gothenburg (Björn Flood; personal communication, January 22, 1997)

c. The principle of contribution.

In old style corporations reward was linked to status and position in the hierarchy. In the new organizational structure reward is linked more closely to contribution. There are many ways of organising reward in this way: merit pay, profit-sharing, performance bonus, pay for skills and venture return are the main ones mentioned by Kanter (1989, pp.232-58). The old systems, where reward is tied to status and hierarchy, are neither as cost-effective nor do they motivate people to do more.

d. The principle of the zero hierarchy.

Until the late 80s business analysts used to talk in terms of flattening the organizational pyramid - reducing the layers of management, enabling simple communication from bottom to top, and giving more freedom and responsibility to those at the bottom (Carlzon 1985; Peters 1988).

Most recent theory advocates the destruction of the pyramid altogether (Peters 1992). The apparent disorganization of a company without hierarchy matches the apparent disorganization of markets, products and services. Of course there has to be some organization in a company, but such islands of organization will come and go depending on the emergence and disappearance of those same markets, products and services. One big new development in the 1908s is that this emergence and disappearance now applies to consumer goods such as motor cars. It has always been easy to invest a new course of education, but developing a new car model range used to take many years. With new production techniques, Japanese industry is able to bring out new model ranges almost continuously. This means that it is difficult to perceive a sharp dividing line between luxury goods and basic needs, and large numbers of goods and services can be regarded as fashion items.

Tom Peters cites many examples of imagery used to describe the situation: checkerboard organization, pulsating organization, two-faced organization, and scattered organization (Peters 1992, pp.146ff). The problem for a traditional Marxist analysis of the distribution of power, is that the rigidly hierarchical pyramid, dissolves into a variable landscape, with hills and valleys, but with one base-line: reward for performance.

e. The principle of the project

Loyalty will be tied to the completion of a project in a project team. Project team members will also be loyal to the team and will seek to enhance their own reputations. The company is seen as an overall framework which provides resources and back-up to help the team complete their project (Kanter 1989, pp.310-11).

In this case the team members can also be responsible for forming the project - developing the product and identifying the market, seeing the product through to market, and so on. If companies function in this way (and it will be a case of more or less, depending on the nature of the industry) then there will be no success unless power is shared amongst the team members. The company's success will be defined as a function of the success of the team. Power must thus be shared in terms of decision-making capability and reward; a significant power dimension is located in the project and not in the hands of senior management.

The physical aspect of power in the traditional workplace is also under challenge. Technology permits people to work anywhere. Lap-top and palm-top computers, mobile telephones and fax machines mean that the job can be done anywhere from the bath tub to the train. The concept of showing up everyday for work at a certain time where the boss can keep an eye on you is being replaced by the idea of getting the job done well and within deadline, regardless of when or where it is done. The company as employer has to relinquish a great deal of power in this situation and also entrust itself to the employees (Peters 1997).

However, there are substantial reservations to be found concerning this principle. Firstly, my own experience demonstrates that there may be a polarization of behaviour and potential. On one end of the spectrum lie enterprises such as software houses and consultancy firms. In this case team members may indeed work on a project and the economic lifetime of the project can determine the length of service of the employee. Companies, therefore, within these sectors can be seen as ever-changing kaleidoscopes or mosaics within an overall network. On the other end of the spectrum lie traditional manufacturing companies which still use production lines and where repetitive work is still found in many cases, even

if it is said to be disappearing (Peters 1995). Even if line workers are organised in teams, it may be difficult to identify projects in the case of repetitive work (apart from the case of product and process improvement). And line workers will tend to stay in the same job which they will clearly not see as a project in itself.

Another reservation concerns the relevance and nature of loyalty. One major and significant study that contradicts mainstream thought is that by Reichheld (1996). Drawing on many years of consultancy work, Reichheld is clear that firms who prize loyalty - especially of their employees - tend to produce better financial results than those which don't. The ambitious goal of Reichheld's work is to produce measures to quantify loyalty, a factor not accounted for in standard financial procedures.

f. The principle of the process

Tasks which would have been divided at the time of Karl Marx and Adam Smith are now being put back together again in whole processes (Hammer & Champy 1993, pp.65ff; Peters 1995). This provides evidence that the world has moved on from the atomistic Foucauldian conception accepted by TODA (Fairclough 1988d, p.24).

In all, therefore, companies are undergoing a transition away from the organizational features of a static world of rigid hierarchy to features suitable for a world of constant alteration where the actors have similar status to each other (due to technology and education). These actors cannot be regarded as machine substitutes (as mill-hands could be in the nineteenth century). If they are regarded as such then the company will not survive, since its future depends on the ability and motivation of its members. The process of change from corporate and social structures of the first industrial revolution is thus inevitable. Problems can, of course, arise. These are likely in the moment of transition (which may take a half century or more) where certain employers do not see the need for change. Nor is it certain that the changes will occur comprehensively and systematically. A society can exist with a large proportion of the labour force still looking for the unskilled jobs of the past. The question will then be how long will that society tolerate the existence of such an underclass before taking action, i.e. providing them with the proper education for the new working environment, and making this a real priority.

7.4 Empowerment

All of the above principles could be said to contribute towards a definition of *empowerment*, the method whereby power is transferred down an organization to the lowest levels. Empowerment has become one of the most important concepts in human resource management in the late 1980s and the whole 1990s (Peters 1995, p.17).

If this is accomplished successfully, there will be no lowest levels and no traditional hierarchical organization. Although the term is mainly associated with business contexts, it has filtered into other domains such as education (LeCompte & deMarrais, 1992).

The term *empowerment* first began to appear in business texts at the beginning of the 1980s. Early discussions focused on the breakdown of hierarchy and the diffusion and circulation of power on a more competitive basis throughout the organization (Kanter 1983). It does not yet have the more precise definition found in human resource practice of the 1990s, that of moving the responsibility of solving problems down from managerial to operational level. Kanter mentions ways in which innovating companies make resources more available to 'middle-level people' (ibid., p.169). She also presents one important case study where a large project with strong initiators involved the grass roots, such as production workers, in the contribution of ideas and experience to problem - solving (ibid., pp.182-200). But the two significant changes at that time are the degree of participation of the grass roots (ibid., p.203) and the creation of parallel structures to the traditional hierarchy (ibid., p.204). Decisions are still in the hands of management.

A concise definition of *empowerment* as used in the 1990s may be as follows:

empowerment is the transfer of an appropriate problem from the manager to the employee (line worker, cleaner, or other). The employee is given credit for the ability to solve the problem. During the initial consultation, the manager agrees to give the employee the necessary tools to do the job (such as training, equipment, budget, and other colleagues).

Within the terms of this pure definition, empowerment is different from delegation in that in the latter the problem is solved by the manager, who then passes the solution and the responsibility for the implementation of that solution to the employee.

Finally, even this definition is being superseded in the latest business texts. Tom Peters has promoted the concept of employee as business person: 'The idea of employee-as-businessperson, employee-as-"free agent" ... knows no bounds AT ALL. Let's see ...' (Peters 1997, p.126). And Peters gives examples of seemingly low-level employees (bellhops and doormen at a hotel) who are authorised to spend large amounts of money (a limit of $2,000 in these cases) in order to solve customers' problems on the spot (ibid., p.127). According to Peters, every job can be '... businessed ... With nerve and imagination' (ibid., p.132). If this is a good recommendation to employers, it clearly means the transfer of a great deal of power to employees.

7.4.1 Example 1: Stora corporate Human resource (HR) strategy

There now follow two brief examples from the business world which are intended both to illustrate the principles outlined above and to indicate some practical difficulties encountered in real life.

The first concerns the international pulp and paper group, Stora. Christer Ågren, group Human Resource Director has given some indication of the methods and problems in implementing the latest thinking (personal communication, autumn 1997).

Stora started to form a new corporate HR strategy in late 1994, from scratch. The aim was to unify and integrate the whole company, which had grown by acquisition in the 1980s and 1990s. The first strategy plans for the HR concept appeared in 1996. Each division had to produce an interpretation of the HR concept indicating strengths and weaknesses and an activity plan for 12 months. In the concept there is an emphasis on increased knowledge and awareness, and on the importance of feedback on HR strategy. A major concern at group level is lack of implementation in the divisions, the translation of words into actions. Follow-up is thus emphasised, right down to mill level. Here are some important parts of the Stora strategy (Christer Ågren; personal communication, autumn 1997).

a. The concept: Each employee should utilise his/her full capacity

Several critical development areas are identified:

i. Information about the company

ii. Communication and feedback; the use of appraisals

iii. Competence development in step with changing demands, based on a long-term framework

iv. Compensation policy

v. Managers are seen as a key resource (their support is essential)

vi. Follow-up: from talk to activities

When it comes to implementation of the strategy at mill level, the issues have to be tackled on the ground. Factors such as culture (of society, the locality and the work place) and age structure have to be addressed.

In the case of Stora Cell AB, the pulp production division of Stora AB, empowerment and a flexible reward system were introduced in the early 1990s. However, in this case it was not the first time that a flexible system had existed. The group as a whole had enjoyed a highly differentiated system in the 1960s. This was steadily eroded in the 1970s with the result that there existed a quite uniform system in the 1980s. One reason for this lay in the rise of a strong socialist philosophy in both society and politics in Sweden (Ola Pettersson; personal communication October 1998).

By the early 1990s, American business ideas were well advanced in the boardrooms of Swedish companies. Yet, the flexible reward system introduced in the early 1990s was completely withdrawn after a short period, with the effect that in 1996 reward consisted only of base pay. This was partly due to the historical nature of the industry, and partly due to management decision. In the first half of the 20th century pulp prices fluctuated within comparatively small margins. Since the second world war the amplification of these fluctuations widened and reached large proportions in the 1980s and 1990s. In 1992-3 30% of the work force was made redundant. As a result the whole company shifted into a defensive mode and retracted the changes previously made in the reward structure. However, empowerment remained in place in the operational sphere: employees at all levels were expected to solve problems themselves.

In late 1996 the senior management of the Stora group was considering the introduction of a company bonus based on the results of the entire group. Unions at local level, however, wanted to re-introduce a more complex bonus system (Ann-Christin Käll; personal communication autumn 1996).

In the late 1990s further change occurred. In December 1999 a merger of equals was agreed with the Finnish pulp and paper group Enso Gutzeit. The new group assumed the name Stora Enso. Spurred on by internal competition with mills in Finland, the senior management of Stora Cell once more began to drive a programme of empowerment. The success of the programme may well depend on the vision of the senior managers and their ability to communicate that vision down to the level of shift operator. One particular problem concerns the average age in the mill. A very high proportion of employees are above forty years of age and have worked in the mill since leaving school. It is these employees who are required to learn computer applications and take responsibility for quality issues (Per Malmström; personal communication spring 1999).

While, then, the six principles of power-sharing can be seen to be relevant to Stora Enso (at both group and operating unit level), it is clear that difficulties have arisen and continue to arise in practice.

7.4.2 Example 2: Electrolux "Vision and Values"

Electrolux is of interest as an example due to the experience of its managers in forming and transmitting a vision. It is also interesting from the point of view of empowerment: a major decision was taken in 1994 to implement this throughout the group.

The present author is in a privileged position to comment on the Electrolux Group. From 1995 to 1999 I have provided thirty four general and business English courses for small groups (2-5) of managers from European group companies. I have thus come into contact with over one hundred managers from Sweden, Finland, Norway, France, Italy, Spain, Germany, Hungary, Switzerland, Luxembourg, Greece, Russia and Estonia.

Today the Electrolux Group is a global company in the white goods sector: it has a significant presence in all major world markets. Core products include washing machines (wet division), refrigerators and freezers (cold division) and cookers (hot division). Other products include lawnmowers, vacuum cleaners and forestry products (chainsaws). The group has made several substantial acquisitions since the 1970s such as Zanussi (Italy), AEG Household Appliances (Germany) and Lehel (Hungary). Consequently, the group owns many well-known brand names amongst which Zanussi, AEG, and Tricity

Bendix are familiar in Europe, Frigidaire in North America, and Electrolux all over the world. The process of acquisition has led to a complete reorganization of the group. In the 1990s it has moved from a collection of independent companies to a matrix organization consisting of divisions, product lines and purchasing which cut across group companies both horizontally and vertically. In order to facilitate this reorganization the group, under the leadership of Leif Johansson (Chief Executive Officer), set out its strategy in a document entitled The White Book which begins with a mission statement called Electrolux Vision and Values. Dating from 1994, this sets out the core ideology of the group with regard to employees, products, marketing, the environment and a range of other categories. It also states a ten year strategy to bind the Electrolux group together. At the same time the Electrolux Employee Measurement System (EEMS) was introduced. This was a comprehensive questionnaire concerning all aspects of working life which all employees in the group were to fill in once a year (an exercise lasting two hours). Changes were to be made on the basis of the results.

As a group which had grown rapidly by international acquisition, Electrolux badly needed to form a coherent image of itself. Central to this strategy was the vision statement (see Appendix 4). There is a discussion of vision in large corporations in the CDA and related literature (Connell & Galasinski 1988; Swales & Rogers 1995). This discussion hinges on whether a vision is formed by cooperation at all levels (as is often proclaimed) or whether it is in fact imposed from above. Gee & Lankshear (1995) paint a simplistic picture of the process of vision-forming, and question the validity of a vision imposed from above.

It may then be asked whether the Electrolux vision has been formed bottom-up or top-down. In the case of the Electrolux group, which has grown by the acquisition of many companies all over the world, the vision was indeed imposed from the top. In 1995 the senior management in Stockholm thought it necessary to promote a vision throughout the entire group. It was thought that the permeation of these values through the group would perform a unifying function. This group is so large (over 100,000 employees), culturally, historically, and geographically diverse, that it would probably be impossible to form a vision from the bottom. The consultation procedure would be extremely unwieldy, time-consuming, and hopelessly impractical. If the aim is to unify such a large group through a vision then the top-down route would seem the only option. Moreover, employees are not invited to question the various aspects of the vision. Rather, by means of a series of seminars and meetings, employees at all levels have been invited to discuss problems of implementation. It is clear that in this case such questioning of the basic philosophy of the vision and values is neither sought nor practical, although at senior levels the process of evaluation would certainly continue.

Empowerment and training became important parts of the White Book. A substantial training programme was launched in the mid-1990s in order to support Vision and Values by creating a body of employees with a similar outlook towards the group as a whole and its international character. Electrolux University, established in 1995, began to offer a range of training programmes across the group including the Changemaster programme (to develop managers with high potential) and the international business leadership programme (to develop a generation of managers with an international perspective).

In discussions of empowerment with managers from the countries above mentioned, it is clear that some recognition exists across the board that a process of handing more responsibility to employees at lower levels in traditional industry is inevitable. However, it is interesting to note that in languages other than English there is generally no exact single term as an equivalent to *empowerment*, and in some cases (the Nordic languages) the English term itself is used. Moreover, there is a wide range of opinion as to the method of implementation of empowerment. In the Zanussi factories there is an expectation that operatives should take more responsibility but the reward system is highly traditional with no more than approximately 2% of total reward offered in the form of bonuses (Laura Arduini, personal communication autumn 1996). Secondly, in the Italian factories there exists a strict hierarchy which is reflected in the structure and involvement of trade unions.

In early 1997, A new Chief Executive Officer (CEO) took over from Leif Johansson. Mikael Treschow (formerly CEO of the Atlas Copco Group) came to Electrolux with a reputation for cost-cutting. The so-called soft values espoused in Vision and Values then seemed to fall into second place after a renewed emphasis on the financial result. Electrolux University was pared back and reduced its offer of training courses. More responsibility for training was placed on the operating units themselves. The result was that training was reduced overall since hard-pressed factory managers focused on the net result. Moreover, by July 1999 Vision and Values was not being actively promoted and the EEMS had become optional.

It is, of course, impossible to predict the future progress of the group, but it would prove an interesting case-study in the long-term. However, it is reasonable to say that the complexities, both practical and theoretical, observed in both large groups mentioned (Stora Enso and Electrolux) are not taken into account in CDA literature which tends to be simplistic in nature (see next section).

7.5 CDA objections to the theory and practice of power (micro level)

If the above may stand as a reasonable description of the present nature of power on both macro and micro levels, it is widely recognised that the articulation of power is through discourse, often oral. This recognition comes not only from the field of discourse studies itself (Gee & Lankshear 1995; New London Group 1996; Fairclough 2000a; Gee 2000) but also from analyses of political economy (Reich 1992). This new articulation of discourse is termed variously *post-Fordism* (Fairclough 1990a), *fast capitalism* (Gee & Lankshear 1995), and *soft capitalism* (Thrift 1997). It is said to be characterised (amongst other things) by the apparent breakdown of hierarchy, the contradictory requirement of employees both to contest and to buy in to a vision, and access to learning.

In a development of the discussion embarked upon in chapter four, it is now of interest to establish the main objections and reservations found in the CDA (and to some extent wider) literature concerning perceived changes of power relations in the firm and their representation in discourse. It will be seen that the vision of fast capitalism shared in the CDA tradition has certain aspects in common with the principles of power sharing. The CDA objections will be listed, and each objection will be followed by a response.
a. Contestation (of vision, strategy and means)

i. CDA objection

There is no real room for true contestation of the vision and strategy of the firm and of management decisions. Criticism of the fundamental mission and objectives is not allowed. Criticism of the means of achieving those objectives is allowed within certain controlled parameters (Gee 1994; Gee & Lankshear 1995).

Regarding vision, Gee & Lankshear (1995) present two paradoxes. The first is that while the leader creates a total vision of what constitutes a good organization, the worker is expected to embrace it without criticism or influence. This may be a subtle form of manipulation. The second paradox is that the vision only applies to core employees. Peripheral workers may be exploited to suit demand and not be afforded the benefits of the core. The major claim throughout is that fast capitalists would like their workforce to question internal facts and processes in order to improve the efficiency of the economic unit, but do not wish (and indeed positively discourage) enquiry into the nature and purpose of the unit itself (ibid. pp.8-9, p.17).

ii. response

Answer to these criticisms may be made in several ways. Naturally, the first paradox may be at work in some cases (with good or bad effects on working people). However, any claim that corporate visions necessarily or even actually exclude higher order criticism by employees is of doubtful validity.

In the management literature (in theory and in practical case studies) criticism of the vision, as well as deeply held beliefs and assumptions, is welcomed and encouraged, both by senior executives and by trainers (Senge et al. 1994, pp.19-21). Further, it is not necessarily true that a vision is presented ready-made to the workforce. Visions may be formed as a result of collaboration, and they may subsequently be fluid in nature (ibid., pp.304ff). Then, as workforces become better educated at all levels any attempt to manipulate by means of vision statements will prove extremely difficult. Indeed, there is evidence that as employee involvement increases, so too does dissent (Kassing 1998). (However, according to Kassing, the culture of some organizations allows dissent only with regard to operational issues and not to the vision (Kassing, ibid.)). As to the second paradox, better corporations take some responsibility for training peripheral workers and afford them some benefits. Finally, there is no account taken in the CDA literature of the vast diversity of business activity. Today there are many knowledge-based companies which depend on invention, innovation, enquiry and contestation of the status quo for their existence. These range from software to consultancy, from entertainment to green investment.

b. Conversationalization

i. CDA objection

Conversational techniques present the worker with a false aura of trust and encourage cooperation through an apparent alignment of worker and manager on the same plane. In fact nothing has really changed in the balance of power between owner, manager and worker (Fairclough 1990a). Comments can even be found to this effect in the business literature (Coopey 1994; Boyett & Conn 1992).

ii. response

If the introduction to management methods of a conversational style is intended to preserve manipulation then it may well yield poor results. Given education and technology, employees will inevitably use the new discourse opportunities to question managers' policies and decisions (Fairclough begins to concede this in later publications (1995a)). There is even evidence for this in cultures where the hierarchical tradition is dominant, such as in China (Hong Kong) in the banking

world (Yeung 1998). However, the lower the level of education, the less able the employee will be to exploit the new situation.

c. The learning organization.

i. CDA objection

Learning is encouraged within definite guidelines. Only learning that will facilitate the task in hand is permitted (Gee & Lankshear 1995).

ii. response

While this may be true in some cases, in general it is hard to restrict learning to an exact specification. Even if the starting point is well-defined, during the learning process it would be unnatural if some branching out due to curiosity did not occur. Given the importance attached to learning both in the academic world (by definition) and in the business (Burgoyne 1994; Senge et al. 1994) creativity and invention is bound to emerge in all sorts of situations, if only by accident.

d. Owner - employee conflict of interest

i. CDA objection

Giddens (1991; 1997) has commented that there may arise a conflict of interest between owners' demands for a certain return on assets and employee reward. This is a very important point which appears to have been overlooked in the CDA literature.

ii. response

A strong claim can be made that for fast capitalism to work a large degree of participation is required from employees at all levels. If employees are asked to make decisions of greater and greater importance, this effectively means that they are being asked to assume greater risk. Greater risk is normally accompanied by greater reward. If this is so, the owners of capital must be prepared to share the benefits of the enterprise more than at present. While there is plenty of anecdotal evidence that highly-skilled workers can command income premiums compared with traditional managers, there is little comparable evidence that line workers in traditional industry can do the same (Christer Ågren; personal communication, autumn 1997). There are calls in the business literature for a deep examination of the concept of investment and its return, and a revision of the balance of reward in the firm. Handy suggests that A shares (with significant voting rights) could be accorded to core employees, or a trust, and B shares (with diluted voting rights)

to significant investors. 'The investors would lose much of their power. But it is this power that will have to be reduced if the real members of these wealth-creating communities, the people who work there, are to have more say over their destiny and if the business is going to be more than the property of its financiers' (Handy 1997, p.182). On the issue of the balance of pay in the firm, some propose a system whereby up to 30% of total pay for operatives should be flexible (a combination of bonuses) (Kanter 1989). However, in order to introduce this it is clear that, practically speaking, base (fixed) pay could not be suddenly reduced to 70% of total present pay together with the requirement that the rest be fought for. Perhaps a solution where base pay is reduced to 90% of present pay with the possibility to earn another 30% on top would work. However, in the author's experience most large firms still have very limited bonus systems for line workers. In that case it could be argued that while the discourse has changed (in the best cases genuinely) the reward structures are still catching up. This in turn is linked to the structure of ownership and in particular to the demands for the return on assets imposed by stock markets, in the case of public listed companies.

e. Fast capitalism as justification for management decisions

i. CDA objection

The discourse of soft capitalism provides a technology of justification for unpleasant business decisions such as substantial downsizing (redundancy programmes) (Thrift 1997).

ii. response

Downsizing is not a consequence of the adoption of a certain discourse, as Thrift appears to believe (ibid., p.50). Rather, the techniques of a discourse may be used to justify business decisions such as downsizing. In the business world there are genuine reasons for downsizing (clear overcapacity in an industry) and questionable reasons (mergers and acquisitions driven by personality which subsequently fail). In any case, the way that downsizing is handled is crucial both for the newly redundant and the survivors (Kanter 1989).

7.6 Contestation and empowerment

The main thrust of the CDA criticism rests on the notion of contestation. If contestation is not permitted then CDA has a strong case. However, if the changes in society are as described above (such as the advance of technology, open information systems and education) then the case becomes distinctly weak. The present discussion may be seen in terms of a response on behalf of the academic business community and its discourse. This community is very strong today and

widespread. It is no longer the case that knowledge is the express reserve of the traditional seats of learning, the universities. A huge amount of knowledge is held in the business community, including large pharmaceutical companies (each a university of science and technology in itself), financial institutions, consultancy firms and the computer industry. Within this field there is a great deal of contestation. Indeed many of the controversies here discussed have been identified and discussed extensively in academic business literature (Handy 1995; Argyris 1998).

On the other hand, if the discussion focuses on the term *empowerment* itself as part of the overall discussion of power on the micro level, there is to be found some interesting support for the CDA position. In a highly significant article, Argyris draws on a long career of consultancy work and comments that over a period of 30 years there has been little implementation of empowerment in practice (Argyris 1998). According to Argyris, this lack of progress is due partly to a lack of understanding of empowerment and its limits, and partly to poor attempts at implementing the philosophy.

Argyris describes the difficulties both senior managers and line managers have in letting go, and the way that programmes of change exhibit structural inadequacies that actually hinder empowerment. Many vision statements have been proclaimed top-down, thus hindering the very empowerment they are supposed to encourage. And, in making a distinction between external commitment (that of the employee to the authority of the firm or manager) and internal commitment (that of the employee him or herself to shared goals) Argyris claims that change programmes intended to foster the latter may produce more of the former through the inability of both sides to understand the process. Moreover, Argyris reports findings whereby a return to routine tasks accomplished according to clear instructions has produced better results than empowerment methods.

However, Argyris does not question the need for empowerment in some form, but rather questions it as a panacea to the exclusion of all other forms of power relations: there is a place for external commitment, and in many cases a detailed specification of the job in hand is what the worker actually needs and indeed wants.

It is, then, hardly surprising there are tensions in a process of change in power relations. What is being attempted is a major change in human behaviour in a short period of time. It is also not surprising that in times of difficulty managers may revert to traditional methods - especially when deadlines are pressing.

7.7 Four stages of empowerment

In conclusion, perhaps it is possible to distinguish four historical stages in and versions of the meaning of the term *empowerment*.

a. Stage one (from the late 1970s to the mid 1980s)

In version one of empowerment it simply means listening to the employees, the line workers of traditional industry (Moss Kanter 1982).

b. Stage two (from the mid/late 1980s to the 1990s)

In version two empowerment has now come to mean the passing down of problem-solving responsibility together with the tools for the job (Moss Kanter 1989; Peters 1992; 1995). The aspirations of theory (a focus on the empowered) may not be borne out in practice.

c. Stage three (the late 1990s)

In version three empowerment reaches its logical conclusion: demands are placed on everyone to become a business person (Peters 1997). This form of empowerment is almost certainly not very widespread in traditional industry.

d. Stage four (the late 1990s)

In version four there is a retraction from version two (given that it probably cannot be said that version three enjoys widespread currency). It is realised that empowerment has its limits and that it must be defined and implemented differently according to the context (Argyris 1998).

7.8 Chapter summary

In this chapter a practical and contemporary account of power was presented in terms of *empowerment* and *federalism*. It was argued that present arrangements in *business* and political economy can be characterised as a complex set of power-sharing factors which are not compatible with the view of power found in CDA. Potential CDA objections to this account of power-sharing were rejected, and case studies provided a context to the discussion. This chapter concluded with a description of four historical stages in the development of the meaning of *empowerment* which can possibly be traced in the business academic literature and case studies. After the discussion of the philosophical base of DSA in chapters 6 and 7, the next chapter moves on to the linguistic plane.

8. The elements of discourse stream analysis (DSA)

It is the aim of this chapter to present the main features of DSA by describing the major categories of *discourse stream* and *paradigm organism* (*paradorg*). It will be argued that DSA has a great deal in common with meme theory and that it may be seen as an extension of the same together with a practical means of implementation. This chapter complements chapter 7 in that it offers further definitions of DSA connected with concepts and instantiations on the linguistic plane.

8.1 DSA – preliminary remarks

In this study, discourse stream analysis is conceived as a method of analysing the flow of discourse, or the discourse stream. The theory of DSA will differ from CDA in a number of significant aspects. Its philosophical foundations will rest on an account of the subject and its relation to discourse based on the theory of intention. Cobb gives an indication of how the problem of linking the subject to textual evidence may be tackled: 'A focus on intentions can yield critical descriptions of the evolution of the intentions attributed' (Cobb 1994, p.144). Its definition of idea systems will avoid both the terms *ideology* and *schema theory* in terms of mental models. DSA will also employ a more sophisticated and variegated concept of power (see chapter 7), and it will seek to employ a clearer idea of the nature and place of objectivity and subjectivity (with regard to methodology and the distinction between intrinsic and extrinsic features of the world (Searle 1996)).

Secondly, a central concern of DSA will be that of the description of change in meaning over time. A dynamic aspect may be included in this model according to change of form and meaning. This bears relation to the account provided by Halliday & Martin (1993) of the evolution of scientific language from the representation of reality as process and property (verb and adjective) to that of object (noun and nominal group). This is one example of many types of changes that might be found. Others would include change of semantic and contextual meaning, changes in relexicalization and overlexicalization, and changes in collocational behaviour. This may be viewed as the beginning of a research programme to be implemented with the help of the techniques of corpus linguistics (which will be employed here). As Stubbs comments (1996, p.43), the conceptual basis of such a programme is already to be found in Firth in his discussion of collocation (1957b, pp.11 & 14). Contemporary computer concordance programmes now offer the opportunity for its systematic realization (Aijmer & Altenberg 1991; McEnery & Wilson 1996; Biber 1998; Kennedy 1998).

Finally, DSA uses naturally occurring, authentic stretches of language as its prime material. It is thus located in, and indeed emerges from, the empirical tradition of British and American linguistics (Stubbs 1996).

However, DSA can retain some features of CDA and a certain continuity of practice. The use of the Hallidayan model (and especially the ideational component) seems to have lasting value as a tool to describe and explain meaning (see Appendix 1). While the terms *manipulation* and *obfuscation* are to be rejected with their Marxist connotations, it remains true that messages conveyed by discourse are not equally received by all or in all aspects. Readers may ascribe various interpretations to the same text, whatever the purpose of the originator. Then, language is clearly used consciously to achieve certain effects, as in the practice of rhetoric in political and other speeches.

8.1.1 A practical approach

As an alternative model to that of CDA, DSA may be employed to satisfy the following practical demands, which can be expressed in terms of three parameters.

a. Appeal.

To widen the appeal of a discourse analytical tool to those without political interest.

b. Scope.

To extend the scope of the analysis to a wide variety of texts and text types, in terms of style and content.

c. Objectivity.

i. To offer a scientific approach to the collection, description and ordering of naturally occurring linguistic data.
ii. To describe relations between participants using a developed and integrated model.
iii. To be seen to be maintaining a genuine attempt at a detached and reasoned approach in the social and historical interpretation of the data.

It is hoped that the three demands above may be met by attending to the following advances.

8.2 DSA, time and history

One major purpose of the DSA model is to enable the analyst to build up a multi-dimensional picture of opinion on a topic and to trace its development over time. In practice, the diachronic aspect of discourse is largely neglected in textual analyses. A few observations have been made but these fall short of any well-articulated approach. While Hodge (1989a) emphasises the diachronic nature of discourse and gives a short list of the principles of a diachronic analysis (Hodge 1989a, pp.103-04), he continues to work within a transformational framework in his claim that this is a suitable model with which to track structural changes over time.

The results of a DSA analysis can then be correlated with more conventional indicators (for example macro-economic measures and hard historical data (dates and events)) to offer a humanistic aspect on the process of modelling in political economy (Ormerod 1994).

Deeper analyses of history and context are also recognised to be a substantial omission in the CDA literature (Fairclough 1997). Fowler makes many references to this in his work. He states that CL is historical and requires high standards of documentation and argumentation (1991a, pp.83-89), that the diachronic is a major dimension which requires systematic development (1991b), and that

> Apart from the nukespeak volume...there is as yet no book-length study of one topic, or one mode of discourse, genre, or large corpus. A large study would allow the critical linguist to specify historical context in detail (Fowler 1988a, p.488).

And again
> When teaching, it is necessary to be quite open about the fact that linguistics is not a discovery procedure, and also to specify context in some detail, indicating relevant historical, economic, and institutional circumstances (Fowler 1988a, pp.488-89).

Fairclough (1995b, p.19) also emphasises the need to specify historical conditions, and in particular

> Interdisciplinary collaboration will perhaps prove the most fruitful route toward the integration to which critical linguists aspire - that of text and discourse analysis with the analysis of social processes, relations, and practices (Fairclough 1992a, p.315; see also Fairclough 1996a, p.4).

Van Dijk is concerned to extend CDA into other disciplines. According to him, CDA '...requires true multidisciplinarity, and an account of intricate relationships between text, talk, social cognition, power, society and culture' (van Dijk 1993b, p.253). Conversely, he complains that those studying language are rarely interested in social, political or cultural analysis (1994b, pp.163-64).

These calls for the addition of a substantial component of historical interpretation are important for any model which seeks to combine textual analysis with contextual interpretation. Too often CDA analyses display the ad hoc personal opinions of the author (Stubbs 1996).

8.3 Precursors and related fields

Apart from CDA, fields related to DSA include content analysis (Budd 1967), co-word analysis (as mentioned in Myers 1996), and text linguistics (de Beaugrande & Dressler 1981). In some senses these can also be regarded as precursors in that both theory and technique have moved on. Here are some relevant examples.

8.3.1 Content analysis: example 1, television

Within the area of television, a few large scale diachronic studies have been attempted in the field of content analysis. The Glasgow Media Group (1976; 1980; 1982) made comprehensive recordings of news broadcasts related to the portrayal of trade unions and industrial disputes over a one year period and developed the thesis that bias existed in news reports in favour of management and capital. This early and ambitious study certainly ran into methodological problems (as in their struggle to handle a vast amount of data with the available technology). Furthermore, acute criticisms have been made of the analytical stance taken in that interpretation of data was made from a particular, left-wing, political perspective (Harrison 1985). Other criticisms of the Glasgow work include lack of clarity and rudimentary linguistic categories (Leitner 1983).

8.3.2 Content analysis: example 2, business journals and speeches

A most relevant content analysis study is that conducted by Kanter (1983) in her examination of business concepts over time. Kanter carried out a manual analysis of the *Business Periodicals Index* for the years 1959-61, 1964-66, 1969-71, 1974-76, 1979-80.

She considered two factors:
a. the content of space devoted to the more prominent topics

b. the number of citations of articles dealing with the culture, environment and human systems of business.

The study covered 7,297 pages of listings and 246 separate topics. Kanter found that

> The topics that declined or disappeared over the two decades spoke of a traditional style of management, dominating and monitoring employees in an adversary relationship: e.g., management rights, work measurement, work sampling, and collective bargaining. The topics that grew in prominence showed corporations struggling with a changing environment with increasing external pressures; more employee rights; and uncertain economy focusing more attention on selection, training, and motivation; and a "new" management style involving teamwork and participation (ibid., pp.44-45).

She also found evidence of linguistic changes:

> A few issues changed names, in a linguistic reorientation of corporate culture: "employment management" became "personnel management" and then "human resources." There was a visible and increasing concern with "participative management," a phrase that grew out of "employee participation and management" and then became, strikingly rapidly, almost a slogan (ibid., p.45).

But Kanter claims that there is a time lag between invention and attention (which is reflected in the name of the Changemaster management training programme offered by Electrolux University to group managers from 1994 in that Kanter's ideas are still filtering down, many years later than when her observations were made):

> Our practices may not yet have caught up with our ideas about what those systems should be; but there is no doubt that our ideas have changed, towards a greater concern for people and a new range of organization designs (ibid., p.46).

Kanter also made an informal content analysis of 52 speeches recorded in *Vital Speeches*, made in 1960, 1965, 1970, 1975, 1980. Major themes included

a. 1965: organizational loyalty

b. 1975: new reward systems & acknowledgement of responsibilities to employees

c. 1980: the motivation of employees.

Differences between these themes may be taken as a further indication of change in human resource attitudes and practice.

Kanter comments that 'An air of humility and awareness of responsibilities began to replace laissez-faire arrogance in the rhetoric of business leaders' (ibid., p.47).

8.3.3 Content analysis and CDA: example 3, newspapers

Interesting analyses of newspaper articles have been presented with the tradition of CL (Fowler et al. 1979). These have usually dealt with short extracts at a time, one article or part article, although some projects have emerged on a larger scale (van Dijk 1991). The methodology used in published studies is one of painstaking collection of hard copy, photocopying of relevant articles, highlighting of interesting items, and, finally, analysis. Roger Fowler, a prominent figure in this activity, drew up a study of what he calls the 'Salmonella-in-eggs' affair (Fowler 1991b, pp.146ff). Fowler started to collect some material in December 1988 and re-started more systematically in February

1989 on a larger scale. He collected two newspapers a day, along with items in other newspapers that happened to catch the eye, until mid-March 1989. In this study Fowler replicated the methodology of an earlier article on language and ideology in government texts against the peace movement of the mid 1980s (Fowler   & Marshall, 1985). Claiming that discourse analysis is essentially historical, Fowler and Marshall set out to examine evidence over time. They collected all official and party political statements on the subject from April to May 1983. They also collected all British newspapers for the last two weeks of April that year, and in addition documents recording a handful of relevant events which occurred immediately before and after the period in question. They point out that there are difficulties in where to draw the line in such a study and give a useful calendar of events.

This type of collection, search and analysis is clearly very time-consuming and systematicity is difficult to achieve. Apart from the handling of large amounts of paper, there is the added chore of keying-in the linguistic data (not to mention the subjective selection of items). The advent of electronic storage of newspapers, accessible through CD-Rom or services such as FT-Profile, results in a revolution for the methodological part of text analysis.

In terms of technique, therefore, corpus linguistics is highly relevant and there is some evidence within the field that interpretation is beginning to be added to its field of practice (Stubbs 1996; 1997; 1998). Yet most studies provide analyses of large-scale corpora which, while compiled over time, are not considered as diachronic documents. (Some work has been carried out on the historical analysis of stylistic variation in literary texts over several centuries (Biber, Conrad, & Reppen 1998, pp.203-29). With its focus on change over time, DSA can exploit specific databases such as those of newspapers and journals on-line.

There exist very few studies which have combined a corpus approach with a CDA perspective (Caldas-Coulthard 1993; Stubbs 1996; 1998). For example, in her study of the representation of men and women in the press, Caldas-Coulthard took as data two hundred narratives from quality newspapers collected over ten consecutive days in January 1992. Focusing on collocations where verbs of saying were connected to men or women, she correlated the manual results with a machine search in the COBUILD corpus. Interestingly, the results showed a high degree of correspondence (men were over represented by a factor of 6 (manual survey) and 8 (machine survey) (Caldas-Coulthard 1993, pp.203-04). There is also just one book in the central CDA tradition which draws on a corpus (Fairclough 2000b). In this study of the language of the British Labour Party (the language of "New Labour"), Fairclough constructed a corpus based on a number of texts from a variety of sources (such as political speeches (primarily), White and Green Papers, and party manifestoes). He also composed a smaller corpus of

older texts for comparison. Using corpus techniques, Fairclough identified the most prominent keywords (ibid., pp.17-18). Secondly, throughout the text (and in parallel with it) short commentaries on selected prominent terms are inserted (such as *business* (ibid., pp.30-31), *rights, responsibilities*, and *duties* (ibid., pp.40-41) and *values* (ibid., pp.47-48). These latter terms are found in chapter one, which is dedicated to a discussion of globalization and values. While the identification of keywords and prominent terms in the corpus undoubtedly represents a step forward for CDA, there are limitations in the use of the techniques. A closer connection between the keywords and prominent terms, and the extracts taken for discussion would have lead to a stronger analysis. As it is, the analysis of the short text given concerning globalization (ibid., p.23) conforms to regular CDA practice. The absence of agents (such as multinational corporations) in the text is pointed out. According to Fairclough, the inclusion of such agents would be difficult for the government of Tony Blair:

> …it is not difficult to see that foregrounding what are often represented as the destructive, self-interested activities of the multinational corporations would be problematic within the logic of the 'Third Way', 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 (ibid., p.24).

In this case, while it may be an interesting linguistic point that (by virtue of its nature) the text regarding globalization does fend off discussion of the characteristics of the global economy, the same problem arises as before (Fairclough 1989; 1992e). Criticism of the nature of modern capitalism is advanced and no alternative and substantial discussion of the issues is offered. Instead, Fairclough maintains an overall tone which is negative to the business philosophy of New Labour, and at the end of the book (ibid., pp.159-60) a brief set of recommendations is presented on how New Labour could promote a better dialogue with people in general on the issues. While, then, the inclusion of a corpus represents a clear advance for CDA, the nature of the argument has remained the same.

8.4 The elements of the new approach: text, discourse and paradorgs

In an alternative approach to the analysis of discourse which might preserve some elements of CDA a decision must first be made upon its starting points.

8.4.1 Units of analysis: possible starting points

Broadly speaking, it is possible to conduct an analysis of the complex of text and context from a limited number of starting points. These can be identified by means of three questions with their appropriate answers.

Q. What is the subject matter of the enquiry?
A. Society (and history).

Q. What is the evidence?
A. Language or discourse.

Q. What should be done to improve society?
A. Action in politics or elsewhere in the world of action with discourse analysis as a tool.

In other words, the starting points can include models of history and society, language and politics. A review of the methodology of CDA (and certain relevant areas of theory in sociology) is presented in table 9.

Starting points	Proponents
Social units	Sociolinguistics (Hymes 1972)
linguistic units	CL and early CDA
with implicit socio-political categorizations	
a political position	TODA and late CDA
with explicit linguistic units	
and implicit socio-political categorizations	
(implicit) socio-political categorizations	Thompson (1984, 1990)
	Hall (1986)
semiotic units	
(actor-network theory)	Myers (1996), Callon (1986)
linguistic units	DSA
with historical context	Corpus Linguistics (Stubbs 1996)

Table 9: Research into language and context: starting points

Although a sociologist, Thompson (1984) offers an explicit threefold procedure which is worth mentioning since a statement of any procedure is rare in the literature.

This includes
a. social analysis: the location of ideology within its historical environment
b. discursive analysis: the linguistic constructions
c. interpretation: what the discourse is about.

This would assume a number of social categories to begin with. On the other hand, actor-network theory stands apart from other approaches in that it assumes no specific categories at the beginning. Rather, these are to emerge from the semiotic evidence as the investigation proceeds. This has been suggested as a methodology for CDA (Myers 1996), although in the example given the differentiating features from a classic CDA analysis are not obvious.

8.5. The discourse stream and discourse stream analysis (DSA)

Here is a brief theoretical statement of the nature of the discourse stream and the practice of DSA. This will be exemplified and amplified later in this chapter and in chapters nine, ten, and eleven.

The practice of DSA rests on a theory of discourse as a flow of linguistic items through time, the discourse stream. DSA comprises a method and associated tools for the analysis of this flow of items.

DSA takes as its principal starting point pure authentic linguistic evidence: text. This can be in the form of written or spoken text. Due to the large databases of text available (both academic - including the London-Lancaster and Cobuild corpora - and commercial, including the newspapers and journals on the FT-Profile service) written evidence is now highly accessible to the analyst. Until computer voice recognition becomes more sophisticated, it is still very time-consuming and tedious work to produce transcriptions of spoken text. At present material in the form of large-scale written text provides rich ground for analysis.

DSA is concerned with the identification and description of patterns in text over time. It also seeks to provide a definition and demarcation of discourses, or at least an objective and systematic means of doing so. Discourses are bounded. Boundaries must exist in order for human communication to take place. The boundaries may not be clear, or they may be open to disagreement, but a discourse

must be recognisable in principle. While the practice of identifying patterns in text can be carried out in an objective manner by computer-assisted means, the practice of interpretation of contextual relations remains necessarily subjective. Here contextual evidence is adduced in order to support the analyst's interpretations - where the analyst is capable of making them. Alternatively, the analyst may turn over the results of analysis to an expert in a certain contextual matter for their interpretation.

As a thought experiment, a discourse stream can be conceived by analogy with a living organism. Rather like the flow of genes through the totality of human biological history (Dawkins 1995), the flow of discourse streams can, in principle, be identified through the totality of human linguistic history. Indeed, both genes and genetic code and discourse streams and their organising principles are semiotic systems. However, there are some significant differences between the flow of discourse streams and that of genes. In the case of genes, there is a physical continuum through the generations (Dawkins 1995). If the theory of mental models as existing in terms of cognitive structure (presumably physical) were accepted, then a dimension of discourse would also exist as a physical continuum. But if the theory of mental models is to be questioned (as it is here), discourse is manifested in an intermittent fashion when it comes to the production of the individual subject. The intermittent nature of the discourse stream and its production is then accounted for by the fact that the subject always has a potential to produce discourse (Searle 1992).

According to the theory of discourse employed here, both the general term *discourse* (a set of organising principles) and the particular term *discourse* (the concept of one particular discourse (either frozen in time or moving in time) are used. Thirdly, the term *discourse stream* is used to denote discourse instantiated as textual features moving through time. Clearly, there exists a potential for terminological confusion (as has been clear from the literature on discourse, see chapter 2). Unfortunately, if the term *discourse* is chosen then it is rather difficult to construct a parallel system to that of, for example, morphology, morpheme, and morph. Here the term *discourse* will be preserved, partly because by now it is well established in linguistics, and partly because it does serve to indicate the meaning of large-scale linguistic formations with a contextual dimension.

Here is a summary of the terminology so far:

a. discourse (mass noun) as a set of principles

b. discourse (count noun) as the concept of a particular set of meanings, whether frozen at a particular time or whether moving through time

c. discourse stream (count noun) as the physical instantiation of a particular set of meanings (continuous or discontinuous but identifiable in terms of linguistic items) in dynamic aspect (moving through time).

To this a further term is added in DSA theory, that of *paradorg*. This is a fusion of two terms, *paradigm* and *organism*. A paradorg is a cluster of core concepts which together make up a discourse. If there were no sub-components to discourses there would be an unwieldy proliferation. Every single idea (potentially expressed in one linguistic form such as a word) could be a discourse. However, a single discourse may be identical with a paradorg, or a discourse may comprise a number of paradorgs. Linguistically, paradorgs can be described by means of the systemic-functional model (Halliday 1994) and delimited by the techniques of corpus linguistics.

The fusion of paradigm and organism retains the idea of paradigm or archetypal concept which is familiar from Kuhn (1970a) and also used in CL. Fowler uses the term *paradigm* in a loose way and calls for improvements in further studies of the news:

> A more powerful analysis then has been possible in this preliminary study would begin with hypotheses about the paradigms and trace them through the pages of the newspapers, regardless of content or style...(Fowler 1991b, p.224).

In the creation of a new term, then, it is possible to build on both perhaps the central notion of the Kuhnian paradigm (a dominant idea) and the loose concept of Fowler's (ideas instantiated in the press). In addition, the term *organism* includes a set of notions connected to the theory of evolution.

The use of the term *paradorg* also means that it is not necessary to define ideology at this stage of analysis. Ideology has been conceived in terms of various combinations of factors such as dominance, its reproduction and maintenance,

and belief-set of any order of magnitude. A definition of ideology could be employed at the point of interpretation.

8.5.1 Discourse, paradorgs and change

Key notions in the theory of discourse and paradorgs are evolution, competition and change. According to the theory, discourse consists of networks of paradigm organisms, or paradorgs. These are the components of discourse. A paradorg is a cluster of core concepts identified by systematic means. The behaviour of paradorgs can be explained by analogy with living organisms.

Text is thus both composed of discourses and paradorgs, and provides the total environment where paradorgs exist. A discourse hosts paradorgs and offers them an environment, rather like the body hosts genes and genetic code. Text is a flow of communication through time, and paradorgs provide the dynamic components of that flow.

As with any organism, competition is a crucial part of the definition of paradorgs. However, it is important not to confuse certain planes of analysis in this regard. It is not asserted that paradorgs enjoy agency. Rather, human beings compete with one another and employ intention in this struggle. Through the principle of intention, meaning is assigned to linguistic items. Humans assign meaning often to oppose or contradict the meanings of others. This is reflected on the level of paradorg and, by analogy, may be characterised as competition. This competition may be seen in terms of external - tensions arise between paradorgs, and internal - tensions grow within paradorgs between certain of their elements. Indeed, paradorgs compete with one another, may hibernate for a time and may re-emerge at a later time. For all practical purposes they may become extinct for good, although unlike physical organisms a paradorg can be reconceived at any time (either through the originator coming across historical text or through the spontaneous act of intention). By analogy again with living organisms, it may be possible to identify paradorg life cycles: paradorgs are born, grow, reach maturity, and die.

8.5.2 DSA and meme theory

In the context of evolution, a strong link between DSA, paradorgs and meme theory could be argued. First articulated by Dawkins (1989) and developed and modified in later works (Dawkins 1995; 1998;), the theory is mentioned by Pinker (1998) and given substantial treatment by Dennett (1995). Rose (1998) also gives a review of terminological controversies. *Memes* are said to be units of cultural transmission: 'Memes such as tunes, ideas, and stories spread from brain to brain and sometimes mutate in the transmission' (Pinker 1998, p.208). Memes, which

clearly include many types of things, can replicate as do genes, and seek to spread themselves over a population by becoming attractive in various ways (Pinker ibid., p.208). They are said to be able to propagate and mutate through various mediums including books, brains and computers (Dawkins 1989, pp.156-57).

Taking Darwinian evolution as a reference point, Dennett (1995) gives a concise three-point characterisation of the process, which requires

a. variation in plenty

b. replicators (biological units capable of making near copies of themselves)

c. differential fitness (the process whereby those units more suited to their environment will survive).

According to Dennett, complex ideas, memes, are cultural replicators. These are intuitively identifiable cultural units of which there is no smallest unit in principle. Dennett gives a list which includes units such as *arch*, *wheel*, *wearing clothes*, *calculus*, *impressionism* and *deconstructionism* (ibid., p.344). He is unsure whether memes are precisely analogous to genes in all aspects but he believes that there are major parallels at least in terms of Darwinian phenomena if not of scientific describability (ibid., p.346). Of the differences between memes and genes, Dennett mentions the fact that genes are near perfect replicators dependent on a low rate of mutation whereas memes mutate and recombine to a large extent and at a high rate (ibid., pp.354-55). Moreover, Dennett cites a personal communication from Steven Pinker to the effect that change in memes is directed – brains add value to ideas (ibid., p.355). Further important features of the theory are that language primarily and other semiotic systems secondarily form the *infosphere*, the environment of information, in which memes survive (parallel to genes in the *biosphere*, the environment of organic material) (ibid., pp.347-48). Dennett also states that the major selective force in the infosphere is the competition between memes to enter human minds – memes may indeed collect together to enhance their chances and to combat inimical memes (ibid., p.349). Finally, Dennett claims that in order to recognise memes and connections between them, the more abstract the level of analysis the harder it is to identify memes.

> To the extent that we have to go to quite abstract functional (or semantic) levels to find our common features, we lose the capacity to tell homology from analogy, descent from convergent evolution (ibid., p.357).

In other words, some phenotypical evidence is essential otherwise the basic ideas common to memes will become meaningless generalisations. A reduction of Homer's Odyssey and Vergil's Aeneid to a basic home-coming story will not help us to identify the memes in each case and their interconnections.

The ideas of Dawkins (as originator of the concept) and Dennett (as a major philosophical contributor to the debate) run through the meme literature to the present time. In the most recent writing there exists considerable discussion and controversy around two main points, the nature of the analogy between genes and memes and the definition of the basic unit of the meme.

In an early paper, Hull (1982) had already pointed out several key differences between biological and sociocultural evolution, in particular that while the former is Darwinian the latter is to some extent Lamarckian (that's to say features are inherited) and enjoys a significant intentional element. These points are still valid as expressions of at least some major differences between genetic and memetic evolution. In later literature more detailed problems are addressed. In a state-of-the-art conference on memes held at King's College, Cambridge in the summer of 1999, one of the key problems identified was the relation between replicators and their phenotypes. The seminar participants included prominent researchers in a variety of fields, such as Susan Blackmore, Richard Dawkins, Daniel Dennett, and Dan Sperber. The report on the conference was written by Aunger (1999) and is available on the internet. In biology, it was reported, '…genes do not code for one phenotype, they code for a reaction norm, thanks to the impact of environmental conditions on development' (Aunger 1999). The relation is not simple and with regard to memes implies both a difficulty in conducting reverse engineering (going from phemotype (the memetic phenotype) to meme) and a loss of information (apart from cases of very simple copying) in many complex replication cycles. However, it may be commented that when language is considered, it is not clear whether there is a loss of meaning in the transition from information at the semantic level to surface form (if indeed it is possible to establish and characterise such as transition). As for the possibility of change on the surface level, terms such as translation and paraphrase might be applicable. If a paradorg alters its nature over time then some information may be lost, some changed, and some new information added.

Analogy between genes and memes may be attempted on a detailed and comprehensive basis or a selective one. Blackmore (1999a; 1999b) prefers to be selective and rather general in approach, focusing on principles rather than on any potentially precisely comparable properties:

So if we try to draw strict analogies between genes and memes we will be led astray. The right starting point is not the analogy with genes, but the principles of Darwinism. From this perspective, a human being is the creation of two selfish replicators, genes and memes, working together. And once we look at it this way, some of the mysteries of the human mind begin to fall into place. (Blackmore 1999b, p.42)

Marsden (1998a) takes a similarly broad approach towards memetics as theory.

Not a fully blown theory, the memetic stance is more of a way of looking a the world, a set of guiding principles, a useful heuristic, based on some hopefully important insight into the nature of the social world. Whether the memetic stance turns out to be an explanatory device in an evolutionary extension of folk psychology, or a proper theory of mind where memes are internally instantiated in the neural networks of our brains is an issue that will one day have to be resolved empirically (Marsden 1998a, para.24).

However, when the broad claims of meme theorists are subjected to close scrutiny, doubts as to the coherence of the meme concept do arise. Participants at the King's conference were not even sure whether a new theory could be discerned:

What remains unclear to this group is the central claim of memetics: whether there is a novel replicator-based process underlying the population-level, epidemiological dynamic that is culture change. The primary problem of memetics, therefore, is whether there is a new entity on the horizon in whose interests things can be said to happen (the "meme's eye view"). This would be a new kind of function which a social institution might serve: that of the memes. As such, it would represent a real and novel alternative to group-level functionalism, or the various flavors of structuralist thought current in the social sciences. Unfortunately, this central claim has not yet been proven (Aunger 1999, para.23).

On the other hand, some commentators are convinced of the central importance of the meme today even if it is hard to define the concept. Both Brodie (1998) and Gatherer (1998) acknowledge the difficulty of providing clear definitions. In spite of this, Brodie claims that the meme '…has a central place in the paradigm shift that's taking place in the science of life and culture' (ibid., p.26). Brodie gives a succinct account of the difficulties in defining the meme. He offers several dimensions of an overall definition which include the biological (the meme is the basic unit of cultural transmission), the psychological (the meme is the unit of cultural heredity) and the cognitive (the meme is an idea or idea complex in the

form of a memorable unit). After a consideration of various problems connected with these dimensions (for example the problem that the psychological definition seems to preclude other storage units and mechanisms than the human mind), Brodie produces a final attempt at a working definition which synthesises the three dimensions to some extent: 'A *meme* is a unit of information in a mind whose existence influences events such that more copies of itself get created in other minds' (ibid., p.32). In a paper primarily designed to show that the meme concept is compatible with religious belief, Gatherer points out that there are problems in identifying the unit of the meme:

> …but the difference between a simple logical proposition and a complete belief system is obvious enough to make one wonder if the meme concept is precise enough to be of any value (Gatherer 1998, p.204).

However, Gatherer states that when it comes to the gene there is no precise definition either, it is not necessarily seen today as an individual unit but rather as '…a string of nucleotides of highly variable length and frequently indeterminate boundaries…' (ibid., p. 205), although the gene '…is still the best approximation to the unit of function' (ibid., p.205). This leads Gatherer to claim that

> Memes with low informational content, such as simple propositions, may be considered analogous to nucleotides. At the other extreme, large integrated complexes of memes, such as religions, are analogous to genomes (ibid., p.205).

Furthermore, Gatherer defines the meme pool as '…all the memes available to a population at any given time…' (ibid., p.210) and asserts that the concept of the meme pool is highly similar to Popper's world 3, the objective contents of thought. Gatherer also draws comparisons between the meme pool, world 3, and both the lists of memes given by Dawkins himself (Dawkins 1989) and Dennett's theory (Dennett 1993) that memes form the component parts of consciousness (Gatherer 1998, p.211).

Gatherer, Brodie, and Blackmore are comfortable with a broad conception of what type of definitions could be applied to memes or memeplexes (meme complexes) and are ready to put forward some analogy with genes. Participants at the King's College conference in 1999 were more searching in their criticisms and explorations of the meme concept.

Amongst the main issues identified were the definition of the meme, the gene – meme analogy and the means of transmission between individuals, the issue of

imitation, and the lack of empirical studies. It was also noted that there were significant barriers between theorists in different disciplines. The following constitutes a summary of the questions raised and discussed.

i. The definition of the meme and analogy with the gene. It was agreed that memes should be conceived as substrate neutral (of any possible substance). The issue of the analogy between genotype/phenotype and meme/phemotype (the memetic phenotype) was raised. No agreement was reached on what would count as phemotype.

ii. The means of transmission between individuals. The most general view was that memetics is an inheritance process. Information is acquired through transmission plus correction more efficiently than by individual trial-and-error.

iii. Transmission mechanisms. It was thought that if there is a cultural replicator there will have been selection for improved transmission mechanisms over time such as language, writing, and the computer.

iv. The psychological mechanisms of imitation – there was no consensus on the nature of this as to whether imitation consists of behavior copying or mental state inferencing.

v. Whether all social learning, rather than imitation alone, is a better psychological foundation for the cultural evolutionary process.

vi. Whether individual learning is a selection process like the social transmission process.

vii. Memetics as a way of abandoning human agency and intentionality. No consensus was reached here.

On the last point it is interesting to note that arguments on the basis of a meme theory can be found for both the complete denial of agency (Blackmore 1999b) and the acceptance of both agency and religion (Gatherer 1998).

The call for empirical work, however, is strong and consistent. According to the King's conference participants

> A general disappointment was the lack of discussion about what might be called "applied memetics." More time certainly needs to be devoted in future to thinking of ways to do memetics. This should include discussion of existing empirical studies that don't go under the banner of memetics but which could be interpreted as falling within the general purview of this incipient discipline, as well as the development of methodologies for conducting specifically memetic studies in the future. This is because the ultimate test -- which would preempt theoretical objections -- is whether memetics can produce novel empirical work or insightful interpretations of previous results. Everyone agreed it has not yet done so, but must do so in the near future, given the extensive theoretical work already accomplished and the high level of current interest in the subject. Otherwise, it is likely that memetics will soon be perceived to be a failure. This might be considered unlikely if only because, as one participant remarked, just being able to assemble such an eminent, multidisciplinary group to discuss the topic underlines how these ideas are coming to have real force in contemporary intellectual discourse. (Aunger 1999, para.29).

Empirical research is also called for by Marsden:

> By integrating social contagion research and the memetic paradigm we would allow for the development a robust body of theoretically informed empirical research. In doing this we will be laying one more foundation for the long overdue Kuhnian paradigm shift that will finally see the integration of social science within a broader evolutionary paradigm. (Marsden 1998a, para.32).

In conclusion, meme theory is clearly a highly controversial area. However, some broad consensus on the nature of memes, perhaps best described by Brodie (1998) can be identified. One theme which is often repeated is the call for empirical study. Moreover, unclarity as to definitions does not necessarily have to hold up investigations. This was forcefully argued by Hull in the King's conference (Aunger 1999). When a survey is made of on-line publications on the meme listed on the web resource (Lycaeum 2000), the only ones which deal with any applications of theory are those concerned with marketing in the business world (Marsden 1998b; 1999; 2000; Marsden & Bollen 2000), and the modeling of behaviour in the financial markets (Frank 1999). Marsden develops his ideas through the vehicle of a company, Brand Genetics Ltd. This company has developed software to map define and map memes in terms of consumer attitudes to branded products (the result is termed a *meme map*). The source data comprises

the results of a questionnaire. Frank uses mathematical models of financial markets to describe the development of memes defined as units of psychological attitude to risk. Both these techniques are qualitatively different from both the theory and practice of DSA.

How, then can these aspects of meme theory be related to DSA and paradorgs? An argument could be developed for paradorgs as evidence for memes as found in language. In the analysis of textual evidence the very substance involved in the transmission of ideas can be examined in terms of the mechanics and means of replication. However, although there are significant differences between the theory of gene as replicator and the paradorg, corpus linguistics makes it possible to add a scientific dimension to the description of ideas represented in language. Further, DSA offers the beginnings of a set of principles which could be used to provide a closer account of memes.

First, the evolution of paradorgs is directed, not random. Conscious subjects produce paradorgs which derive meaning by virtue of the theory of intention and use them as vehicles of competition. Thus, the application of the language of competition to paradorgs themselves is metaphorical: it is human subjects who do in fact compete with each other through the manipulation of ideas. One differentiating characteristic of human beings is the ability to model the future, anticipate problems and prepare strategies to overcome them. This ability is used to the highest degree in the formulation of scientific theory. In this case paradorgs exist both in the present stream of discourse and as potentials in the future. Then, paradorgs are highly malleable and adaptable to such an extent that links between them are sometimes hard to discern. This is because their ultimate source is human imagination which at times appears to be without limit. Another distinguishing feature between the evolution of genes and that of paradorgs is that there must exist a physical continuity for the former to survive while this is not clear regarding paradorgs. It may be that certain ideas of Greek science were completely lost with no physical records during the dark ages. These ideas could have been re-invented in the renaissance period. It is thus theoretically possible that a paradorg can re-surface after a period of physical extinction – it had no existence whether in a physical medium or in a mind.

Second, corpus linguistics allows the researcher to treat linguistic material as evidence in an objective way. The material is then precisely analogous to the data used in the natural sciences and independent researchers will be able to verify the findings of others. Third, corpus linguistics also enables the principled investigation of large-scale texts over comparatively long periods of time. It is then both easier to undertake the demarcation of categories and to apply them to linguistic data over time. While there remains an important and indispensable

position for interpretation, there occurs a qualitative shift in the preparation of material to be interpreted.

8.5.3 The diachronic nature of paradorgs

In that paradorgs are viewed as evolving organisms they exist in time. Any description of them must necessarily include a major diachronic element. This element can take many forms. For example, all paradorgs have a point of contact or correlation with a world, either real or imaginary, concrete or abstract. Many can be correlated with external facts of different kinds. The development of a paradorg over time could thus be correlated with historical events. Further, a probabilistic dimension can be added to paradorg theory, which can accommodate notions of choice in Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) (Halliday 1994). From past trends in the development of a paradorg, future developments both in the paradorg and world events can be predicted.

8.5.4 Paradorgs, ideology and neural networks

In principle, paradorgs can be correlated with neural events in terms of the activation of neural networks (Searle 1992; Gee 1992). If this standpoint is adopted, problems inherent in script, frame and schema theory can be obviated (such as that of the infinite series of snapshots). The correlation of change of neural networks with change of paradorgs over time would make up a major research project. Such opportunities can only be mentioned here.

8.5.5 Organising principles of discourse and paradorgs

There now follows a highly speculative and exploratory account of such organising principles that might emerge from a deeper study than the present one.

Three main organising principles may be outlined.

a. Hierarchy and embedding

By analogy with superordinate and co-hyponym, paradorgs may be organised hierarchically in terms of

i.   archiparadorg

ii.   co-paradorg

b. Bi-polar and multi-polar relationships

These may include

i.   agreement – disagreement

ii.   concurrence – contradiction

iii.   harmony – opposition

iv.   attraction – repellence

v.   amplification - diminution

c. System dynamics

Paradorgs may interact with each other in a system dynamics manner (Senge et al. 1994). Systems of paradorgs may form patterns, perhaps along the lines of classic systems loops. These patterns may interact with each other to produce further effects.

8.5.6 The five dimensions of paradorg theory

There are five dimensions of paradorg theory:

a. an evolutionary basis: an account of change

b. an objective empirical basis: a means of identifying potential paradorg boundaries through computer-assisted text analysis

c. a subjective interpretative basis: a means of determining and explaining paradorgs and their social and historical significance

d. an external correlationary basis: a means of correlating certain paradigms with the external world

e. an internal correlationary basis: the theory that events on the discourse and paradorg level can be correlated with events in the brain in terms of neural networks and activity.

8.5.7 The key differentiating features of DSA

DSA is differentiated from other types of discourse analysis by these features:

a. the definition of discourse as a stream of evolving units
b. the semantic unit as organism: the paradorg
c. the description of the paradorg using the systemic functional linguistic model
d. the analytical methodology: the poles of objectivity and subjectivity.

8.5.8 The analytical method

Stubbs (1996, pp.152-53) gives a number of principles for computer-based text analysis. Some of these are highly relevant for the present study. With comments on application in the present study, they include the following.

a. The comparison of the particular corpus firstly with corpora of similar length but different type, and secondly with a significantly larger, general corpus. In

this way the significance of the terms found in the particular corpus can be assessed against a variety of backgrounds.

Examples of this (based on journals and newspapers) could include

i. one article compared with another
ii. one article or other sub-text compared with the whole publication as found on-line or on CD-Rom. The sub-text could consist of the publication over a given time period (say one year compared with ten years, as is the case with *federalism* in this study (see section 11.2.2)). It could also comprise a focus document, which can be compared with a large database (as is the case with the Rover documents and the newspaper database (see chapter 9)).
iii. a collection of keyword-in-paragraph taken over the whole database compared with the same taken from a parallel publication.

b. The assessment of the significance of frequency of linguistic features. Clearly, a high frequency may be taken to indicate the prominence of one concept or other. However, low frequency may not necessarily mean insignificance. The positioning of a powerful item in a particular place may have a great impact.

c. The identification and examination of variables.

While the SFL model has been identified as providing a suitable list of linguistic variables, an exhaustive account of the instantiation and interpretation of these variables would prove to be beyond the scope of this study. A selection will thus have to be made on a defined basis.

d. Statistical methods

A standard form of statistics and their presentation must be followed. Here the spreadsheet application Excel (in Microsoft Office 97) will be used in that it is widely used and easily understood.

In addition to these principles, the following problems may be perceived.

e. The problem of discontinuity and demarcation.

Paradorgs overlap with each other. In other words they have fuzzy edges. Any given paradorg may share features with another. The potential boundaries of paradorgs can be identified objectively and systematically by a concordance programme with the use of methods which can be replicated. The actual boundaries are determined subjectively and systematically by observer interpretation and decision.

Over any given length of time, a paradorg may be manifested in discrete stretches of discourse of varying size. This could lead to a problem of demarcation. On what basis is a paradorg identified and demarcated? Two methods could be used:

i.   objective

The paradorg is identified by means of a clearly stated linguistic principle (such as 'its boundaries are marked by items x and y, in contexts a and b').

ii.   subjective

The decision as to which items are grouped and included can be subjective (such as the uses of empowerment in contexts other than the business world). (See chapter 10, section 10.1).

In short, a comprehensive synchronic list of definitions of a given paradorg will clearly not be found as a result of corpus analysis. Rather, there will occur a list of occurrences of an item or cluster of items in various contexts and collocations. The crucial question is then how do we move from this to the claim that such and such is a paradorg?

One further problem is how big an environment should be taken either side of the search term. Concrete problems might include

i. a search term could occur at the beginning of a text and connected words at the end

ii. a search term may occur followed by connected words hitherto unidentified as such.

f. The problem of the paradorg as image.

It is hard to move away from the language of picture - the mind builds up a picture of the paradorg in a process of slow (or rapid) accumulation. While such a metaphor may be easy to grasp, this does not mean that it is correct. What may indeed build up is a predisposition or potential, reflected in neurolinguistic patterning, to interact with stimuli. This interaction may take the form of linguistic production, and in that case the paradorg is added to in the form of increased or altered potential. There also clearly exists linguistic form. The key items of the paradorg may be elaborated on by other items which are identifiable through the technique of collocation.

g. The problem of objectivity and subjectivity.

The method comprises an objective component and a subjective component. Rather, it would be more accurate to say that it comprises of a methodology that tends towards the objective in certain aspects and towards the subjective in others.

The analysis attempts to be objective in the systematic use of the tools and in the nature of the primary material under investigation (linguistic form). This includes the selection of linguistic data, the analysis of the data, and the correlation between discourse features - the paradorgs - and real world features - events of various types. At the point of correlation subjectivity begins to enter the process. Subjectivity will then necessarily be employed in the interpretation and use of results. But this does not mean that the method has to lapse into rhetoric. Interpretations can be made on the basis of what might be generally agreed, and the assumptions behind interpretations should be laid out.

Discourse Stream Analysis can thus be performed on two levels: the natural scientific (objective description); and the social scientific level (subjective interpretation). Discourse Stream Analysis can thus be performed on two levels: the natural scientific (objective description); and the social scientific level (subjective interpretation).

8.6 Methodology: objectivity

It is important to establish the credentials of DSA in the debate concerning objectivity and subjectivity. If a systematic and principled approach to methodology and material is not taken, the enterprise risks a degeneration into charge and counter-charge, as is the danger with certain debates concerning CDA (Fairclough 1996b; Widdowson 1995a; 1995b; 1996).

It is possible, then, to locate CDA within a programme of sociology which, in its strongest version, could be construed as espousing such a mixture of tenets as the rejection of the existence of external reality, the rejection of the possibility of any neutral or objective standpoint, and the interpretation of all facts as socially constructed (Berger & Luckmann 1976; and see Hammersley (1995) for a sociologist's critique of this position). Manifested in linguistics, its claims include the strong position that language and ideology are somehow identical (Hodge & Kress 1993).

Recently, a number of philosophers and scientists have once more taken up the argument against this extreme relativist and constructivist position. Some have spoken out of fear for the consequences on the development of science, and against what they see as the exclusive and intolerant discourse of the constructionists (Gross & Levitt 1994; Wolpert 1992). Others are concerned with a restoration of clear thinking in the debate (Keat 1981; Searle 1989; 1996; Sokal 1996; and the dispute between Aronowitz 1997 and Sokal 1997). Yet others have attempted to clarify the possible positions that researchers might take (Rampton 1995). In the context of this complex and extensive debate, a limited number of difficulties for the constructionist account will be presented here in order to prepare a clearer ontological base for DSA.

8.6.1 DSA: ontology and epistemology

The ontological and epistemic stance of CDA has serious deficiencies if it is to be taken as a base from which practical recommendations are to be made. The external world and its features, social and institutional facts, discourse and observers' and participants' positions are all mixed together in a sort of opaque mass or continuum with little or no differentiation. This means that the claims of CDA emerge from an obscure background which undermines and detracts from their validity (see chapter 3).

A theory of discourse needs a sound ontological and epistemological base in order to give an intelligible and authoritative account. Such an account can be found in Searle (1996) who could be said to be elaborating and expanding upon Aristotelian ontology and epistemology (Lloyd 1968). Indebtedness to Searle (ibid.) is duly acknowledged for the basis of the following position.

To begin with, CDA does not clearly distinguish between intrinsic and observer-related features of the world. Both the existence of the physical world and many of its features (gravity, momentum) do not depend on any attitude or means of representation of ours. Others of its features exist relative to the intentionality of agents. These are ontologically subjective and observer relative. But some of these are epistemically objective: the universal assignment of tool function to an

object (a saw, a chisel) is an objectively ascertainable fact. However, it is an observer intrinsic feature that allows such assignment.

Intrinsic mental phenomena always cause observer-related features. So phenomena can be intrinsic (both to the external world and to the subject) and observer-related. They can be subjective or objective, ontologically or epistemically, or both! Table 10 will help to clarify this, together with the following comments.

	Category	Example
1a	intrinsic feature ontologically & epistemically objective	That object is a stone
1b	observer relative feature epistemically objective	That object is a paperweight
2a	intrinsic feature ontologically & epistemically objective	The moon causes the tides
2b	observer relative feature epistemically subjective	The moon is beautiful tonight
3a	intrinsic feature ontologically & epistemically objective	Earthquakes often occur when tectonic plates meet
3b	observer relative feature epistemically objective	Earthquakes are bad for real estate values

Table 10: features of the world – objectivity and subjectivity

Explanations of the categories in table 10 are now offered.

1a: There is reference to the object itself, not to any possible function.

1b: There is reference to the existence of the object and its function: it is universally agreed that it holds down paper on a surface. In principle, there exist objective criteria according to which the judgement is made.

2a: There is reference to the objects and the recordable effect one has on the other. They exist, they act in a certain way, and we know this because of repeatable observations.

2b: There is reference to the object itself but its description depends on the observer. Another observer may disagree with the description. The truth or falsity of the description depends on the point of view of the observer. There is no objective criterion for settling the issue. (However, in some cases there may be no sharp dividing line between 1b and 2b but rather a matter of degree).

3a: The objects exist in themselves and we know about their interrelated behaviour through repeatable observations.

3b: There is reference to the existence of the objects (earthquakes) and their effects: it is universally agreed that they are bad for real estate values.

It is one of Searle's key concerns to clear up ontological and epistemological confusion, both in the philosophy of science and in sociology. Searle (1989) lays out a theoretical framework for the social sciences by pointing out the differences between human behaviour and the subject matter of the physical sciences. Because of the nature of the subject matter of the latter, description, explanation and prediction are one and the same: 'You predict by deducing what will happen; you explain by deducing what has happened' (ibid., p.71). However, since the subject matter of the social sciences is of a radically different order (of the assignment of meaning in context) then the types of statements that can be issued are also of a different order:

> The defining principle of such social phenomena set no physical limits whatever on what can count as the physical realization of them, and this means that there can't be any systematic connections between the physical and the social or mental properties of the phenomenon. The social features in question are determined in part by the attitudes we take towards them. The attitudes we take towards them are not constrained by the physical features of the phenomenon in question (ibid., pp.78-79).

The mind is capable of assigning an infinite number of interpretations to phenomena of all types. Because any interpretation is possible, it is impossible to make certain predictions. It is, of course, possible to make predictions in the form of probabilities and to discern future trends. But we can only talk in terms of likelihoods. This is one reason why economic forecasting turns out to be so inaccurate (Ormerod 1994). Economic events are grounded in human actions, which may change in unpredictable ways.

The major problem with CDA in this regard is that it is primarily an activity conducted on the level of the social sciences but it purports to use techniques from the hard scientific aspect of linguistics. Indeed, CDA tends to mix all types of phenomena together and describe them as constituted in discourse, including social phenomena and representations thereof, scientific data and models, the subject and ideology. The above account, therefore, serves to provide an ontological and epistemological base for the criticisms advanced by Widdowson (1995b) to the effect that CDA runs into the danger of using 'apparent scholarship' (ibid., p.513) to mask its political ambitions.

Clarity, therefore, in ontology and epistemology would enable more precise accounts of the nature and relation of scientific fact (intrinsic features of the world) and observer-related features in studies such as those by Halliday & Martin (1993) and Hunston (1993). Hunston is concerned to point out two contradictions in experimental scientific research articles. The first concerns the supposed construction of facts through language (ibid., p.66). The second, (Hunston's main concern) is presence of personal point of view in the language. Hunston has demonstrated that in spite of the seemingly neutral language used, there exists a pervasive system of evaluation in scientific research articles in terms of status (as to certainty or uncertainty of results) and value (good or bad according to the ideology of the scientific community) (Hunston ibid., p.70-72). This account would gain strength if it were to be underpinned by a systematic ontological and epistemic scheme as provided above. This scheme denies that scientific facts are constructed and distinguishes, for example, between intrinsic features of the world that are ontologically and epistemically objective, and observer-relative features that are epistemically subjective. Many scientific statements are framed in the former way. Hunston's account of the presence of evaluation in such statements is not incompatible with the ontological and epistemic framework and indeed adds an important level of analysis.

The provision of a clearer account can indeed assist DSA in several ways. Firstly, a description of the ontological and epistemic status and nature of the linguistic data under examination and the claims of interpretation will facilitate replication of studies and wider respect in the academic community. Secondly, the nature of the methodology will facilitate the accumulation of text studies in a wide variety

of fields. Thirdly, the data collected could be of great use to a number of practitioners

8.6.2 Objectivity in linguistic research

In spite of the fact that the constructivist position is influential within linguistics, there has been a lively debate surrounding it and many calls for the pursuit of an objective approach in the literature (de Beaugrande 1997a; 1997b). To a large extent this discussion resides in and has arisen from the greater debate on relativism in the hard sciences and the social sciences.

CDA has been heavily criticised for confusing analysis with interpretation, where analysis is taken to mean objective examination of the data (Widdowson 1995a). Rampton talks of a crisis in liberalism in the face of the rise of ideological approaches to applied linguistics (Rampton 1995, pp.234-35). There does indeed appear to be a strong debate in applied linguistics between those who believe that the liberal, positivist approach is still valid (Widdowson 1995a; 1995b; 1996; Stubbs 1994; Brumfit 1996; Hammersley 1995; 1996) and those who claim that the discipline cannot be autonomous and that the analyst's position cannot be separated from results (Birch 1989; Fairclough 1992d, 1996b; Fairclough & Wodak 1997).

Rampton points towards a compromise position whereby whatever philosophical base might underlie research, rigorous procedure, systematicity and accountability to '...logic and evidence...' would be deemed essential (ibid., p.249). However, comment may be made here that this approach may be seen to be coextensive with that of liberalism and positivism. In that case the wheel has turned full circle and future CDA analyses would be conducted according to at least some of the procedures of autonomous linguistics.

In the present study an alignment is sought with the position adhered to by leading practitioners within corpus linguistics. When a review is made of methodological statements offered by practitioners in corpus linguistics, there is clear mention of terms such as *science*, *rigour*, *objectivity*, *empiricism*, *representativeness*, *falsification*, *generalizability*, *validity* and *reliability*.

McEnery & Wilson emphasize empiricism, objectivity, and representativeness:

> Empirical data enable the linguist to make statements which are objective and based on language as it really is rather than statements which are subjective and based upon the individual's own internalised cognitive perception of the language (McEnery & Wilson 1996, p.87)

> What makes corpora important for syntactic research is, first, their potential for the representative quantification of the grammar of a whole language variety, and second, their role as empirical data, also quantifiable and representative, for the testing of hypotheses derived from grammatical theory (McEnery & Wilson 1996, p.94).

Kennedy also mentions empiricism and contrasts the falsifiable evidence of the corpus in contrast with introspective judgement:

> Any scientific enterprise must be empirical in the sense that it has to be supported or falsified on evidence, and, in the final analysis, statements made about language have to stand up to the evidence of language use. The evidence can be based on the introspective judgement of speakers of the language or on a corpus of text. The difference lies in the richness of the evidence and the confidence we can have in the generalizability of that evidence, in its validity and reliability (Kennedy 1998, p.8).

According to Biber et al. (1998), the essential features of corpus-based analysis include the use of empirical data, large scale natural texts, computer techniques of analysis, and a quantitative and qualitative approach (Biber, Conrad & Reppen 1998, p.4).

For Sinclair, systematicity and objectivity are important:

> First and foremost, the ability to examine large text corpora in a systematic manner allows access to a quality of evidence that has not been available before (Sinclair 1991, p.4).

> Indeed, the contrast exposed between the impressions of language detail noted by people, and the evidence compiled objectively from texts is huge and systematic (ibid., p.4).

> > The way a person conceptualizes language and expresses this conceptualization is of great importance and interest precisely *because* it is not in accordance with the newly observed facts of language (ibid., p.4).

In his characterization of corpus linguistics as data-driven linguistics, Stubbs nevertheless recognizes that the linguist always approaches the data with hypotheses: there is no such thing as pure induction (Stubbs 1996, pp.46-7). In other words, Stubbs does not see theory as springing automatically from data. There is always and at some point an element of hypothesis and interpretation. On this basis (and on the basis of other comments change in linguistic theory (ibid., p.46)) it would appear that Stubbs may not ascribe pure objectivity to facts arising from corpus-based research (as to whether those facts might exist independently of a theoretical framework). However, Stubbs is happy to contrast the results of corpus methods with those of introspection, and refers to subjectivity and objectivity in this regard:

> Such [quantitative] methods bring immediate advantages. Subjective decisions are always involved in the choice of text and of linguistic features for analysis. But computer assistance means that exhaustive and objective searches may be possible for all examples of a feature (Stubbs 1994, p.204)

Elsewhere, Stubbs offers a further qualification of objectivity:

> Computer assistance does not bring pure objectivity to text analysis. *It is evident that(!)* intuition is involved at several stages: which features to study, how delicately to code, how to interpret the findings (ibid., p.218).

Knowles (1996) makes the point that 'An important consequence of handling large amounts of data is that it enforces rigour and discipline in data organization' (ibid., p.36).

Svartvik (1992b) mentions several reasons for using a corpus in linguistic research. These include the possibility of making more objective statements than are permitted by introspection, verifiability, total accountability, and public accessibility to the data (Svartvik ibid., pp.8-9).

Leech presents a clear view of what he calls 'The paradigm of empirical research in CCL [computer corpus linguistics]' (Leech 1992, pp.111-13). Leech is concerned to set out the methodology of CCL and to show how this measures up to scientific method. Here is a summary of Leech's presentation of CCL methodology followed by corresponding aspects of common scientific method (Leech ibid., pp.112-13).

a. CCL methods

i.   There is plentiful observed evidence in the form of corpora

ii.   Corpus data are used exhaustively - there is total accountability

iii.   A theory or model is devised to account for the data

iv.   The accuracy of the model may be tested against another corpus

v.   In principle, the model can be compared with another model

b. Standards of scientific method

i.   Falsifiability: a corpus-based model can be tested on a new corpus

ii.   Completeness: the model accounts for all the data

iii.   Simplicity: the model accounts for the data with the most parsimonious set of assumptions possible

iv.   Strength: the model accounts for just the data in question

v.   Objectivity: the model can be tested objectively in that the test can be replicated by independent observers.

Leech comments that CCL measures up well to these standards of scientific method: 'For example, objectivity and completeness are more or less assured by the method of using very large corpora as a source of data' (ibid., p.113). (However, CCL makes no claim about mental phenomena underlying the production of corpus data (ibid., p.113).

It is interesting that Kirk (1996, pp.253-54) also lays out these same five commonly accepted principles of scientific method and states how corpus linguistics measures up. Further, the principles embodied in this checklist concur with Hammersley's description of the assumptions of positivism as applied to research in the social sciences - assumptions which critical studies reject, but which Hammersley still strongly supports (Hammersley 1995, p.2; as does Keat 1981).

Leech continues by identifying three paradigms of corpus-based research: the informal concordance-based paradigm, the log-linear modeling paradigm for linguistic categories, and that of language modeling using hidden Markov models. The present study falls into the first category in that uses a concordance tool to search for particular linguistic features (ibid., p.114).

Leech concludes his article by claiming that all three paradigms of corpus-based research '…conform to the general evolutionary / iterative scheme of scientific inquiry as put forward, for example, in Popper's … formula' (ibid., p.120) (where Leech refers to Popper's theory of scientific method as consisting of a series of conjectures and refutations (see chapter 3, section 3.7.2)).

Practitioners of corpus linguistics thus clearly place themselves in a tradition which values empiricism, systematicity, rigour, objectivity and accountability. Leech also refers to the replicability of a corpus-based model (ibid., p.113). These terms, naturally, need to be taken with appropriate qualifications. A study is objective and totally accountable in relation to the material in the corpus in question. Results are replicable in that given identical input a concordance programme will always produce the same output. Moreover, the notion of replication varies between and within scientific disciplines. Inorganic chemistry and Newtonian physics require full replicability within accepted tolerances. In quantum mechanics the uncertainty principle makes total replication impossible when it comes to the behaviour of sub-atomic particles. Computer procedures in corpus linguistics guarantee exactly the same results when applied consistently to the same text database. These procedures produce results which are objective in that nothing is omitted which could otherwise influence the linguist's interpretation of the data.

8.7 Diachronic text analyses

Classic CDA analyses are mostly diachronic and based on short, single (sometimes complete) texts, with some exceptions (Fowler 1991b, pp.146ff; Caldas-Coulthard 1993; Swales 1990). Further, other linguistic work into lexical relations and representations in discourse has tended to concentrate on short texts (Hoey 1991) and on literary figures (Toolan 1988).

The analyses here will be carried out on a series of texts over time, a period of eight years. Stubbs (1996) notes that two central uses of corpus-based analysis are to build new grammatical pictures (for example of how pronouns function) and to identify what is typical in a language (for example to compile a dictionary of keywords in British culture (Stubbs 1996, pp.181ff)). There has been little corpus-based work on the development of meaning over time. This may turn out to be a further major application of corpus linguistics, in addition to those identified by Stubbs.

At this point the procedure for the corpus analyses will be laid out. It will comprise a statement of the main purpose, a description of the data analysed and the main features of the data, a list of the techniques used, and a presentation of the result parameters and their significance. This methodology follows that of Stubbs (1996).

8.7.1 The main purpose of the corpus analyses

The principal unit of analysis in corpus linguistics is the lemma. A lemma is an abstracted base form of a word such as book, and the lemma is denoted in capitals: BOOK. The lemma may be instantiated by several word forms (tokens), such as *books*, *bookish*, *textbook*. There is a natural problem of demarcation of lemmas where one lemma may be instantiated in different (but often related ways) such as BOOKING (which could mean 'reservation' or 'penalty' (in football)).

The main purpose here is to describe the meaning of certain lemmas as instantiated by their word forms over time. The lemmas are EMPOWER* (in a business context) and FEDERAL* (in an EU context). It is not expected that there will occur a problem of demarcation with these lemmas – they are relatively straightforward. The descriptions of this meaning, organised in a particular way, will constitute a description of the relevant paradorgs (see chapters 9 and 10.). This in turn will be tantamount to providing a description of attitudes to and viewpoints on important historical changes. The linguistic tool developed in the application of paradorg theory in economics or social sciences could be seen as an indicator which could complement conventional indicators such as measurements of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and stock market indices. The change in paradorgs over time could also be correlated with hard historical data such as interest rate changes.

8.7.2 The data analysed and the main features

Corpora were created from newspapers stored on CD-ROM. Newspapers were selected from the commercial service FT Profile. An eight year time span was chosen (1991 – 1998) since all newspapers and journals on the service go back at

least this far. The corpora, concerning the two items under investigation, empowerment and federalism, were assembled by means of a data collection procedure.

All articles containing the search lemma were collected by using the FT Profile search and retrieval techniques. The data included a series of eight files, one for each year, for each core lemma. Further corpora were then created by consolidating each set of eight into one file. In this case a synchronic analysis can also be performed in that a given time period (within reason) can be treated as a point in time. Such a time period could be one month, one year, or a number of years, in this case eight. However, there is one problem in the use of the FT Profile service. The articles on CD-ROM are presented in reverse chronological order. This means that while the data in each year can be taken as a point of time and a diachronic study can be made on these terms, it would be difficult to proceed to a further and more precise step of charting the paradorgs article by article over time. In the absence of an alternative sorting method this would require a manual operation which would be extremely time consuming.

The word counts indicated below for EMPOWER* and FEDERAL* show the total number of words in each consolidated file (including all eight files).

For the core lemma EMPOWER, these databases on CD-Rom were selected.

ix.   The Financial Times, 1991-8 (1,200,472 words)

x.   The Daily and Sunday Telegraph, 1991-8 (856,900 words)

xi.   The Independent, 1991-1998 (1,514,902 words)

xii.   The Economist Magazine (324,637 words).

The search term used was EMPOWER* (where * means wildcard, i.e. all occurrences of EMPOWER with any morphological ending were found (*EMPOWER* was not permitted by the search syntax).

For the core lemma FEDERAL, these databases on CD-Rom were selected:

xiii.   The Financial Times, 1991-8 (1,110,160 words)

xiv.   The Daily and Sunday Telegraph, 1991-8 (948,381 words)

xv.   The Independent, 1991-8 (959,545 words)

xvi.   The Economist Magazine (229,244 words).

The search term was EURO*/25 FEDERAL* NOT RESERVE. Here /25 means occurrences of the second search term found within 25 words of the first, and NOT RESERVE excludes all occurrences of RESERVE. While FEDERAL could co-occur with items such as GERMANY, it was found that a large number of references to the US central bank (the Federal Reserve) were found in the Financial Times. It was thus thought more effective to eliminate this combination above others since the American central bank is not in focus here.

Tables 11 and 12 indicate the number of words in each file, year by year.

	FT Emp	TEL Emp	IND Emp	ECO Emp	Total
`91	117252	73699	170819	35512	397282
`92	141049	81360	187641	40459	450509
`93	118732	112709	169789	44198	445428
`94	152125	99952	197183	47224	496484
`95	182903	127375	180479	45045	535802
`96	177171	102080	219656	39264	538171
`97	212191	138780	179710	40678	571359
`98	132526	95225	209625	28994	466370

Table 11: EMPOWER word count (yearly)*
Key to abbreviations
FT Emp – instances of EMPOWER* in the Financial Times
TEl Emp - instances of EMPOWER* in the Daily & Sunday Telegraph
IND Emp - instances of EMPOWER* in the Independent
ECO Emp - instances of EMPOWER* in the Economist Magazine

	FT Fed	TEL Fed	IND Fed	ECO Fed	Total
`91	229774	124693	230893	56864	642224
`92	150244	169423	169903	46479	536049
`93	107972	105003	87550	36445	336970
`94	142808	174800	104351	46877	468836
`95	123332	132902	106448	40159	402841
`96	50845	181892	115998	43242	391977
`97	115710	13397	90495	33556	253158
`98	63147	46268	53907	28566	191888

Table 12: EURO/25 FEDERAL* NOT RESERVE word count (yearly)*

Key to abbreviations
FT Fed – instances of FEDERAL* in the Financial Times
TEl Fed - instances of FEDERAL* in the Daily & Sunday Telegraph
IND Fed - instances of FEDERAL* in the Independent
ECO Fed - instances of FEDERAL* in the Economist Magazine

8.7.3 The concordance techniques used

The concordance programme used in the study is WordSmith Tools (Scott 1997). The capacity of the programme is such that it can handle large texts running into millions of words. WordSmith Tools provides a number of techniques for corpus analysis. Here is a list of techniques used with explanations according to the definitions given in the WordSmith Tools manual (Scott 1997).

a. available search word syntax (ibid., p.42)

Search term	finds
(lemma)	(form)
BOOK	*book, book* or *boOk*
BOOK*	*book, books, booking, booked*
*BOOK	*textbook*
BO* IN	*book in, books in, booking in*
BOOK * HOTEL	*book a hotel, book the hotel*

b. file-based search words (ibid., p.44)

This permits a concordance with many search words or phrases.

c. file order (ibid., p47)

Upon first generation of a concordance it will appear in the order in which the items appeared in the file.

d. keyword plot (ibid., p.55)

This plots the distribution of keywords in a text.

e. tags (ibid., p.31)

A tagging method can be used, for example, to indicate the participant role of a word form according to the ideational component of SFL.

f. wordlist (ibid., pp.63ff)

Wordlists of the text are generated according to alphabetic order or frequency. Clusters may also be listed instead of single words.

g. keywords (ibid., pp.51ff)

Keywords characterise a text. Two word lists are compared which have been prepared with the WordList tool. The keywords found (by default in the smaller file) characterise the target text. In WordSmith Tools the keywords are identified

by comparing patterns of frequency. Their frequency in the target text is compared with that in the reference text.

h. key keywords

This is a word that is key in more than one of a number of related texts (that is, more than two).

i. associates (ibid., p.60)

This is the name given to a keyword associated with a key keyword.

j. clumps (ibid., p.61)

These are groups of keywords associated with a keyword.

k. collocates

These are words which occur within the immediate environment to the left and right of the search word. WordSmith Tools allows a maximum span of 25 words to the left or right. However, once a horizon of more than 5 words is chosen, noise begins to exceed signal (ibid., p.39). A concordance may be computed with or without collocates.

l. clusters (ibid., p.41)

Words which are repeatedly found in the same environment. The relationship is closer than that of collocates.

m. context word (ibid., p.45)

This specifies a context word that must or may not be present within a certain number of words of the search word.

Five of these techniques were found to be relevant and were employed in the current study: search word syntax, wordlist, keywords, collocates, and clusters.

8.7.4 Analysis – method

The objective of the diachronic analysis is to search for and describe significant collocations over time. A set of these collocations will be designated peripherals in connection with the paradorg core. The collocations can be established in the following ways.

a. A focus document can be used to begin to establish the peripherals

A focus document is defined as a document whose subject matter is centred on the paradorg core. A focus document was available for empowerment (a set of training documents from Rover group), but not for federalism. WordList can be used to give an indication of prominent lemmas.

b. A keyword analysis can be performed

In the establishment of keywords, Stubbs states that it is important to compare a small corpus (the one under examination - where a high density of features may be found) with a large corpus. The results will indicate the significance of the keywords found in terms of the comparative distribution (Stubbs 1996, pp.88ff, pp.152-53). The terms *target corpus* (or *text*) and *reference corpus* (or *text*) will be used here to denote the two corpora, small and large.

A keyword analysis may be employed in the absence of a focus document. In the case of federalism the target corpora were three yearly databases (Independent 1991, Daily and Sunday Telegraph 1994, and Financial Times 1998) which were compared with the whole database for each of the four publications.

The resulting keywords of such an analysis will give an indication of prominent lemmas in the context of federalism.

a. A wordlist can be made using the concordance programme and a list of relevant lemmas with a high frequency of occurrence can be drawn up.

The tool WordList can be used on the main databases in order to indicate lemmas with the greatest frequency of occurrence.

b. The final list of peripherals can be compiled from the results of the above three techniques by drawing upon the analyst's own resources

For empowerment, a focus document was used together with the results of a WordList frequency analysis of the main databases. With regard to these results, the final list of peripherals was compiled using the analyst's resources.

In the case of federalism, a keyword analysis was conducted (as described above) and supported by a WordList frequency analysis. Again, the final list of peripherals was compiled by drawing upon the analyst's resources.

These were the two procedures used with regard to the investigation of empowerment and federalism. Other configurations of the methodology are not excluded (a frequency analysis could have been applied to the empowerment databases) but these were the procedures chosen here for the reasons given. Furthermore, it will be seen that there is a strong element of systematicity and rigour in the procedures, but that there is an inevitable degree of subjectivity in the final identification of peripherals.

8.7.5 Analysis – result typology

The collocations which result from the concordance operations will comprise a series of core lemma plus peripherals in an environment (seven words was specified either side of the core lemma). The peripherals may be noun phrases, verb phrases or adverbial phrases. The results can be presented in two dimensions in terms of lexical relations and transitivity relations, which comprised the main dimensions found in the results of this study.

a. lexical relations

The point of interest is which combinations are found and how these may change or develop over time. A very simple analysis could focus on the core lemma only and show how the frequency of occurrence varies over time. There is precedent for this in the R-word index, a chart showing the occurrence of the lemma RECESSION in the Economist magazine over time (Economist Magazine 1998). The Economist first presented this as a curiosity in 1992. It subsequently appeared in the years 1993 (twice), 1994, and 1998. A more sophisticated analysis will use combinations of peripheral lemmas with the core lemma, which will give a closer picture of relevant linguistic categories.

b. transitivity relations

A further dimension of analysis will concern participant relations in the clause in terms of transitivity (see the linguistic model in Appendix 1). This analysis will show how the participants interrelate in terms of their position in particular as agent and goal. The procedure here will be to perform a transitivity analysis of the relations between participants represented in the documents.

For example, the results will show the relations between participants which are presented in company documents (here from Rover Group). This is the prime interest here in terms of the representation of aspects of empowerment. The analysis could be taken further to show examples of how these relations might be expressed in concrete outcomes in the activity and structure of the firm with regard to reward structure (basis and type of reward) and organization structure (type of structure). In turn these results could be correlated with the organization's perception of relations and expectations (as measured by other means) and the organization's existing reward and organization structure. There will thus be an interaction between language (which represents a desired state of affairs) and practice (the actual state of affairs). If there is a mismatch between language and practice then it is open to the organization to adjust language and/or reality to meet its requirements and reduce the scope for misunderstanding.

There are at least two other dimensions which could be relevant in a study of this type.

c. The syntactic transformations of the clause.

This reveals the tension between static, scientific language (with nouns and nominal groups as evidence) and dynamic everyday language (typically verbs and adjectives).

The procedure would be to collect the relevant noun phrases and other phrases which represent both the number and type of participants and the conceptual content, and to compare the prominence of participants.

d. The lexical structure.

Here lexical groupings and individual features are taken into account. The procedure can include a search for marked features such as relexicalization and overlexicalization.

8.7.6 Anticipated problems in synchronic text analyses

A number of methodological problems can be identified.

a. The relation between quantitative and qualitative information.

A simple statistical analysis might describe a certain ratio of noun phrase occurrences representing employees and managers. Noun phrases representing employees might occur far more frequently than those representing managers in a document referring to empowerment. This would not suffice alone as a basis

for examining reward structure. Other factors (both linguistic and extra-linguistic) would have to be taken into account. A correlation of types of linguistic categories would also be needed, including an examination of peripherals, collocates and contexts of meaning.

b. The scope and quantity of documents

With regard to corporate information, it is difficult to obtain a very large and representative sample of documents in use in a large company. A great deal of working documentation is discarded immediately after use. Companies vary widely as to whether they keep archival records of previous policies. The number and quality of documents available is thus a major problem with regard to the significance of a transitivity analysis.

c. The transitory nature of communication modes

A further problem concerns the increasing use of technology and the corresponding ease of document alteration and deletion. A huge amount of communication occurs in short memos and faxes which are very soon deleted after use. Policy documents can also be amended easily. The one document which can last a significant period of time may be the mission or vision statement.

In this case the spoken mode takes on a high level of importance. The problem for the analyst is that of access to private conversations and the time consuming task of transcription of recordings. This is certainly not a task to be attempted here, and serious treatment on a scale matching that possible with text databases, for example, may indeed have to wait until substantial advances in voice recognition technology occur.

d. Closure

It will be difficult to assess to what extent a presence of nominalization will indicate closure of discussion (as is argued by CDA analysts (Halliday & Martin 1993)). In a rapidly developing field human resource experts may wish to make an impact by the establishment of new terms. Such a strong move may provoke discussion, rather than close it off. On the other hand it could be argued that professionals wish to make new concepts durable by expressing them in nominalizations.

8.8 The linguistic model

As previously noted, the CDA model depends heavily on Halliday's Functional Grammar and in particular on the three functions of language identified therein:

ideational, interpersonal and textual. Of these three, special emphasis is laid upon the ideational component (Halliday 1994, pp.106-61).

The basic linguistic model assumed in the analyses here (see Appendix 1) will be that of Halliday (1994) with minor modifications and practical guides provided by Downing & Locke (1992), Eggins (1994), Thompson (1996), Locke (1996), Bloor & Bloor (1996), and Martin et al. (1997). It is interesting to note that hitherto there have been two strands in the presentation of the model. Detailed theoretical description has been provided by Halliday (ibid.), while it has taken some time for the practical guides to emerge. When recent publications are taken into consideration, there have been no major developments from the basic Hallidayan model as employed by CDA.

8.8.1 Empowerment and federalism – two planes of analysis

The link between the two levels of analysis (the micro and macro theories or power-sharing) is now to be clarified. This link is constituted in two parts: methodology and content. In terms of methodology, the meaning of both the terms *empowerment* and *federalism* will be traced through a chronological series of texts using corpus linguistic techniques. In terms of content, the link will be seen to be power-sharing in the distribution of power between the stakeholders of the large corporation and between the member states of the EU. Indeed, *federalism* is a term used by Handy (1995, pp.211-16; 1997) to describe a more desirable distribution of power within the large corporation. In his conception of the large corporate as a state, Handy views the stakeholders (from owners, managers and employees to suppliers) as citizens of a new type of state which crosses national boundaries. All have rights which verge on the political, especially in a world where governments increasingly compete to provide attractive conditions for large organisations (Soros 1998). If this is the case, the traditional view of the corporation (Drucker 1964) needs to be altered and empowerment is the central notion in this change. Likewise, the necessity to share jurisdiction and executive power across national boundaries due to the forces of technology and internationalisation prompts nation states to develop federalist positions (however interpreted) (Brittan 1994). It seems, therefore, that there are parallels and indeed interdependencies between the micro and macro levels which it will prove interesting to explore in the corpus studies.

8.9 Chapter summary

This chapter presented the main characteristics of DSA. These complement the revised account of the subject, ideology and power presented in chapters 6 and 7. Primarily, a model was advanced intended to provide a tool for the description of change of meaning over time. The starting points of DSA were identified as

linguistic items in historical context, and a definition of the discourse stream was offered. This was conceived of by analogy with living organisms and the term *paradorg* was introduced to refer to a basic unit of description which is found in the environment of text. It was argued that, in theory and practice, the paradorg could be viewed as complementary to aspects of meme theory. It was noted that in meme theory there exist the twin difficulties of identifying the unit of the meme and of implementing applied studies. Paradorg theory may be seen as an attempt to answer those questions.

As distinct from CDA, DSA rests on claims of systematicity and rigour which approaches the objectivity of the sciences. An account of these issues with regard to corpus linguistics was given. Techniques of corpus linguistics were used in order to identify the paradorg. Finally, the parameters of the empirical part of the study were laid out in terms of the databases constructed and the methodology employed.

Part 3 - Power: discourse stream analysis

Part 3 consists of four chapters (9, 10, 11, and 12). The aim of Part 3 is to implement the theory of DSA described in Part 2 (and in chapter 8 in particular). In chapter 9 the peripherals of the paradorg *empowerment* are established. This is carried out by means of an examination of one short text (the Rover documents) and four large texts (the four newspaper databases) Supporting material is adduced in the form of an analysis of corporate vision and mission statements. In chapter 10 each peripheral is then described in terms of its development over time in relation to the core. Chapter 11 sees the establishment of the peripherals of the paradorg *federalism*. These are also described in terms of their development over time in relation to the core. The conclusions of the study are presented in chapter 12.

9. Empowerment: short texts

In order to begin to establish the peripherals of the paradorg *empowerment*, a focus document will be used which comprises a set of training documents from the automotive manufacturer Rover Group. This set of documents is significant in that it is the only such full set encountered by the author in a career of eleven years of business consulting. As supporting evidence for meanings associated with *empowerment*, an analysis of company vision statements will also be carried out.

9.1 Short text 1: Rover Tomorrow – The New Deal

With regard to the documents from Rover, the key questions to be asked are

a. can an initial set of meanings associated with empowerment be extracted which can be tested in the large text databases (drawn from the newspapers)

b. how can linguistic tools be used to describe and chart this meaning and its possible changes over time?

In particular, it will be interesting to see here whether there are any tensions of the sort indicated by Argyris (1998) in the empowerment training documents from Land Rover concerning managers' desire to control and also to implement a new and liberating philosophy. These questions will be addressed firstly with regard to the Rover Group training documents and then with regard to texts in the

book *Built to last* (Collins & Porras 1995) which concern mission statements of excellent companies.

The British car company Rover Group is fascinating because of its history. In the late 1960s and early 1970s a strong British car industry went into what seemed to be an inexorable decline. Eventually various companies merged to become successively British Leyland, Leyland, and finally Rover Group. The history of this decline in the 1970s has been well documented (Wilks 1984). In the early 1980s the British government sold its stake in Rover Group to British Aerospace. The company made a strategic alliance with Japanese Honda and began a process of recovery which continued until the mid 1990s.

From a cultural viewpoint, Rover is a very interesting company to study because of its long involvement with the Japanese car firm, Honda. Cooperation took place over nearly fifteen years, from 1979/80 to January 1994 when Honda still owned 20% of Rover Group. But on 31st January 1994 Rover's parent, British Aerospace, decided to sell its 80% ownership stake to the German carmaker, BMW. Although Honda had been given the opportunity to bid for complete ownership, it had not been considered appropriate for the company to be seen to be wholly foreign-owned, and so the Japanese offered to raise their stake to 47.5% only. Since BAe wanted to sell Rover outright in order to free resources in support of their core businesses, defence and aerospace, the BMW offer was accepted. The move came as a complete surprise to business analysts and the financial press as the short negotiations with BMW had been conducted in secret (Financial Times, 1 February 1994). The acquisition of the company by the German firm BMW in 1994 was a sign of the respect that Rover had won overseas. This recovery in the fortunes of Rover was due to a number of factors. Methods of organising and motivating people within the company have been considered one positive influence. However, by early 1999 Rover was once more in the news with regard to its recent poor performance as a company and rumours concerning BMW's investment plans. By 9 May 2000, BMW had sold the Rover Car Division to the Phoenix consortium and Land Rover to Ford.

These changes of ownership left many questions unanswered about long-term company philosophy. Together with advanced manufacturing techniques, Rover had also adopted Japanese human resource practices such as team-working and the abolition of many markers of hierarchy. American management influences included use of first names and the encouragement of informal relations between all levels in the company. German practice, on the other hand, is traditionally rigid and hierarchical. Titles are used and formality is important. At the time of the announcement of the acquisition the BMW leadership stated that Rover management would continue to be independent.

However, there is anecdotal evidence to suggest that this did not prove to be the case (Robin Stokoe; personal communication, autumn 1999).

An examination of company documents should provide one important means of tracing the change from a company dominated by a traditional hierarchy characterised by conflict and confrontation, to one where cooperation, flexibility and trust are the norm. Where such a major shift of attitude towards the role of employees is under way it is likely that there will be a transitional period and that in this period evidence of old practices will be found.

A comprehensive study of such change would require not only successive sets of documents over time, but also correlation with actual events and behaviour which would be recorded by other means that purely linguistic (such as the use of interviews). In the author's experience companies are not at all consistent with either the production or the preservation of written documentation regarding matters such as human resource policy. Indeed, in a career of over fifteen years of working with managers from a number of international companies I have never seen consistent long-term documentation of any policy. This presents the analyst with many problems. In reality, policies exist in written and oral form and it is difficult to collect, chart and document information. This means that to describe *empowerment* in the discourse stream of company text is problematical. The discourse stream found in newspaper databases is far easier to work with since it is comprehensive.

9.1.1 The texts and analysis

These texts from Rover Group are centred around a document entitled *The New Deal - The Way Forward* (Rover Group 1992). In addition to this basic document of 28 pages, there is a 4 page summary of the same (*Rover Tomorrow - The New Deal*), as well as a key document called *A Guide to Development of Empowerment Skills* (14 pages) (Rover Group 1993). For the sake of ease of reference the documents shall be abbreviated to ES (empowerment skills) and ND (new deal), and the set shall be called "the Rover documents". The texts are presented in full in Appendix 3.

Of these texts, ES is central to the present study both in its subject matter and in that the text exhibits an interesting contrast between the use of personal language and official language. The relationship encouraged between empowerer and (to-be) empowered is a personal one similar to that of friends or members of a family. Of course this familiar relationship can itself be formal, but in the post- war period it has changed from the stiff conventions of Victorian society to the open, informal and equal practice of the new world.

The ethical language of personal relationships is informal, but this is not to say that there are no power dimensions. For example, a scan of the lexical distribution of page 10, which describes five of the *Behaviours of Empowerment*, yields a mix of personal and official language (see Table 13). The division is also necessarily subjective and open to argument, but hopefully acceptable in general.

These are the contents of ES.
a. Empowerment – the background

b. Total quality leadership: guide to empowerment

c. Empowerment: a process

d. Empowerment assessment

e. Empowerment – a set of behaviours

f. Appendix 1: Behaviours of Empowerment

g. The relationship between empowerer and empowered

h. Appendix 3: overcoming the risk of empowerment

i. Appendix 4: the benefits of empowerment.

Appendix 1 of the Rover documents comprises an expanded list of the topics in (e). (Appendix 2 appeared to be missing from the document, unless it comprised in fact the relationship between the empowerer and empowered and was unmarked).

Since 1993 I have made repeated attempts to gain up-dated versions of these documents. This culminated in a written request in January 1999. Managers from Rover informed me in telephone conversations that no further documents had been produced and that the present set was still in use. I received no answer to my written request. The analysis of further documents will have to be carried out in the future when such documents come to hand.

9.2 Analytical procedure and objectives

In this analysis traditional CL techniques can be combined with a corpus method. Stubbs (1996) has shown how corpus techniques can strengthen CDA. A similar approach will be followed here. There follows a manual analysis of ND only. Afterwards a brief corpus-based analysis will be presented.

Two aspects of empowerment will be examined. One comprises evidence for conversationalization in the use of informal language in formal settings. The other (related) phenomenon is that of the breakdown of hierarchy and traditional markers of authority. The objective of the following analysis will be to look for evidence of these two aspects and describe them.

9.2.1 Text 1: Rover Tomorrow – The New Deal

As an introduction to the overall context, the first page of ND is interesting. In it tensions begin to appear between the language of control and hierarchy and that of empowerment and equalization.
ND thus demonstrates the principle of zero hierarchy (see chapter 7). Nominalizations such as

a. a single status company

b. single status sick pay scheme

c. regular health check

d. Single status catering

indicate how these benefits will be available to all employees of the company regardless of who they are. However, the use of such nominalizations does give an effect of officialdom   and closure that may alienate - the opposite of the intentions behind the concepts (Halliday & Martin 1993).

This tension between the intentions of the author(s) of the document and certain meanings carried by the linguistic form can also be seen in the system of transitivity. All of these clauses are based on the modal *will*: some of them are grammatically active and some passive; some have grammatical subjects, some not. Yet the agent or agents are not evident from the surface form. Who are they? They are clearly the company, the management, or both, or indeed both plus the trade unions (who were consulted carefully in the development of the New Deal).

e. All remaining distinctions between "staff and hourly paid" status will be ended

f. A single status sick pay scheme will be...introduced

g. All employees will be invited...

h. Everyone working in the Company...will wear Company Workwear

i. Single status catering will apply...

j. Production-related employees will have the opportunity...

k. Every employee will be paid

A clue to the identity of the agents is given in a few clauses where subject position is occupied by *we*.

l. We are all employees...

m. and the only distinction is the contribution we make

n. We will all wear appropriate safety apparel...

We must at least include the management, and it may be assumed that in all the other cases the features of the New Deal are meant to apply to the whole staff including management and workers. Indeed, the intention is no doubt to eliminate the distinction and to encourage a sense of no division in the old way. But the use of *will*, and the passive, in the examples above promote a contrary feeling of imposition. More extensive use of participatory language (simple active clauses with a high proportion of *we* and *us*) would have set a different tone. As it is there seems to be a conflict of voices: there is a desire for change but that desire and the decisions stemming from it are couched in fairly authoritative language. A clearer document would express the relations between company, and types of employees so that no confusion of role would result. (And there is differentiation of employees based on ability to contribute). On the other hand it could be said that this is an example of intentional imposition of a vision top-down. Once established, the vision allows for freedom in terms of empowerment (see chapter 7).

9.2.2 Text 2: appendix 1; behaviours of empowerment

In the texts taken from ES, an interesting interplay between authority and freedom, formality and informality, and distance and familiarity is found. Different types of classifications which exemplify these parameters will run through all the text analyses.

In the analysis of text 2, language items are classified as personal or formal, according to the author's judgement. Sometimes it is not clear whether an item belongs to one or other category or both. Contextual factors such as the environment (home or workplace) and roles (personal or professional) are clearly important. Certain items could thus occur in formal or informal settings, and different analysts might assign items to categories in a different way. In some cases an item has been assigned to both categories. Here are the results in tabular form (Table 13), where headings in upper case indicate the behaviours of empowerment.

Personal language	Formal language
ENVIRONMENT	barriers and confines...tools and facilities
	inhibit...shackles and constraints
	business/local …information
INVOLVEMENT	
share, encourage, include	opinion, contribution and input
SUPPORT	
coaching	feedback and coaching
	Publicly support and promote the empowered
	the task ahead...decisions made
	personal preferences or style
	failure...positive learning…positive
coaching	coaching opportunities
"anything is possible" language	"anything is possible" language
	regular contact...opportunity for checking
	two-way communication...understanding...or raising concerns
DEVELOPMENT	
coaching	coaching guidance
	advice...informal but regular basis
	opportunity...to learn from failure
Be patient	new role and experiences ...are concerned
	Seek to broaden the experience of the empowered
	Provide opportunities for self development of the individual
Encourage	the next step
ENTHUSIASM	
confidence	Stating your confidence...Giving credit
Thanking people	giving praise for a job well done for extraordinary contribution
	Seeking the opportunity to reward albeit in small ways
BUSINESS AWARENESS	
Explain	implications...the business as a whole
	Encourage the understanding
	our actions...functions in the business
	establish internal customer and supplier relationships
DISCIPLINE	
consistent and firm	consistent and firm
Be the example...the standards you set	
Don't be afraid...both fairness and consistency	to seek help or guidance...in order to ensure
Shouting and abuse do not earn respect	
TEAM BUILDING	
Demonstrate a caring attitude	Watch for and control outside influences affecting team
	Informal discussion...Team members
Make the time to be with your people	expose barriers for leader to unlock
Be consistent	in discipline and praise
RELATIONSHIP	
Get to know your people	
those you are dealing with	what motivates/demonstrates
Understand...Use the experience	Consider...Brainstorm headings
your people	in building your relationships

Table 13: The behaviours of empowerment – personal and formal language

Particular comment may be made of two phrases:

a. admit your own errors.

Here the practice of admitting when you are wrong is one that every parent would advocate to their children. In this context the word *error* (Latin-derived and official) is used and not a less formal word such as *mistake* or *wrong*. A mixture of style is thus used.

b. threat and fear factors.

The words *threat* and *fear* are rather neutral in themselves and could appear in almost any register. But in the collocation *threat and fear factors* they clearly assume an official status. Such a fixed expression would appear to be typical of psychology and might have entered business discourse through this route.

From the breakdown it can also be seen that there is a preponderance of personal items in the categories of HONESTY, an almost equal mix in those of DELEGATION, RISK and LISTENING, and a preponderance of official words in that of CLEAR OBJECTIVES. This means that there may be two poles in the set of behaviours, one more formal and official, the other more informal and personal, and the particular behaviours may be distributed between those poles.

In some cases an item may belong to both categories. In other cases the same item is placed in both categories: it is not clear which voice is predominant. The picture is further complicated by the fact that there are a number of sets of formal language about personal relationships (the language of psychology, of marriage guidance counselling and so on). In the categorization made here, it is not intended that the words in the left hand column are never found in the right hand one. It is rather that the former are typical of personal relations, and this is the tone that the document wishes to set.

9.3 Corroboration of conclusions: corpus analysis

It is possible to conduct a corpus analysis of ND and ES with many aspects in mind. Here the results of a transitivity analysis of processes in ES is presented. Using WordList, a frequency list of all lemmas in the text was generated. Secondly, a list of all lemmas denoting processes was compiled. This was reduced to a list of lemmas with three of more token occurrences. A concordance was next performed on each of these. It was then possible to see which participants were associated with the lemmas. Table 14 indicates whether the empowered, empowerer, or other feature, functioned as agent or goal in connection with the lemma and how many times.

	ER-A	ER-G	ED-A	ED-G	O-A	O-G
ENCOURAGE	9			5		4
BEING	5		1		1	1
FEELING	5					5
GIVING	5					5
BUILDING	4			3		1
ENSURE	4					4
PLANNING	2					2
PUTTING	3					3
SEEK	3					3
SHOW	2		1	1		2
SUPPORT	2			2		

Table 14: Empowered / empowerer as agent or goal

Key to abbreviations:
ER-A   Empowerer as agent
ER-G   Empowerer as goal
ED-A   Empowered as agent

ED-G   Empowered as goal
O-A   Other as agent
O-G   Other as goal

From Table 14 it is clear that the empowerer enjoys a prominent place as both agent in the first place and goal in the second. This can be graphically illustrated by chart 1.
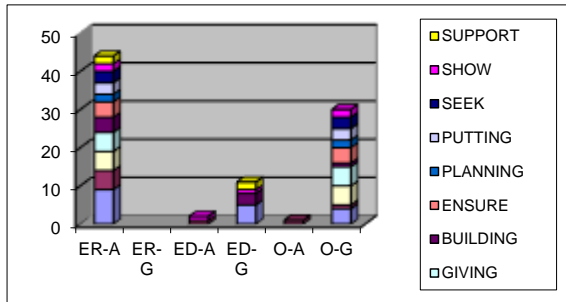
Chart 1: Empowered / empowerer as agent or goal

Key to abbreviations: as for Table 14.

However, this does not take into account Text 5 (Appendix 4; the benefits of empowerment) where the empowered is focused upon. In this text there are many nominalizations and few verbs denoting processes (which generally occur once in the entire text). But apart from this reservation, the corpus analysis supports the manual one in that the main text ES is written from the point of view of the empowerer. Although it is a training document for the empowerer, it is noteworthy that the empowered is not given prominence in terms of transitivity relations.

9.4 Wordlist and peripherals

A wordlist analysis of the Rover documents can also be used as a first step towards generating a set of peripherals for the paradorg *empowerment*. WordList was run on the collection of Rover Documents (in one file). The results are shown in Table 15. Form words such as prepositions have not been included, nor have other non-relevant words such as pronouns. All other relevant words have been included up to a frequency of six words. Thereafter a selection has been made using the analyst's resources.

Word	Freq	%
COMPANY	18	0.27
EMPLOYEES	17	0.26
EMPOWERMENT	12	0.18
EMPLOYEE	10	0.15
ENCOURAGE	9	0.14
CONTROL	7	0.11
DEVELOPMENT	7	0.11
OPPORTUNITY	7	0.11
RELATIONSHIP	7	0.11
UNDERSTANDING	7	0.11
INDIVIDUAL	6	0.09
TRUST	6	0.09
EMPOWERED	5	0.08
FEELING	5	0.08
INVOLVEMENT	5	0.08
OPPORTUNITIES	5	0.08
RESPECT	5	0.08
TEAM	5	0.08
TEAMS	4	0.06
DEVELOP	3	0.05
MANAGEMENT	3	0.05
INVOLVE	2	0.03
INVOLVED	2	0.03
INITIATIVE	1	0.02
INITIATIVES	1	0.02
MANAGERS	1	0.02
MANAGER	1	0.02
MANAGING	1	0.02

Table 15: Rover documents – selected wordlist

It is evident that there are two categories of word in the list. The first comprises words concerning the company (COMPANY), the management (MANAGE*) and employees (EMPLOYEE*, INDIVIDUAL, TEAM*). The second includes words concerning personal relationships (UNDERSTANDING, TRUST, and INVOLVE*). This evidence will be drawn upon in the establishment of peripherals of *empowerment* in section 10.

9.5 Postscript: further evidence of change in the automotive industry

While it was not possible to obtain up-dated versions of ES and ND (if, indeed, any exist), a point of diachronic comparison may be made with material analysed in a CDA study of the late 1970s.

The Rover documents indicate a completely different organization from that referred to in an interesting article by Kress & Trew from the late 1970s (Kress & Trew 1978). Their purpose was to analyse a letter in the Sunday Times Business News of 20 March 1977 which concerned a conflict within British Leyland. It is well worth giving a substantial quotation of the letter. Entitled "TOOLROOM PEACE AND WHY LEYLAND COULDN'T GET THE MESSAGE ACROSS"

The letter runs as follows.

> For the attention of plant directors and equivalent and for communication to employees as appropriate.
>
> Derek Whittaker [BL Chief Executive] has made it clear to all Plant Participation Committees in his recent visits that neither he nor his directors will be submitting any major capital expenditure for final approval to either the British Leyland board or the National Enterprise Board unless he has commitments to the necessary improvements in productivity from employees representatives of all sections and all management involved in the respective project.
> ...
> After full discussion of the ADO 88 project at Leyland Cars Joint Management Council and at the special Sub-committee the Council set up to study it, the programme was agreed. The Council also agreed that the Programme be presented to the Joint Management Committees and senior representatives in the plants concerned to obtain their endorsement. Endorsement has been obtained from all plants except Longbridge where meetings are held today at shop-floor level seeking a commitment satisfactory to everyone.

This letter is accompanied by an article. Kress & Trew interpret the opinion of the Sunday Times expressed therein to mean that clearer letters from management to workers would result in fewer strikes. However, Kress & Trew also see a deeper meaning. Using CL techniques and concepts they outline two possible underlying scenarios, the pluralist in which a plurality of views may lead to conflict, and the unitary in which an identity of views on the nature of the organization holds sway.

In the original letter Kress & Trew note indications of both a pluralist and a unitary underlying situation, an attempt to express a unified purpose throughout the company and its structures, but signs of authority as well. The unitary indications were reduced in the Times' rewritten version. There was, as Kress & Trew put it

...a switch from a 'unitary ideology' of industrial relations to a 'pluralist ideology' (ibid., p.762)

and again

...in the rewriting the focus has remained on Derek Whittaker, the individual, but has switched from his role as 'communicator with employees' to a more physical and forceful role (ibid., p.762).

Kress & Trew conclude by offering their own suggested version of the letter which clearly tends to the unitary side. As a comment on this in comparison with the Rover documents from the 1990s, it may be remarked that perhaps the economic and social circumstances of the 1970s were not such as could foster a unitary atmosphere and ideology within industrial organizations. Twenty years on, and after significant change in the environment, it may be possible to bring about change. One further point of comparison is the language used in the original letter to denote the levels in the structure. If the government is included (and after all they had a stake in the company) then an impressive hierarchy comprising twelve levels is found.

1. The government
2. The NEB
3. The BL board
4. Leyland Cars Joint Management Council
5. The special Sub-committee
6. Joint Management Committees
7. Plant directors
8. Plant Participation Committees
9. Senior representatives in the plants
10. Shop-floor level
11. Employees representatives
12. Employees.

This was not commented upon by Kress & Trew, but it stands in sharp relief in the present context of reducing layers and flattening organizations.

9.6 Short text 2: excellent companies

So far an argument has been presented which is based on contemporary theory on the new type of organization structure that is required if a company or other body is both to survive and prosper in current conditions. There is plenty of linguistic evidence for this as has been offered in the analysis of Rover Group documents (see chapter 9). In the analysis (both manual and corpus) of these documents it is possible to discern a tension between aspirations associated with the term *empowerment* and the realities of representation: there is a focus on the empowerer rather than on the empowered. The reverse would be aspired to in theory.

Further contextual and historical evidence will now be brought forward in order to examine the concept of *empowerment* more deeply. The inclusion of these two perspectives will provide some response to Fowler's call for a treatment of history and context in the CDA model (Fowler 1988a, p.488).

The source drawn upon here in order to extend the background perspective of the term *empowerment* consists of a comprehensive and highly significant diachronic study of the attributes of premier companies (Collins & Porras 1995). Furthermore, an analysis of even a short text (the core ideological values of the premier companies) by means of the techniques of corpus linguistics will be seen to point the way to a fresh interpretation of this evidence. It will also be seen that a corpus approach can provide a dimension of objectivity with which to counter analysts' preconceptions.

9.6.1 Visionary companies

In a thorough and compelling study of large companies, Collins & Porras set out to identify and describe organizations which can be considered truly outstanding over the long term. Such companies they name visionary. Their main characteristics include industry leadership, high regard by peers, a lasting impact on society, many product cycles, a succession of chief executives, and a strong core ideology.

Collins & Porras performed highly detailed research on eighteen large companies founded before 1950. They also composed a control group consisting of eighteen other large corporations which, while they may be good companies in many respects (see Table 16), do not live up to the criteria of the really excellent. The control group companies were founded in the same era as their opposite numbers.

Visionary companies	Date of foundation	Control group
Citicorp	1812	Chase Manhattan
Procter & Gamble	1837	Colgate
Philip Morris	1847	RJR Nabisco
American Express	1850	Wells Fargo
Johnson & Johnson	1886	Bristol-Myers Squibb
Merck	1891	Pfizer
General Electric	1892	Westinghouse
Nordstrom	1901	Melville
3M	1902	Norton
Ford	1903	GM
IBM	1911	Burroughs
Boeing	1915	McDonnell Douglas
Walt Disney	1923	Columbia
Marriott	1927	Howard Johnson
Motorola	1928	Zenith
Hewlett-Packard	1938	Texas Instruments
Sony	1945	Kenwood
Wal-Mart	1945	Ames

Table 16: Visionary companies

Collins and Porras found that the one clear differentiating point is that the founders of visionary companies have sought to build a company with enduring core values and ideology (in a general sense of strong belief-set). The core values are deeply believed in and adhered to consistently over time. These core values usually include a strong humanistic element. The activity is conducted to the benefit of society, defined in the broadest way, to both the personnel and the customers (ibid., pp.73ff). The prime mover of visionary companies was not a great market idea or product, the drive for profit, a charismatic leader, a precise business strategy, or other attributes which are commonly conceived (ibid., pp.7-11).

As a counterpart to the core ideology, Collins & Porras identify the stimulation of progress as the other fundamental aspect of their 'key framework concept' (ibid., p.228). An evolutionary model best fits their history. The founder or managers have sought to create an environment where experimentation and

creative ideas   eventually   lead to innovative and successful products. Management theories in contemporary circulation tend to concentrate on what is needed at any given time in history.

9.6.2 Visionary companies – core ideologies

At present management theory focuses on an increasing emphasis on values and reward (Peters 1997). These values have always been extremely important, as is shown in their position in visionary companies. The fact that they are central to visionary companies shows that they are not temporary and confined to the 1980s and 1990s. Their correct implementation has provided an essential contribution to the success of visionary companies.

According to Collins and Porras, a strong commitment to a core ideology (whether spoken or unspoken, written or unwritten) clearly formed an indispensable part of the definition of a visionary company.   But no specific ideological content was found to be essential to being a visionary company.

> We concluded that the critical issue is not whether or not a company has the "right" core ideology or a "likeable" core ideology but rather whether it *has* a core ideology – likeable or not – that gives guidance and inspiration to people *inside that company* (ibid., p.68).

More important was the existence of a core ideology alongside a strong belief in and adherence to the core values over a long period of time. The companies varied as to whether they made customers, employees, products and services, risk taking, or innovation central to their organization (ibid., p.87).

However, when the table of core ideologies is examined (ibid., pp.88ff), it is clear that moral values which centre on the relationship between the company and its employees feature prominently for most of the companies. For each company, Collins and Porras list between three and six core ideologies which have remained constant over the entire history of each company. Of the eighteen companies, only one did not have an explicit statement of value relevant to the employees. Often, statements included (either specifically or by implication) employees, customers and the wider society. Corpus techniques applied even to such a small database yield interesting results.

9.6.3 Core ideologies – a corpus analysis

While, therefore, Collins and Porras' claim that there is no evidence to show that the categories *customers*, *employees*, *products* or *services*, *risk taking*, or *innovation* appeared consistently across the companies, there is clear evidence that a further category, *moral values* does. Corpus techniques can be used to highlight this category.

The tool WordList was used to generate a list of all types and tokens in the text of vision statements. These amounted to 480 and 1,865 respectively. 340 types regarding content words were then identified manually, and these were further divided into words regarding a broad ethical orientation and those which focused on the corporation. This is shown in Table 17.

	Types	% of all types	Tokens	% of all tokens
Ethical	92	27.05%	189	10.13%
Corporate	38	11.17%	76	4.07%

Table 17: Ethical vs corporate language

9.6.4. Core values and their durability

Collins and Porras are well aware of the tensions inherent in the present era of change in business and industry.

> Our key framework concept, preserving the core/stimulating progress, will also become increasingly important in the twenty-first century. Look at the trend of business organization: flatter, more decentralized, more geographically dispersed, greater individual autonomy, more knowledge workers and so on. More than at any time in the past, companies will not be able to hold themselves together with the traditional methods of control: hierarchy, systems, budgets, and the like ... More than any time in the past, employees will demand operating autonomy while also demanding that the organizations they're connected to stand for something (ibid., p.228).

When it comes to the question of how far the language of documents expressing core values corresponds with action, Collins & Porras show an acute appreciation of the problem: 'How can we be sure that the core ideologies of highly visionary companies represent more than just a bunch of nice-sounding

platitudes - words with no bite, words meant merely to pacify, manipulate or mislead?' (ibid., p.71).

Their answer is first that research in social psychology shows that '...when people publicly espouse a particular point of view, they become much more likely to behave consistent with that point of view even if they did not previously hold that point of view...' (ibid., p.71) and second that visionary companies go to great lengths to ensure that the ideology is implemented, even if this is not easy.

It may be further added that in all likelihood there must be a connection between the consistent inclusion of moral aspects in the core values and the enormous success that visionary companies have enjoyed.

However, there is clearly no guarantee that the introduction and use of fine-sounding language will result in positive change for the organization and its employees. An organization may have lengthy policy manuals which prove to be of extremely limited use in practical situations (Adler 1996). It is the implementation of policy in concrete situations which is the only final guarantee of success (Christer Ågren; personal communication, autumn 1997).

Case studies can be found to vindicate the view that the language of empowerment can simply be empty jargon with no relation to actual events. The takeover of NCR (a computer firm) by AT&T (A telecommunications company) in the USA in 1991 is a good example (Economist Magazine 23.3.1996, pp.95-96). One of the steps AT&T took in order to rejuvenate NCR was the appointment of a new Chief Executive, Mr Jerre Stead. Mr Stead introduced the language of empowerment with some vigour. Employees became 'associates', managers became 'coaches', and Mr Stead became 'head coach'. The executives' difficulties with this approach were reflected in their printing a second set of business cards for external use on which personal contact details were given. 'Putting the moose on the table' was Mr Stead's term for getting the divisions closer together. The motto was printed on T-shirts, although nobody really understood what this meant. Mr Stead also established a series of 'Juice with Jerre' meetings and asked executives to give their personal telephone number at meetings, as he did. Furthermore, he replaced the walls of conference rooms with glass to encourage a more open atmosphere. Upon returning from a business trip, one executive resigned after seeing that Stead had removed his office door (along with those of other executives). Mr Stead went on to flatten the hierarchy and told everyone they were 'empowered'. This handed some important decisions to the wrong people. These included sales managers who took low margin, high volume business in order to fill their quota. It is clear from this example both that the mere introduction of new language does not ensure success and that inappropriate

action may occur in addition. There is a clear need for a correlation between change of language use and change of practice.

It is also certainly true that there are business leaders who do not emphasise human values in the running of a company. In 1949 David Packard (of Hewlett Packard) spoke to a meeting of senior managers and suggested that

> we ... had a responsibility to our employees to recognize their dignity as human beings, and to assure that they should share in the success which their work made possible. I pointed out, also, that we had a responsibility to our customers, and to the community at large, as well (ibid., p.76).

But the research by Collins and Porras strongly suggests that those leaders who reject such an emphasis will generally not be as successful as those who do. There may be two ways of encouraging a workforce to produce results, by means of coercion or cooperation. It can be argued that history points towards cooperation as the better method (Drucker 1954: 1964; 1992; Kanter 1983; 1989; Peters 1992; Collins & Porras 1995; Handy 1997).

9.7 Chapter summary

In this chapter a start was made on the task of identifying the peripherals of the paradorg core regarding *empowerment*. The analysis of the Rover documents yielded two main results. First it was clear that a mainly conversational style was present (in spite of some linguistic tensions) and that there was a strong element of the language of relationships. Secondly, a corpus analysis gave indications of the peripherals which may be connected with the core term, *empowerment*. The character of these peripherals accorded with the overall conversational nature of the documents. The analysis of the vision and mission statements in Collins and Porras (1998) also supported the importance of moral values in the human resource area and the corpus results provided an additional dimension to the conclusions of the authors.

10. Empowerment in the press

The analysis of empowerment in the press will include the results of database searches regarding the core lemma of the search term and its peripheral lemmas (as described above in chapter 8). These results will comprise a description of the paradorg empowerment and its evolution over time.

10.1 Empowerment – corpus analysis, aims and methods

In the current study interest is focussed on empowerment as a business term. However, it is interesting to note that the term occurs in other contexts, especially those of racial groups and women's issues. This was noticed in the course of the concordance analyses. A high incidence of collocations with the lemmas BLACK* and WOMAN / WOMEN was observed. Here are the results in table 18.

EMPOWER					
	FT	TEL	IND	ECO	Total
BLACK*	200	31	35	13	279
WHITE*	6	4	13	2	25
ASIAN*	1	0	1	1	3
					0
WOMAN	0	10	12	0	22
WOMEN	28	55	96	8	187
MAN			12	3	15
MEN		2	12	6	20
GAY*	1	0	2	0	3
HOMOSEXUAL*	1	1	2	0	4
LESBIAN*	0	1	0	0	1

Table 18: Frequent collocations of empowerment outside business contexts

There next arises the question of how to identify the peripheral lemmas of empowerment in business contexts. There appear to be at least three available methods. A list can be compiled on the basis of

a.   a list drawn from a focus document.
b.   a frequency list generated by the concordance programme
c.   the analyst's own resources

In this case the first two methods were principally employed. Analyst's resources were used in terms of the input of experience in assessing certain peripherals. The focus document comprised the Rover documents (as presented and analysed in chapter nine). Since these documents are concerned with empowerment they would seem to supply both a reasonable starting point and a good means of correlation with the newspaper texts.

Certain prominent words emerged from the focus document. Expressed as lemmas, these included COMPANY, MANAGE*, EMPLOYEE, ENCOURAGE, CONTROL, DEVELOP*, INVOLVE*, OPPORTUNITY, FEELING, TEAM* and INDIVIDUAL. The focus document also provided a first indication of what orientations might be available for the categorisation of peripherals. These were the employee, the management, and the area of personal values. With this evidence to hand, it was then possible to go further in the establishment of peripherals by means of the frequency list tool.

From the frequency list of lemmas generated by WordSmith Tools, the content lemmas concerned with empowerment with higher frequencies or obvious salience were extracted manually. For example, there were six occurrences of INDIVIDUAL* (a high frequency), and yet only two occurrences of INITIAT*, a lemma which would be expected to occur in the environment of empowerment. A search was made for these terms collocated with *EMPOWER* in the four databases (FT, TEL, IND and ECO). A list was compiled of lemmas with a total occurrence of 15 or more in the FT database alone (since this contained more references to empowerment than the other three databases by far). There were two cases where the search yielded terms with more than 15 occurrences but which were not considered because of irrelevance. Of the 19 tokens of INVOLV*, 8 cases expressed relations such as …that empowerment generally involves…. In other words the participants of interest here, the empowerer and the empowered, were not represented as agent or goal or any other significant role in connection with INVOLV*. In the case of AUTHORIT*, 47 out of 59 tokens were concerned with authorities as public bodies, as in local authorities.

With regard to INDIVIDUAL, it is important to note that in business texts such as ES, the person denoted by the term the individual is a person in a lower position in any given hierarchy than persons denoted by terms such as the manager or the owner. Thus the individual may refer to people such as line workers, operatives or any lower level employee who does not fall into the traditional category of white collar worker (office worker or managerial person).

This list was then categorised into four fields, designated paradorg orientations: culture, employee, manager, owner – employer. This categorization is shown in table 19 below.

Occurrences in	FT	TEL	IND	ECO	Total
Paradorg orientation: culture					
CONTROL*	60	20	37	4	121
DELEGAT*	17	3	6	1	27
DEVELOP*	30	10	30	4	74
FEEL*	21	20	56	4	101
INITIAT*	17	6	10	1	34
OPPORTUNIT*	15	4	7	0	26
PERSON*	16	11	30	2	59
RESPONSIB*	37	7	20	1	65
TEAM*	61	8	19	10	98
TRUST*	15	12	7	3	37
Total	289	101	222	30	642
Paradorg orientation: employee					
EMPLOYEE*	102	7	45	11	165
INDIVID*	56	25	70	4	155
WORKER*	54	13	19	23	109
Total	212	45	134	38	429
Paradorg orientation: manager					
LAYER*	22	5	2	2	31
MANAGE*	134	25	60	22	241
STRATEG*	15	4	7	1	27
Total	171	34	69	25	299
Paradorg orientation: owner – employer					
COMPAN*	96	19	33	9	157
SHAREHOLDER*	20	1	3	2	26
Total	116	20	36	11	183

Table 19: Empowerment – paradorg orientations

A shortlist was then drawn up of items with a total of 60 or more occurrences, shown in table 20.

	Total occurrences in all four databases
Paradorg orientation: Culture	
CONTROL*	121
DEVELOP*	74
FEEL*	101
RESPONSIB*	65
TEAM*	98
Paradorg orientation: Employee	
EMPLOYEE*	166
INDIVID*	155
WORKER*	109
Paradorg orientation: Manager	
MANAGE*	241
Paradorg orientation: Owner-employer	
COMPAN*	157

Table 20: Paradorgs with 60 or more occurrences

10.2 Empowerment – corpus analysis, central questions

The main questions asked in the analysis were what would constitute evidence for change over time, and how can this evidence be detected and displayed?

There are a number of ways in which change over time could be detected. For example, transitivity analyses of the data may provide evidence of change in the nature of the paradorg empowerment and its peripherals over time. Change could also consist in the variation of participant role and types, as well as the development of the relation of peripherals to core.

The following analyses of the data were made. After the description of each analysis and indication of possible evidence of change is given.

a.   A token count and lexical analysis regarding the opposition of *EMPOWER* and CONTROL*.

Change may consist in variation of token count.

b.   A transitivity analysis on participants relating to the lemma DEVELOP*.

Change in participant role may occur.

c.   A token count analysis relating to participants connected to the lemma FEEL*.

Change in participant types may occur.

d.   A transitivity analysis on participants relating to the lemma RESPONSIB*.

Change in participant roles may occur.

e.   A grammatical analysis regarding the connection between the lemmas *EMPOWER* and TEAM* (whether relational or paratactic).

Change may consist in variation of token count.

f. Transitivity analyses on participants within the environments *EMPOWER* connected with EMPLOYEE*, INDIVID*, WORKER*, MANAGE*, and COMPAN* in terms of which participant role they assumed.

Change in participant roles may occur.

In addition to the above analyses, certain groups of data can be consolidated.

g. A consolidated transitivity analysis on participants relating to the lemmas MANAGE*, EMPLOYEE*, INDIVID*, WORKER*.

h. A consolidated analysis of the results for the peripherals in the orientation of culture.

i. A consolidated analysis of the results for the peripherals in the orientations of manager and employee.

In sum, change over time with regard to the relation between core and peripherals could be described in terms of three planes. The first comprises relative token counts. The second includes change in participant roles, and the third consist of change in which participants are connected with a particular process.

The first plane can be characterised by means of the terms proximity and distance. Higher token counts will indicate a closer or tighter relationship of peripheral to core, which lower counts will indicate a more distant or looser relationship. Paradorg core and peripherals may be conceived by analogy with the atomic nucleus and particles or the sun and planets. The paradorg core is surrounded by peripherals. However, unlike the atom and the sun, the distance between core and peripherals may change significantly over time (not merely in regular oscillations).

The second plane upon which change may occur is that of transitivity relations. Participant roles may change in terms of frequency of occurrence, or indeed it is conceivable that participants may switch roles.

The third plane is that of the participants themselves or participant types. Different participant or groups of participants may become associated with a certain process in connection with the core over time.

In theory, these types of change may occur in isolation or in any combination. At present it is not clear how long a period of time is required in order to be confident of identifying clear change. However, this depends on what is meant by clear change. Changes may occur in the short term (weeks or months) in fast-moving fields and in the long-term (years or centuries) in slow-moving fields. Cycles of change appear to be moving more quickly than ever before. Koestler (1979) observed that for centuries man's view of the nature of the universe remained unchanged. In the fifty-five year period since the second world war several theories of the start of the universe have been advanced (Hawking 1988). In the rapid world of business it may be that concepts and language change within months or years. The present study takes an eight year period. This may, or may not, be sufficient to detect change with regard to empowerment and federalism. However, where differences are detected it will be as well to be cautious. Only data considered over a long period such as fifty years may turn out to yield results according to which more confident claims may be made.

In that case terms such as trend will be used with caution. The term oscillation will also be used where change is evident but it may be premature to call it a trend.

The evidence for the above analyses can be detected by means of the paradorg model and the procedure developed and employed to describe their features and evolution over time (see). The results are displayed in charts generated from Excel.

In advance of the presentation of results, it is important to point out that the term empowerment has an in-built semantic quality which should be taken into account in the results. If a worker is empowered then h/she is a recipient of power and stands in a passive relation to the one who transfers or gives power. However, after receiving this power the worker then becomes active. In that case, it may be relevant to look at the development of the paradorg over time in terms of the balance of focus between the empowerer and the empowered.

10.3 Empowerment – results methodology

The results are laid out as follows:

a. the relevant peripherals are stated

b. the main social and business issues connected with the orientation are stated. These are drawn up according to the analyst's assessment of evidence in the databases

c. the relevant charts are displayed with key. For each peripheral there is one chart or a set of charts. The charts are composed by means of counting instances of peripheral occurrences for given years and recording them in Excel. The charts display consolidated results for all the four databases, unless otherwise indicated

d. the method of composition and significance of the charts is explained. For at least one peripheral in each paradorg orientation, a selection of three concordance lines is given in order to show how the judgements were made. In cases where there are many peripherals a commentary is also given after each chart or charts regarding that peripheral, although the key to abbreviations is given at the end of the chart set. In some cases codings are also given.

The detection and examination of the evidence was completed in two stages. In the first stage, a manual scan of the concordance lines was performed and manual categorisations were made according to clear criteria. In the second stage the data was entered into Excel and presented as spreadsheet charts. Each chart set is followed by a commentary.

10.3.1 The concordance lines

The search parameters were set at seven words left and seven words right of the search term. The concordancing programme, Wordsmith Tools, produces a display where it is not always possible to see words at the two extremities. In that case the drag function was used in order to expand the lines on the screen. On occasion, this was necessary in order to make the appropriate judgement on the relation between core and peripheral. In the examples shown below, it was not possible to print out the expanded versions. When the concordance lines were saved in text format, the text appeared as it originally did on performance of the concordance.

A second problem occasionally arose with the first line displayed. This is designated "n" and often constituted a repeat of the first line (designated "1"). Naturally, these copies were not counted. However, on occasion "n" and "1" were different. Finally, Wordsmith Tools sometimes copied blocks of lines (sometimes as many as ten) and so two copies appeared in a row. Only one such block was taken into account here.

10.3.2 Key to abbreviations

The following key to abbreviations applies to the charts.

FT - Financial Times   TEL - Daily and Sunday Telegraph
IND – Independent   ECO – Economist Magazine.

Other abbreviations particular to each chart are explained with the chart in question.

10.4 Empowerment – corpus analysis, results

The results are now presented according to the methodology and procedures described above.

10.5 Paradorg orientation: Culture

a. Peripherals: CONTROL*, DEVELOP*, FEEL*, RESPONSIB*, TEAM*

b. Main social and business issues

The main issues connected with the peripherals here include

i.   how far empowerment and control are contrasted in terms of an opposition

between the control of people and the empowerment of people as management

techniques (in a general sense)

ii.   which participant (the empowerer or the empowered) gives or receives
development
iii.   which categories of participants are connected with feeling and
empowerment (who is that feels empowered)
iv.   which participant (the empowerer or the empowered) gives or receives

        responsibility

v.   how far empowerment is associated with teams in the workplace

c. The charts, their composition and significance
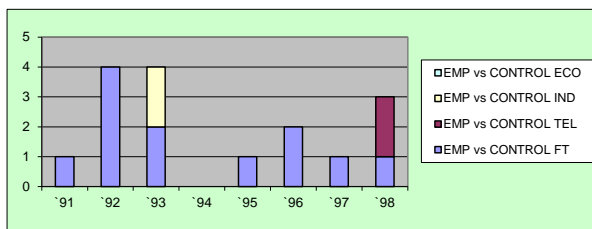
Chart 2: *EMPOWER* vs CONTROL*

Key to abbreviations
EMP vs CONTROL = empowerment contrasted with control

Chart 2 shows instances where *empowerment* is contrasted with *control* as
different and opposing kinds of management technique. Empowerment is
associated with freedom and release from control. Change of meaning over time
could be described in terms of relative frequency of occurrence and strength of
contrast. While there are differences of frequency it is difficult to discern any
trend. The variety of language used to express the contrast made it impossible to
plot any change of strength in the contrast.

Here are three example concordance lines which illustrate contrasts between *empowerment* and *control*.

```
WordSmith Tools -- 24/03/99 11:31:50
all 60 entries
Financial Times
1992

11      than adopting an either-or approach to empowerment versus control, the academic

12      and other employees) are control versus empowerment-minded. Exemplifying these d

13      raised these very questions: how do you 'empower' the workforce without losing c
```
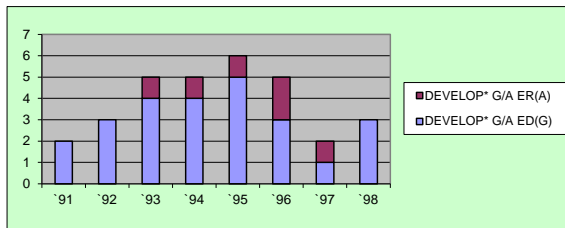

Chart 3: DEVELOP* - participant roles

Key to abbreviations
DEVELOP* G/A ER(A) = the empowerer as associated participant stands in the role of goal to the process
DEVELOP* G/A ED (G) = the empowered as associated participant stands in the role of goal to the process

Chart 3 clearly shows that there is a focus on the empowered as goal in the process: the empowered is developed. It is possible to distinguish a clear trend where there is a peak of instances (five) in 1995. It is not clear, however, whether there is a second peak in 1998 (three instances) or whether one is developing.

These concordance lines are illustrative of cases where the participant in the role of goal is empowered to develop, where *develop* occurs both in transitive and intransitive meaning (in non-SLF terms).

```
WordSmith Tools -- 24/03/99 11:40:47
all 30 entries

Financial Times
1991
3      s. These include:  Development agencies empowered to develop infrastructure and

1992

4      the industry, to promote their personal empowerment and development as farmers.

1993

8       from this study: Modern software tools empower users to develop their own solut
```
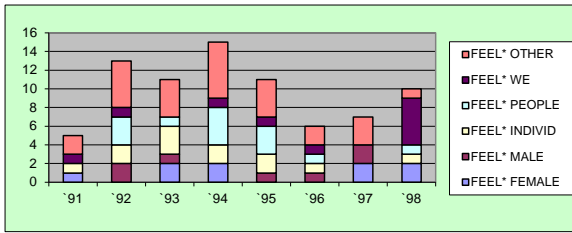
Chart 4: Persons occurring as participants (agents) in the environment
EMPOWER and FEEL* (bar chart)
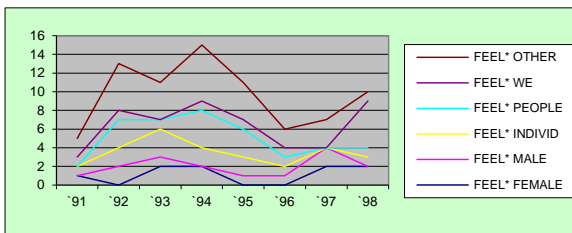
Chart 5: Persons occurring as participants (agents) in the environment
EMPOWER and FEEL* (stacked line chart)

Key to abbreviations
OTHER = occurrences where the person is unspecified or instances are too few to categorize
WE = occurrences of the lemmas WE, I, US, or YOU
PEOPLE = occurrences of the lemma PEOPLE
INDIVID = occurrences of the lemma INDIVID*
MALE = occurrences of the lemma MALE, or named male person
FEMALE = occurrences of the lemmas WOMEN / WOMAN, or named female person

These three concordance lines exhibit a variety of agents in the mental process
feel empowered.

```
WordSmith Tools -- 24/03/99 13:30:19
all 20 entries

Daily and Sunday Telegraph

1994

9      ditional burial. We want people to feel empowered. 'In a sense we are going back

10     ised this, it made us feel tremendously empowered. We were going to fight it. We

11     creating a climate in which people feel empowered to be innovative about satisfy
```

These lines were coded as follows:

Code: NP + FEEL* + (ADV) EMPOWER*

Where NP = noun phrase, ADV = adverb, FEEL* = a form of the verb *to feel*, and *EMPOWER* = form of the verb *to empower*.

Charts 10.3a and 10.3b show that apart from the category of OTHER (which covers a miscellany of participants), the largest categories represented are PEOPLE (13), INDIVIDUAL (12), and FEMALE (9). There is a clear sense that *empowerment* has a direct personal association. It is not easy to see any trend as to the balance of representation between participants. If anything, there is a rise in the lemmas WE, I, US and YOU from 1997 to 1998, and a fall in all other lemmas apart from OTHER (an increase) and PEOPLE (which remains on the same level).
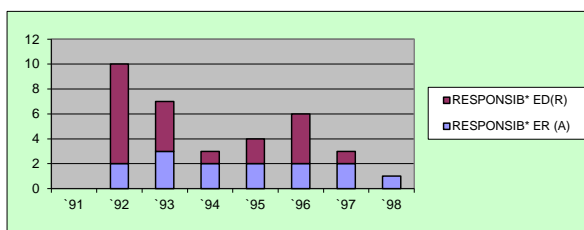
Chart 6: RESPONSIB* - participant roles

Key to abbreviations
RESPONSIB* ED (R) = the participant is the empowered and assumes the role of recipient of responsibility

RESPONSIB* ER (A) = the participant is the empowerer and assumes the role of agent in giving responsibility

Chart 6 shows that the empowered is represented more in the role of receiving responsibility than the empowerer does in the role of giving responsibility. Here the focus is on the empowered, and there are two peaks in the data, one in 1992 (ten instances in total) and the other in 1996 (six instances in total). There is thus an oscillation in the chart between the two peaks and perhaps an overall decline in proximity for the peripheral RESPONSIB*.

Here are three example concordance lines which show the empowered as receiving responsibility.

```
WordSmith Tools -- 6/4/00 10:20:39 AM
all 20 entries

Independent

1992

3       e read: 'The central requirement is the empowerment of responsible individuals.'
7       on, the headteacher, said he wanted 'to empower children to be more responsible
8        the promotion of maximum independence, 'empowering people to take responsiblity
```
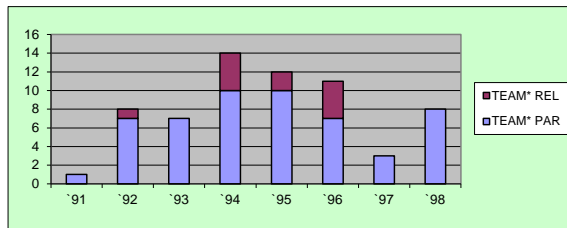

Chart 7: TEAM* - paratactic or relational

Key to abbreviations
TEAM* REL = participants are connected by the relational process
TEAM* PAR = participants stand in a paratactic relation to each other

Chart 7 shows that the instances of a paratactic relationship between empowerment and teams and teamwork clearly outweigh those of a connection by means of the relational process. Overall, empowerment is associated with teams and teamwork and there is a peak of occurrences (14 in total) in 1994.

Here are three example concordance lines which illustrate paratactic relations.

```
WordSmith Tools -- 6/4/00 10:04:23 AM
all 10 entries

Economist

1992

, with a culture of openness, teamwork, empowerment and so on. That was fine in


1994

s at EDS seem to be (as is fashionable) empowerment, trust and team-based leader
 - putting customers first, using teams, empowering workers, rewarding performanc
```

10.6 Paradorg orientation: Employee

a. Peripherals: EMPLOYEE*, INDIVID*, WORKER*

b. Main social and business issues

The principal social and business issues here concern the extent to which the empowered person (denoted by terms such as *the employee, the individual,* or *the worker*) occurs in an active role. This may be expressed linguistically by the occurrence of the participant in the role of goal or agent. However, given the inherent transitivity of the term *empowerment*, other evidence may appear by which such a measurement may be made. For example, once empowered, the individual is in a position to act.

c. The charts, their composition and significance
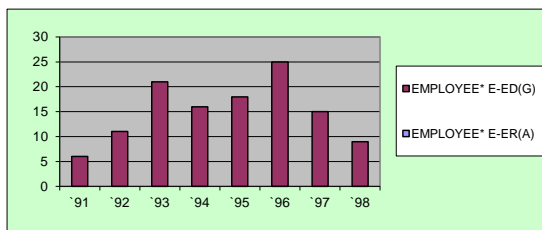
Chart 8: EMPLOYEE* - participants as agent or goal

Key to abbreviations
EMPLOYEE* E-ED (G) = the employee is the empowered as goal
EMPLOYEE* E-ER (A) = the employee is the empowerer as agent

In chart 8 the results show that the employee is highly likely to assume the role of empowered as goal in the process (with two peaks, one in 1993 (21 instances) and the other in 1996 (25 instances)). The employee never occurs in the role of empowerer as agent, which is not surprising given the nature of empowerment (employees are the sorts of people to be empowered, not to empower others (at least in the initial stages of an empowerment process). There is a possible trend of increasing distance between this peripheral and the core between 1996 and 1998.

Here are three example concordance lines where the employee assumes the role of goal in the process.

```
WordSmith Tools -- 24/03/99 12:42:56
all 102 entries

Financial Times

1993

18       information. If those employees can be 'empowered' with the information, the ch

19     g red tape, putting the customer first, empowering employees by decentralising a

20     s redesign, culture change and employee empowerment almost since its formation a
```

These lines were coded as follows:

Code: (EMPLOYEE*) + (AUX) + *EMPOWER* + (EMPLOYEE*)

Where EMPLOYEE* = *employee* or *employees*, AUX = auxiliary verb, *EMPOWER* = form of the verb *to empower*.
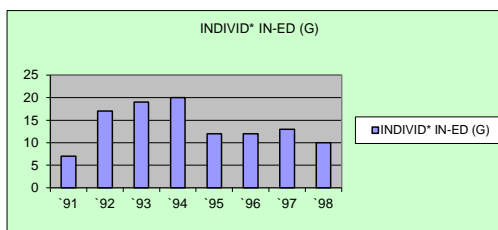
Chart 9: INDIVID* - participants are empowered (as goal)

Key to abbreviations
INDIVID* IN-ED (G) = the individual is the empowered as goal

Chart 9 shows that there is a consistent occurrence of the individual as goal in the empowered position. There were no occurrences of the individual so occurring as agent. A peak of instances (20) occurs in 1994. As with EMPLOYEE*, there may be a trend of increasing distance between this peripheral and the core in the latter years, in this case between 1994 and 1998.

Here are three example concordance lines where the individual occurs as goal in the process.

```
WordSmith Tools -- 24/03/99 13:26:04
all 25 entries

Daily and Sunday Telegraph

1994

10     to be included' in policy making, to be 'empowered as individuals', to be 'invol

11     has a clear philosophical standpoint of empowering the individual, while removin

12     l to embrace management techniques like 'empowerment of the individual,' 'total
```
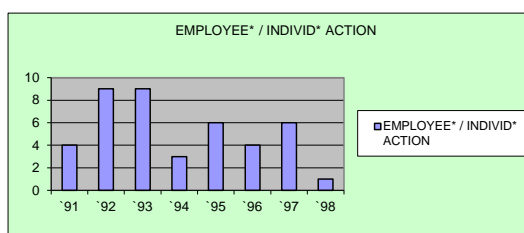

Chart 10: EMPLOYEE* /INDIVID* - participants are empowered to act

Key to abbreviations
EMPLOYEE* / INDIVID* ACTION = the employee or individual is empowered to take action

Chart 10 indicates the occurrences of instances where the employee or individual is empowered to do something, or take action as it is expressed here.

This evidence goes some way towards explaining the apparent contradiction in the inherent transitivity of the term *empowerment.* As a part of the empowerment process the empowered is given the power to do something. Although the inherent transitivity of *empowerment* would suggest a passive characterization of the affected participant, when EMPOWER* is followed by a variety of further verbs the empowered may then assume an active role.

There are two peaks in the data, 1992-1993 (9 instances each) and 1995, 1996 and 1997 (6, 4, and 6 instances respectively). This may suggest an oscillation rather than a trend in terms of distance from the paradorg core.

Example concordance lines where the empowered is empowered to take action include the following.

```
WordSmith Tools -- 24/03/99 13:26:04
all 25 entries

Daily and Sunday Telegraph

1996

15      arts; to strengthen communities; and to empower individuals to help themselves.


WordSmith Tools -- 6/4/00 10:19:00 AM
all 45 entries

Independent

1992

4       imposed, they insist. Employees must be empowered to experiment and make mistake

1993

7       hes to development that are designed to empower employees to strive to achieve t
```

In these examples employees are empowered *to help themselves*, *to experiment and make mistakes, and to strive to achieve…*

There was great variety of verbs which followed EMPOWER*, and no clear categories emerged.
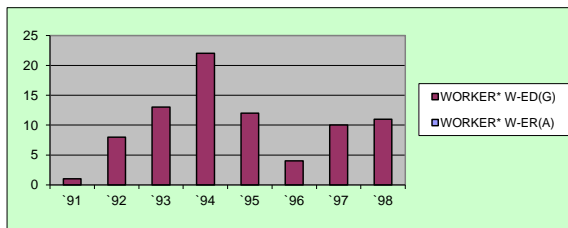
Chart 11: WORKER* - participants are empowered (as goal) or empowerer (as agent)

Key to abbreviations
WORKER* W-ED (G) = the worker is the empowered as goal
WORKER* W-ER (A) = the worker is the empowerer as agent

Chart 10.8 indicates that the worker consistently occupies the role of empowered as goal, and never as agent. There is a major peak of 23 instances in 1994. As regards distance from the core, there appears to be an oscillation between two peaks, one major peak in 1994 (23 instances) and one minor peak in 1998 (11 instances).

271

Here are three example concordance lines where the worker occurs as goal.

```
WordSmith Tools -- 6/4/00 6:44:50 PM
all 23 entries

Economist Magazine

1992

4      encounter resistance,' says Mr Palermo; 'Empowering workers means taking power f
3      ecade eliminating layers of management, 'empowering' workers, putting a networke

1993

e hierarchies, delegating authority and empowering workers may be today's manage
```

10.7 Paradorg orientation: Manager

a. Peripherals: MANAGE*

b. Main social and business issues

Here the main question is how far managers or managements occur in active or passive relations regarding empowerment. How far do managers occur as empowerers or as empowered?

c. The chart, its composition and significance
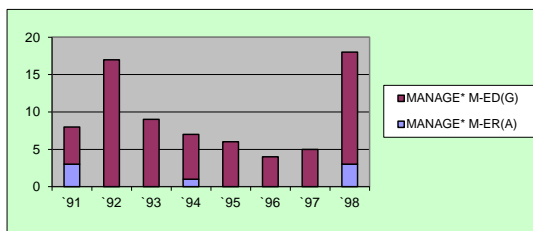
Chart 12: MANAGE* - participants are empowered (as goal) or empowerer (as agent)

Key to abbreviations
MANAGE* M-ED (G) = the manager is the empowered as goal
MANAGE* M-ER (A) = the manager is the empowerer as agent

The results in chart 12 show that the manager can occur as empowered (goal) to a large degree in comparison with the representation of manager as agent. There

are two peaks (one in 1992 (17 instances) and the other in 1998 (15 instances). This may show an oscillation with regard to distance from the core.

Here are three example concordance lines which illustrate manager as goal.

```
WordSmith Tools -- 24/03/99 11:29:12
all 134 entries

Financial Times

1       e to cover for it.  The memorandum also empowers a single debt manager - defined

2        drafting economic strategies and newly-empowered Soviet managers are counting o

3       e as a result.  If decentralisation and empowerment of managers were the basic m
```

10.8 Paradorg orientation: Owner-employer

a. Peripherals: COMPAN*

b. Main social and business issues

The main issue here consists of the position of the company as giving power or receiving power.

c. The chart, its composition and significance
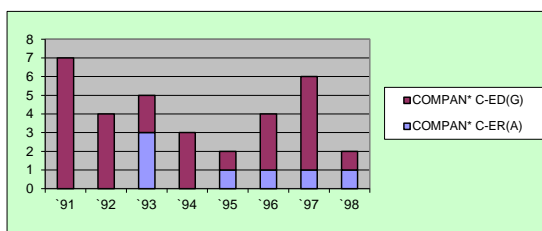
Chart 13: COMPAN* - participants are empowered (as goal) or empowerer (as agent)

Key to abbreviations
COMPAN* C-ED (G) = the company is the empowered as goal
COMPAN* C-ER (A) = the company is the empowerer as agent

Chart 13 shows that the company appears to a high degree in the role of empowered as goal and on two occasions only as agent. Three peaks are found, one in 1991 (with 7 instances), one in 1993 (with 5 instances) and one in 1997

(with 6 instances in total). This may indicate an oscillation from the core in terms of proximity.

Here are two example concordance lines which show the company occurring as goal and one which shows it occurring as agent.

```
WordSmith Tools -- 6/4/00 7:00:46 PM
all 9 entries

Economist Magazine


1991

1       Haas's drive to build what he calls an 'empowered' company, founded on a list o

1992

0

1993

2       which Chinese production companies are empowered to become their own distributo

1995

3       vation, says Mr Coyne, the company must empower every employee.
        'Managers must s
```

10.9 Consolidated results

There now follow three sets of charts in which results are consolidated (chart sets 14, 15, and 16).

Chart set 14 MANAGE*, EMPLOYEE*/INDIVID*/WORKER* as empowered (goal) or empowerer (agent)
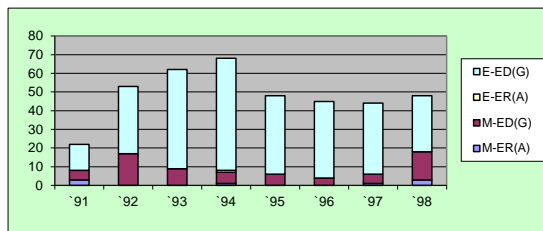
Chart 14a - stacked column
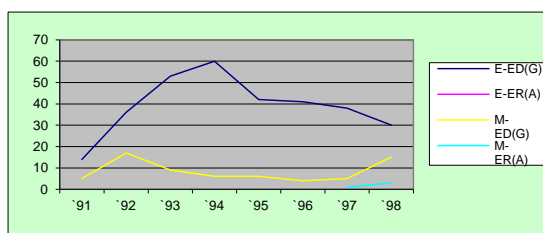
Chart 14b - line

Key to abbreviations

E-ED (G) - The employee, individual or worker is the empowered as goal
E-ER (A) - The employee, individual or worker is the empowered as agent
M-ED (G) – The manager is the empowered as goal
M-ER (A) – The manager is the empowerer as agent

Chart 14a and chart 14b are the first of four sets of charts where paradorg results are consolidated together and they indicate the relative importance of the peripherals in the orientations of manager and employee. The charts show the consolidated totals of the results for the peripherals in the orientation of employee (EMPLOYEE*, INDIVID* and WORKER*) and that in the orientation of manager (MANAGE*).

There is clearly more focus on the employee as goal, although there is a possible increase of focus on the manager. The instances of employee peripherals fall from a peak in 1994 of sixty instances to a plateau of about forty from 1995 to 1997. In 1998 the number of instances falls to about thirty. While the number of instances of manager peripherals falls from a peak of just over twenty in 1992 to about ten in 1994-5, the number rises from 1997 to 1998 to reach about fifteen. This is in exact contrast to the trend for the peripherals of employee, instances of which fall from 1997 to 1998.

For EMPLOYEE*, therefore, distance from the core increases from 1994 to 1998, whereas for MANAGE* distance decreases from 1997 to 1998.

Chart set 15 Paradorg orientation – culture: historical development of peripherals

Chart 15a - stacked column
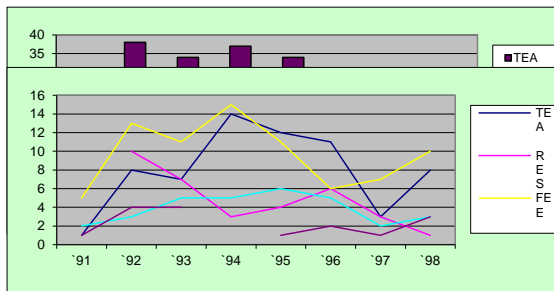
Chart 15b - line

Key to abbreviations

TEA – TEAM*
RES – REPONSIB*
FEE – FEEL*
DEV – DEVELOP*
CON – CONTROL*

Charts 15a and 15b display the fluctuations in relative importance with regard to the relationship between the core paradorg, *EMPOWER*, and its peripherals in the orientation of culture. There does appear to be a peak of interest between the years 1992 to 1995. There is a decline in the number of total instances from 1996 to 1997 but this is followed by a rise in 1998.

The two items with the largest number of occurrences are TEAM* and FEEL* (with peaks of fourteen and fifteen respectively in 1994). There appears to be a broad correlation between them in that each has a peak in 1992 and 1994, a fall to 1996 (FEEL*) and 1997 (TEAM*) and a rise to 1998. While the instances of DEVELOP* and CONTROL* followed the same trend (in lower numbers and partially (in the case of CONTROL*)), instances of RESPONSIB* displayed a contrary trend from 1992 to 1994 (a fall) and 1994 to 1996 (a rise). From 1996 to 1997 the instances fell together with all the other peripherals, but from 1997 to 1998 they continued to fall while all the others rose.

There is thus a general increase in proximity to the core from 1991 to 1994, a decrease from 1994 to 1997, and a small increase from 1997 to 1998. This applies to all the peripherals except RESPONSIB*, which demonstrates the opposite development. It is not immediately obvious why this should be.

Chart set 16 Paradorg orientations – culture, employee, manager and owner-employer: historical development of peripherals
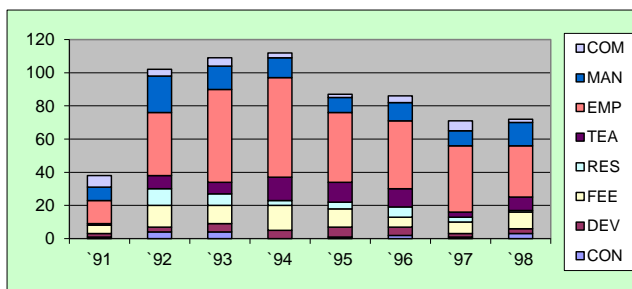
Chart 16a – stacked column
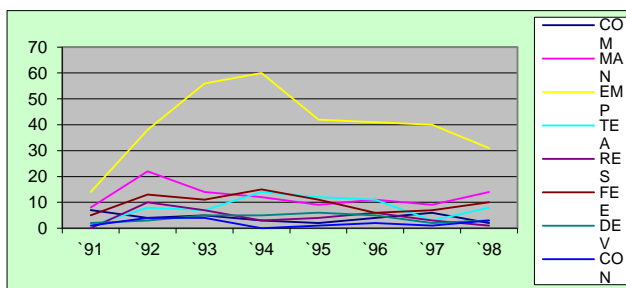
Chart 16b – line

Key to abbreviations for charts 16a and 16b
COM – COMPAN*
MAN – MANAGE*
EMP – EMPLOYEE*
TEA – TEAM*
RES – REPONSIB*
FEE – FEEL*
DEV – DEVELOP*
CON – CONTROL*

When the results of the preceding two charts are consolidated and are shown (with the inclusion of the results for COMPAN*) in charts 16a and 16b, it can be seen that the orientation of employee remains the most important in its relation to empowerment. Apart from the instances for the orientations employee and manager, all the other peripherals rise, broadly speaking, in the number of instances from 1991 to 1994 and then fall gradually from 1994 to 1997. They then rise from 1997 to 1998. The instances of MANAGE* rise more sharply from 1991 to 1992 and then fall along with the other peripherals (apart from those concerned with the orientation employee) and follow the same trend until and including 1998. As described before, the number of instances of peripherals connected with the orientation employee constitute by far the largest and follow the general trend apart from 1997 to 1998 when they fall, as opposed to rise in the case of all the others.

The proximity of EMPLOYEE* to the core increases sharply from 1991 to 1994, then falls and remains on a plateau between 1995 and 1997, and then falls again between 1997 and 1998. In comparison, the distance from the core of all other peripherals remains broadly unchanged over the period.

10.10 Empowerment - conclusions

With regard to the business context of empowerment, the results can be described in terms of the change parameters identified at the beginning of the chapter (section 10.2). Evidence for change can be found in terms of token count (which for the peripheral indicates the proximity to or distance from the core), change in participant type, and change in participant role and relative prominence.

Regarding proximity and distance, it was found that for the peripherals CONTROL* and TEAM* there appeared to be no change in overall trend but rather an oscillation between peaks. As for change in participant type, there was some change in the development of participants connected with the peripheral FEEL*. There was an increase in the participants WE, I, US and YOU in the latter part of the period.

Concerning participant role, there was no change for the participants connected with DEVELOP*. For RESPONSIB*, there was a possible increase of distance for the empowered as recipient of responsibility, but there was no corresponding decrease for the empowerer as agent. The consolidated results for the peripherals EMPLOYEE*, INDIVID*, and WORKER* compared with MANAGE* indicated a possible decrease in focus for the former group from 1994 to 1998. In the last two years there was an increase in focus for MANAGE*, in that the token count rose. When the consolidated results are considered for the paradorg orientation of culture, a general increase in proximity to the core was found for all peripherals except RESPONSIB*, which showed a decrease in the last two years, 1997 – 1998.

10.11 Chapter summary

In this chapter the aims and methods of the empirical study regarding *empowerment* were set out. The paradorg peripherals were established by means of a systematic method and the results were set out in a series of charts with commentaries. The chapter ended with a summary of conclusions and it points toward the following chapter (chapter 11) in which a parallel study is carried out for *federalism.*

11. Federalism: textual evidence

The aim of this chapter is to implement the DSA model with regard to the paradorg *federalism.* The paradorg peripherals are established according to the DSA procedures described in chapter 8, and the results are displayed in charts together with commentaries.

When all the peripherals are consolidated, one clear result stands out. There is a rise in proximity for the paradorg orientation employee from 1991 to 1994, and then a fall from 1994 to 1998. This is possible the single most significant change in the paradorg meaning that the results show. The connection between peripherals representing the employee tightens and then loosens over time. Perhaps the emphasis is changing in the latter part of the historical period in favour of other participants being empowered, especially those in the orientation of manager. Otherwise, it is clear from the results that the empowered, participant as goal, is represented more than other participants are.

The results of the corpus analysis can also be compared with earlier descriptions of power-sharing and empowerment, and especially the four stages of empowerment outlined in chapter 7 (section 7.7). With regard to the four historical stages of empowerment identified, it is hard to find any correlation for

these in the corpora. If anything, the collection of peripherals around the core paradorg would point to the standard definition of empowerment as occurring in stage two (from the mid/late 1980s to the 1990s). There is certainly no occurrence of any linguistic items relevant to stages one, three or four.

As regarding non-business contexts, a clear result emerged from the corpora that empowerment is most typically connected with black ethnic groups. BLACK enjoyed a higher frequency of concordance with *EMPOWER* (231 occurrences) than the most frequently occurring items in the business context (MANAGE* (159) and EMPLOYEE (109)).

11.1 Federalism, the press and CDA

In order to provide a description of the term *federalism* over time textual evidence was drawn upon from three daily newspapers, the Financial Times, the Daily and Sunday Telegraph, the Independent, and one weekly, the Economist magazine. While the mediation of information also occurs through other significant channels such as the television and radio, there do not exist large scale diachronic and continuous databases of transcriptions at present. The analysis of information from those sources thus involves a great deal of painstaking and time-consuming work. On the other hand, the serious newspapers and magazines, such as the four drawn upon here, tend to be read by decision-makers. An analysis of these will therefore reflect information which is influential in important decisions.

The analysis of newspaper articles and the mediating role of the press has been a regular interest within the CDA tradition (Fairclough 1988c; 1995a; 1994b; 1995c; Hodge 1985; Fowler 1987; 1991b; Kress 1983a; Kress 1986; Kress & van Leeuwen 1996). This work stands in the context of media studies, a field where emphasis has been placed on the power of the press to persuade and convince (Gans 1979, Morley 1983; Schlesinger 1987). Some CDA analysts have focussed on politics (Seidel 1985; Hodge 1989b) but only one has concentrated on the representation of the relations between Britain and the EU in the press (Hardt-Mautner 1995). This study is typical of CDA methodology in that it takes newspaper extracts selected on the basis of the analyst's own opinions - it does not utilize the rigour of a corpus-based investigation.

11.1.1 Federalism and the United Kingdom

The history of the United Kingdom since the second world war has been characterised by political indecision as to whether it is an Atlantic or continental power (Harrop 1989; Williams 1994) and economic strategy as to participation in the market side of the EU (Owen & Dynes 1993; Budd & Jones 1994). This indecision is reflected in attitudes to federalism (or power-sharing) and integration in the EU. There is a wealth of literature on the ways in which federalism and integration are conceived in practice. Major parameters include the single market and EU economy (Cecchini 1988; Swann 1988; 1992; Wilks & McGowan 1996), the legal and constitutional framework (Shaw 1993), Social legislation (Peacock 1993a; 1993b; 1993c), and the single currency (Tew 1996). The single currency was named the Euro at the Madrid summit on 15 December, 1995. Now that the single currency has begun (on 1 January 1999), attention is turning towards enlargement to the eastern countries (Allen 1996) the budget (Commission of the European Communities 1997; Agenda 2000) and the institutions (Martin 1993; 1995; Brittan 1994; O'Neill 1992; Soros 1998). Development of the institutions centres around the provisions of two recent treaties, The Treaty of Maastricht (agreed in 1991) and the Treaty of Amsterdam (agreed in 1996). While these Treaties were agreed in 1991 and 1996 at EU summits, they were not ratified in member states's parliaments until the respective year following. However, the date of agreement is the more significant and that is what shall be referred to in this study.

11.2 Federalism in the press – corpus analysis, aims and methods

As with *empowerment*, the aim of the analysis was to describe *federalism* as a paradorg and its peripheral lemmas in terms of change of meaning over time. The material consisted of databases drawn from the Financial Times, the Daily and Sunday Telegraph, the Independent and the Economist Magazine over the years 1991 - 1998. With regard to *federalism*, a difference in representation was to be expected between the four publications. The Telegraph group is widely known as entertaining a negative stance towards the EU. Indeed, the owner, Conrad Black is well-known for his views against European integration. On the other hand, the Financial Times and the Economist can be characterised as publications which present a balanced view of economic and political issues. The Independent has a claim to the centre ground in political economy. Differences were thus expected in the definition and development of the paradorgs between each publication.

Three methods were chosen so as to establish the peripheral lemmas:

a. keyword analysis

b. frequency list analysis

c. analyst's own resources

In the absence of a focus text such as Empowerment Skills, a keyword analysis was performed using as target texts the Independent database of 1991, the Daily and Sunday Telegraph database of 1994, and the Financial Times database of 1998. (These databases were the largest with regard to each of the three years). All four total corpora were employed as the reference texts. 1991, 1994, and 1998 were chosen as the first, middle, and last years in the total database. The aim was to establish keywords in the target texts with relevance to the EU and *federalism*. Following this, frequency lists were also generated in order to assist the identification of peripheral lemmas. The final categories were drawn up by means of a combination of information derived from the keyword and frequency analyses together with the assistance of the analyst's own resources.

Naturally, a keyword analysis could be conducted for every year using the database of each newspaper. This would produce thirty-two tables of results. Although thorough, this might be considered more than necessary and in any case would be too large in volume for inclusion in the present study. It is therefore hoped that the approach adopted here of selecting three databases only will be adequate for present purposes.

In order to display the results the following charts were used from Excel.

d. clustered column: shows trend over time

e. stacked column: compares the trend of the contribution of each value over time

f. smooth lines: shows trend over time

g. stacked lines: compares the trend of the contribution of each value over time

Clustered and stacked columns provide exact numerical values for each contribution, while a display of smooth lines gives a picture of the changing shape of a paradorg in relation to its main peripherals over time.

11.2.1 Federalism in the press – keyword analysis

As already stated, three target texts were chosen in the keyword analysis. These were those of the first year 1991 (Independent), the middle year 1994 (Daily and Sunday Telegraph), and the final year 1998 (Financial Times) drawn from the whole database. In December 1991 the Maastricht Treaty was agreed. This was highly significant for the process of European integration, and it was perhaps to be expected that this year would yield the largest quantity of data. This can be seen from table 21 and Chart 11.1 which give the occurrences of EURO* + FEDERAL* (not RESERVE) over the two main corpora.

	FT	TEL	IND	ECO	Total articles	Total words
`91	153	132	281	53	619	642224
`92	130	181	109	37	457	536049
`93	99	104	89	20	312	336970
`94	130	222	96	33	481	468836
`95	79	150	116	29	374	402841
`96	45	282	101	33	461	391977
`97	75	19	87	23	204	253158
`98	26	53	48	29	156	191888

Table 21: Diachronic mentions of <u>federalism</u> in the main corpora (number of articles and word counts)

Key to abbreviations
FT - Financial Times   TEL - Daily and Sunday Telegraph
IND – Independent   ECO – Economist Magazine
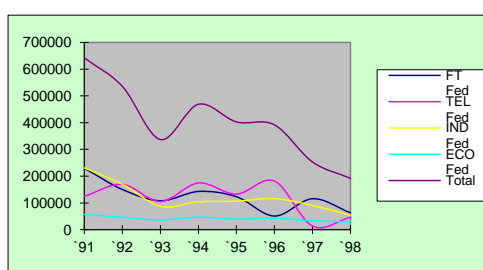
Chart 17: Diachronic mentions of federalism in the main corpora (word counts)

For each publication here are the keywords in tables 22-24, selected according to probable EU relevance.

FT		TEL		IND		ECO	
Word	Keyness	Word	Keyness	Word	Keyness	Word	Keyness
Thatcher	567	Community	510.6	EC	438.5	ECO	564.5
Community	360.8	Federal	431.4	Community	426.5	Community	535.8
Sovereignty	184.6	Union	270	Federal	330.8	Thatcher	509.8
Union	182.6	Thatcher	267.6	Thatcher	260.1	Federal	266.8
Thatcher's	173.2	European	205.7	Union	223.3	Major	183.6
Margaret	163.8	EC	197	European	164.3	European	147.3
Major	150.6	Margaret	131.8	Rome	106.5	Thatcher's	127.7
Federal	146.4	Rome	125.2	Monetary	103.8	Margaret	115.2
Federalism	141.4	Luxembourg	120.8	Sovereignty	87	Rome	97.9
Rome	133.3	Council	108.8	Treaty	80.4	Treaty	93.1
Europe	115.9	Sovereignty	95.7	Luxembourg	79.9	Hurd	87.3
European	102.3	Monetary	79.4	Economic	76.4	Tebbit	87.2
Heseltine	105.1	Economic	79.3	Thatcher's	73.9	Union	81.3
Single	99.2	Thatcher's	79.2	Federalism	65.9	Sovereignty	80.1
Treaty	94.8	Community's	66.9	Single	64.4	Kinnock	79.5
Bruges	90.7	Bruges	57.7	Margaret	63.5	Bruges	78.6
Jenkins	89.9	Kinnock	50.9	Parliament	61.3	Heath	67.3
Thatcherite	89.1			Major	54.4	Helestine	51.5
Luxembourg	78.4						
John	76.4						
Parliament	70.7						
Kinnock	65.8						
Currency	65.7						
Tebbit	61.9						
Heath	61.1						
Hurd	52.3						

Table 22: Federalism – keyword analysis for 1991

FT		TEL		IND		ECO	
Word	Keyness	Word	Keyness	Word	Keyness	Word	Keyness
Euro	459.5	Dehaene	139	Euro	322.8	EC	341.7
Major	266.5	European	64.7	Dehaene	248.9	Major	275.4
Dehaene	231.1	MEPs	54.6	EC	185.1	Dehaene	139
Lockwood	227.6	EC	50.3	Delors	169.8	Hurd	138.5
Europe	144.7	Delors	48.9	Major	129.6	Federalist	133
Federalist	138.1	Hurd	48.1	Santer	112.2	Brussels	129.5
Santer	128.4	Santer	44.7	Federalist	110.1	MEPs	113.4
Brussels	122.6	Enlargement	41.7	Brussels	95.9	Euro	81
Hurd	112.7	Euro	40	MEPs	94.4	EPP	79.3
Delors	97.1	Strasbourg	77.9	Europe	91.8	Sceptics	75.6
Sceptics	94.4	Europe	35.3	Hurd	91.4	Delors	67.7
Major's	81.1	Federalist	32.6	Sceptics	72.3	Major's	65.9
Portillo	80.7	EPP	30.7	Major's	71.3	Tebbit	58.6
Heseltine	67.1			Strasbourg	67.9	Sceptic	52.8
Delors's	64.3			EPP	56.1	European	51.9
Clarke	62			Enlargement	51.2	Clarke	50.8
Referendum	59.6			Parliament	44.8	Portillo	48.5
Sceptic	58.6			Delors's	44.6	Lamont	47.3
MEPs	55			Balladur	43.8	Europe	47.3
Strasbourg	53.2			European	43.3	Community	40.9
Leon	48.3			Vetoed	34.3	Strasbourg	38.2
Veto	42.9			Brittan	33.7	Goldsmith	37.9
Hurd's	37.7			Commission	32.3	Heseltine	35.5
Vetoed	37.6			Veto	28.6	Santer	35.2
Federalism	28			Clarke	24.5	Thatcher	33.8
Enlargement	27.8					MEP	31
Kohl	27.3					Federalism	27.4
Tebbit	26.4					Hurd's	25.8

Table 23: Federalism – keyword analysis for 1994

FT		TEL		IND		ECO	
Word	Keyness	Word	Keyness	Word	Keyness	Word	Keyness
Euro	193.8	Stoiber	120.7	Euro	102.7	Hague	58.6
Blair	76.4	EU	116.3	EU	100.5	EC	40.3
Stoiber	67.8	Schroder	106.7	Schroder	80.5	Brussels	39
EU	65.7	EMU	82.9	ECB	60.8	Euros	35
Schroder	55.4	ECB	74.6	EMU	60	Stoiber	34.4
ECB	46.8	Euros	65.6	Euro's	59.3	Schroder	33.1
Euros	40.8	Monetary	43.3	Monetary	54.6	Owen	32.6
		Owen	38.7	Currency	48.7	Euro	27.7
		Federal	24.9	Schauble	26.7		
				Waigel	26.2		
				Owen	24.6		

Table 24: federalism – keyword analysis for 1998

From this analysis the observation could be made that in terms of keywords, there are certain significant areas of interest for each of the three years 1991, 1994 and 1998. These areas are presented below in tables 25-30. For each keyword, a concordance analysis was carried out in order to ensure that the word was found in an EU context to at least a degree of 80%. For example, *currency* could relate to the single European currency or another financial context. The only terms which occurred with less than 80% were *parliament* (40% in the FT and IND 1991 databases, 55% in the FT 1994 database), and *community* (40% in the FT 1991 database, and 38% in the TEL, IND, and ECO 1991 databases). The tables below are presented in two sets. In the first set, 25-27, are found concepts and in the second, 28-30, actors.

1991	FT	TEL	IND	ECO
	community	community	community	community
	sovereignty	union	Rome	Rome
	union	Luxembourg	monetary	treaty
	Rome	sovereignty	sovereignty	union
	single	monetary	treaty	sovereignty
	treaty		Luxembourg	Bruges
	Luxembourg		single	
	parliament		parliament	
	currency			

Table 25: Federalism – significant keywords - 1991

1994	FT	TEL	IND	ECO
	Euro*	enlargement	sceptic*	sceptic*
	sceptic*	Euro*	enlargement	community
	referendum	Strasbourg	veto*	Strasbourg
	Strasbourg		commission	
	parliament			
	veto*			
	enlargement			

Table 26: Federalism – significant keywords - 1994

1998	FT	TEL	IND	ECO
	Euro*	EU	Euro*	EC
	ECB	EMU	EU	Euro*
	EU*	ECB	ECB	
		Euro*	EMU	
		monetary	monetary	
			currency	

Table 27: Federalism – significant keywords - 1998

1991	FT	TEL	IND	ECO
	Thatcher	Thatcher	Thatcher	Thatcher
	Major	Kinnock	Major	Major
	Heseltine		Delors	Hurd
	Jenkins			Tebbit
	Kinnock			Kinnock
	Tebbit			Heath
	Heath			Heseltine
	Hurd			

Table 28: Federalism – significant keywords (actors) - 1991

1994	FT	TEL	IND	ECO
	Major	Dehaene	Dehaene	Major
	Dehaene	Delors	Delors	Dehaene
	Lockwood	Hurd	Major	Hurd
	Santer	Santer	Santer	Delors
	Hurd		Hurd	Tebbit
	Delors		Balladur	Clarke
	Portillo		Brittan	Portillo
	Heseltine		Clarke	Lamont
	Clarke			Goldsmith
	Kohl			Heseltine
	Tebbit			Santer
				Thatcher

Table 29: Federalism – significant keywords (actors) - 1994

1998	FT	TEL	IND	ECO
	Stoiber	Stoiber	Schroder	Hague
	Schroder	Schroder	Schauble	Stoiber
	Blair	Owen	Waigel	Schroder
			Owen	Owen

Table 30: Federalism – significant keywords (actors) - 1998

Key to abbreviations for tables 25-30
FT - Financial Times   TEL - Daily and Sunday Telegraph
IND – Independent   ECO – Economist Magazine

11.2.2 Federalism in the press – frequency list analysis

Frequency lists were generated for each of the main corpora. These were scanned manually for all tokens of more than 100 occurrences which were clearly of relevant interest to the European debate. Terms such as MAASTRICHT, EC, and EU have not been included since they are trivially interesting. The results are shown in table 31. Where the lemma is preceded by (C) this indicates that a concordance was subsequently performed to verify that the term selected was relevant to at least 80% of the contexts, established as a criterion above.

Word	FT Frequency	%	TEL Frequency	%	IND Frequency	%	ECO Frequency	%
EURO	839	0.06	1893	0.16	906	0.08	352	0.012
MONETARY	1246	0.09			650	0.05	240	0.08
(C)MONETARY UNION	662		504		460		131	
EMU	672	0.05	234	0.02			192	0.07
ERM	145	0.01	227	0.02	117		57	0.02
(C) SINGLE CURRENCY	708		976		659		138	
SCEPTIC	229	0.02			169	0.01	10	
SCEPTICS	227	0.02	510	0.04	226	0.02	34	0.01
EUROSCEPTICS	133				50		38	0.01
(C) EUROSCEPTIC*	251		98		116		63	
REFERENDUM	412	0.03	722	0.06	581	0.05	111	0.04
INTEGRATION	505	0.04	351	0.03	373	0.03	86	0.03
SOVEREIGNTY	265	0.02	349	0.03	376	0.03	69	0.02
SUBSIDIARITY	139		119	0.01	128	0.01	10	
VETO	213	0.02	275	0.02	216	0.02	55	0.02
MEPS	187	0.01	152	0.01	97		4	
(C) EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT	454		361		315		80	
(C) EUROPEAN COMMISSION	361		249		221		90	
(C) EUROPEAN COUNCIL	33		18		42			
(C) COUNCIL OF MINISTERS	155		82		135		40	
ENLARGEMENT	178	0.01	114		160		46	0.02

Table 31: Federalism – main results of frequency analyses

Key to abbreviations
FT - Financial Times   TEL - Daily and Sunday Telegraph
IND – Independent   ECO – Economist Magazine

From these results five categories can be identified (as indicated by the divisions in table 31). These concern EMU, Euroscepticism, the European constitution, European institutions, and Enlargement. Table 31 and Chart 18 show the four categories more clearly (totals were made including all lemmas except for MONETARY and EUROSCEPTICS, which are subsumed by other lemmas).

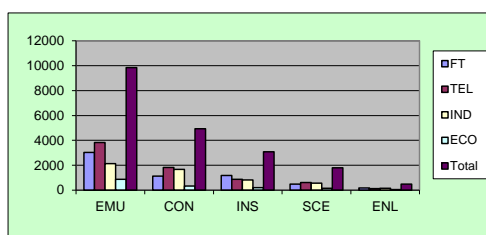|	FT	TEL	IND	ECO	Total
EMU	3026	3834	2124	870	9854
CON	1122	1816	1674	331	4943
INS	1190	862	810	214	3076
SCE	478	608	561	145	1792
ENL	178	114	160	46	498
Total	5994	7234	5329	1606	20163

Table 32: Federalism – main peripheral categories

Chart 18: Federalism – main peripheral categories

Key to abbreviations (table 32 and chart 18)

FT - Financial Times   TEL - Daily and Sunday Telegraph
IND – Independent   ECO – Economist Magazine
EMU: Economic & monetary union

CON: Constitution   INS: Institutions

SCE: Euro-sceptics   ENL: Enlargement

11.2.3 Federalism in the press – main actors and semantic prosody

From the frequency list analysis, a list of the names with a connection to the European debate was compiled. This may be seen as a contribution to an analysis of semantic prosody. It will be seen that there is a resonance between positive and negative attitudes towards the EU as exemplified by the occurrence of the various actors in the debate.

Types (name and name in possessive form) with more than 50 occurrences were chosen. For example, there were 411 instances of THATCHER and 100 of THATCHER'S in the FT main corpus. Three exceptions were made for occurrences of under 50: CONRAD BLACK (5), EDDIE GEORGE (6) AND ROBIN LEIGH-PEMBERTON (5), the former because of his role as media owner and eurosceptic, and the latter in their role of successive governors of the Bank of England. Other cases where the search term had to be qualified included

NIGEL LAWSON and MR / JOHN MAJOR (in order to exclude DOMINIC LAWSON and occurrences of *major* as an adjective).

The list of names was examined from two points of view: firstly the balance between EU and UK personalities, and secondly the balance between UK personalities in terms of their orientation towards the EU. These are described as Euroneutral (no strong leaning for or against the EU), Europositive (strong leaning for the EU) and Euronegative (strong leaning against the EU). These are followed by the figures for European actors, and those for the two main eurosceptics (Major and Thatcher) and the two main Europeans (Delors and Kohl). The results are laid out below in tables 33-38 and charts 11.3 to 11.8.

	FT	TEL	IND	ECO	Total
UK Actors	3720	6726	5384	493	10446
EU Actors	2349	2197	1337	641	4546
Total	6069	8923	6721	1134	14992

Table 33: federalism – UK and EU actors in the main corpora
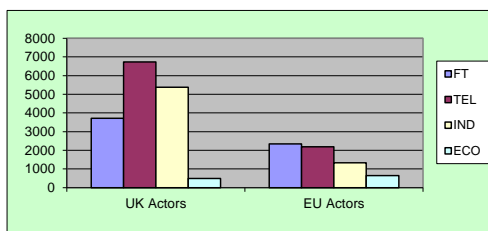
Chart 19: Federalism - UK and EU actors in the main corpora

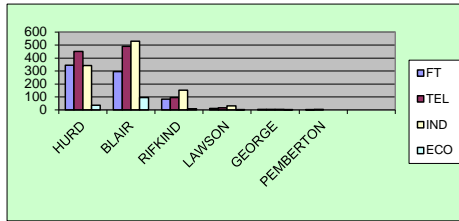|	FT	TEL	IND	ECO	Total
HURD	344	450	342	35	1171
BLAIR	295	490	529	96	1410
RIFKIND	82	95	152	10	339
LAWSON	11	17	30	1	59
GEORGE	3	3	5	1	12
PEMBERTON	2	3	0	0	5
Total	735	1055	1058	143	2996

Table 34: federalism – Euroneutral actors in the main corpora

Chart 20: Federalism - Euroneutral actors in the main corpora

	FT	TEL	IND	ECO	Total
CLARKE	207	416	272	30	925
HESELTINE	54	199	200	11	464
HEATH	76	171	123	3	373
JENKINS	10	29	63	9	111
Total	347	815	658	53	1873

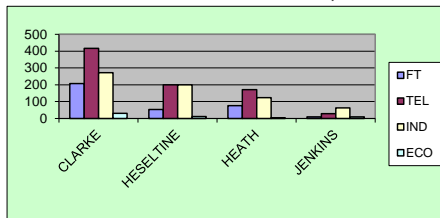*Table 35: Federalism – Europositive actors in the main corpora*

Chart 21: Federalism - Europositive actors in the main corpora

	FT	TEL	IND	ECO	Total
MAJOR	1629	2713	1786	230	6358
THATCHER	511	849	1047	35	2442
LAMONT	124	254	140	3	521
PORTILLO	60	220	154	9	443
HAGUE	98	143	107	0	348
TEBBIT	76	153	154	0	383
REDWOOD	24	138	90	9	261
GOLDSMITH	34	127	92	0	253
CHURCHILL	18	111	58	5	192
OWEN	86	34	68	7	195
CASH	19	81	53	5	158
POWELL	23	83	60	1	167
DORRELL	5	57	23	0	85
MURDOCH	6	51	31	2	90
TAYLOR	15	34	0	0	49
MAWHINNEY	10	20	17	0	47
GORMAN	4	20	20	0	44
BLACK	1	4	5	0	10
Total	2743	5092	3905	306	12046

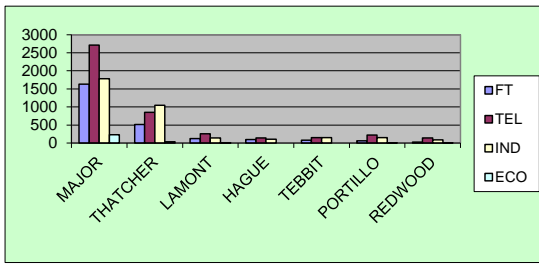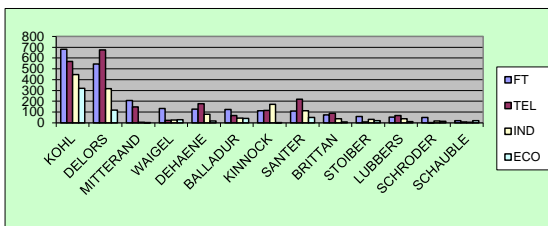*Table 36: Federalism – Euronegative actors in the main corpora*

Chart 22: Federalism – Principal Euronegative actors in the main corpora

	FT	TEL	IND	ECO
KOHL	680	570	446	319
DELORS	546	674	318	118
MITTERAND	208	148	5	1
WAIGEL	134	22	25	30
DEHAENE	126	176	80	18
BALLADUR	124	67	44	40
KINNOCK	111	115	172	4
SANTER	108	220	111	50
BRITTAN	74	88	39	9
STOIBER	59	10	32	19
LUBBERS	52	68	39	12
SCHRODER	49	4	16	14
SCHAUBLE	20	10	7	20

Table 37: federalism – Principal European actors in the main corpora

Chart 23: Federalism – Principal European actors in the main corpora

	FT	TEL	IND	ECO	Total
MAJOR	1629	2713	1786	230	4342
THATCHER	511	849	891	30	1360
DELORS	546	674	318	118	1220
KOHL	680	570	446	319	1250
Total	3366	4806	3441	697	8172

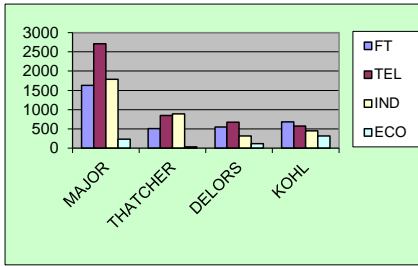*Table 38: Federalism – Main Eurosceptic and European actors in the main corpora*

Chart 24: Federalism – Main Eurosceptic and European actors in the main corpora

Key to abbreviations for tables 33-38 and charts 19 to 24

FT - Financial Times   TEL - Daily and Sunday Telegraph
IND – Independent   ECO – Economist Magazine

11.2.4 Federalism in the press – analyst's resources and final categories

The final source to be considered in drawing up a list of lemmas peripheral to FEDERAL* comprises the analyst's own resources. This list can be compiled with regard to the main issues identified above in the introductory remarks to this chapter. Apart from this, other potential categories were noticed in the corpora through manual scanning. These included the inevitability or otherwise of a federal Europe, and resistance or acceptance of that objective. These categories were not exposed by mechanical means. Finally, the analyst's own items can be consolidated into a table (table 39) including categories from the other two sources, the keyword and frequency analyses.

Keyword analysis (Lemma)	Frequency analysis (category)	Analyst's resources (category)
EMU	EMU	EMU
		European budget
SCEPTICS	Eurosceptics	Eurosceptics
MEPS	Institutions	Institutions
VETO	Constitution	Constitution
ENLARGE	Enlargement	Enlargement
DELORS	Major	Major
THATCHER	Thatcher	Thatcher
LEON	Kohl	Kohl
DEHAENE	Delors	Delors
		Inevitability
		Acceptance / rejection

Table 39: Federalism – consolidated categories

It is clear from table 39 that the final categories of the peripheral lemmas will be the same as those which emerged from the frequency analyses: EMU, the European constitution, European institutions, Eurosceptics, enlargement, and European actors. In addition to these, two categories are added: inevitability and acceptance / rejection. These, therefore, will comprise the paradorg orientations and will contain the search terms shown in table 40.

				FT	TEL	IND	ECO	Total	% of total
Paradorg orientation: EMU									
EMU				8	6	6	4	24	
ECONOMIC AND MONETARY UNION				2	2	2	1	7	
SINGLE CURRENCY				16	39	19	8	82	
Total				26	47	27	13	113	6.28
Paradorg orientation: EU constitution									
INTEGRAT*				28	22	24	9	83	
SUBSIDIARITY				8	3	15	2	28	
EURO* + BUDGET*				0	0	0	0	0	
BUDGET*				57	8	0	13	78	
SOVEREIGN*				20	18	32	4	74	
VETO				11	14	9	3	37	
REFERENDUM				6	17	9	3	35	
Total				130	82	89	34	335	18.64
Paradorg orientation: European institutions									
EP				0	0	0	0	0	
EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT				25	11	8	9	53	
MEP*				22	16	9	1	48	
EUROPEAN COMMISSION				9	11	16	4	40	
Total				56	38	33	14	141	7.84
Paradorg orientation: Eurosceptic									
SCEPTIC				33	45	33	9	120	
Total				33	45	33	9	120	6.67
Paradorg orientation: Enlargement									
ENLARGE*				10	9	5	5	29	
Total				10	9	5	5	29	1.61
Paradorg orientation: European actors									
MAJOR* (excluding MAJORITY)				27	75	41	6	149	
THATCHER*				16	30	42	4	92	
DELORS*				24	49	27	11	111	
KOHL*				24	21	21	14	80	
Total				91	175	131	35	432	24.04
Paradorg orientation: Inevitability									
INEVITAB*				5	5	10	1	21	
PACE				2	3	1	0	6	
CONVEYOR				8	11	3	1	23	
TIDE				7	30	6	1	44	
TRAIN				1	1	1	0	3	
Total				23	50	21	3	97	5.39
Paradorg orientation: Acceptance/rejection									
ACCEPT*				20	30	21	4	75	
REJECT*				18	27	18	7	70	
OPPOS*				41	77	35	9	162	
RESIST*				11	15	9	2	37	
COMMIT* (excluding COMMITTEE)				35	42	41	7	125	
SUPPORT*				32	52	45	7	136	
Total				137	213	148	32	530	29.49
Total lemmas								1797	100

Table 40: Federalism – paradorg orientations and peripheral lemmas

Eight paradigm orientations are indicated in table 40, and twenty-two peripherals (if the three peripherals under the orientation EMU, and the five under inevitability are each counted as one). The numbers indicated show the instances of occurrences relevant to European federalism. For example, 16 instances of FEDERAL* + THATCHER* occurred in the FT database, but of these two were not relevant. In that case 14 instances are indicated in table 40.

It will be seen from table 40 that the paradorg orientations themselves are of different types. These include

a. constitutional processes (EMU)

b. constitutional issues (sovereignty, enlargement)

c. political institutions (European Parliament)

d. actors (John Major, Eurosceptics)

e. inevitability

f. acceptance and rejection.

The last two types indicate is a strong element of metaphor in the paradorg orientation of inevitability (CONVEYOR, TRAIN, and TIDE). These metaphors could be interpreted as both showing a unidirectional mechanical sequence (CONVEYOR and TRAIN) and a natural, repetitive and unstoppable movement (TIDE). These metaphors emerged strongly in the peripherals as a result of the systematic principles by which the peripherals were drawn up. While other metaphors may be present in the databases, the analytic principles will have excluded them and further investigation must be left to a continuation of this study.

11.3 Federalism in the press – corpus analysis, central questions

As with the examination of empowerment, the main questions asked in the analysis were what would constitute evidence for change over time, and how can this evidence be detected and displayed?

In terms of the present analysis, evidence for change over time in the core paradorg and its peripherals would be constituted by at least three phenomena. The first would comprise a change in the quantity of given peripherals over time both in regard to the core, and in regard to relations between peripherals (such as

instances of ACCEPT* and REJECT*). The second would include change in the semantic behaviour of peripherals (such as an increase of instances of ACCEPT* where there is a change from negative clauses (where federalism is not to be accepted) to positive (where federalism is to be accepted). Another example could include an increase in the attitude that the single currency does not necessarily lead to federalism. The third phenomenon would consist of the disappearance of given peripherals and an appearance of new peripherals. Furthermore, in contrast to the data regarding empowerment, there is a more clearly definable historical context for federalism. Important EU treaties were signed in the period (the Treaty of Maastricht (agreed 1991) and the Treaty of Amsterdam (agreed 1996) which may serve as reference points for some of the results. As with empowerment, however, the factors of proximity to or distance from the core may also be considered where relevant.

The evidence can be detected by means of the paradorg model and the procedure developed and employed to describe their features and evolution over time. The results are displayed in charts generated from Excel.

11.4 Federalism in the press – results methodology

The results are laid out as follows:

e. the relevant peripherals are stated
f. the main social and political issues connected with the orientation are stated. These are drawn up according to the analyst's assessment of evidence in the databases
g. the relevant charts are displayed with key. For each peripheral there is one chart or a set of charts. The charts are composed by means of counting instances of peripheral occurrences for given years and recording them in Excel. The charts display consolidated results for all the four databases, unless otherwise indicated
h. the method of composition and significance of the charts is explained. For at least one peripheral in each paradorg orientation, a selection of two to five concordance lines is given in order to show how the judgements were made. In cases where there are many peripherals a commentary is also given after each chart or charts regarding that peripheral, although the key to abbreviations is given at the end of the chart set. In some cases codings are also given.

The detection and examination of the evidence was completed in two stages. In the first stage, a manual scan of the concordance lines was performed and manual categorisations were made according to clear criteria. In the second stage the data was entered into Excel and presented as spreadsheet charts. Each chart set is

followed by a commentary. The same comments apply concerning the concordance lines as were made regarding those for *empowerment* (see 10.3.1).

11.4.1 Key to abbreviations

The following key to abbreviations applies to chart sets 25-32.

FT - Financial Times   TEL - Daily and Sunday Telegraph
IND – Independent   ECO – Economist Magazine.

Other abbreviations particular to each chart are explained with the chart in question.

11.5 Federalism in the press – corpus analysis, results

The results are now presented according to the methodology and procedures described above.

11.6 Paradorg orientation: EMU

d. Peripherals: EMU, ECONOMIC AND MONETARY UNION, and SINGLE CURRENCY.

e. Main social and political issues

The main issue here is whether and how the single currency is associated with federalism.

f. The charts, their composition and significance

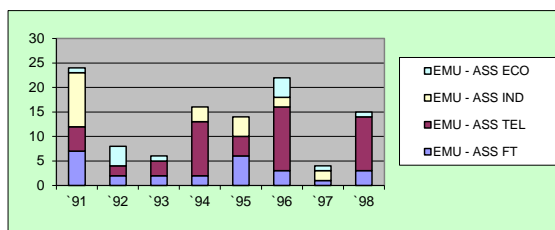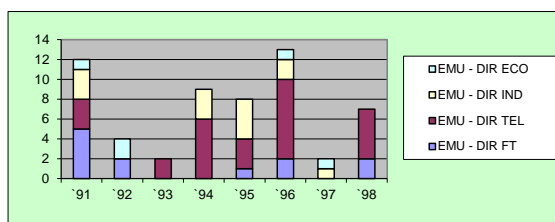Chart set 25: EMU associated with or leading to federalism

Chart 25a

Chart 25b

Key to abbreviations for charts 25a-b
ASS: Association – EMU is clearly associated with federalism in a number of ways.
DIR: Direction – EMU has a directional relation with federalism. It is represented as leading towards federalism.

Chart 25a indicates the number of instances of the peripherals EMU, ECONOMIC AND MONETARY UNION, and SINGLE CURRENCY in concordance with FEDERAL* where there is a clear association between the two. Here are five example concordance lines.

```
WordSmith Tools -- 12/04/99 09:52:06
all 39 entries

Daily and Sunday Telegraph

1991

N       n is defined in the Bill as accepting a federal constitution, a single currency
1       ned single currency; the reference to a federal goal must be dropped; and that I
2       ngle currency will lead inevitably to a federal Europe. But on political union h
3       n opposition to a single currency and a federal Europe. Yet it is doubtful how f
4       es towards a single currency and a more federal political structure. The Right-w
```

In each case there is a clear association between the single currency and federalism as can be seen from the following categorisation. There are many methods of association, which makes economical coding difficult. In a computerised system there may well have to be a large number of categories, many with just a few instantiations.

N: *a federal constitution* and *a single currency* stand in a relation of apposition
1: *single currency* and *a federal goal* are associated by context
2: it is stated that the single currency will lead to federalism
3: *a single currency* and *a federal Europe* are conjoined
4: *a single currency* and *a more federal political structure* are conjoined.

Chart 25b indicates the number of instances of the peripherals EMU, ECONOMIC AND MONETARY UNION, and SINGLE CURRENCY in concordance with FEDERAL* where it could be interpreted that EMU and federalism naturally occur together or the former leads to the latter. Here are four example concordance lines.

```
WordSmith Tools -- 7/20/00 4:10:56 PM
all 4 entries

Economist
1992

1        and that EMU is an essential step to a federal Europe. Since the proposed Europ
2        - but not out of any faith in European federalism. It fears an EMU embracing so

1996

3        ugh EMU does not necessitate a stronger federal Europe, its absence - and notabl
4        sisting on a toughened EMU and a future federal union, Germany risks a more fund
```

The cases which show a tight relation between EMU and federalism are:

1: EMU is said to be an essential step towards federalism
4: a strong version of EMU and federalism are conjoined.

In all four databases only two instances were found where it was asserted that EMU does not lead to federalism, and instance 3 above was one of them. In view of such low numbers, it was decided not to include them in a chart.

In both charts 25a and 25b there are two peaks of instances (in 1991 and 1996). There may be a correlation between these peaks and the two EU Treaties agreed in those years (Maastricht and Amsterdam respectively). In terms of proximity, it is clear that the peripherals become much more proximate to the core in these two years. Perhaps there is evidence of oscillation here.

11.7 Paradorg orientation: EU constitution

a. Peripherals: INTEGRAT*, SOVEREIGN*, VETO, REFERENDUM

b. Main social and political issues

> i. INTEGRAT*: the association of integration with federalism and whether integration is represented in contexts positive or negative to federalism
> ii. SOVEREIGN*: whether federalism is negative or positive for national sovereignty
> iii. VETO: the association of federalism with the national (UK) veto in the EU
> iv. REFERENDUM: the association of federalism with a referendum on aspects of the EU.

c. The charts, their composition and significance

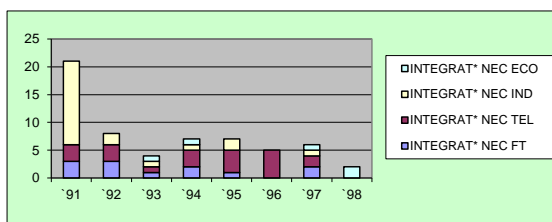Chart set 26: EU constitution – INTEGRAT*, SOVEREIGN*, VETO, REFERENDUM

Chart 26a

Chart 26a shows instances where *federalism* and *integration* have an extremely close relationship. This can be characterised as direction, integration leads to federalism, or semantic conjunction, the two are mentioned side by side where it is hard to imagine one without the other. Here are five example concordance lines drawn from the Independent database.

```
WordSmith Tools -- 6/4/00 9:11:51 AM
all 26 entries

Independent 1991

1     and economic union which questioned the federal nature of closer EC integration,
2     e that Britain is on a conveyor belt to federal integration.  After two days of
3     volution of the Community towards final federal integration. 'Only very nave peo
4      milestones for further strides towards federal integration. The strategy, desig
5     ey call further integration, which is a federal system under which each state gi
```

In three of these cases the term *federal integration* is employed which suggests that *federalism* and *integration* are so tightly connected that the one term has the

other as a natural partner. This suggests that if there is to be *federalism* then there is to be *integration* and vice versa. However, it is not suggested that there is a logical connection here.
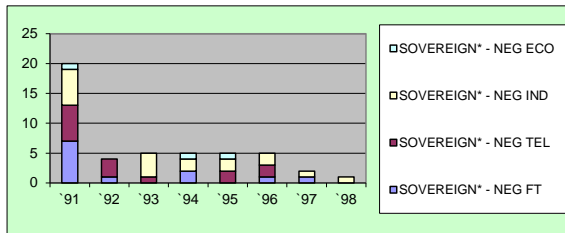

Chart 26b

Chart 26b indicates the instances where *federalism* is represented as negative for *sovereignty* as in the following concordance line:

```
WordSmith Tools -- 12/04/99 09:41:58
all 20 entries

Financial Times

1994

10     n, DUP spokesman, said: 'We are against federalism that would dilute sovereignty
```

There were only six instances where *federalism* was represented as positive for *sovereignty,* so these were not included in a chart.

Charts 26a and 26b show a peak of instances in 1991 (21 and 20 instances respectively). This may reflect interest in the Maastricht Treaty (agreed in 1991). Apart from this peak, the distance between peripherals and core remains on about the same level between 1992 and 1998 for INTEGRAT*, and while a plateau can be observed between 1991 and 1996 for SOVEREIGN*, there appears to be an increase in distance between this peripheral and the core from 1996 to 1998.
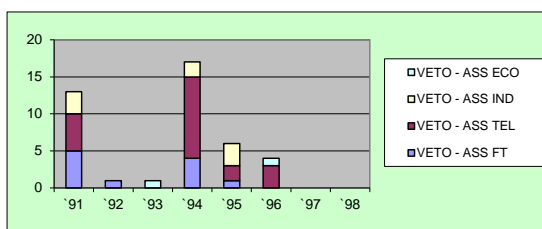

Chart 26c

Chart 26c shows instances where there arises the question of using the national veto on a variety of issues connected with *federalism*. There are two peaks (in 1991 (13 instances) and 1994 (6 instances)). While the peak in 1991 could be

correlated with the agreement of the Maastricht Treaty, there is no such explanation available for the peak in 1994.
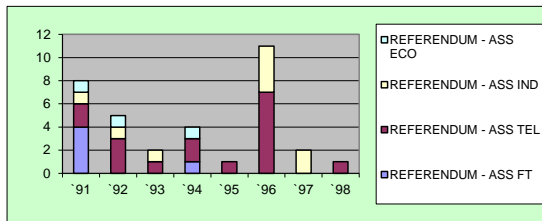

Chart 26d

Chart 26d indicates instances where there is an association between the question of holding a referendum on issues related to *federalism*. There are two peaks (one in 1991 (8 instances) and one in 1996 (11 instances)). It may be possible to correlate these with the Maastricht and Amsterdam Treaties. Perhaps there is an overall trend (including oscillations) of an increase in proximity for the peripheral REFERENDUM to the core over time. In the late 1990s and early 2000s there have been increased calls for referenda both over the single currency and (to a lesser extent) over the UK's membership of the EU. It is reasonable to speculate that an extension of the investigation into this period of history would reveal such as increase in proximity.

Key to abbreviations for charts 11.10a-d
ASS: Association - there is an association of any type between the terms.
NEC: There is a necessary relationship between federalism and integration.
NEG: Negative
POS: Positive
For charts 11.10b&c NEG and POS indicate instances where federalism is represented as negative or positive for sovereignty respectively.

11.8 Paradorg orientation: EU institutions

a. Peripherals: EUROPEAN   PARLIAMENT,   MEP*,   EUROPEAN COMMISSION

b. Main social and political issues

The major issue in this paradorg orientation comprises the debate on the status of the European Parliament and whether or not it should receive extra powers.

c. The charts, their composition and significance

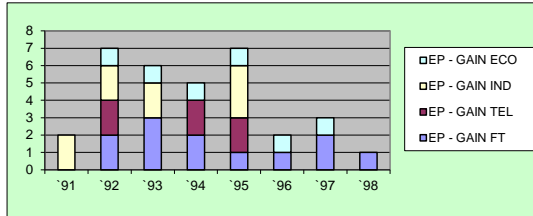Chart set 27: EU institutions – EP, MEP*, EUROPEAN COMMISSION

Chart 27a

Chart 27a shows instances where an opinion is expressed that the European Parliament should gain power. Here are two concordance lines to exemplify the connections.

```
WordSmith Tools -- 12/04/99 09:55:32
all 11 entries

Daily & Sunday Telepgraph

1994

5         Parliament (by definition a highly pro-federalist body), powers equivalent to t
7              CHANCELLOR KOHL has promised the federalist European Parliament a voice o
```
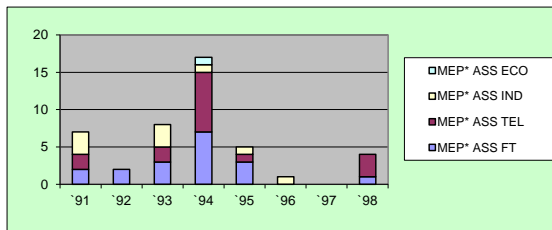

Chart 27b

Chart 27b records the instances where MEP* is found in the same context as FEDERAL*. While there is a clear association in the context, no clear patterns emerge as to the types of association.
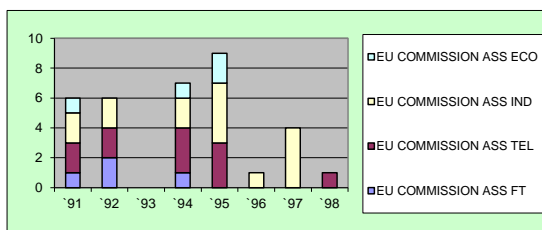

Chart 27c

As with the chart regarding MEPs, Chart 27c simply records the instances where EUROPEAN COMMISSION is associated with FEDERAL*. No clear connective patterns emerged.

In charts 27a and 27b it is hard to see any trend in the proximity of the peripherals to the core. There is variation, which may be described as oscillation to and from the core, but it would be difficult to claim that any trend was present. In the case of chart 11.11c, there are two peaks, one in 1991 to 1992 (6 instances in each year) and the other in 1995 (9 instances). These broadly correlate to the two Treaties (Maastricht, agreed in 1991, and Amsterdam, agreed in 1996).

Key to abbreviations for charts 27a-c
GAIN: the European Parliament is gaining or is to gain power
ASS: Association - there is an association of any type between the terms.

11.9 Paradorg orientation: Eurosceptic

a. Peripherals: *SCEPTIC*

b. Main social and political issues

The term *Eurosceptic* refers mainly to The Eurosceptic wing of the Conservative Party, those in some way opposed to the EU, enjoyed a great deal of press coverage in the 1980s and 1990s.

c. The chart, its composition and significance

Chart 28: EUROSCEPTIC*
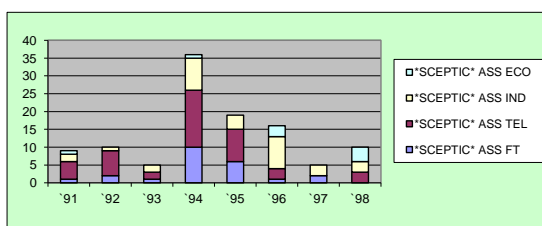
Chart 28 shows the instances where *SCEPTIC* is found in connection with FEDERAL*. No clear patterns emerged as to the various possible associations. Naturally, there is a negative orientation towards federalism by virtue of the semantic quality of the form *sceptic*.

In terms of proximity to or distance from the core, there is clearly a peak of instances in 1994. While peaks might have been expected in 1991 and 1996 (to correspond to the two EU Treaties of Maastricht and Amsterdam) there was a

decline in instances from 1994 to 1996. One explanation for this could be the rise of the Eurosceptics in the government of John Major in the mid 1990s.

Here are five concordance lines which illustrate some of the various contexts.

```
WordSmith Tools -- 6/4/00 9:31:15 AM
all 33 entries

Independent

1994

6        The climate is Euro-sceptical and anti-federalist. In Germany, Chancellor Kohl'
7        traditional British scepticism about a federal superstate is spreading more wid
8      uro-sceptics. Some 34 per cent favour a federal Europe compared with 31 per cent
9      ptics, fearing more interventionist and 'federalist' policies from Brussels. Def
10     ade both Conservative Euro-sceptics and federalist Euro-deputies distinctly unha
```

11.10 Paradorg orientation: Enlargement

a. Peripherals: ENLARGE*

b. Main social and political issues

The main issue is whether or not enlargement is beneficial to federalism.

c. The chart, its composition and significance

Chart 29: ENLARGE*

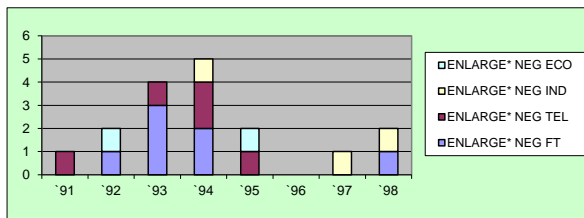Chart 29 shows cases where enlargement is represented as negative for federalism. Here are two concordance lines to illustrate this.

```
WordSmith Tools -- 12/04/99 10:03:03
all 10 entries

Financial Times

1993

4      ivision in the 12 between 'deepeners' - federalists who fear enlargement will br

1994

7      r said an enlarged Europe 'could not be federal', and warned some members of Ger
```

There is a clear rise in the number of instances from 1991 (1) to 1994 (a peak of 5) and then a fall to 1995 (2 instances). It is not clear why this should be so other than an oscillation of proximity according to a topic that retained more or less prominence in the media in this period. If the study were extended into the period 1999 to 2010 there would probably be much more evidence regarding ENLARGE*. In December 2000 the Treaty of Nice was agreed which, amongst other things, was designed to pave the way for enlargement of the EU in the period 2004 to 2010.

11.11 Paradorg orientation: European actors

a. Peripherals: MAJOR*, THATCHER*, DELORS*, KOHL*

b. Main social and political issues

Throughout the period 1991-1998 (as well as before) a conflict is found between leading UK politicians who are sceptical towards the EU and leading continental politicians who made the construction of the EU one of their main political priorities.

c. The charts, their composition and significance

Chart set 30: EU actors – MAJOR*, THATCHER*, DELORS*, KOHL*
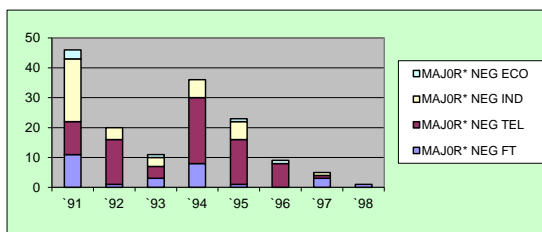
Chart 30a

Key to abbreviations
ASS: Association – John Major is clearly associated with federalism in a negative way.

While John Major is mentioned in contexts negative to federalism, there were no clear patterns concerning the connection. There are two peaks of instances (45 in 1991, and 37 in 1994). These can perhaps be correlated with the prominence of John Major in 1991 regarding his stance towards the EU and the Maastricht Treaty, and in 1994 regarding the prominence of the Eurosceptic wing of his political party. There is thus an oscillation in terms of the proximity of MAJOR* to the core.

Typical concordances included

```
WordSmith Tools -- 7/20/00 2:59:16 PM
all 42 entries

Financial Times

1991

N      the tabloid press. And the Tories, anti-federalist under Mr Major, are fast beco
1      r John Major's case against the tide of federalism to a watching world is Mr Gus


8      rliament and Politics: Major to warn on 'federal destination' - Europe
```
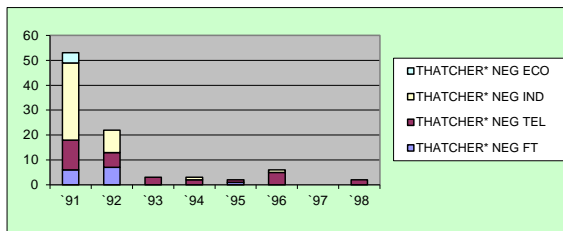

Chart 30b

Key to abbreviations
ASS: Association – Mrs Thatcher is clearly associated with federalism in a negative way.

Mrs Thatcher is also represented in contexts negative to federalism, but in her case there is more explicit negative language connected with her personal attitudes.

Here are three example concordance lines.

```
WordSmith Tools -- 12/04/99 10:08:46
all 16 entries


Financial Times


1991


4      n Washington by Mrs Thatcher denouncing federalism as 'so remote from reality as
5      t and Politics: Thatcher stands firm on federal Europe - Debate on European Unit
7      T THATCHER last night attacked European federalists as 'little Europeans' whose
```

As can be seen from chart 30b, instances of THATCHER* connected with FEDERAL* tail off rapidly after 1991. This is probably because John Major took over as Prime Minister in 1990. If data were available for a number of years before 1991 it might have been possible to construct a chart based on instances of Mrs Thatcher's personal orientation towards federalism.

Chart 30c

Key to abbreviations
ASS: Association – Jacques Delors is clearly associated with federalism in a positive way.

This chart shows the instances where DELORS* is connected with FEDERAL*. All instances are recorded and the context is such that Delors is always represented as positive towards or supportive of federalism. The number of instances falls from a peak of 31 in 1991 to 16 in 1993, and then there is a rise to 24 in 1994 followed by a fall to 6 in 1995. Proximity to the core is greatest in 1991 (the year of the Maastricht Treaty).

Typical concordance lines are the following.

```
WordSmith Tools -- 12/04/99 10:10:37
all 49 entries

Daily & Sunday Telegraph

1992

7       ing across Europe which is drowning the federalism of M Delors. But it is not an
8        country, are profoundly hostile to the federal vision of M Delors. If this stil
9       -Europeanism.  But the Delors vision of federalism, and of monetary union, is pl
10      ptics led by Lady Thatcher and the arch-federalist followers of M Delors, Mr Maj
11      20. As both a socialist and a committed federalist, M Delors has never disguised
```
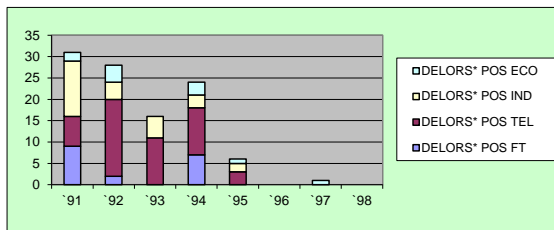
Chart 30d

Key to abbreviations
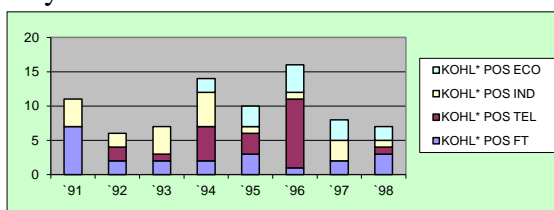
ASS: Association – Helmut Kohl is clearly associated with federalism in a positive way.

As with the chart regarding DELORS*, chart 30d also shows all the instances where KOHL* is connected with FEDERAL*, all in a positive manner. There are three peaks of instances (11 in 1991, 14 in 1994, and 16 in 1996). 1991 and 1996 correspond to the years when the Maastricht and Amsterdam Treaties were agreed respectively, and 1994 was a year of great debate concerning the prominence of the Eurosceptics. Overall, there is an oscillation of proximity to the core.

In every case Chancellor Kohl is represented as positive to or supportive of federalism, as these concordance lines show.

```
WordSmith Tools -- 6/4/00 9:46:37 AM
all 14 entries

Economist

1995

3       n, which lies at the heart of Mr Kohl's federalist ambitions for Europe. The opp
4       he German proposals suggests a strongly federalist approach in tune with Mr Kohl
5       the duo seem similarly at odds. For the federalist Mr Kohl, the European parliam
```
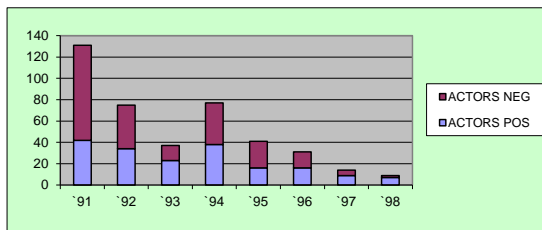

Chart 30e
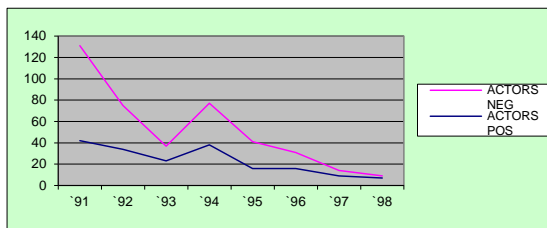
Chart 30f

Key to abbreviations
ACTORS NEG – actors negative to federalism
ACTORS POS – actors positive to federalism

Charts 30e and 30f show the combined totals for the actors negative to *federalism* (Major and Thatcher) and those positive (Delors and Kohl). There is a clear preponderance of negative instances, as well as two peaks, one in 1991 and the other in 1994. The proximity of negative peripherals of this type in 1991 may be explained by the debate about the Maastricht Treaty of that year, and the proximity in 1994 by the prominence of the Eurosceptics in the media that year.

11.12 Paradorg orientation: Inevitability

a. Peripherals: INEVITAB*, PACE, CONVEYOR, TIDE, TRAIN

b. Main social and political issues

Throughout the eight year period in question there seems to have been a fear in society that the UK was losing control of events in terms of its independence as a sovereign state. This fear is expressed in the press by means of the highly metaphorical language of natural, unstoppable events (the tide) and other images of relentless movement (trains, conveyor belts).

c. The charts, their composition and significance

Chart set 31: Inevitability – INEVITAB*, PACE, CONVEYOR, TIDE, TRAIN
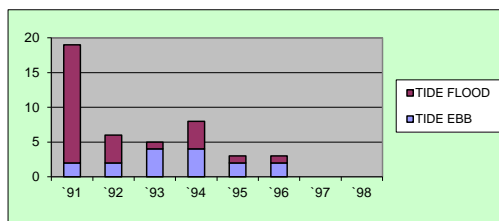
Chart 31a

Key to abbreviations
TIDE FLOOD – movement towards federalism is represented as increasing
TIDE EBB – movement towards federalism is represented as decreasing

Chart 31a shows a consolidation of results from all four databases drawn from the concordances for all the peripherals PACE, CONVEYOR, TIDE, and TRAIN. The chart demonstrates two contrasting assertions. These are either that an inevitable movement towards a federal Europe was strengthening (or flooding) or that it was weakening or even being reversed (ebbing). There are two peaks (19 instances in total in 1991, and 8 instances in total in 1994). The peak in 1991 can be correlated with the Maastricht Treaty, and that in 1994 with the prominence of Eurosceptics in the media. Thus proximity to the core is tight in both years.

Here are example concordance lines.

```
WordSmith Tools -- 12/04/99 13:14:45
all 11 entries

Daily & Sunday Telepgraph

1991


7       warning against becoming caught up on a 'conveyor belt to federalism'. The Commo
8        described Maastricht as the start of a conveyor belt to federalism. 'That conve


WordSmith Tools -- 12/04/99 11:55:38
all 30 entries

Daily & Sunday Telegraph

1993

3       iet about it because they know that the federalist tide is ebbing. We do not hav
4        thoughts about the Social Chapter. The federalist tide is on the ebb. So it is
```

The lines regarding the image of the conveyor belt were coded as follows:

Code: CONVEYOR + (NP) + (PREP) + FEDERAL*

Where CONVEYOR = *conveyor*, NP = noun phrase, PREP = preposition, FEDERAL* = lemma instantiated by *federalism* or other related form.
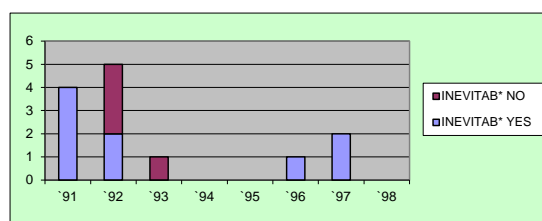
Chart 31b

Key to abbreviations
INEVITAB* NO – movement towards federalism is represented as not inevitable
INEVITAB* YES – movement towards federalism is represented as inevitable

Regarding the peripheral INEVITAB*, chart 31b demonstrates the contrast between federalism seen as inevitable and not inevitable. Again, the chart is composed on the basis of consolidated results drawn from all four databases. There is a peak of 5 instances in 1992, the year after the Maastricht Treaty was agreed, and during which it was ratified by the EU member states, which indicates a close proximity between peripheral and core in that year.

Example concordance lines are the following.

```
WordSmith Tools -- 12/04/99 11:50:44
all 5 entries

Daily and Sunday Telegraph

1991

N      ngle currency will lead inevitably to a federal Europe. But on political union h

1996

5      inevitable long-term result, a European federal state in which Britain would hav
```

11.13 Paradorg orientation: Acceptance / rejection

a. Peripherals: ACCEPT*, REJECT*, OPPOS*, RESIST*, COMMIT*, SUPPORT*

b. Main social and political issues

These peripherals are used to express the language of the argument about federalism. Their occurrence and contexts of occurrence will be highly significant in terms of describing the nature of the debate for and against federalism.

c. The charts, their composition and significance

Chart set 32: acceptance / rejection
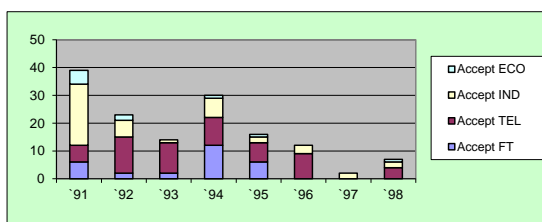
Chart 32a

Key to abbreviations
ACCEPT – consolidated peripherals: federalism is or is to be accepted

Chart 32a gives consolidated figures for the peripherals ACCEPT*, COMMIT* and SUPPORT* where the context consists of instances where federalism is, or is to be, accepted, commited to, or supported.

Here is a selection of concordance lines.

```
WordSmith Tools -- 7/12/00 12:02:43 PM
all 21 entries


Independent


1991


7       any occasions shown that he accepts the federal logic and a social market was ce
8       illingness of John Major to accept 'the federal logic' of the Community that the
9       on many occasions' that he accepted the 'federal logic'.   A final decision on t
```


Chart 32b

Key to abbreviations
REJECT – consolidated peripherals: federalism is or is to be rejected

Chart 32b shows consolidated figures for the peripherals REJECT*, OPPOS* and RESIST* where the context consists of instances where federalism is, or is to be, rejected, opposed, or resisted. Here is a selection of concordance lines.

```
WordSmith Tools -- 6/4/00 9:38:27 AM
all 19 entries


Independent


1995

17      ighted by his forthright rejection of a federal Europe. 'Often in the watches of
18      uld reject far-reaching moves towards a federal Europe in 1996. 'We do not belie

1996

19      clearly signals Europe's rejection of a federal future as the sidelining of the
```
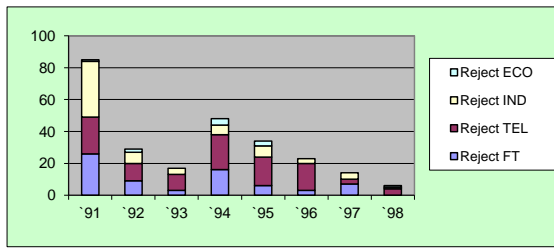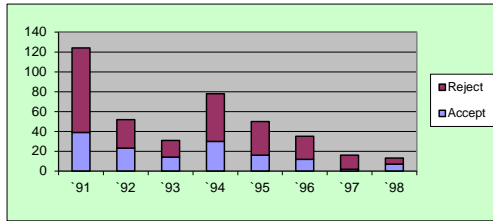
Chart 32c

Key to abbreviations
REJECT – consolidated peripherals: federalism is or is to be rejected
ACCEPT – consolidated peripherals: federalism is or is to be accepted

Chart 32c shows a consolidation of the figures given in charts 32a and 32b.

Overall, there are two clear peaks of instances in the results. The first is found in 1991 (with 85 instances of REJECT*, OPPOS* and RESIST*, and 39 instances of ACCEPT*, COMMIT* and SUPPORT*). The second is found in 1994 (with with 48 instances of REJECT*, OPPOS* and RESIST*, and 30 instances of ACCEPT*, COMMIT* and SUPPORT*). The two peaks may be correlated with the Treaty of Maastricht (agreed in 1991) and the prominence of the Eurosceptics in the media in 1994. Notwithstanding the peak in 1994, there appears to be a trend of decreasing proximity over the eight years. Further data extending well into the next century would be needed in order to confirm whether this is a lasting trend. The EU issue continues to be controversial in the early years of the 21st century and thus high numbers of instances of these peripherals would be expected.

11.14 Consolidated results

There are now presented three charts where results for almost all the peripherals are consolidated. These were divided into peripherals where there was a negativity towards federalism and those where there was a positivity towards federalism. Excluded were peripherals concerning the paradorg orientations EU constitution and enlargement. The results are presented in chart set 33, which includes charts 33a, 33b, and 33c.

Chart set 33: consolidated results
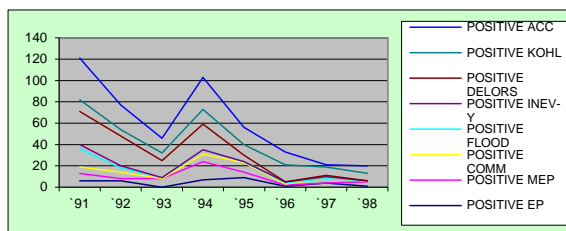
Chart 33a: positivity towards federalism (stacked line chart)

Key to abbreviations
POSITIVE ACC – federalism is to be accepted (collective lemmas)
POSITIVE KOHL – Helmut Kohl (a positive actor)
POSITIVE DELORS – Jacques Delors (a positive actor)
POSITIVE INEV-Y – federalism seen as inevitable
POSITIVE FLOOD – federalism seen as increasing
POSITIVE COMM – the EU commission (positive to federalism)
POSITIVE MEP – MEPs (positive to federalism)
POSITIVE EP – the European Parliament (positive to federalism)
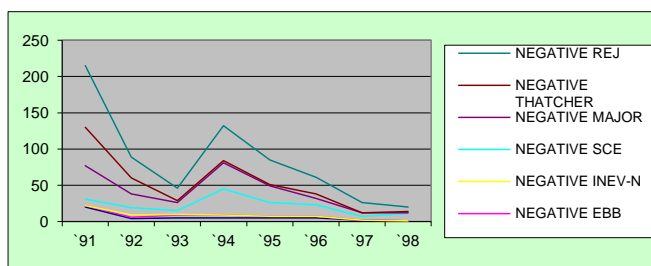
Chart 33b: negativity towards federalism (stacked line chart)

Key to abbreviations
NEGATIVE REJ – federalism is to be rejected (collective lemmas)
NEGATIVE THATCH – Mrs Thatcher (a negative actor)
NEGATIVE MAJOR – John Major (a negative actor)
NEGATIVE SCE - Eurosceptics
NEGATIVE INEV-Y – federalism seen as not inevitable
NEGATIVE EBB – federalism seen as decreasing
NEGATIVE SOV – federalism seen as negative to sovereignty
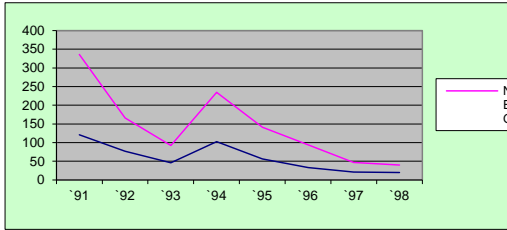
Chart 33c: negativity and positivity towards federalism (stacked line chart)

Key to abbreviations
NEG – consolidated results for factors negative to federalism
POS - consolidated results for factors positive to federalism

From this chart set it is quite clear both that there is a consistent preponderance of instances of negative factors over positive towards federalism. The gap is most pronounced in 1991 (with 215 and 121 instances respectively) and it narrows to zero in 1998 (with 20 instances each). Once more, it may be possible to correlate the high number of instances in 1991 with the discussion leading up to the Maastricht Treaty, and the peak in 1994 with Eurosceptic prominence. It is harder to explain the tail-off in 1997 and 1998. It may be the case that an increase in both factors would be found if the study were continued into the 21st century given that the single currency was launched on the 1st of January 1999 which proved quite controversial in the UK.

11.15 Federalism - conclusions

As for *empowerment*, the results for *federalism* can also be measured against the expected types of change described in section 11.3. These included change in token count between peripherals and in given peripherals relative to the core, change in negativity and positivity towards federalism in the peripherals, and the disappearance of established peripherals or appearance of new ones. Correlation with external historical events constitutes a further result parameter.

For most of the peripherals it was observed that there was an oscillation between three peaks, broadly 1991 – 1992, 1994 and 1995 –1996, of which 1991 – 1992 and 1994 seemed to be the most important. In other words, the peripherals became more proximate to the core in those periods. The periods in question correlate to three external historical events: the Maastricht Treaty (agreed in 1991 and ratified in 1992), the prominence of the Eurosceptics in politics (in 1994) and the Treaty of Amsterdam (agreed in 1996 and ratified in 1997). Overall, the peripherals most proximate to the core were those in the orientation of *acceptance / rejection*, and these were followed by those of the orientations *European actors*, *Eurosceptic*, *European Institutions*, and *inevitability*. The relative distance from the core of the peripherals connected with acceptance and rejection remained more or less constant throughout the period with a clear preponderance of instances favouring rejection. A further indication of this was the analysis of semantic prosody concerning the political actors represented in the press (see section 11.2.3). When all the peripherals were taken into account, it was also clear that negativity to federalism fell over the eight-year period. Furthermore, notwithstanding the two or three peaks, there was a steady decline in proximity regarding all peripherals, which became especially pronounced in the last two years, 1997 and 1998. Given the continuing controversy over the relations of the UK to the EU, it would be surprising if a continuation of the study did not reveal an increase of instances of all peripherals from the year 1999 onwards, especially since the single currency was launched in 1999 with the UK outside the currency area.

Some peripherals declined steeply in proximity (such as THATCHER* after 1992, and DELORS* after 1995). This was probably because of the departure of these politicians from the political arena (at least with regard to Mrs Thatcher). Secondly, peripherals within the orientation *inevitability* were not at all strongly represented in the number of instances after 1995. If the study were continued from 1999 onwards there is little doubt that new peripherals might emerge such as SANTER* and PRODI* (successors to Jacques Delors as presidents of the Commission) and EURO* (the name of the single currency). Indeed, if it were possible to conduct an analysis of a wide range of paradorgs relating to the European issue it might prove the case that *federalism* would decline relative to others (such as the *euro*).

11.16 Chapter summary

In this chapter the peripherals of the paradorg core *federalism* were established and the results of the corpus analysis were presented in a series of charts and commentaries. In the next and final chapter (chapter 12) the conclusions of the study will be presented.

12. Conclusions

In answer to the question set at the beginning of this study, the following conclusions can be summarised with reference to the three parts; discourse, evolution and power.

In the search for a suitable model with which to investigate and describe change of meaning over long periods of time in texts of a social and political nature regarding power, a prominent branch of discourse analysis was examined, critical discourse analysis (CDA). A strong argument was put forward to the effect that CDA was inadequate in that it is highly subjective and selective in philosophical base, method, and results (see chapters 3, 4 and 6). The argument advanced could serve as a refutation of CDA. Such a critique has not previously been attempted on this scale or indeed on any scale in terms of drawing together the various threads of linguistic, philosophical and social analysis. Further, the account given of CDA can be seen as the first comprehensive history of the field.

In part 2 an alternative form of discourse analysis, discourse stream analysis (DSA) was presented as a first exploration of a model specifically designed to incorporate rigorous and systematic principles of analysis which could be used to describe elements of discourse, here described as paradigm organisms (paradorgs), a new concept. These are said to inhabit the infosphere of text by analogy with genetic material in the biosphere (see chapter 8). This exploratory work claims originality not only in that social and historical factors are considered with relation to the two key terms of *empowerment* and *federalism*, but mainly because of the insight that elements of discourse can be conceived as a stream of units (paradorgs) through time - by analogy with genetic material (see sections 8.5, 8.5.1, & 8.5.2). A further point of originality is that this stream of material, formulated as substantial linguistic corpora (with micro texts as points of reference), can be described and analysed rigorously by means of corpus techniques (see sections 8.6, 8.6.1, and 8.6.2). The model itself is admittedly preliminary but hopefully comprises an innovative attempt to overcome some of the limitations of CDA, and indeed has been applied to texts and contexts which CDA analysts constantly refer to as important but seldom engage in when it comes to textual analysis (see Appendix 2).

The main philosophical aspects of DSA theory include an account of the subject in terms of intention and the aspects of consciousness where the subject is identifiable in discursal features (see chapter 6). Then, an up-dated theory of power is offered on two levels (micro and macro) (see chapter 7). A further indispensable part of DSA is a description of the evolutionary nature of discourse: paradorgs seek to replicate and survive (see section 8.5). In this respect DSA may be seen as complementing meme theory. Ontology is provided for in that both corpus data exist objectively and a categorization based on intrinsic and extrinsic features of the world enables a distinction to be made between types of fact (see section 8.6.2). This is balanced by an epistemological dimension whereby objective methods for obtaining results are proposed. A place for interpretation naturally remains in that subjective methods are inevitable in historical and social analysis, both in the initial choice of subject matter and in the final interpretation of results (see section 8.6.2).

On the linguistic plane, DSA theory sees discourse as a flow of linguistic material over time of which corpus techniques allow diachronic analyses. By means of these techniques a unit of description was identified and termed a *paradigm organism* (*paradorg*) (see section 8.4). The model was then used to organise and document linguistic evidence for paradorgs as discursal organisms inhabiting text. A precise and independently replicable methodology was established with which it is possible to identify and describe paradorgs and their peripherals in terms of lemmas and collocates (see sections 10.1 and 11.2).
In part 3 the model was used to establish the exemplifying paradorgs *empowerment* and *federalism*, and their peripherals over time (see chapters 10 and 11). To the knowledge of the author this is the first time that these concepts have been systematically analysed over a comparatively long period of history (eight years) by means of corpus techniques. The peripherals of the paradorg *empowerment* were initially identified with the assistance of an analysis of a training text from the Rover car company (see chapter 9). The theory of power-sharing (micro level) was then supported by a corpus analysis of a micro text on the mission statements of visionary companies (see sections 9.6, 9.6.1, 9.6.2, and 9.6.3). The corpus data were seen to show quite different results from those offered in the original study. This demonstrated the value of the corpus linguistics tool in minimising the preconceptions of the analyst.

In the results sections of part 3, clearly defined techniques were used to establish the peripherals of each paradorg (see sections 10.1 and 11.2). The results of the development of the core and peripherals were displayed in a series of charts (see sections 10.5 - 9 and 11.5 – 11.14). It was found that in both cases the paradorg and its relationship to its peripherals remained stable. In the case of *empowerment*, the main finding was that while the main focus rests on the employee, this individual is under-represented in agent role in a transitivity

analysis whereas within the classic definition of empowerment there is an expectation that the individual should take initiative. The results of the corpus analysis did not concur with the description of empowerment as undergoing four stages of meaning (see section 10.10). This could be because the writers in the press are only aware of one broad definition of *empowerment*, and that there are at least two distinct discourse streams (that of the media and that of the business and academic literature). It would be interesting to see whether representation in the press will change in the course of time if the definition of empowerment changes in theory and practice. The paradorg *federalism*, however, comprised a site of conflict between those who support closer European political integration and those who do not (see section 11.13). Overall, there was a strong and consistent negative context in the evidence. This was reinforced by an analysis of main actors and semantic prosody (see section 11.2.3). This negativity did not change over time. However, peaks of interest occurred which broadly correlated with historical events (see section 11.15). Federalism was, then, seen in a negative light and it did not correspond to the principles of power-sharing (macro level) apart from that of psychological mismatch (see section 7.2.2). This means that while it may be necessary to share power between nation states, this is not accepted in media representations at least as far as federalism is concerned during the time period in question.

12.1 Limitations of the study

The present study is naturally subject to a number of limitations. These include, firstly, the lack of space to devote to a deeper presentation of the historical background to *empowerment* and *federalism*, which would perhaps have provoked a more extensive discussion of wider aspects of this paradorg as it emerged in the study. Secondly, the corpus investigation could have been extended to apply to a broader range of newspaper sources, ideally with the inclusion of publications from other European countries. By the same token, examples of other paradorgs could have been studied. The two examined here clearly exhibit the characteristics of case studies, which is possibly inevitable given the present stage of application of DSA.

In the choice of discourse sources for the analysis, the issue of representativeness needs to be addressed. The question, however, of what counts as a representative text corpus is a rather complex matter. The variables include time period, size, sources, and written or spoken language. Representativeness must be related to the available resources which change in this case according to technological developments.
The FT Profile service was chosen as the source of whole text newspapers. While there are many other single newspapers found on-line, it could not fall within the scope of this study to conduct a survey of all of them in order to ascertain the size

and accessibility of their archive facilities. An informal survey of web resources showed that at the time of writing certain major publications located in developed countries offer a variety of archival services in terms of the number of back editions (in terms of days, months and years). For example, the New York Times offers full text articles from 1996, whereas The Wall Street Journal offers articles from the last thirty days only. In the foreign press neither Le Figaro nor El Pais have an archive service. This may well change over time, but it was felt that the four sources chosen for this study were quite representative of the serious British press. The two major serious newspaper groups not taken into account were that of the Guardian and Observer and the Times and Sunday Times since FT Profile offered a different search and retrieval method for these publications.

Thirdly, limitations of time and space have restricted the amount of direct evidence, such as personal interviews, which could be drawn upon to support the corpus investigation. Questionnaires could also have been used. However, the main focus of the empirical work has fallen upon the corpus-based investigation of paradorgs. Fourthly, a larger variety and certainly a greater depth of statistical treatment could have been applied to the results. While the intention in the present study was to present these particular results in a widely accessible form, further statistical exploitation could also have been of interest.

In general, these limitations form a natural consequence of the need for selectivity in the application of DSA. This application is admittedly exploratory at present; it cannot claim to be definitive. Possible ways of overcoming these limitations are indicated below in the form of suggestions for the direction of future research which might arise from this study.

12.2 Future directions

This study is meant to provide a theoretical and practical starting point for a potentially large research project. These might be the aims of such a project.

a. To refine the definition of paradorg to as to account for relevant text which occurs at greater distance from the core than the search parameters of seven words to the left or right.

b. To expand and consolidate the theory and model especially with regard to linguistic refinements such as the investigation of time (real, verbal and psychological), vague language (Channell 1994) and the organising principles of paradorgs and their realisation.

c. To extend the analyses to other related paradorgs and other fields.

d. To describe the peripherals as paradorgs themselves.

e. To consider a wide range of publications (including paper and electronic) in a variety of languages. This would prove to be especially significant with regard to federalism from different European and wider perspectives.

f. To conduct such analyses over a longer time period. It may be that in some cases significant change in the meaning of a paradorg and its relation to peripherals will only occur after a long period of time. It would be interesting to take a fifteen or twenty year perspective. As time goes by, more material of many kinds will be stored on CD-ROM which will enable such analyses to be made.

g. To correlate the description of meaning over time as found in texts more closely with hard historical data (such as international treaties and other historical events with dates) and accepted historical and social interpretations in order to complement the data and interpretations with the evolution of the representation of meaning. The further level of evidence comprising questionnaires and other primary material could also be expanded upon.

h. To establish of a new tool which will enable managers to see clearly and systematically the difference between rhetoric and reality and the effects this may have on the consumers (both internal and external) of the texts they produce.

i. To establish a new linguistically-based indicator which shows the development of opinions and arguments over time as expressed in media read by opinion-formers. This indicator could be used to obtain an instant measure of those opinions and arguments. This would complement opinion polls and would not be a lagging indicator as are many in economics. The indicator could also be used in conjunction with hard data such as clearly documented historical fact (dates and events).

j. To design a new method of assembling and presenting language teaching materials on a tailor-made basis which would enable the teacher to have a deep knowledge of current specific terms.

Finally, the time spent on this study has been immensely stimulating from my personal point of view. I have learned a great deal on the ontology and epistemology of the hard and social sciences and how there can be a place for both an objective and subjective component in a theory of discourse. It has also been tremendously exciting to have attempted to develop a concept of discourse as a stream along with the insight that units of discourse may not only be identified and conceived by analogy with evolving organisms but also described in a systematic and replicable way.

Appendix 1: The linguistic model

1. Ideational component

The notion of transitivity is fundamental in this component. This has a technical meaning in Halliday (1994). It is concerned with relations between basic elements represented by the linguistic form of the clause. It constitutes the foundation of representation.

In traditional grammatical description a clause is based on a semantic and syntactic relation between a subject and predicate (Ferris 1983, pp.89ff). The predicate is verb or adjective. The predicate is labelled process by Halliday, and the other elements of the clause are given names on a semantic level such as actor (agent in Downing & Locke, ibid.), goal and beneficiary. In this way there is a similarity to the categories of case grammar (Ferris, ibid. pp.84-89) where there is an attempt to identify `...a group of recurrent semantic relations, which tie noun phrases to other elements in their sentence, especially the verb.' (Ferris 1983, p.85).

a. Transitivity
This indicates orientation towards subject matter in terms of

  i.   taking action

 ii.   exercising power

iii.   suffering events

 iv.   experiencing events

  v.   benefiting from events.

The following schema displays the three main processes:

  vi.   Material (action, doing)

 vii.   Mental (experiencing, sensing)

viii.   Relational (being, becoming)

and three subsidiary processes:

ix. Behavioural (behaving)

 x. Verbal (saying)

xi. Existential (being)

with participants indicated and suitable examples.

Basic clause structure may be summarised as

xii. Process + inherent participants (actualised or unactualised, direct or indirect).

This pattern is realised in different ways in the main and subsidiary processes. Direct participants are categorised as fulfilling these roles in each process type, as illustrated in Tables 41 and 42 below.

Process	Role
Material	Agent
	Force (a sub-category of agent)
	Affected
	Effected
	Recipient
	Beneficiary
	Causative agent
Mental	Senser
	Phenomenon
Relational	Carrier
	Attribute
	Identified
	Identifier
Behavioural	Behaver
Verbal	Sayer
	Receiver
	Verbiage
	Target
	Recipient
Existential	Existent
	Circumstance

Table 41: Main and subsidiary clause processes with participants

Process: material				Dispositive/Creative
Agent	Process	Goal		D/C
PC	shot	boy	Affected	D
I	found	a biscuit	Affected	D
a wave	sank (Force)	the ship	Affected	D
Henry	built	a castle	Effected	C
he	wept bitterly			C
the kettle	boiled			C
a girl	died			C
no-one	came			C

Table 42: Main and subsidiary processes with examples

Affected participants are those affected by the action expressed by the verb. The terms dispositive and creative refer to cases where an item comes to be or is altered in some way respectively. In the case of the last four examples further distinctions may be made thus:

xiii. Henry built a castle

Here there is a "coming to be" but an action takes place. A castle is thus an effected participant. The next three examples are one participant processes.

xiv. he wept bitterly

Here the process is involuntary.

xv. the kettle boiled

Here there is a causative, involuntary process.

xvi. a girl died

Here the process is involuntary.

xvii. no-one came

Here the process is involuntary.

Creative may thus have the sub-categories of causative, voluntary and involuntary. Secondly, the effected participant may be seen as a sub-category of affected participant. Tables 43 and 44 show the mental process and relational process respectively with examples.

Process: mental		
Senser	Process	Phenomenon (explicit/implicit)
I	believe	in Martians
Henry	is	very embarrassed
Henry	needs	Rosalie
Rosalie	knows	

Table 43: Mental processes with examples

Process: relational
_____

Intensive mode					
Attributive			Identifying		
Carrier	Process	Attribute	Identified	Process	Identifier
Henry	is	bright	Henry	is	the clever one
		(quality)			(token-value)

_____

Circumstantial mode					
Attributive			Identifying		
Carrier	Process	Attribute	Identified	Process	Identifier
The meeting	is	next week	Next Monday	is	the 10th
		(circumstance)			(circumstance)

_____

Possessive mode					
Attributive			Identifying		
Carrier	Process	Attribute	Identified	Process	Identifier
Henry	owns	a vintage car	The vintage car	is	Henry's
		(possession)			(possession)

_____

Transition mode		
Attributive		
Carrier	Process	Attribute
Joanna	went	pale
		(resulting attribute)
The beer	tastes	warm
		(current attribute)

Table 44: relational process with examples

As shown in Table APP 44, the main difference between the attributive and identifying modes is that identifying are reversible and attributive are not.

There are three subsidiary processes as indicated in Table 45 below.

Process: behavioural						
Behaver	Process					
Henry	is thinking					

Process: Verbal						
Sayer	Process	Receiver	Verbiage	Verbalization	Target	Recipient
Henry	is talking					
Henry	said	to me	"It's time to go"			
Henry	said			it was time		
Henry	praised				John	to his wife

Process: Existential		
Process	Existent	Circumstance
There was	an argument	in the square
There developed	a disagreement	in the department

Table 45: Subsidiary processes with examples

In addition to the direct affected participants, there are two categories of Indirect affected participants. These are beneficiary and range.

xviii. Beneficiary.

This comes in two forms, recipient (the one that receives goods) and client (the one that receives services). Table 46 gives examples including the material process and beneficiary.

Process: material			
Agent	Material Process	Beneficiary	Goal
I	gave	my boys	a castle (recipient)
I	made	my boys	a castle (client)
Beneficiary	Material Process		Goal
my boys	got		a castle
In the last example the beneficiary can occupy subject position.			
Process: Verbal			
Agent	Verbal Process	Beneficiary	Goal
I	told	my children	a story
Henry	explained	to Rosalie (Receiver)	the good news
Rosalie	convinced	Henry	of her loyalty

Table 46: Material and verbal processes including beneficiary with examples

Participants in the above tables are shown in unmarked position. In some cases participants may be placed in marked position:

xix. in public Henry insulted him

in other cases not:

xx. * is thinking Henry.
In many cases a passive form is also possible

xxi. Circumstantial elements. These include
xxii. Extent and location in time and space (including abstract space)
xxiii. Manner (means, quality and comparison)
xxiv. Cause (reason, purpose and behalf)
xxv.   Accompaniment
xxvi. Matter, role
xxvii. Extent and location.

Table 47 illustrates the circumstantial elements of space and time.

	Spatial	Temporal
Extent	Distance	Duration
	run (for) 2 miles	sleep (for) 8 hours
Location	Place	Time
	play in the nursery	go to bed at 6.30pm

Table 47: Circumstantial elements – space and time

Halliday notes that there are close parallels between temporal and spatial expressions. Table 48 summarises those parallels and also highlights important differences.

	Time	Space
Extent	X	X
definite/indefinite	X	X
Location	X	X
definite/indefinite	X	X
absolute/relative	X	X
Rest and Motion distinguished	X	X
relative to here and now	X	X
Unidimensional, moving forwards	X	
Multidimensional, static		X
Abstract conception		X

Table 48: Space and time expressions – parallels and differences

Further, time is expressed both in the tense system and as a circumstantial element (prepositional phrases and adjective and adverbial phrases). There is no parallel in space.

b. Syntactic transformations of the clause

The following tables (49 and 50) exemplify passive and nominal transformations. Here the term transformation is not used in the sense of TGG, but of the general sense of the change from active to passive form and that from verb phrase to noun phrase.

Passive transformations

Active form	Passive form
Police contain rioters	Rioters contained (by police)
You should wear helmets at all times	Helmets are worn at all times

Table 49: Passive transformations

The effect of passivisation is to change focus and emphasis. Deletion of certain items of the clause results in distance and formality.

Nominal transformations

Full clause	nominal transformation
The organisation will pay everyone in the same way when they are sick	A single-status sick pay scheme
The organisation will check everyone's health regularly	A regular health check
We must improve our work all the time	Continuous improvement

Table 50: Nominal transformations

The use of nominalisation is said to indicate officialdom, importance, and control. It also said to indicate closure of discussion (of a dynamic nature) by the use of noun phrases (of a static nature).

c. Lexical structure

The following tables (Tables 51 and 52) show aspects of lexical structure.

Lexical structure: groupings

Register	the compound was heated to 100 degrees
Word fields	shares, bonds, convertibles
Hyponyms/Co-hyponyms	property, house, office, factory
Synonyms	equity, shares, stock
Relexicalization	Total Quality Management Total Quality Leadership
Overlexicalization	Total Quality Management Total Quality Leadership Quality Action Teams Continuous improvement Constant open and honest... ...to continuously improve...

Table 51: Lexical structure - groupings

The first four items in Table 51 may show concentration and emphasis. Register, considered hard to define, is taken to include syntactic and lexical features connected to certain subject areas (Fowler 1991, pp. 35-6). Relexicalisation shows areas of creativity where new thought may be occurring, and overlexicalisation shows areas of obsessional interest.

Lexical structure: individual features	
Antonyms	The case is black and white
Scales	a highly illegal currency transaction (Ferris, p.47) a barely legal currency transaction extremely pathetic (ibid., p.47) (there is no opposite!)
Vague expressions	light / heavy Sort of Masses of
Affective meaning (Parameanings)	To lick up to/To suck up to To crawl To creep To cultivate
Formality	Dear Dr. Smith
Respect	Could you possibly...

Table 52: Lexical structure – individual features

Antonyms show desire to present issues in terms of polarity. Scales show subjective ideas of distance from or proximity to a topic, or the perceived magnitude or importance of a topic. Vague expressions can show desire to hide or obfuscate. The interpretation of relative terms depend on the speaker's viewpoint and how this is taken by the hearer. Such flexibility is an important and necessary function of language. It allows us, as unitary subjects, to assign meaning on the spot. Affective meaning (one type of parameaning (others being non-linguistic features such as gesture)) shows the originator's attitude to a topic.

Formality indicates seriousness, and respect indicates esteem in addition. Both are characterised by distance and exhibit deictic features (at all levels of language). They are often found together, but while it is possible to show formality without respect it is not possible to show respect without formal features of language. It is indeed possible to be respectful with informal language (intonation patterns can be highly revealing), and disrespectful with formal language:

i. Ma lei e un cretino!   But you're a cretin!
   Italian   Translation

where *lei* is a polite form. The subtlety is lost in translation.

2. Interpersonal component

This component is characterised in terms of modal stance towards truth, obligation, permission, and desirability (as Table 53 shows) and speech acts.

Modality	
Truth indicates the producer's commitment to truth	That should be right
Obligation ought/should	We ought to go now
Permission can/may	You can go now
Desirability evaluative adverbs/adjectives	Hopefully, we can go

Table 53: Modal stance

Table 53 illustrates modal stance by means of examples.

Speech acts can be categorized as in Table 54.

Speech Acts
Main categories Questions why did you close the window?
Statements He closed the window
Directives Close the window!
Offers Shall I close the window?

Table 54: Speech acts – main categories

This categorization is drawn from Locke (1996). It is also possible to identify many sub-categories of speech acts (ibid., p.175).

3. Textual component

a. Cohesion

Cohesion is described in terms of deixis, the property of language whereby referential expressions refer to items within and outside a text.

i.   Deixis – inward and outward

My brother visited us yesterday. He brought the children a present.

This is an example of inward deixis where the pronoun *he* refers to *my brother*.

That's my brother – can you see him?

This exemplifies both inward deixis (as above) and outward where *him* refers to a person physically present.

ii.   Rhetorical devices

Commonly used and recognised devices include metaphor, allegory, hyperbole, irony, antithesis, oxymoron, and simile.

iii. Formulaic language

Formulaic language may express recurrent themes which can be evidence for myth and paradigms (in a general sense). Formulae can also indicate resonances of all kinds (phonological, grammatical and semantic) which serve to emphasise themes in a text. A prominent area of analysis of formulae is epic poetry.
The best and most extensive research has been carried out into ancient Greek epic (Kirk 1985, pp.24-30; Griffin 1995). Typical formulae in Greek epic (principally the Iliad and Odyssey of Homer) include the noun-epithet construction, as well as certain phrases and their variants which are used in situations or themes which recur in the poem.

> For every recurring idea or activity appropriate formulae exist. Whole lines regularly express common ideas. So when H. [Homer] wishes to describe the appearance of dawn, he can instantly produce the line
> ημος δ᾽ηριγενεια φανη ροδοδακτυλος Ηως …(Garvie 1994, pp.4-5).
>
> *As soon as rose-fingered dawn appeared, bright and early…* (author's translation).

Representations of spoken language will not be taken into account in this study. It would lie far beyond the present scope to analyse a great deal of information with parameters which would need a vast amount of background knowledge. However, incidental comment could be made.

b. Social factors

i. Age-group and sex

Choice of lexis may depend on the age and sex of the originator.

iii.   Social class, occupation and geography

These may all affect lexical choice.

iv.   Individual qualities

The idiolect of the individual or micro social grouping (such as the nuclear family) may present variations in terms of choice of word, personal pronunciation, voice quality and paralinguistic features.

Appendix 2: TODA – texts analysed

1. This appendix displays major texts (comprising at least half a page in extent) analysed in the publications of N. Fairclough to date. The references are shown in Table 55 below with publication date, text topic and page numbers.

85: Rape (pp.740-44), Probation (p.745)
88a: Medic1 (pp.4ff)
88b: Barclaycard (pp.120ff)
88c: News-drugs (pp.137-39)
89a: Police1 (pp.16ff), Falkwar (pp.52ff), Watergate (pp.66ff), School (pp.68ff), Thatcher (pp.89ff), Falkwar (pp.96ff) , Medic2 (pp.99ff), Thatcher/Falkwar (pp.129ff), Firemen (pp.137ff), Thatcherism (pp.172ff), Washmachine ad (pp.203ff)
90a: Amstudies (pp.13ff), Advertising/Health Care (pp.208ff), Family income supplement (p.218), Therapy Interview(pp.222ff), Feminism (pp.229ff)
90b: Medic3 (pp.16-18)
91: Young/Enterprise (pp.46ff)   Design Initiative (pp.49ff)
92d: News-drugs (pp.105ff), Barclaycard (pp.113ff). Med4 (pp.138ff), Med5 (pp.144ff), Conversation (pp.149ff), Antenatal (pp.169ff), Amstudies (pp.210ff)
92e: University (passim, seven texts)
94a: Barclaycard (pp.254ff), Amstudies (pp.256ff), Citizen's Charter (p.256)
95b: Police2 (pp.50-51), News-drugs (pp.67-69), Rape (pp.28ff),   Med5 (pp.98-99), Amstudies (pp.108-09), Young/Enterprise (p.124), University (pp.143-44, pp.160-65), TV interview (pp.168-9, 175-77) Nurse   (pp.191-92), News representation (pp.197-98)
97: Thatcherism (pp.268ff)
2000a: University (pp.166-69, p.171, p.172)
2000b: the 'Third Way' (pp.9-10, chapter 1 passim)

Table 55: TODA – texts analysed

Key

Text topic	occurrences	description
Rape	2	police interview with victim
Probation	1	probation interview
Medic1	1	practitioner - patient interview
Barclaycard	3	advertisement
Medic2	1	practitioner - patient interview
Amstudies	4	university course information
Police1	1	police - witness interview
Police2	1	police - suspect interview
Falkwar	1	Falklands war newspaper article
Medic3	1	practitioner - patient interview
Thatcher/Falkwar	1	Falklands war / M. Thatcher newspaper article
Watergate	1	US Senate interview: Watergate
School	1	pupil - teacher interview
Firemen	1	newspaper article about a fire
Thatcherism	2	radio interview with M. Thatcher
Washmachine ad	1	advertisement
Advertising/Health Care	1	advertisement
Family income supplement	1	public information leaflet
Therapy Interview	1	practitioner - patient interview
Feminism	1	text on feminism
Young/Enterprise	2	public information leaflet
Design Initiative	1	public information leaflet
News-drugs	2	newspaper articles on drugs
Med4	1	practitioner - patient interview
Med5	2	practitioner - patient interview
Customs	1	conversation: customs allowances
Antenatal	1	text on antenatal care
University	3	university course information
Citizen's Charter	1	public information leaflet
TV interview	1	TV interview on J. Major
Nurse	1	practitioner - patient interview
News representation	1	conversation: news representation

2. Main text groupings

i.   Marketisation of universities

Four instances of the same text are given in separate publications. Further and different texts regarding universities are also examined (many in one article alone, 1992e).

ii.   The medical interview and other medical and paramedical texts comprise nine texts.

iii.   An advertisement for Barclaycard.

Three instances of the same text are given in separate publications.

iv.   Thatcherism

Two texts are referred to in two separate publications, and one further text is examined elsewhere.

Appendix 3: empowerment texts (Land Rover)

1. Text 1: Rover Tomorrow – The New Deal

1. Rover will be a single status Company. We are all employees and the only distinction is the contribution we make. All remaining distinctions between "staff and hourly paid" status will be ended:

Clocking will be progressively phased out for all employees

A single status sick pay scheme will be progressively introduced

All employees will be invited to participate in a regular health check provided by the company

Everyone working within the company with the exception of external – facing activities will wear company Workwear. We will all wear appropriate safety apparel: hearing protection, safety glasses etc.

Single status catering will apply throughout the Company.

Production – related employees will progressively have the opportunity to take part of their annual holiday entitlement outside shutdown periods.

Every employee will be paid by credit transfer.

No employee will be laid off by the Company. In the event of a problem which disrupts production all employees will be engaged in worthwhile activities and be required to co – operate with efforts to maintain productive output.

The minimum notice period for all employees will be one month.

Continuous improvement will be a requirement for everyone – the Company must continually improve its performance and competitive position through the elimination of waste, increased levels of efficiency and reduced levels of manpower – "working smarter rather than harder."

Work, planning / changes in production schedules will be carried out in consultation with the teams involved to ensure that the most effective route and use of all resources.

The teams will consider all alternative ways of satisfying customer demand.

If overtime working is required it will be allocated fairly based on skills / numbers required with no restrictive practices applied or sought.

2. Employees will be expected to be flexible subject to their ability to do the job, after training if necessary, and subject to safe working practices being observed. Every employee will have unrestricted access to the use of Company tools and equipment necessary for them to make their contribution.

3. There will be maximum devolution of authority and accountability to the employees actually doing the job. Teams will be responsible for

Quality of work
Routine maintenance
Routine housekeeping / waste materials disposal
Involvement in plant / office layout and equipment
Process improvements
Cost reduction
Control of consumable tools and materials
Work allocation
Job rotation
Training of each other
Material control

4. It is our intention to establish a single grade structure for all our people. The current five grade "hourly paid" and six grade staff structure will be progressively replaced by a scheme with a reduced number of classifications. Each level will have a salary band encompassing a number of salary steps which will be achievable by everyone through skill acquisition. Details of the scheme will be developed and agreed for introduction in November 1992.

5. Productivity bonus schemes will be progressively phased out. All of us will participate in a bonus scheme related directly to the performance of the Company. Qualification for the bonus will be attendance related.

6. We will work together to provide a good working environment which ensures:

Plant and office layout that is safe and easy to work within

Continuous improvement of medical and catering facilities

Minimisation of activities causing unnecessary stress or discomfort

Production of the highest quality products

7. Employees who want to work for Rover will be able to stay with Rover. Necessary reductions in manpower will be achieved in future, with the cooperation of all employees, through retraining and redeployment, natural wastage, voluntary severance and early retirement programmes.

8. Constant open and honest two-way communications with employees throughout the Company will be the norm. The process of daily, weekly, monthly, and annual employee briefings will be strengthened.

9. All of us will participate in identifying training needs and giving and receiving training to improve skills / knowledge and to continuously improve the processes on which we work.

10. Training / retraining and development opportunities to enhance employees' abilities beyond their present role will be available to everyone and all employees will be encouraged to develop themselves to their full potential. Everyone will be given the opportunity to spend time within manufacturing areas as part of their training and development.

11. All of us will be expected to participate in Discussion Groups, Quality Action Teams, Suggestion Schemes, and all other activities to continuously improve processes and Company performance.

12. Employees will continue to have the opportunity to be represented by the recognised Trades Unions. A new Rover Group procedure agreement covering all employees, except those in the Management and Executive classification, details the establishment of a single Joint Negotiating Committee and documents new representation and procedural arrangements.

13. Consultation with representatives of recognised Trades Unions will be enhanced to ensure maximum understanding of Company performance. Competitive practices and standards, product and Company plans and all areas of activity affecting the Company and its employees. Twice yearly reviews of Company performance and outlook will take place with National Officials and Joint Negotiating Committee employee representatives.

Training of employee representatives will be developed and strengthened on a joint Trades Union / Company basis to ensure representatives and managers have the fullest understanding of Agreements, Company and Trades Union philosophy and objectives, and the skills necessary to fulfil their responsibilities.

All employee representatives will be encouraged to become fully involved in the development of safe working practices and plant layouts, improvement of medical, catering and all other employee facilities, employee training, understanding of pensions and other benefits, etc.

15. In the event of any grievance or dispute which any employee or group of employees may have – the full Company / Trades Union procedure will be used to resolve the problem. In the unlikely event of any grievance or dispute not being resolved in this manner, if both parties agree, it will be referred to arbitration – the outcome of which will be binding on both parties – there will be no disputes outside this procedure.

2. Text 2: appendix 1; behaviours of empowerment

ENVIRONMENT

Remove the barriers and confines (perceived or actual).
Provide the tools and facilities.
Do not inhibit with unnecessary shackles and constraints.
Display business / local information.

INVOLVEMENT

Seek opinion, contribution and input.
Provide the facts.
Involve the fact holder
Share information and experiences.
Encourage liaison with others who might contribute.
Include at the earliest opportunity.

SUPPORT

Be available for feedback and coaching, etc.
Publicly support and promote the `empowered' in the task ahead.
Motivate and encourage by giving praise for success (small or large).
Respect and accept decisions made, putting aside personal preferences or style.
Turn failure into positive learning and coaching opportunities.
Be positive and adopt an "anything is possible" language.
Make regular contact to ensure good two-way communication and provide the opportunity for checking of understanding or raising of concerns.

DEVELOPMENT

Provide coaching guidance and advice on an informal but regular basis.
Take the opportunity to learn from failure.
Be patient particularly where new role and experiences are concerned.
Seek to broaden the experience of the empowered.
Provide opportunities for self development of the individual.
Encourage the `next step'.

DELEGATION

Demonstrate trust by giving the freedom and authority to make decisions.
Ensure that accountabilities and responsibilities are made clear and understood.
Share the responsibility of delegation. Don't "off-load" or abdicate.

HONESTY

Be open and honest
Show respect for the individual

Admit your own errors. Encourage others to do the same by removing the threat and fear factors – Apologise.

RISK

Encourage someone to take on a role or responsibility which you normally hold. Replace nervousness in doing so, with regular two-way feedback to build confidence.
Let the empowered know that you encourage the use of new ideas and initiatives even if there is an element of risk. Provide coaching on thinking ahead and managing the risk.

CLEAR OBJECTIVES

Make sure that your expectations are realistic and that the outcome is clearly defined.
Give clear direction to the task but not step by step instruction.
Encourage the use of initiative.
Explore potential barriers and ways to overcome.
Explain the downstream benefit of what is to be achieved.
Check the understanding of what is being asked.

LISTENING

Demonstrate that you are listening by questioning and building upon what you are being told.
Put aside preconceptions.
Do not jump in and make assumptions based on only half the facts.
Be open and explore new ideas.
If follow-up is possible after listening, make it apparent.

ENTHUSIASM

Stating your confidence in what is being done.
Giving credit where credit is due.
Thanking people and giving praise for a job well done or for extraordinary contribution.

Seeking the opportunity to reward albeit in small ways.

BUSINESS AWARENESS

Explain implications of the business as a whole.
Encourage the understanding of what our actions mean to other functions in the business.
Help establish internal customer and supplier relationships.

DISCIPLINE

Be consistent and firm.
Be the example of the standards you set.
Don't be afraid to seek help or guidance in order to ensure both fairness and consistency.
Shouting and abuse do not earn respect.

TEAM BUILDING

Demonstrate a caring attitude.
Watch for and control outside influences affecting team.
Informal discussion with Team members often expose barriers for leader to unlock.
Make the time to be with and develop your people.
Be consistent in discipline and praise.

RELATIONSHIP

Get to know your people or those you are dealing with.
Understand what motivates / demonstrates.
Use the experience of your people.
Consider the "Brainstorm" headings in building your relationship.
3. Text 3: appendix 2; the relationship between empowerer and empowered

DON'T

Show Favouritism ("Blue Eye")
Put Upon
Strain Relationship
Grade Discriminate
Fear Empowerment
Have Pre-Conceptions
Assume
Pressurise
Talk Them and Us
Isolate
Power Abuse
Threaten
Be Devious
Score Points
Play "One Upmanship"
Sack / Dismiss
Be Selfish
Dress/Attire Discriminate
Sex Discriminate
Race Discriminate
Accent Discriminate
Use People as Rungs on Ladder

DO'S

Honesty
Caring
Willingness
Association

Respect
Listening
Frequent Contact
Delegation
Communicate
Personal Touch
Feeling
Trust / Confidentiality
Practice Equal Opportunities
Respect Experience

Involve
Development
Promote Growth / Success
Give Feedback
Dedication

OPPORTUNITIES / CARE POINTS

Age Difference
Age of Relationship
Singled Out
Outside Influences
Qualifications
Temprement [sic]
Nomination
Personal Experiences
Power
Changing the Rules
Distance
Pals
Strong Wills
Previous Encounters
Ability
Values
Giving Destroying Confidence
Background
Misconceptions
Expectations
Character
Judgement
Attitude
Morals

4. Text 4: appendix 3; overcoming the risk of empowerment

The benefits for the two sides have been grouped according to the indications on the photocopy of the original document. This is to ensure coherence in the corpus analysis.

Overcoming the risk of empowerment

Fear of failure and how it reflects
Selecting the right person and putting in place the review mechanism

Failure because of lack of skills and resources
Select the right person and the right issue (resources available)

Being seen as abdicating responsibility
Not if it is stated that the support is there and review mechanisms in place

Being eclipsed by the individual
There needs to be an atmosphere of trust

Letting go and feeling OK
Relationship suffers because of problems
Review mechanisms allow problems to be discussed and resolved

End result not what was expected
Loss of control of awareness of issues
This could be a good thing but regular reviews should keep you informed

Not knowing what's going on
Not if you have regular reviews
Not being able to answer/decisions on the spot
Refer to the factholder

Individual fails
If person does fail first time review what went wrong and plan for right second time

Senior management expect senior management to know everything
Reviews should help to `head' this off

Being told untruths
A relationship that supports both parties must be developed. There must be an atmosphere of trust

Nothing to do!
The factholder is the expert

Carrying the responsibility for failure
Longer lead time for job completion
What about all the medium / long term planning and strategy issues

Individual loses control takes liberties
Selecting the right person and putting in place the review mechanism

Individual does not question or challenge - just accepts
Encourage them to challenge

Outcome could be something you did not want to know
Not if you're planning strategies for continuous improvement
A better more robust fix
Reviews will minimise this
If it's all right for the business it's OK

Lose feeling of involvement
Feeling threatened
There must be an atmosphere of trust

Living with their decisions
If it's the right decision for the business it's OK
If it's wrong for the business then rework to get it right second time

5. Text 5: appendix 4; the benefits of empowerment

THE EMPOWERED

Feeling of satisfaction, achievement involvement & fulfilment
Personal development – being stretched, learning new skills
Allowed to show responsible, trusted and belonging
Improved knowledge and general business awareness
Helps career and learning
Feel important
Improved job satisfaction
Morale booster
Ownership of issues through decision making
Visibility of capability
Motivated and sense of pride
Understanding of own capabilities
Control of own workload
Break through the barriers
Broadens horizons and vision
Confidence booster
Increased interest in job

THE EMPOWERER

Shares the workload
Satisfaction through seeing people develop
Gives you time for planning and looking at strategy
Sharing of knowledge
Team work in the department and improved motivation
Faster responses and achievement of objectives
Building of relationships and trust
Time to do other jobs
Improved personal effectiveness and overall efficiency
Sleep better
Ownership by the appropriate person - the factholder
Identify new potential
Enthusiasm within the team
Time to manage and time to learn new things
Better control and less firefighting
Better answers through involvement

Appendix 4: visionary companies

1. Visionary companies – core ideologies

3M
- Innovation; "Thou shalt not kill a new product idea"

- Absolute integrity

- Respect for individual initiative and personal growth

- Tolerance for honest mistakes

- Product quality and reliability "Our real business is solving problems"

American Express
- Heroic customer service

- Worldwide reliability of services

- Encouragement of individual initiative

Boeing
- Being on the leading edge of aeronautics; being pioneers

- Tackling huge challenges and risks

- Product safety and quality

- Integrity and ethical business

- To "eat, breathe, and sleep the world of aeronautics"

Citicorp
- Expansionism – of size, of services offered, of geographic presence

- Being out front – such as biggest, best, most innovative, most profitable

- Autonomy and entrepreneurship (via decentralization)

- Meritocracy

- Aggressiveness and self-confidence

Ford
- People as the source of our strength
- Products as the "end result of our efforts" (we are *about* cars)
- Profits as a necessary means and measure for our success
- Basic honesty and integrity

General Electric
- Improving the quality of life through technology and innovation
- Interdependent balance between responsibility to customers, employees, society and shareholders (no clear hierarchy)
- Individual responsibility and opportunity
- Honesty and integrity

Hewlett-Packard
- Technical contribution to fields in which we participate ("We exist as a corporation to make a contribution")
- Respect and opportunity for HP people, including the opportunity to share in the success of the enterprise
- Contribution and responsibility to the communities in which we operate
- Affordable quality for HP customers
- Profit and growth as a means to make all of the other values and objectives possible

IBM
- Give full consideration to the individual employee
- Spend a lot of time making customers happy
- Go the last mile to do things right; seek superiority in all we undertake

Johnson & Johnson
- The company exists "to alleviate pain and disease"
- "We have a hierarchy of responsibilities: customers first, employees second, society at large third, and shareholders fourth" …

- Individual opportunity and reward based on merit

- Decentralization = Creativity = Productivity

Marriott
- Friendly service and excellent value (customers are guests); "make people away from home feel that they're among friends and really wanted"

- People are number 1 - treat them well, expect a lot, and the rest will follow

- Work hard, yet keep it fun

- Continual self-improvement

- Overcoming adversity to build character

Merck
- "We are in the business of improving human life. All of our actions must be measured by our success in achieving this goal"

- Honesty and integrity

- Corporate social responsibility

- Science-based innovation, not imitation

- Unequivocal excellence in *all* aspects of the company

- Profit, but profits from work that benefits humanity

Motorola
- The company exists "to honorably serve the community by providing products and services of superior quality at a fair price

- Continuous self-renewal

- Tapping the "latent creative power within us"

- Continual improvements in all that the company does – in ideas, in quality, in customer satisfaction

- Treat each employee with dignity, as an individual

- Honesty, integrity, and ethics in all aspects of business

Nordstrom
- Service to the customer above all else

- Hard work and productivity

- Continuous improvement, never being satisfied

- Excellence in reputation, being part of something special

Philip Morris
- The right to personal freedom of choice (to smoke, to buy whatever one wants) is worth defending

- Winning – being the best and beating others

- Encouraging individual initiative

- Opportunity to achieve based on merit, not gender, race, or class

- Hard work and continuous self-improvement

Procter & Gamble
- Product excellence

- Continuous self-improvement

- Honesty and fairness

- Respect and concern for the individual

Sony
- To experience the sheer joy that comes from the advancement, application, and innovation of technology that benefits the general public

- To elevate the Japanese culture and national status

- Being a pioneer – not following others, but doing the impossible

- Respecting and encouraging each individual`s ability and creativity

Wal-Mart
- "We exist to provide value to our customers" – to make their lives better via lower prices and greater selection; all else is secondary

- Swim upstream, buck conventional wisdom

- Be in partnership with employees

- Work with passion, commitment, and enthusiasm

- Run lean

- Pursue ever-higher goals

Walt Disney
- No cynicism allowed

- Fanatical attention to consistency and detail

- Continuous progress via creativity, dreams, and imagination

- Fanatical control and preservation of Disney's "magic" image

- "To bring happiness to millions" and to celebrate, nurture, and promulgate

- "wholesome American values"

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