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## Critical discourse analysis

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Ruth Wodak

In this chapter, I first attempt to provide an overview of some important approaches to critical discourse analysis, as well as a methodology for analysing data from a CDA perspective. Specifically, I will focus on central concepts and terms and present a short summary of the historical development of critical discourse analysis. Owing to problems of space, it will be impossible to illustrate all the different approaches with concrete examples; I will have to refer readers to other research and references where examples are elaborated and discussed. Secondly, I will exemplify important dimensions of our own theory and methodology, the 'discourse-historical approach', and discuss some of the most important issues of applying CDA to specific research questions and text analysis.<sup>2</sup>

The terms 'critical linguistics' (CL) and 'critical discourse analysis' (CDA) are often used interchangeably. In fact, recently the term CDA seems to have been preferred and is being used to denote the theory formerly identified as CL. Thus, I will continue to use CDA exclusively in this chapter (see Anthonsen, 2001, for an extensive discussion of these terms). The roots of CDA lie in concepts of rhetoric, text linguistics and sociolinguistics, as well as in applied linguistics and pragmatics.

### 'PERSONAL' HISTORY AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE 'CDA GROUP'

I myself was educated as a sociolinguist in the 1970s. The relationship between language and society, broadly speaking, became the focus of this new paradigm, quite in opposition to the Chomskyan approach or to other grammar

theories (Leodolter, 1975). At that time, many debates were manifest, such as between Jürgen Habermas and Noam Chomsky, or between the quantitative and qualitative paradigms in the social sciences (see Cicourel, 1974). I realized at that time that the study of language, isolated from any context, would not give insights into social processes. Moreover, the interpretation of isolated utterances was usually vague and ambiguous. This turn to the social sciences and away from formal linguistics ultimately led to CDA. However, I have always retained important characteristics of sociolinguistics such as fieldwork and ethnography; moreover the application of multiple methods is relevant when studying discourses as well (see Wodak, 1996a, 1996b).

CDA as a whole network of scholars emerged in the early 1990s, following a small symposium in Amsterdam in January 1991. Through the support of the University of Amsterdam, Teun van Dijk, Norman Fairclough, Gunther Kress, Theo van Leeuwen and I spent two days together, and had the wonderful opportunity to discuss theories and methods of discourse analysis, specifically CDA. The meeting made it possible to confront with each other the very distinct and different approaches that are relevant nowadays. In this process of group formation, differences and sameness were laid out - differences towards other theories and methodologies in discourse analysis (see Tischer et al., 2000), and sameness in a programmatic way, which could frame the differing theoretical approaches of the various schools (see Wodak and Meyer, 2001). Basically, CDA as a school or paradigm is characterized through a programmatic set of principles (see below). Moreover, it is characterized by the common interests in demystifying ideologies and power through the systematic investigation

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of semiotic data, be they written, spoken or visual. CDA researchers also attempt to make their own perspectives explicit while retaining their respective scientific methodologies.

The start of the CDA network is also marked through the launch of van Dijk's journal *Discourse and Society* (1990) as well as through several books.<sup>3</sup> The Amsterdam meeting determined an institutional start, an attempt both to constitute an exchange programme (Erasmus, for three years)<sup>4</sup> as well as multiple joint projects and collaborations between scholars of different countries and a special issue of *Discourse and Society* (1993), which presented the above-mentioned approaches. Since then new journals have appeared, multiple overviews have been written, and nowadays CDA is an established paradigm in linguistics.

## IDEOLOGY, POWER, DISCOURSE AND CRITIQUE

Deconstructing the label of this research programme – I view CDA basically as a research programme, the reasons for which I will explain below – entails that we have to define what CDA means when employing the terms 'critical' and 'discourse'. Most recently, Michael Billig (2003) has clearly pointed to the fact that CDA has become an established academic discipline with the same rituals and institutional practices as all other academic disciplines. Ironically, he asks: 'the question whether this might mean that CDA has become "uncritical" – or if the use of acronyms such as CDA might serve the same purposes as in other traditional, non-critical disciplines, namely, to exclude outsiders and to mystify the functions and intentions of the research. I cannot answer Billig's questions extensively in this chapter. But I do believe that he points to potentially very fruitful and necessary debates for CDA.'

At this point, I would like to stress that CDA has never been and has never attempted to be or to provide one single or specific theory. Neither is one specific methodology characteristic of research in CDA. Quite the contrary, studies in CDA are multifarious, derived from quite different theoretical backgrounds, oriented towards different data and methodologies. Researchers in CDA also rely on a variety of grammatical approaches. The definitions of the terms 'discourse', 'critical', 'ideology', 'power' and so on are also manifold. Thus, any criticism of CDA should always specify which research or researcher they relate to. I myself would suggest

using the notion of a 'school' for CDA, or of a programme, which many researchers find useful and to which they can relate. This programme or set of principles has changed over the years (see Fairclough and Wodak, 1997).

Such a heterogeneous school might be confusing for some; on the other hand, it allows for open discussions and debates, for changes in the aims and goals, and for innovation. In contrast to 'total and closed' theories, such as for example or Chomsky's generative transformational grammar or Michael Halliday's systemic functional linguistics, CDA has never had the image of a 'sect' and does not want to have such an image.

The heterogeneity of methodological and theoretical approaches that can be found in this field would tend to confirm van Dijk's point that CDA and CL 'are at most a shared perspective on doing linguistic, semiotic or discourse analysis' (van Dijk, 1993: 253). Below, I summarize some of these principles, which are adhered to by most researchers.

CDA sees 'language as social practice' (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997), and considers the 'context of language use' to be crucial (Benke, 2000; Wodak, 2000):

CDA sees discourse – language use in speech and writing – as a form of 'social practice'. Describing discourse as social practice implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s), which frame it. The discursive event is shaped by them, but it also shapes them. That is, discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned – it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps to sustain that it contributes to transforming it. Since discourse is so socially consequential, it gives rise to important issues of power. Discursive practices may have major ideological effects – that is, they can help produce and reproduce unequal power relations between (for instance) social classes, women and men, and ethnic/cultural majorities and minorities through the ways in which they represent things and position people. (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 258)

Of course, the term 'discourse' is used very differently by different researchers and also in different academic cultures. In the German and Central European context, a distinction is made between 'text' and 'discourse', relating to the tradition in text linguistics as well as to rhetoric (see Vass, 1992; Brühner and Gräfen, 1994; Wodak, 1996a, for summaries). In the English-speaking world, 'discourse' is often used both for written and oral texts (see Schiffrin, 1994). Other

researchers distinguish between different levels of abstractness: Lemke (1995) defines 'text' as the concrete realization of abstract forms of knowledge ('discourse'), thus adhering to a more Foucaultian approach (see also Jäger, 2001).

In the discourse-historical approach, we elaborate and link to the socio-cognitive theory of Teun van Dijk (1985, 1993, 1998) and view 'discourse' as a form of knowledge and memory of social practices, whereas 'text' illustrates concrete oral utterances or written documents (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001).

The shared perspective and programme of CDA relate to the term 'critical', which in the work of some 'critical linguists' could be traced to the influence of the Frankfurt School and Jürgen Habermas (Fay, 1987: 203; Thompson, 1988: 71ff.; Anthonsen, 2001). Nowadays this concept is conventionally used in a broader sense, denoting, as Krings argues, the practical linking of 'social and political engagement' with a 'sociologically informed construction of society' (Krings et al., 1973: 808). Hence 'critical' is essentially 'making visible the interconnectedness of things' (Fairclough, 1995: 747; see also Connerton, 1976: 11–39). The reference to the contribution of critical theory to the understanding of CDA and the notions of 'critical' and 'ideology' are of particular importance (see Anthonsen, 2001, for an extensive discussion of this issue).<sup>5</sup>

Critical theories, and thus also CDA, are afforded special standing as guides for human action. They are aimed at producing 'enlightenment and emancipation'. Such theories seek not only to describe and explain, but also to root out a particular kind of delusion. Even with differing concepts of ideology, critical theory needs to create awareness in agents of their own needs and interests. This was, of course, also taken up by Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of 'violence symbolique' and 'méconnaissance' (Bourdieu, 1989). One of the aims of CDA is to 'demythify' discourses by deciphering ideologies.

In agreement with its critical theory predecessors, CDA emphasizes the need for interdisciplinary work in order to gain a proper understanding of how language functions in constituting and transmitting knowledge, in organizing social institutions or in exercising power (see Graham, 2002; Lemke, 2002; Martin, 2003; van Dijk, 2003).

An important perspective in CDA related to the notion of 'power' is that it is very rare that a text is the work of any one person. In texts discursive differences are negotiated; they are governed by differences in power, which is in part encoded in and determined by discourse and by

genre. Therefore texts are often sites of struggle in that they show traces of differing discourses and ideologies contending and struggling for dominance.

Thus, defining features of CDA are its concern with power as a central condition in social life, and its efforts to develop a theory of language, which incorporates this as a major premise. Not only the notion of struggles for power and control, but also the intertextuality and recontextualization of competing discourses in various public spaces and genres, are closely attended to (Fredema, 1997, 1999; Muntigl et al., 2000). Power is about relations of difference, and particularly about the effects of differences in social structures. The constant unity of language and other social matters ensures that language is entwined in social power in a number of ways: language indexes power, expresses power, is involved where there is contention over and a challenge to power. Power does not derive from language, but language can be used to challenge power, to subvert it, to alter distributions of power in the short and the long term. Language provides a finely articulated vehicle for differences in power in hierarchical social structures.

CDA might be defined as fundamentally interested in analysing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language. In other words, CDA aims to investigate critically social inequality and so on, expressed, constituted, legitimized, and so on, by language use (or in discourse). Most critical discourse analysis would thus endorse Habermas's claim that 'language is also a medium of domination and social force. It serves to legitimize relations of organized power. Insofar as the legitimizations of power relations ... are not articulated, ... language is also ideological' (Habermas, 1967: 259).

## SOME PRINCIPLES OF CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

The approach is interdisciplinary. Problems in our societies are too complex to be studied from a single perspective. This entails different dimensions of interdisciplinarity: the theories draw on neighbouring disciplines and try to integrate these theories. Teamwork consists of different researchers from different traditionally defined disciplines working together. Lastly, the methodologies are also adapted to the data under investigation.



- 2 The approach is problem-oriented, rather than focused on specific linguistic items. Social problems are the items of research, such as 'racism, identity, social change', which, of course, are and could be studied from manifold perspectives. The CDA dimension – discourse and text analysis – is one of many possible approaches.
- 3 The theories as well as the methodologies are eclectic, i.e. theories and methods are integrated that are adequate for an understanding and explanation of the object under investigation.
- 4 The study always incorporates fieldwork and ethnography to explore the object under investigation (study from the inside) as a precondition for any further analysis and theorizing. This approach makes it possible to avoid 'fitting the data to illustrate a theory'. Rather, we deal with bottom-up and top-down approaches at the same time.
- 5 The approach is abductive: a constant movement back and forth between theory and empirical data is necessary. This is a prerequisite for principle 4.
- 6 Multiple genres and multiple public spaces are studied, and intertextual and interdisciplinary relationships are investigated. Recontextualization is the most important process in connecting these genres as well as topics and elites, we are dealing with hybrid and innovative genres, as well as with new notions of 'time', 'identity' and 'space'. All these notions have undergone significant change. For example, 'fragmented' identities have replaced the notion of 'holistic identities'. The historical context is always analysed and integrated into the interpretation of discourses and texts. The notion of 'change' (see principle 6) has become inherent in the study of text and discourse.
- 8 The categories and tools for the analysis are defined in accordance with all these steps and procedures and also with the specific problem under investigation. This entails some eclecticism as well as pragmatism. Different approaches in CDA use different grammatical theories, although many apply systematic functional linguistics in some way or other.
- 9 Grand theories might serve as a foundation; in the specific analysis, Middle-Range Theories serve the aims better. The problem-oriented approach entails the use and testing of Middle-Range Theories. Grand Theories result in large gaps between structure/context and linguistic realizations (although some gaps must remain unbridgeable).

10 Practice and application are aimed at. The results should be made available to experts in different fields and, as a second step, be applied, with the goal of changing certain discursive and social practices.

## MAIN RESEARCH AGENDA

In this section, I provide a short overview of the most important research agenda and theoretical as well as empirical approaches in CDA. All the above-mentioned scholars and schools relate to the principles laid out in the previous section, but with different priorities due to their specific interests.

### Language of the New Capitalism

Fairclough (1989) sets out the social theories underpinning CDA, and as in other early critical linguistic work, a variety of textual examples are analysed to illustrate the field, its aims and methods of analysis. Later, Fairclough (1992, 1995) and Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) explain and elaborate some advances in CDA, showing not only how the analytical framework for researching language in relation to power and ideology developed, but also how CDA is useful in disclosing the discursive nature of much contemporary social and cultural change. In particular, the language of the mass media is scrutinized as a site of power, of struggle, and also as a site where language is often apparently transparent. Media institutions often purport to be neutral, in that they provide space for public discourse, reflect states of affairs disinterestedly, and give the perceptions and arguments of the newsmakers. Fairclough shows the fallacy of such assumptions, and illustrates the mediating and constructing role of the media with a variety of examples.

Fairclough has also been concerned with the 'language of New Labour' (2000). His most recent work has been centred around the theme of language in New Capitalism – focusing on language/discourse aspects of the contemporary restructuring and 're-scaling' (shift in relations between global, regional, national and local) of capitalism. The book with Lillie Chouliaraki (1999) specifically marked something of a shift in his version of CDA towards a greater centring of social practices, seeing discourse as a moment of social practices dialectically interconnected with other moments. Fairclough has also worked with sociological theorists Bob Jessop and

Andrew Sayer in theorizing language ('semiosis') within a critical realist philosophy of (social) science. Fairclough's grammatical tools relate to Halliday's systemic functional linguistics (1985), as well as to conversational analysis. Rarely does Fairclough undertake fieldwork himself. His examples most frequently illustrate theoretical claims; he has less interest in representative sampling or in the reliability or validity of bodies of data.

Phil Graham elaborates the research on the problems of New Capitalism (Graham, 2002, 2003). The historical investigation of hortatory genres compares the emergence and struggles between Church, 'divine right' monarchs and secular forces over legitimate uses of the sermon form in Western Europe between the tenth and fourteenth centuries with contemporary struggles over genres that are used to motivate people on a mass scale. The main focus of the study is to explore and explain the relationships between new media, new genres, institutions and social change at a macro level. The perspective is primarily historical, political-economic, relational and dynamic. Genres are produced, textured and transformed within institutional contexts over long periods of time. In turn, institutions invest years – in some cases millennia – developing, maintaining and adapting generic forms to changing social conditions in order to maintain or to gain power. Graham believes that at certain times in history, certain genres become very effective for motivating or manipulating large sections of society. Because genres are developed within institutions, and thus within the realms of vested interests, they display inherent axiological biases.

The second project (Graham, 2003) synthesizes perspectives from Marx's political economy, new media theory and critical discourse analysis to investigate relationships between new media, language and social perceptions of value. The corpus for the research is 'new economy' policies with the ostensive purpose of promoting the widespread use of new information and communication technologies (ICTs). The nature of knowledge and its status as a commodity form immediately become problematic. In the tradition of dialectical argumentation, Graham accepts the claims that knowledge can become a dominant commodity form; that a global economy can be built on such forms; and that our new media must, in some fundamental way, underpin the emergence of this new form of political economy. The research problem is therefore formulated as a historical investigation into the relationship between language, new media and social perceptions of value.

### The socio-cognitive approach

Teun van Dijk's earlier work in text linguistics and discourse analysis (1977, 1981) manifests the interest he takes in texts and discourses as basic units and social practices. Like other critical linguistic theorists, he traces the origins of linguistic interest in units of language larger than sentences and in text- and context-dependency of meanings. Van Dijk and Kirsch (1983) considered the relevance of discourse to the study of language processing. Their development of a cognitive model of discourse understanding in individuals gradually developed into cognitive models for explaining the construction of meaning at a societal level. Van Dijk turns specifically to media discourse, giving not only his own reflection on communication in the mass media (van Dijk, 1986), but also bringing together the theories and applications of a variety of scholars interested in the production, uses and functions of media discourses (van Dijk, 1985). In critically analysing various kinds of discourses that encode prejudice, van Dijk's interest is in developing a theoretical model that will explain cognitive discourse processing mechanisms (Wodak and van Dijk, 2000).

After his earlier work on discourse and racism, Teun van Dijk generalized his interest in racist ideologies towards a more general, multidisciplinary project on ideology (van Dijk, 1998). In this book, intended as the first of several others on ideology, he develops a new theory of ideology, in terms of an account of the socio-cognitive, societal and discursive dimensions of ideology. He defines ideologies as the axiomatic basis of the social representations of a social group, controlling more specific, socially shared group attitudes and, indirectly, the opinions of the group members, and hence their actions. He especially insists that further work on ideologies needs to explore in greater depth the detailed structures of the mental representation of ideologies and their relations to group attitudes and knowledge. These structures probably reflect the basic properties of the social position of a group in relation to other groups, and may consist of a social group self-schema with a limited number of characteristic categories, such as the typical actions, aims, norms and resources of a group. The ultimate aim of this long-term project is to provide a detailed theory of the ways in which ideologies are expressed and reproduced by discourse. Most recently, Teun van Dijk has taken up a more detailed study of the role of knowledge in discourse. A third topic in his research is a new approach to the study of context. One of the main arguments of this research is that there is

much interest in context and contextualization, but hardly any in theory of context. Van Dijk proposes to define context in terms of context models in episodic memory, that is, in terms of subjective, dynamic representations of the ongoing communicative event and situation. It is these context models that, in van Dijk's view, control all discourse and communication, and especially all dimensions of discourse that adapt it to the current situation – as it is understood by the participants – such as style and rhetoric (van Dijk, 2001).

### Multimodality

Recognition of the contribution of all the aspects of the communicative context to text meaning, as well as a growing awareness in media studies generally of the importance of non-verbal aspects of texts, has turned attention to semiotic devices in discourse other than the linguistic ones. In particular, the theory put forward by Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) should be mentioned here, as this provides a useful framework for considering the communicative potential of visual devices in the media (see Anthonsen, 2001; Scollon, 2001). Van Leeuwen studied film and television production as well as Hallidayan linguistics. His principal publications are concerned with topics such as the ideation of discursive interviews and newspaper reporting and, more recently, the semiotics of visual communication and music. Van Leeuwen developed a most influential methodological tool: the actor's analysis (1993). This taxonomy allows for the analysis of (both written and oral) data, related to way. The taxonomy has since then been widely applied in data analysis.

Recently, Van Leeuwen has focused on some areas of visual communication, especially the semiotics of handwriting and typography and the question of colour. He is increasingly moving away from using a systemic-functional approach as the single model and feels that it is important for social semiotics to realize that it is important courses and methods are linked to semiotic practices, and that grammars are one type of semiotic discourse that is linked to a specific kind of control over specific kinds of semiotic practices. To give an example of a very different type of discursive, histories of art and design focus on the semiotic innovations of specific individuals in their historical contexts, rather than on a synchronic approach to semiotic systems. However, they, too, are linked to the specific ways in which production and consumption is regulated

in that area. It is important for social semiotics to provide models of semiotic practice that are appropriate to the practices they model, and as different semiotic practices are very differently organized, it is not possible to apply a single model to all. All of this is closely related to the role and status of semiotic practices in society, and this is currently undergoing change as a result of the fact that it is increasingly global corporations and semiotic technologies, rather than national institutions, that regulate semiotic production and consumption.

This emphasis on regulatory practices has led to a research approach in three stages, starting with the analysis of a particular category of texts, moving to a second set of texts (and/or cultural artefacts and/or communicative events), then those that seek to regulate the production and consumption of the first set, and finally moving to a third set of texts, namely actual instances of producing or consuming texts (etc.) belonging to the first set. For instance, in a study of baby toys, van Leeuwen and his team analysed the toys and their semiotic potential, as objects-for-use and as cultural icons, then studied discourses seeking to influence how they are used, e.g. relevant sections of parenting books and magazines, toy advertisements, texts on toy packaging, etc., and finally transcribed analysed videos of mothers and babies using these same toys together (Caldas-Coulthard and van Leeuwen, 2001). This type of work leads to a particular relation between discourse analysis, ethnography, history and theory in which these disciplines are no longer contributing to the whole through some kind of indefinable synergy or triangulation, but are complementary in quite specific ways.

Jay Lemke and Ron and Suzie Scollon also have to be mentioned in this context. In the last few years Lemke's work has emphasized multimodal semiotics, multiple time scales and hyper-texts/versals. He extended his earlier work on embedded ideologies in social communication from analysis of verbal text to integration of verbal text with visual images and other presentational media, with a particular focus on evaluative meanings. This work emphasizes the implicit value systems and their connections to institutional and personal identity.

The work on multiple time scales is an extension of earlier work on ecological-social systems as complex dynamic systems with semiotic aspects of social dynamics to consider looking across multiple time scales, i.e., how processes and practices that take place at relatively faster rates are organized within the framework of more

slowly changing features of social institutions and cultures. This is a promising practical approach to the so-called micro/macro problem, both theoretically and methodologically (Lemke, 2000, 2001). His newest work has combined both these themes to develop the idea that although we tell our lives as narratives, we experience them as hypertexts. Building on research on the semantic resources of hypertext as a medium, he proposed that postmodern life-styles are increasingly liberated from particular institutional roles and that we tend to move, on multiple time scales, from involvement in one institution to another, creating new kinds of meaning, less bound to fixed genres and registers, as we 'surf' across channels, websites and lived experiences. This is seen as a new historical development, not supplanting institutions, but building up new socio-cultural possibilities on and over them.

In all this work, Lemke uses critical social semiotics as an extension of critical discourse analysis, combined with models of the material base of emergent social phenomena. His concern is with social and cultural change: how it happens, how it is constrained, and the ways in which it is expectedly unpredictable.

The problem that Ron and Suzie Scollon address in recent work is to build a formal theoretical and a practical link between discourse and action. It is an activist position that uses tools and strategies of engaged discourse analysis and thus requires a formal analysis of how its own actions can be accomplished through discourse and its analysis. The problems in developing this framework are that action is always multiple, both in the sense that there are always simultaneous parallel and interacting actions at any moment we choose to analyse, as well as in the sense that these multiple actions operate across differing time scales so that it is not at all clear that we can see 'higher level' actions as simple composites of 'lower level' actions. The linkages are more complex. Jay Lemke's work is, of course, an important resource in looking into this problem.

Ron Scollon's recent work furthers the idea developed in *Mediated Discourse: The Nexus of Practice* (2001), that practice in general is most usefully understood as many separate practices that are linked in a nexus of practice. The relations between discourse and a nexus of practice are many and complex and rarely direct. His current interest is in trying to open up and explicate these linkages through what could be called nexus analysis. This work is now being carried out in two projects. In the first, which Ron and Suzie Scollon have written about in *Discourses*

in Place: *Language in the Material World* (2002), is a kind of geosemiotics that is the integration of social interactionist theory (including, of course, all forms of spoken discourse), visual semiotics (and significantly including text as fixed and therefore visual forms), and 'place semiotics', especially the built environment. Their interest in this work has been to theorize the link between indexicality in language (and discourse and semiotics more generally) and the indexable in the world. This could also be put as theorizing the link between producers of communications and the material world in which those communications are placed as a necessary element of their semiotics.

### Political discourse

National Socialist language became the object of critical philological observations by Viktor Klemperer (Klemperer, 1975). Utz Maas, however, was the first to subject the everyday linguistic practice of National Socialism to an in-depth analysis: he used NS texts to exemplify his approach of 'Lebensweltanalyse' (Maas, 1984, 1989a, 1989b). His historical 'argumentation analysis', based on the theories of Michel Foucault, demonstrates how discourse is determined by society, i.e. in what may be termed 'a social practice'. In his analysis of language practices during the National Socialist regime between 1932 and 1938 he showed how the discursive practices of society in Germany were impacted by the NS discourse characterized by social-revolutionist undertones. Nazi discourse had superseded almost all forms of language (practices), a fact that made it difficult for an individual who did not want to cherish the tradition of an unworriedly Romanticism to use language in a critical-reflective way. Discourse is basically understood as the result of collusion: the conditions of the political, social and linguistic practice impose themselves practically behind the back of the subjects, while the actors do not see through the game (cf. also Bourdieu's 'violence symbolique'). Discourse analysis identifies the rules that make a text, for example, a fascist text. In the same way as grammar characterizes the structure of sentences, discourse rules characterize utterances/texts that are acceptable within a certain practice. The focus is not on National Socialist language per se, but the aim is to record and analyse the spectrum of linguistic relations based on a number of texts dealing with various spheres of life. These texts represent a complicated network of similarities, which overlap and intersect. Therefore it is also important to do



justice to the 'polyphony' of texts resulting from the fact that societal contradictions are inscribed into texts. Texts from diverse social and political contexts (cooking recipes, local municipal provisions on agriculture, texts by NS politicians, but also by critics of this ideology, who are ultimately involved in the dominant discourse) are analysed in a sample representative of possible texts of NS discourse.

The method of 'reading analysis' proposed by Maas may be described as a concentric hermeneutic approach to the corpus in five systematic steps: (a) statement of the self-declared content of the text; (b) description of the 'staging' (*Inszenierung*) of the content; (c) analysis of the sense and meaning of the 'staging'; (d) provisional conclusion of the analysis; and (e) development of competing forms of reading (Maas, 1984: 18). In this context it should be stressed that competing readings of texts may result from disclosing the difference between self-declared and latent content. Applications of this method (Titscher et al., 1998: 232) can be found in Jansschek's analysis of Jörg Haider's and in Sauer's analysis of texts of the Nazi occupation of the Netherlands (Sauer, 1989, 1995).

The Duisburg School of CDA (Jäger and Jäger, 1993; Jäger, 1999) draws on Foucault's notion of discourse. According to Jäger (1999: 116), discourse is 'materially *sui generis*' and theory, on the one hand, and Alexej N. Leoniev's 'speech activity theory' (Leoniev, 1964) and Jürgen Link's 'collective symbolism' (Link, 1988), on the other hand. As institutionalized and conventionalized speech modes, discourses express societal power relations, which in turn are influenced by discourses. This 'overall discourse' of society, which could be visualized as a 'diskursive *Gewinnmet*' (literally, 'discursive swarming'), becomes comprehensible in different discourse strands (composed of discourse fragments from the same subject) at different discourse levels (science, politics, media, and so on). Every discourse is historically embedded, and has repercussions on current and future discourse. In addition to the above levels, the structure of discourse may be dissected into: special events and discursive context, discursive events and discursive context, discursive overall societal discourse and interwoven discourses, themes, bundles of discourse strands, and history, present and future of discourse impact research, as it analyses the impact of discourse on individual and collective consciousness. Individual discourse fragments that are as

characteristic as possible, are selected from the archived material for concrete analysis. Selection is based on a structural analysis of the identified discourse strand. These fragments are analysed in five steps (institutional framework, text 'surface', linguistic-rhetorical means, programmatic-ideological messages, and interpretation), for which a wealth of concrete questions regarding the text is formulated (Jäger, 1999: 175–87). The uniformity of the hegemonic discourse makes it possible that analysis requires only a 'relatively small number of discourse fragments'. Jäger (1999) offers concrete model analyses dealing with everyday racism, the analysis of the 'discourse strand of biopower' in a daily newspaper, and Margaret Jäger's analysis of interwoven discourses relating to the 'criticism of patriarchy in immigration discourse'.

### Lexicometry

The combination of political science and political philosophy (predominantly under a strong Marxist influence) on the one hand and French linguistics on the other hand is typical of French discourse analysis. Basically, two different approaches may be distinguished. The first is 'political lexicometry', a computer-aided statistical approach to political lexicon, developed at the École Normale Supérieure at Saint-Cloud. A text corpus (e.g. texts of the French Communist Party) is prepared. Texts are then compared on the basis of relative frequency (cf. Bonafous and Tournier, 1995). One study shows, for example, how the relative frequency of the words 'travailleur' and 'salarie' varies significantly between French trade unions, reflecting different political ideologies, and how the frequency changes over time (Groupe de Saint-Cloud, 1982; Bonafous and Tournier, 1995).

Althusser's ideological theory and Foucault's theory were major points of reference for the second tendency in French discourse analysis, notably the work of Michel Pêcheux (1982). Discourse is the place where language and ideology ideologically dimension language use, and of the materialization in language of ideology. Both the words used and the meanings of words vary according to the class struggle position from which they are used – according to the 'discursive formation' they are located within. For instance, the word 'struggle' itself is particularly associated with a working-class political voice, and its meaning in that discursive formation is different from its meanings when used from other positions. Pêcheux's main focus was political

discourse in France, especially the relationship between social-democratic and communist discourse within left political discourse. Pêcheux stresses the ideological effects of discursive formations in positioning people as social subjects. Echoing Althusser, he suggests that people are placed in the 'imaginary' position of sources of their discourse, whereas actually their discourse and indeed they themselves are effects of their ideological positioning. The sources and processes of their own positioning are hidden from people. They are typically not aware of speaking/writing from within a particular discursive formation. Moreover, the discursive formations within which people are positioned are themselves shaped by the 'complex whole in dominance' of discursive formations, which Pêcheux calls 'interdiscourse' – but people are not aware of that shaping. Radical change in the way people are positioned in discourse can come only from political revolution.

Pêcheux and his colleagues changed their views on this and other issues in the late 1970s and early 1980s (Maingueneau, 1987; Pêcheux, 1988). The influence of Foucault increased, as did that of Bakhtin. Studies began to emphasize the complex mixing of discursive formations in texts, and the heterogeneity and ambivalence of texts (see, e.g., Courtine, 1981). Some other French researchers investigated detailed rhetorical patterns, for example in the presidential campaigns of 1988 and 1995. The influence of Anglo-Saxon pragmatics is also prominent, and that of the French linguist Benveniste (1996/1974), whose work on 'énonciation' focused on deictic phenomena. In this framework, Achard (1995) produced detailed accounts of the political functioning of a very wide range of text types (see Fairclough and Wodak, 1997, for more details).

### THE DISCOURSE-HISTORICAL APPROACH

The study for which the discourse-historical approach was actually developed, first attempted to trace in detail the constitution of an anti-Semitic stereotyped image, or '*Feindbild*', as it emerged in public discourse in the 1986 Austrian presidential campaign of Kurt Waldheim (Wodak et al., 1990; Gruber, 1991; Mifflin, 1992). In order to be able to study the discourse about the 'Waldheim Affair', 'context' was unravelled into various dimensions. The research team, consisting of six researchers from three different fields (linguistics, psychology and

history), decided in favour of a 'triangulatory approach', which made it possible to focus on the many different genres that were situated in the different political fields of action ('recontextualization') (see Wodak et al., 1990; Wodak, 2001a). The discourse-historical approach has been further elaborated in a number of more recent studies, for example, in a study on racist discrimination against immigrants from Romania and in a study on the discourse about nation and national identity in Austria and in the European Union (Muntigl et al., 2000; Wodak and van Dijk, 2000).

The latter study was concerned with the analysis of the relationships between the discursive construction of national sameness and the discursive construction of difference leading to political and social exclusion of specific out-groups. The findings suggest that discourses about nations and national identities rely on at least four types of discursive macro-strategies. These are constructive strategies (aiming at the construction of national identities), preservative or justificatory strategies (aiming at the conservation and reproduction of national identities or narratives of identity), transformative strategies (aiming at the change of national identities) and destructive strategies (aiming at the dismantling of national identities). Depending on the context – that is to say, on the social field or domain in which the 'discursive events' related to the topic under investigation take place – one or other of the aspects connected with these strategies is brought into prominence.<sup>6</sup> The research on 'Discourse, Politics, Identity' is now located in a research centre at the University of Vienna (see <http://www.univie.ac.at/discourse-politics-identity>).

Our triangulatory approach is based on a concept of 'context' that takes into account four levels (see Figure 13.1), the first one is descriptive, while the other three levels are part of our theories on context:

- the immediate, language or text internal co-text;
- the intertextual and interdiscursive relationship between utterances, texts, genres and discourses;
- the extralinguistic social/sociological variables and institutional frames of a specific 'context of situation' (Middle-Range Theories);
- the broader socio-political and historical contexts, which the discursive practices are embedded in and related to (Grand Theories).

These levels of context are applied in the analysis of the data and relate to each other. Only by taking the larger context and the co-text of

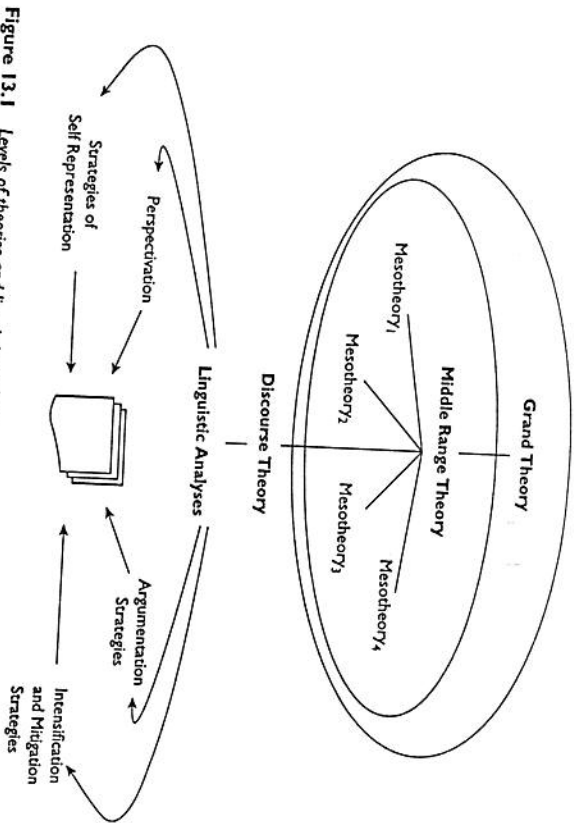


Figure 13.1 Levels of theories and linguistic analysis.

utterances into account, is it possible to grasp the intertextuality and interdiscursivity of whole discourses on ethnic groups or on specific persons. Moreover, certain *topoi* are recontextualized from one public domain to the next, but realized through different linguistic devices (Jedema, 1999; Wodak, 2000). A comprehensive analysis should thus relate different approaches and theories from neighbouring disciplines as well. To understand racist, xenophobic or anti-Semitic discourses, it is important to turn to historical, socio-psychological, sociological, psychoanalytic and political claims because the phenomenon is so complex (see Wodak and Reisigl, 1999). In the example below, I cannot summarize all these different, but relevant, theoretical and methodological theories. I will highlight only those that help to understand and explain the specific case study in this chapter, which deals with recent racist discourses and the 'Haider phenomenon' (see also Wodak and Peilinka, 2002). The range of argumentative strategies and institutions will illustrate new dimensions of the discursive construction of the 'other' in discourse. More importantly, the precise discourse analysis will illustrate how important it might be to integrate several levels of context and a

multi-theoretical approach when analysing political communication.

The specific discourse-analytical approach applied in the four studies referred to is three-dimensional: after (1) having established the specific contents or topics of a specific discourse, (2) the discursive strategies (including argumentation strategies) were investigated. Then (3), the linguistic means (as types) and the specific, context-dependent linguistic realizations (as tokens) were examined (4).

There are several discursive elements and strategies that, in our discourse-analytical view, deserve to receive special attention. We orient ourselves to five constitutive questions:

- 1 How are persons named and referred to linguistically?
- 2 What traits, characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to them?
- 3 By means of what arguments and argumentation schemes do specific persons or social groups try to justify and legitimize the inclusion or exclusion of others?
- 4 From what perspective or point of view are these labels, attributions and arguments expressed?

Table 13.1 Discursive strategies for positive self- and negative other-representation

Strategy	Objectives	Devices
Referential/nomination	Construction of in-groups and out-groups	Membership categorization Biological, naturalizing and depersonalizing Metaphors and metonymies Synecdoches ( <i>pars pro toto</i> , <i>totum pro parte</i> ) Stereotypical, evaluative attributions of negative or positive traits
Predication	Labelling social actors more or less positively or negatively, deprecatorily or appreciatively	Implicit and explicit predicates <i>Topoi</i> used to justify political inclusion or exclusion, discrimination or preferential treatment
Argumentation	Justification of positive or negative attributions	Reporting, description, narration or quotation of events and utterances Intensifying or mitigating the illocutionary force of utterances
Perspectivation, framing or discourse representation Intensification, mitigation	Expressing involvement Positioning speaker's point of view Modifying the epistemic status of a proposition	

- 5 Are the respective utterances articulated overtly, are they even intensified or are they mitigated?

According to these questions, we are especially interested in five types of discursive strategies, which are all involved in the positive self- and negative other-presentation. We view – and this needs to be emphasized – the discursive construction of 'us' and 'them' as the basic fundaments of discourses of identity and difference.

By 'strategy' we generally mean a more or less accurate and more or less intentional plan of practices (including discursive practices) adopted to achieve a particular social, political, psychological or linguistic aim. As far as the discursive strategies are concerned, that is to say, systematic ways of using language, we locate them at different levels of linguistic organization and complexity<sup>5</sup> (see Table 13.1).

In the example below, I will illustrate each level of context and make the sequential analysis transparent, following the categories of analysis that will be defined below. Specifically, we will be concerned with the four levels of context and the linguistic means that relate the contexts to each other. This implies that we have to demonstrate how certain utterances realized through linguistic devices point to extralinguistic contexts, diachronically and synchronically. In our case, we are dealing with xenophobic remarks, which can only be understood by analysing certain rhetorical means, *topoi*, implications and presuppositions as well as insinuations. The impact of such a discourse, however, can only be grasped when relating such meanings to Austrian history and political developments and, most

importantly, to the political instrumentalization of anti-foreigner discourses.

Let us now turn to some linguistic terms that are of particular importance for the description of exclusion and discrimination. Often enough, we are concerned with *allusions*. They suggest negative associations without being held responsible for them. The listeners must make the associations in the act of reception (Wodak and de Cillia, 1988: 10). Allusions depend on shared knowledge. The person who alludes to something counts on preparedness for resonance, i.e. on the preparedness of the recipients consciously to call to mind the facts that are alluded to.

In the area of politics, allusions may have the intention, and achieve the result, of deviating political opponents, without accepting responsibility for what is implicitly said, because this was not, of course, said explicitly: at best an invitation was given to make particular connections. What is not pronounced creates, in the case of allusions, a kind of secrecy and familiarity suggests something like 'we all know what is meant'. The world of experience or allusion exists, however, in a kind of 'repertoire of collective knowledge'.

Allusions frequently rely on *topoi* and linguistic patterns already in play which show a clear meaning content (cf. 'East Coast', see Mitten, 1992, for discussion), or which point to well-established and perhaps even anti-Semitic stereotypes (such as 'Jewish speculators and crooks'; cf. Wodak and de Cillia, 1988: 15).

Franz Jannussek defines 'allusions' in the following way:

In contrast to slogans, allusions require active, thinking and discriminating recipients. Not everyone can



understand allusions, and those who do understand them have to do something about it: they have to give meaning to the allusion. The creator of the allusion can thereby renounce responsibility for the meaning that arises: he may distance himself. In other words: allusions can be very short – but they can never be one-sided communicative acts. And, allusions may be understood in a highly explosive way – but always so subtly that they provoke contradiction and cannot be casually filed away in particular drawers. Whereas electoral slogans tend to cause fragmented discourse to break down completely, allusions drive it forward. Under the conditions of fragmented political communication, they are the linguistic means that relies on the fact that citizens, under these same conditions, generally act intelligently and not merely as puppets for the cleverest manipulators. (Januschek, 1994: 298–301)

In excluding and debasing foreigners, politicians frequently use allusions. By this kind of discursive strategy, they imply certain presuppositions which many people see as 'common sense beliefs' or 'shared truth'. This is, of course, not a new linguistic strategy in prejudiced discourse. Hence, allusions enable politicians and other speakers to deny the possible meaning attributed to the allusion and refer to the beliefs of the readers or listeners projected into the utterance.

The concept of *presuppositions* is central to linguistic pragmatics. The analysis of presuppositions within speech act theory, which began with John Austin and John Searle, makes it possible to make explicit the implicit assumptions and intertextual relations that underlie text production (see Schiffrin, 1994).

In the case of racist public discourses, frequently no enclosed racist ideological edifice is directly and completely addressed and spelled out. It is rather that an amalgam of ideological tenets is invoked by linguistic 'clues and traces', a 'discourse space' – irrespective of where the 'roots of this discourse space' may lead.

Now that we have presented some central terms (for further concepts from rhetoric the reader is referred to the very substantial literature on the subject – see note 1), I will apply them to our example. Hence, the very complex relationships between meanings, discourses and contexts should become transparent.

## 'EVEN BLACK AFRICANS: A SHORT DISCOURSE-HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

The following example<sup>6</sup> is taken from an interview with Jörg Haider, the then leader of the

Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ) (see Wodak and Pelinka, 2002). The interview was printed in the Austrian weekly *Profil* on 24 February 1997, on page 19. The topic was a directive (*Weisung*) issued on 26 November 1996 by the FPÖ politician and now Minister of Finance, Karl Heinz Grasser, at that time deputy head of the government of the province of Carinthia in Austria and also the highest official (*Landesrat*) in the building and tourist industries in Carinthia. In his directive, Grasser instructed his consultant (*Referent*) for roadworks to include a regulation in the tender invitations for public building projects that such projects were to be carried out exclusively by indigenous (*heimisch*) workers or by workers from states of the European Union. As a consequence, protest was made against Grasser's proposal of institutionalizing such an 'exclusionary practice'. Finally, Grasser revoked the directive. During the 'Grasser affair', Jörg Haider was interviewed about the 'Grasser affair'. The journalist from *Profil*, Klaus Duzler, asked Haider what he, as leader of the FPÖ, was going to recommend to Grasser, his fellow party member and protégé at that time:

Profil: You will not recommend Karl Heinz Grasser that he give in?

Haider: We never thought differently and will continue to do so. The indignation, of course, just comes from the side of those like the Carinthian guild master for construction, a socialist, who makes money out of cheap labour from Slovenia and Croatia. And if, today, one goes by one of Hans Peter Haselsteiner's 'illuminating' building sites, and there, the foreigners, even down to black Africans, cut and carry bricks, then the Austrian construction worker really thinks something. Then one must understand, if there are emotions.

Haider's answer is remarkable in respect of the employed referential strategies, the negative connotations directed against the attributions and predictions, and the emblematic argumentation serving the justification of 'emotions' against 'the foreigners, even down to black Africans'.

The social actors mentioned by the journalist are 'Jörg Haider', social-dilectically addressed as 'Sie' (the German formal term of address), and 'Karl Heinz Grasser'. The social actors mentioned by Haider are – in their sequential appearance – 'we', 'the socialist Carinthian guild master for construction', 'the cheap labour from Slovenia and Croatia', 'the building contractor (and politician) of the Austrian party "Liberals Forum" Hans Peter Haselsteiner', 'the foreigners', 'black Africans' and 'the Austrian construction worker'.

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There are at least three strategic moves in this short transcript from the interview. The first one is the political self-presentation of the FPÖ as a party that holds firm positions and acts publicly in *unisono*. In this way, Haider woos the voters' favour. According to the question asked by the journalist, one would expect an answer with a transitivity structure in which Haider (as a sayer) would recommend (a verbal and/or mental process in the terms of Halliday, 1994) to Grasser (the receiver or target) that he do something (a proposal). Haider does not meet this expectation. He refuses to present himself explicitly as a leader advising his fellow party member in public (and thereby threatening Grasser's reputation and that of the party). Instead he takes refuge in a referentially ambiguous 'we' (rather than using the expected 'I'), which helps to evade the exclusive referential focus both on Grasser and on himself. The ambivalent 'we' allows different, though not mutually exclusive, interpretations. On the one hand, it can be understood as 'party-we' which is intended to demonstrate a closed, unanimous, fixed position of the whole party on the issue in question. The temporal deixis by past and future tense backs this conjecture. If one knows the history of the FPÖ and the fact that Haider has been an authoritarian party leader since he came into power in 1986, one is tempted to interpret the 'we' as a sort of plural of majesty. This could be applied to prescribe how the party members of the FPÖ are required to think at the moment and in future. Of course, this is a presupposition and an allusion because nothing is said explicitly.

However, after having introduced this ambiguous 'we', which, in addition to having the two functions mentioned above, invites potential FPÖ voters to join Haider's position, Haider then sets out to present the critics of the directive negatively. This is the second strategic move. Haider deliberately chooses two prominent critics (who are also political adversaries) as *partes pro toto* in the groups of critics. He debases the socialist Carinthian guild master (whom he does not identify by proper name) by depicting him as an unsocial, capitalist socialist who exploits 'the cheap labour (*Arbeitskräfte*) from Slovenia and Croatia'. This image of the unsocial capitalist who egoistically wants to profit from wage dumping is also inferentially passed on to the second political opponent mentioned by Haider. We can assume that the reader knows from the Austrian political context that the building contractor, Hans Peter Haselsteiner, is a politician (inference, presupposition).

Haider's third strategic move is partly embedded in the negative presentation of Hans Peter Haselsteiner. It is realized as an imaginary

scenario (with the character of an argumentative example) and aims to justify the 'emotions' of hostility towards foreigners. This move relies on the shift of responsibility, in rhetorical terms, on a *trajectio in alium* that places the blames on Haselsteiner and the socialist Carinthian guild master, instead of on those who have racist 'emotions' and Haider himself (for instigating populism).

Haider's third move contains a blatant racist utterance. Here, the party leader discursively constructs a discriminatory hierarchy of 'foreigners' around the phenotypic feature of skin colour – strictly speaking, around the visible 'deviation' (black) of a specific group of 'foreigners' (i.e. black Africans) from the 'average white Austrian'. Most probably it is no accident that Haider refers to black Africans, that is to say, that he explicitly uses the word 'black'. In the context given, the attribute 'black' has an intensifying function. It helps Haider (who, though he explicitly denies it later on in the interview, wants to emotionalize) to carry his black-and-white portrayal to extremes in a literal sense as well. The racist intensification 'even down to black Africans', implies that in Austria, black African workers, because of their most visible 'otherness', are 'an even worse evil' than other 'foreigners', and therefore functions as argumentative 'backing'. Haider seems to intend to construct the greatest possible visual difference between Austrians and 'foreigners'. His utterance can thus be seen as an example of 'difference-enlarging racism' in its literal sense. As their self-appointed spokesman, he asks for understanding for the Austrian workers' 'emotions' in the face of the 'foreign and even black African workers'. At this point, Haider does not argue why 'one' should understand the 'emotions'. He simply relies on the discriminatory prejudice that 'foreigners' take away working places from 'ingroup members'. Furthermore, he relies on the unspoken postulate that 'Austrians', in comparison with 'foreigners', should be privileged with respect to employment.

These argumentation strategies have stayed in public discourses in Austria ever since. The construction of a 'threat by foreigners' as a major *topos* in public discourses because of 'losing jobs' is taking over the debates on EU enlargement as well.

## SUMMARY: METHODOLOGICAL STEPS

Of course, it is not possible to provide a really extensive application of the discourse-historical

approach and all its categories in one short section. Nevertheless, I would like to summarize the most important procedures to be used in the analysis of specific texts:

- Sample information about the co- and context of the text (social, political, historical, psychological, etc.).
- Once the genre and discourse to which the text belongs have been established, sample more ethnographic information, establish interdiscursivity and intertextuality (texts on similar topics, texts with similar arguments, macro-topics, fields of action, genres).
- From the problem under investigation, formulate precise research questions and explore neighbouring fields for explanatory theories and theoretical aspects.
- Operationalize the research questions into linguistic categories.
- Apply these categories sequentially on to the text while using theoretical approaches to research questions.
- Draw up the context diagram for the specific text and the fields of actions.<sup>10</sup>
- Make an extensive interpretation while returning to the research questions and to the problem under investigation.

These steps are taken several times, always coming and going between text, ethnography, theories and analysis. Most importantly, the decisions that are constantly required in the analysis have to be made explicit and justified. The mediation between theories and empirical analysis, implemented totally. A gap exists, and hermeneutics and interpretative devices are always needed to bridge the gap.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This short summary is based on long and extensive discussions with my friends, colleagues and co-researchers Rudolf de Cillia, Martin Reisigl, Gertraud Benke, Richard Weiss, Bernd Malinowski, Michael Meyer and together over the years. Moreover, many ideas have come up with my students. I would like to thank Ussama Anthonissen for their insights and elaborations. Finally, I would like to thank my peer-group, whom I have written about, and the many colleagues I have not been able to mention here.

## NOTES

- 1 See Wodak and Meyer (2001); Wodak (2002); Tischer et al. (1998, 2000); Reisigl and Wodak (2001); van Dijk (2001); Fairclough and Wodak (1997); Weiss and Wodak (2003); Blommaert and Bulcaen (2000); Anthonissen (2001); Pollak (2002), etc.
- 2 See also Reisigl and Wodak (2001); Wodak (2001a, 2001b); Wodak and de Cillia (2002a, 2002b).
- 3 See *Language and Power* by Norman Fairclough (1989), *Language, Power and Ideology* by Ruth Wodak (1989), and *Prejudice in Discourse* by Teun van Dijk (1985).
- 4 The Erasmus network consisted of a cooperation between Siegfried Jäger (Duisburg), Per Linell (Linköping), Norman Fairclough (Lancaster), Teun van Dijk (Amsterdam), Gunther Kress (London), Theo van Leeuwen (London) and Ruth Wodak (Vienna).
- 5 In the 1960s, many scholars adopted a more critical perspective in language studies. Among the first was the French scholar Pêcheux (1982), whose approach traced its roots to the work of the Russian theorist Bakhtin (1981) and Volosinov (1973), both of whom had postulated an integration of language and social processes in the 1930s. The term itself was apparently coined by Jacob Mey (1974).
- 6 For more details see Wodak et al. (1998, 1999); Reisigl (1998); de Cillia et al. (1999); Reisigl and Wodak (2001).
- 7 The new government in Austria, which brought about the so-called 'Wende', was installed on 4 February 2000. Immediately after its installation, the other member states of the EU decided on 'measures against the government' because – for the first time in the history of the EU – an extremist right-wing populist party was part of a government (for this debate and its development, see Koppinger and Kotanko, 2000; Wodak, 2000a, 2000b; Wodak and Pelinka, 2002).
- 8 All these strategies are illustrated by numerous categories and examples in Reisigl and Wodak (2001, ch. 2).
- 9 This example is the summary of an extensive analysis in Reisigl and Wodak (2001).
- 10 See Reisigl and Wodak (2001) for a detailed context analysis and context diagram of the discourse sequence above.

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