A POWER AS CONTROL IN THE MOVIE SERIES "ANATOMY OF SCANDAL (2022)" BASED ON CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

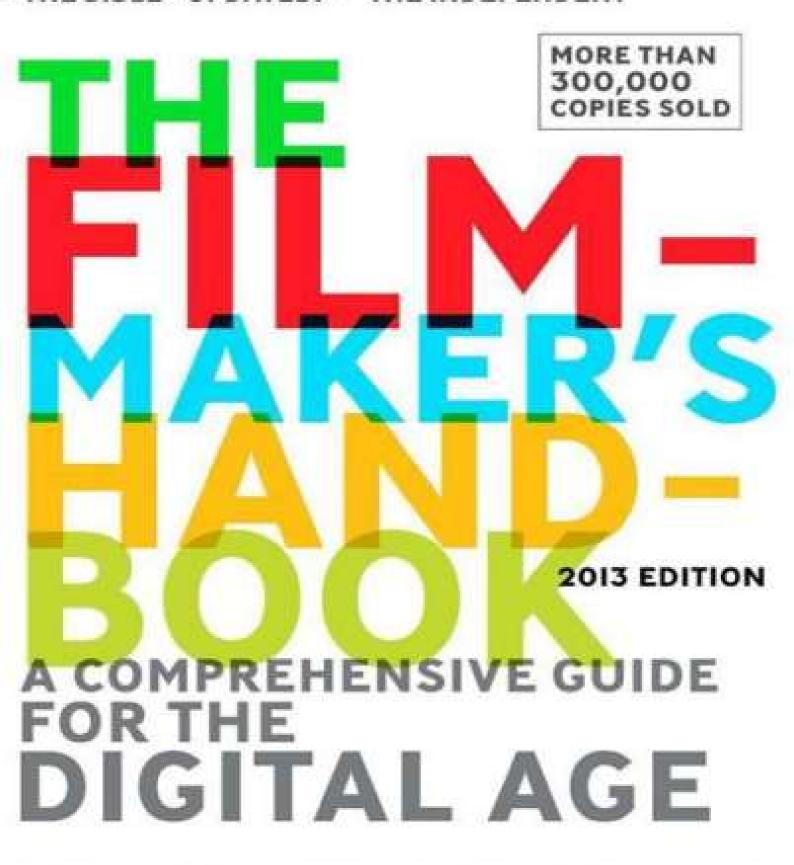
REFERENCES

Submitted to the School of Foreign Language – JIA as a partial fulfillment of requirements for the undergraduate degree in English Literature Programme



SALSABILLA DWI PUTRI 43131.51020.0044

ENGLISH LITERATURE PROGRAMME SCHOOL OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES – JIA BEKASI 2024 "THE BIBLE-UPDATED." —THE INDEPENDENT



STEVEN ASCHER & EDWARD PINCUS

PLUME

Published by the Penguin Group

Penguin Group (USA) Inc., 375 Hudson Street, New York, New York 10014, U.S.A. • Penguin Group (Canada), 90 Eglinton Avenue East, Suite 700, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M4P 2Y3 (a division of Pearson Penguin Canada Inc.) • Penguin Books Ltd., 80 Strand, London WC2R 0RL, England • Penguin Ireland, 25 St. Stephen's Green, Dublin 2, Ireland (a division of Penguin Books Ltd.) • Penguin Group (Australia), 707 Collins Street, Melbourne, Victoria 3008, Australia (a division of Pearson Australia Group Pty. Ltd.) • Penguin Books India Pvt. Ltd., 11 Community Centre, Panchsheel Park, New Delhi – 110 017, India • Penguin Group (NZ), 67 Apollo Drive, Rosedale, Auckland 0632, New Zealand (a division of Pearson New Zealand Ltd.) • Penguin Books, Rosebank Office Park, 181 Jan Smuts Avenue, Parktown North 2193, South Africa • Penguin China, B7 Jaiming Center, 27 East Third Ring Road North, Chaoyang District, Beijing 100020, China

Penguin Books Ltd., Registered Offices: 80 Strand, London WC2R 0RL, England

First published by Plume, a member of Penguin Group (USA) Inc.

First Printing, June 1984

First printing (second edition), March 1999

First printing (third edition), August 2007

First printing (fourth edition), December 2012

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ISBN: 978-1-101-61380-1

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Before reading further, be sure to read Style and Direction, starting on p. 332.

Story Structure

Think of someone you know who's a good storyteller—a person who can tell an anecdote, perhaps an event from his or her life, in a way that's engaging, well-paced, clear, funny, or sharp. Good storytellers know what facts you need to understand the story, in what order you need to know them, where to stretch out the tale with specific details, and where to gloss over events to get to the good parts. We all know bad storytellers as well—people who overload their audience with information or leave them confused or focus on irrelevant details—whose stories seem to go nowhere. Good stories have a discernible shape, with distinct *story beats*—moments in which something important happens, a key piece of information is revealed, or emotion is expressed.¹ The audience may not be consciously aware of the story's overall shape or of individual beats, but they feel them nonetheless. In a similar way, after years of watching different kinds of movies, audiences have instinctive expectations about length and, for feature films, how far the story should have progressed by the ninety-minute or two-hour mark (more on this below).

It's commonly said that every story needs a beginning, middle, and end, but engaging stories can start in completely different ways. Some start broadly, helping the audience get oriented to the time and place, the physical environment, and the characters. Once those things are established, the plot or storyline is initiated. Other stories start much more narrowly, perhaps with a specific action, like a robbery. In this structure, unfolding events pull us along, and as they move forward we learn more about the characters, the environment, and so on.

Filmmakers can sometimes feel pressure to crowd as much information as possible toward the front of the film. This is particularly true in documentary. They want to set everything up, revealing all the *backstory* (history and events that took place before the contemporary action of the film) so the audience can be fully informed and prepared for the film's story. *Expository scenes* are sequences that are primarily concerned with bringing out information. Exposition, while necessary, can bog down the forward movement of a film. One of the chief tasks of the editor is to parcel out information, and good editors understand when to *hold back* details because exposition at a certain point might slow the film down and/or because audiences can find it intriguing to put pieces of the puzzle together themselves.

Stories, whether scripted dramas or unscripted documentaries, are divisible into acts. Acts can be defined in various ways, but in general terms, an act is a unit of storytelling made up of a series of scenes that may share a tone and build to a particular dramatic point or climax. In dramas, at the cusp between one act and the next there is often a reversal that sends the story in a new or unexpected direction and builds to a higher level of tension.

In a traditional three-act structure, the first act introduces the protagonist(s) and the *inciting incident*, which sets the story in motion. The second act brings conflicts or obstacles that prevent the protagonists from reaching their goals. The third act builds to a major climax, then resolves in a denouement.

People debate about how many acts a dramatic film should have, and even whether asking that question implies a formulaic approach. Nevertheless, it's helpful to look at where the acts fall in your story and how you can sharpen the flow and intent of each one. Each act should have a set of ideas and objectives, and scenes that don't contribute to that intent may need to be cut. In television dramas, acts are defined by commercial breaks, with the goal of locating a key plot point or cliffhanger at the end of each act, to keep viewers from changing channels.

With both dramas and documentaries, it's very helpful to chart out the scenes in the movie and

scene and put the cards on a bulletin board so they can quickly see the overall structure and easily rearrange individual cards. Some use software like Final Draft to display and arrange scenes. You can also create a *continuity*, a list of all the scenes, with any word processor.

For more on story structure, see the screenwriting books in the Bibliography.

Joining Sequences

One traditional method of editing connects shots into a sequence with straight cuts and then brackets the sequences themselves with *fades* and *dissolves*. Fades work like theater curtains opening and closing on an act or like a sunset followed by a sunrise. Dissolves, on the other hand, suggest a closer connection between one sequence and the next. Like fades, dissolves convey the passage of time—sometimes short time gaps within a sequence and sometimes long periods, as when a close-up of a person dissolves into another close-up of the same person shown at a much older age. When dissolves are used within sequences to signal short time gaps, their only function often seems to be to avoid jump cuts. Sequences can also be joined by wipes and many other visual effects (see Chapter 14).

In contemporary filmmaking, two sequences are typically joined with a straight cut (that is, one follows directly after the other with no dissolve or other effects). This sometimes creates the problem of distinguishing cuts within sequences—those that signal no significant time change—from cuts between sequences where there is a significant change of location or time. Filmmakers like Luis Buñuel and Alain Resnais like to explore this ambiguity. On the other hand, even with straight cuts there are many cues to signal the audience that the sequence has changed, including differences in sound level, lighting, dress, locale, or color. Even dream and fantasy sequences may be introduced with a straight cut, unlike in the American films of the 1930s and 1940s in which they would be signaled by eerie music and a ripple or oil dissolve. It's not unusual to see a contemporary movie with no effects other than a fade-in at the opening of the film and a fade-out at the end.

Another way to join two sequences is to *intercut* them (also called *parallel editing*). For example, the perils of the heroine heading toward a waterfall in a canoe are intercut with the hero's race to arrive in time to save her (always just in the nick of time). We cut back and forth to develop two threads of action simultaneously. More on this below.

Beginners tend to think of scenes as separate units to be shaped and polished individually. Always keep in mind the story as a whole and how one scene can best draw the audience forward to the next one. As discussed above, cuts between sequences can be used to make associations between them or suggest metaphors. In *The Graduate*, Dustin Hoffman pulls himself up on an air mattress in the pool and lands in one motion—across a brilliant cut—on Anne Bancroft in bed. Be attentive to any kind of similarities between the last frames of one scene and the first frames of the next in terms of where characters are in the frame, color, sounds, movement. You can create momentum and deliver meaning by drawing connections between scenes that might otherwise seem unrelated.

Continuity Editing

As discussed in Chapter 9, invisible or match cutting usually refers to the construction of sequences (or scenes) in which space and time appear to be continuous. Typically, both fiction and documentary sequences are match cut to appear continuous. On a film set, however, shots are rarely done in the order that they will appear in the final movie and it is the director's responsibility to shoot scenes with adequate coverage so that the editor can construct continuous sequences. On a documentary shot with one camera, every cut alters continuous time, which may be disguised in editing or not, depending on the context.

CHAPTER 13

Picture and Dialogue Editing

My movie is first born in my head, dies on paper; is resuscitated by the living persons and real objects I use, which are killed on film but, placed in a certain order and projected onto a screen, come to life again like flowers in water.

—ROBERT BRESSON

E diting is the selection and arrangement of shots into sequences and the sequences into a movie. It's sometimes thought to be the most important element in filmmaking. On many films, the storyline is substantially formed or re-formed in the editing room, sometimes "saving" the film.

The earliest filmmakers made films from one unedited camera take or shot. A few years later, it became obvious that shots could be trimmed and placed one after another, with the audience accepting that the action occurs in the same setting. The joining of two shots, with the abrupt ending of one shot and the immediate beginning of the next, is called a *cut*. In traditional film editing, the word "cut" applies not only to the transition from one shot to another on screen, but also to the physical cutting and joining (splicing) of pieces of film (hence editing referred to as cutting). In video, the term *edit point* is often used to indicate the point where a cut takes place. When editing on a digital system, the *head* (beginning) of a shot may be referred to as the *In Point* and the *tail* (end) as the *Out Point*.

SOME FILM THEORY

Montage

Perhaps the most developed theory of film comes from the silent era; it's called Russian *montage* theory. The word "montage" is derived from the French and means to "put together" or "edit." The Soviet filmmakers held that the ability to change images instantaneously was unique to film and in fact constituted its potential as an art form. In editing, the image can shift from one person's point of view to another's; it can change locales around the world; it can move through time. The Soviets, for the most part, looked at the shots themselves as meaningless atoms or building blocks and asserted that meaning first emerges from the images through the juxtaposition of the shots.

In the early 1920s Lev Kuleshov, a Soviet film teacher, created experiments to show how the meaning of a shot could be totally altered by its context. He took a series of shots of Ivan Mosjoukine, a famous contemporary actor, looking at something off screen with a neutral expression on his face. He then constructed a few different sequences. In one sequence, he cut from a medium shot of Mosjoukine to a close-up of a bowl of soup and then back to a close-up of Mosjoukine. In the next sequence, the middle shot, called an *insert shot*, was replaced with a shot of an injured girl. Kuleshov's students commented that the last shot in each of the sequences, called the *reaction shot*, showed the actor's great acting ability to convey with subtlety hunger in the first sequence and pity in the next.



David Bordwell

ON THE HISTORY OF FILM STYLE



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DAVID BORDWELL

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Irvington Way Press
Madison, Wisconsin
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The original edition of On the History of Film Style was published in 1997
by Harvard University Press; second printing 1999.
Library of Congress Cataloging in-Publication Data
Bordwell, David
   On the history of film style / David Bordwell.
   Includes bibliographical references and index.
     ISBN-13: 978-0-9832440-3-5 (pdf). -- ISBN 0-674-63428-4 (cloth : akl. paper).
 - ISBN 0-674-63429-2 (pbk. : alk.paper)
   1. Motion pictures-Aesthetics. 2. Motion pictures-Historiography. 1. Title.
 PN1995.B6174 1997
 791.43 '01-dc21
 97-4016
   CIP
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who wants to understand cinema.

In the narrowest sense, I take style to be a film's systematic and significant use of techniques of the medium. Those techniques fall into broad domains: mise en scène (staging, lighting, performance, and setting); framing, focus, control of color values, and other aspects of cinematography; editing; and sound. Style is, minimally, the texture of the film's images and sounds, the result of choices made by the filmmaker(s) in particular historical circumstances. Carl Theodor Dreyer had the option of filming the exchange of looks (Figs. 1.3–1.5) in a single shot like that of Fig. 1.2, but he chose to emphasize the characters' expressions by cutting to closer views.

Style in this sense bears upon the single film. We can of course discuss style in other senses. We may speak of individual style—the style of Jean Renoir or Alfred Hitchcock or Hou Hsiao-Hsien. We may talk of group style, the style of Soviet Montage filmmaking or of the Hollywood studios. In either case we'll be talking, minimally, about characteristic technical choices, only now as they recur across of a body of works. We may also be talking about other properties, such as narrative strategies or favored subjects or themes. Thus we might include as part of Hitchcock's style his penchant for suspenseful treatments of dialogue or a persistent theme of doubling. Nonetheless, recurring characteristics of staging, shooting, cutting, and sound will remain an essential part of any individual or group style.

The history of film style is a part of what is broadly taken to be the aesthetic history of cinema. This umbrella category also covers the history of film forms (for example, narrative or nonnarrative forms), of genres (for example, Westerns), and of modes (for example, fiction films, documentaries). Film scholars commonly distinguish aesthetic history from the history of the movie industry, the history of film technology, and the history of cinema's relations to society or culture.

These sorts of history are not easy to mark off sharply, and any particular research project will often mix them. It is probably best to conceive of writing film history as driven by questions posed at different levels of generality. As a first approximation, the lesson of our miniature case studies can be formulated in just this way. Historians of film style seek to answer two broad questions: What patterns of stylistic continuity and change are significant? How may these patterns be explained? These questions naturally harbor assumptions. What will constitute a pattern? What are the criteria for significance? How will change be conceived—as gradual or abrupt, as the unfolding of an initial

respected real space and made the celebrated montage techniques of the silent era seem overwrought. Although many accounts of Bazin's theory counterpose montage and mise en scène as exclusive alternatives, he agrees with his contemporaries in distinguishing two sorts of editing: the abstract montage characteristic of the silent era and the découpage characteristic of the sound film. Proponents of the Standard Version deplored the "theatrical" sound cinema of découpage, but Bazin argued that it was a reasonable compromise between silent stylization and the more realistic cinema to come. The stabilizing of Hollywood genres and the perfecting of découpage helped create a "classical" equilibrium of style during the 1930s.

Realistic in its portrayal of spatial relations, classical découpage nonetheless was obliged to elide or stretch real time. A cut might trim a few seconds of dramatically irrelevant action or exaggerate a gesture through a slight overlap. (See Figs. 3.4, 3.5.) Classical editing thus retained traces of an "intellectual and abstract" rhythm, 52 This drawback was overcome by means of a "dialectical step forward in the history of film language."53 That step was taken by Renoir, Welles, Wyler, and Italian Neorealist directors. Bazin identifies this new phase with the long take and the shot in depth, which preserve temporal continuity as well as spatial unity.

It was Citizen Kane that prompted Bazin's effort to trace the "evolution of the language of cinema." From the perspective of the Standard Version, the film could seem merely a pastiche. Sadoul, for instance, dismissed all claims for the film's novelty. He declared Kane "an encyclopedia of old techniques" and criticized Welles for reviving silent-era Expressionism. To these objections Bazin replied that Kane's depth of field defined new functions for its inherited techniques. Bazin went beyond merely itemizing these devices, as Sadoul had, and sought to account for their contextual uses.

He points out that early cinema spontaneously exploited profondeur de champ well before the arrival of analytical editing (Fig. 3.19). In this period, cuts served only to link spaces, not to break a scene into closer views. But when directors began to employ analytical cutting, deep-focus camerawork gave way to shallow focus. Selectivity of focus was the most effective way to guide the viewer's attention within close shots (Fig. 3.20). The depth of the primitive shot gave way to Griffith's tactics of guiding the spectator's attention, and these devices were the basis of classical découpage.

Bazin now gives his argument a subtle twist. He claims that the deep focus of the 1940s created a "vast geological displacement" in film language. How? By assimilating into the single image the principles of analytical cutting. 55 Bazin's key example is the scene of Susan's aborted suicide in Citizen Kane (Fig. 3.21). A 1930s découpage-based director would have cut from Kane outside Susan's room, banging on the door, to Susan gasping in bed, and then to the glass and

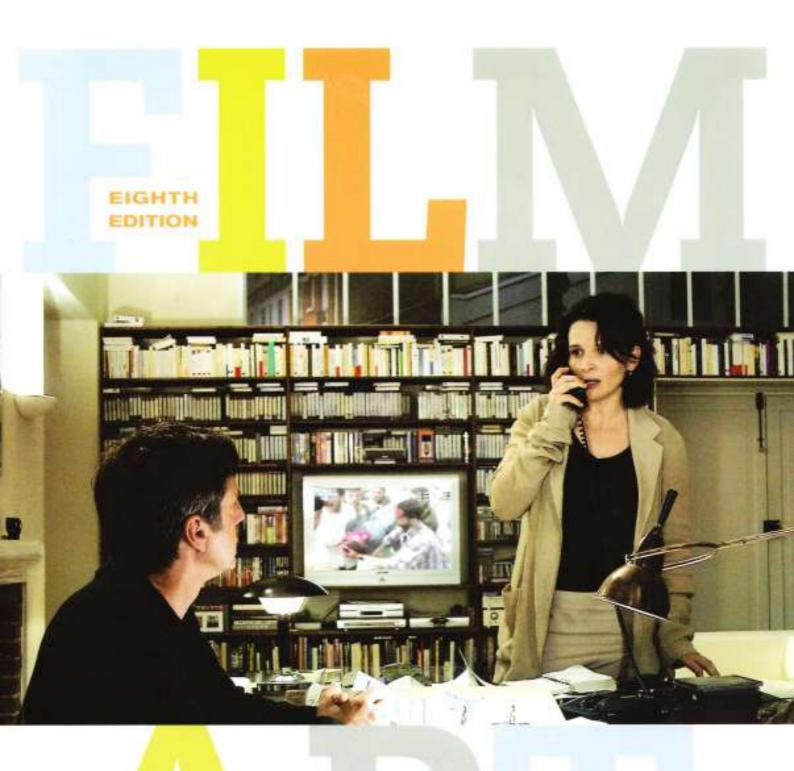


3.36 The beginning of modern cinema, according to the young Cahiers critics: Rossellini's Voyage to Italy.

Above all, the Young Turks treated mise en scène as a criterion of value. Astruc's use of the term proved most influential. "We have come to realize," he wrote in 1948, "that the meaning which the silent cinema tried to give birth to through symbolic association exists within the image itself, in the development of the narrative, in every gesture of the characters, in every line of dialogue, in those camera movements which relate objects to objects and characters to objects." For most of the Cahiers critics, mise en scène was the art of felicitously displaying the human body. The director's task was to relate the body to its surroundings, using the shot to unfold the action and create a visual rhythm. **Issue of the company to the shot to unfold the action and create a visual rhythm.

Astruc's definition denies editing, or at least "symbolic" editing, a place in mise en scène. Cutting now had to be justified through its role in supporting or sustaining the body's movement in space. Godard argued just that in 1956, asserting that editing is an essential component of mise en scène, particularly when there is a need to express such qualities as abrupt hesitation or to intensify the moment when characters exchange looks. The Cahiers writers praised Hollywood directors for understanding that the material in front of the camera dictates, by its internal tempo or narrative development, the placement of cuts. It is noteworthy that Eisenstein was revered by the Young Turks, but principally for his compositional sense: elevating Ivan the Terrible (1944) over Eisenstein's silent classics, they turned the great montageur into a great metteur en scène.

For the Cahiers critics, mise en scène became the almost mystical precondition for cinematic art. What makes Voyage to Italy modern, declared Rivette, is its objective, behavioral mise en scène: the film presents not psychology but merely the glances and gestures of the characters. Rohmer lamented the fact that sound découpage replaced the sustained mise en scène of Griffith, Murnau,



AN INTRODUCTION

DAVID BORDWELL KRISTIN THOMPSON



Film Art: An Introduction

Published by McGraw-Hill, an imprint of The McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc., 1221 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10020. Copyright

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This book is printed on acid-free paper.

3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 QWV/QWV 0 9 8 7

ISBN: 978-0-07-353506-7 MHID: 0-07-353506-0

Vice president and Editor-in-chief: Emily Barrosse

Publisher: Lisa Moore

Sponsoring editor: Gina Boedeker/Chris Freitag

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Composition: 10.5/12 Times by Professional Graphics, Inc.

Printing: 45# Lighthouse Matte HB Recycled, Quebecor World, Inc.

Cover photo: left: Daniel Anteuil as Georges; right: Juliette Binoche as Anne from Sony Pictures Classics's Caché. Photo courtesy of Les Films du Losange and Sony Pictures Classics. All rights reserved. © 2005 Sony Pictures Entertainment.

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Bordwell, David.

Film art: an introduction / David Bordwell, Kristin Thompson, -- 8th ed.

p. cm.
 Includes index.

ISBN-13: 978-0-07-353506-7 (pbk.: alk. paper) ISBN-10: 0-07-353506-0 (pbk.: alk. paper)

1. Motion pictures---Aesthetics. L. Thompson, Kristin, 1950-- II. Title.

PN1995.B617 2008

791.4301-dc21

92006046880

The Internet addresses listed in the text were accurate at the time of publication. The inclusion of a website does not indicate an endorsement by the authors or McGraw-Hill, and McGraw-Hill does not guarantee the accuracy of the information presented at these sites.

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1.3 A general shot shows the family at table, with the two Charlies most visible.



1.4 After a shot of Emmy, Hitchcock cuts to Little Charlie looking uneasily at her uncle.

To appreciate the artistic possibilities of film, then, we need to take into account the film's organization of its story, the ways the parts fit together to create particular effects. Just as important, we need to consider how moviemakers employ the medium of film, those techniques that present the story to us. In a novel, the author's use of language conveys the progression of the plot and the development of the characters. A composer draws on the resources of melody and rhythm to create a song. Similarly, the film medium provides the filmmaker with several ways to convey moment-by-moment formal developments.

The director of Shadow of a Doubt, Alfred Hitchcock, believed firmly in using the medium to arouse the viewer's mind and feelings. So, as Uncle Charlie launches into his monologue, Hitchcock presents us with a shot of the entire table (1.3). We've seen something like this shot in earlier scenes, and it orients us to the positions of the scene's major characters. At the same time, Hitchcock arranges things so that Uncle Charlie, not Emmy's husband, sits at the head of the table. His domination of the household is presented visually. As Charlie starts to talk, after a shot of Emmy, we get a brief shot of Little Charlie, eyeing him anxiously (1.4). When he begins to denounce the "useless women," we get a close view of him as he continues his attack (1.5).

Joseph Cotten's performance is very important here. He seethes with resentment of the "fat, faded, greedy women." He delivers the speech without blinking, as if musing to himself rather than talking to others. Hitchcock magnifies the effect of Cotten's performance by eliminating everyone else at the table. The camera comes steadily forward, filling the frame with Uncle Charlie's face as his mono-

THIRD EDITION

RESEARCH DESIGN

Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches



JOHN W. CRESWELL



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SAGE Publications, Inc.

2455 Teller Road

Thousand Oaks, California 91320 E-mail: order@sagepub.com

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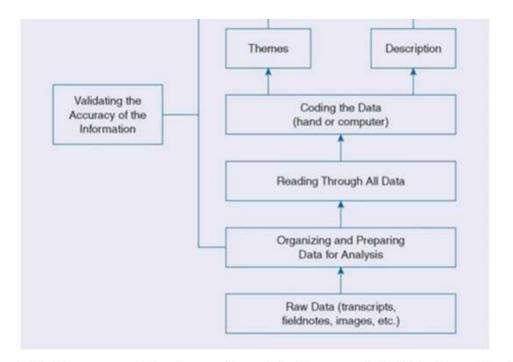
SAGE Publications Asia-Pacific Pte. Ltd.

33 Pekin Street #02-01

Far East Square

Singapore 048763

Printed in the United States of America



This figure suggests a linear, hierarchical approach building from the bottom to the top, but I see it as more interactive in practice; the various stages are interrelated and not always visited in the order presented. These levels are emphasized in the following steps:

Step 1. Organize and prepare the data for analysis. This involves transcribing interviews, optically scanning material, typing up field notes, or sorting and arranging the data into different types depending on the sources of information.

Step 2. Read through all the data. A first step is to obtain a *general sense* of the information and to reflect on its overall meaning. What general ideas are participants saying? What is the tone

Sometimes qualitative researchers write notes in margins or start recording general thoughts about the data at this stage.

Step 3. Begin detailed analysis with a coding process. Coding is the process of organizing the material into chunks or segments of text before bringing meaning to information (Rossman & Rallis, 1998, p. 171). It involves taking text data or pictures gathered during data collection, segmenting sentences (or paragraphs) or images into categories, and labeling those categories with a term, often a term based in the actual language of the participant (called an *in vivo* term).

Before proceeding to Step 4, consider some remarks that will provide detailed guidance for the coding process. Tesch (1990, pp. 142-145) provides a useful analysis of the process in eight steps:

- 1. Get a sense of the whole. Read all the transcriptions carefully. Perhaps jot down some ideas as they come to mind.
- 2. Pick one document (i.e., one interview)—the most interesting one, the shortest, the one on the top of the pile. Go through it, asking yourself, "What is this about?" Do not think about the substance of the information but its underlying meaning. Write thoughts in the margin.
- 3. When you have completed this task for several participants, make a list of all topics. Cluster together similar topics. Form these topics into columns, perhaps arrayed as major topics, unique topics, and leftovers.
- 4. Now take this list and go back to your data. Abbreviate the topics as codes and write the codes next to the appropriate segments of the text. Try this preliminary organizing scheme to see if new categories and codes emerge.
- 5. Find the most descriptive wording for your topics and turn them into categories. Look for ways of reducing your total list of categories by grouping topics that relate to each other. Perhaps draw lines between your categories to show interrelationships.
- 6. Make a final decision on the abbreviation for each category and alphabetize these codes

- Atlas.ti (http://www.atlasti.com). This is another PC-based program from Germany that enables a researcher to organize text, graphic, audio, and visual data files, along with coding, memos and findings, into a project.
- QSR NVivo (http://www.qsrinternational.com/) This program, from Australia, features the popular software program N6 (or Nud.ist) and NVivo concept mapping in combination. It is available only for Windows PC.
- HyperRESEARCH (http://www.researchware.com/). This is a program available for either the MAC or PC. It is an easy-to-use qualitative software package enabling users to code, retrieve, build theories, and conduct analyses of the data.

Step 4. Use the coding process to generate a description of the setting or people as well as categories or themes for analysis. Description involves a detailed rendering of information about people, places, or events in a setting. Researchers can generate codes for this description. This analysis is useful in designing detailed descriptions for case studies, ethnographies, and narrative research projects. Then use the coding to generate a small number of themes or categories, perhaps five to seven categories for a research study. These themes are the ones that appear as major findings in qualitative studies and are often used to create headings in the findings sections of studies. They should display multiple perspectives from individuals and be supported by diverse quotations and specific evidence.

Beyond identifying the themes during the coding process, qualitative researchers can do much with themes to build additional layers of complex analysis. For example, researchers interconnect themes into a story line (as in narratives) or develop them into a theoretical model (as in grounded theory). Themes are analyzed for each individual case and across different cases (as in case studies) or shaped into a general description (as in phenomenology). Sophisticated qualitative studies go beyond description and theme identification and into complex theme connections.

Step 5. Advance how the description and themes will be represented in the qualitative narrative. The most popular approach is to use a narrative passage to convey the findings of the analysis. This might be a discussion that mentions a chronology of events, the detailed discussion of several themes (complete with subthemes, specific illustrations, multiple perspectives from individuals, and quotations) or a discussion with interconnecting themes. Many qualitative researchers also use visuals, figures, or tables as adjuncts to the discussions. They present a process model (as in grounded theory), advance a drawing of the specific research site (as in ethnography), or convey descriptive information about each participant in a table (as in case studies and ethnographies).

Step 6. A final step in data analysis involves making an **interpretation** or meaning of the data. Asking, "What were the lessons learned?" captures the essence of this idea (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). These *lessons* could be the researcher's personal interpretation, couched in the understanding that the inquirer brings to the study from her or his own culture, history, and experiences. It could also be a meaning derived from a comparison of the findings with information gleaned from the *literature* or *theories*. In this way, authors suggest that the findings confirm past information or diverge from it. It can also suggest *new questions* that need to be asked—questions raised by the data and analysis that the inquirer had not foreseen earlier in the study. One way ethnographers can end a study, says Wolcott (1994), is to ask further questions. The questioning approach is also used in advocacy and participatory approaches to qualitative research. Moreover, when qualitative researchers use a theoretical lens, they can form interpretations that call for action agendas for reform and change. Thus, interpretation in qualitative research can take many forms, be adapted for different types of designs, and be flexible to convey personal, research-based, and action meanings.

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Cover Design: Linda Knowles

Cover Art: C Chin Yuen. www.chinyuenart.com

This book was set in Garamond by TexTech. It was printed and bound by Edwards Brothers, Inc. The cover was printed by Phoenix Color Corp.

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Creswell, John W.

Educational research: planning, conducting, and evaluating quantitative and qualitative research / John W. Creswell. — 4th ed.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN-13: 978-0-13-136739-5 (alk. paper) ISBN-10: 0-13-136739-0 (alk. paper)

Education—Research—Methodology. 1. Title.

LB1028.C742 2012 370.72—dc22

2010050958

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 ED 15 14 13 12 11



ISBN-10: 0-13-136739-0 ISBN-13: 978-0-13-136739-5

www.pearsonhighered.com

WHAT ARE THE FIVE PROCESS STEPS IN QUALITATIVE DATA COLLECTION?

There are five interrelated steps in the process of qualitative data collection. These steps should not be seen as linear approaches, but often one step in the process does follow another. The five steps are first to identify participants and sites to be studied and to engage in a sampling strategy that will best help you understand your central phenomenon and the research question you are asking. Second, the next phase is to gain access to these individuals and sites by obtaining permissions. Third, once permissions are in place, you need to consider what types of information will best answer your research questions. Fourth, at the same time, you need to design protocols or instruments for collecting and recording the information. Finally and fifth, you need to administer the data collection with special attention to potential ethical issues that may arise.

Some basic differences between quantitative and qualitative data collection are helpful to know at this point. Based on the general characteristics of qualitative research, qualitative data collection consists of collecting data using forms with general, emerging questions to permit the participant to generate responses; gathering word (text) or image (picture) data; and collecting information from a small number of individuals or sites. Thinking more specifically now,

- In quantitative research, we systematically identify our participants and sites through random sampling; in qualitative research, we identify our participants and sites on purposeful sampling, based on places and people that can best help us understand our central phenomenon.
- In both quantitative and qualitative research, we need permissions to begin our study, but in qualitative research, we need greater access to the site because we will typically go to the site and interview people or observe them. This process requires a greater level of participation from the site than does the quantitative research process.
- In both approaches, we collect data such as interviews, observations, and documents. In qualitative research, our approach relies on general interviews or observations so that we do not restrict the views of participants. We will not use someone else's instrument as in quantitative research and gather closed-ended information; we will instead collect data with a few open-ended questions that we design.
- In both approaches, we need to record the information supplied by the participants. Rather than using predesigned instruments from someone else or instruments that we design, in qualitative research we will record information on self-designed protocols that help us organize information reported by participants

JOHN W. CRESWELL • J. DAVID CRESWELL



FIFTH EDITION

RESEARCH DESIGN

Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches





FOR INFORMATION: SAGE Publications, Inc. 2455 Teller Road Thousand Oaks, California 91320 E-mail: order@sagepub.com SAGE Publications Ltd. 1 Oliver's Yard 55 City Road London EC1Y 1SP United Kingdom SAGE Publications India Pvt. Ltd. B 1/I 1 Mohan Cooperative Industrial Area Mathura Road, New Delhi 110 044 India SAGE Publications Asia-Pacific Pte. Ltd. 3 Church Street #10-04 Samsung Hub Singapore 049483 Copyright © 2018 by SAGE Publications, Inc.

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Printed in the United States of America

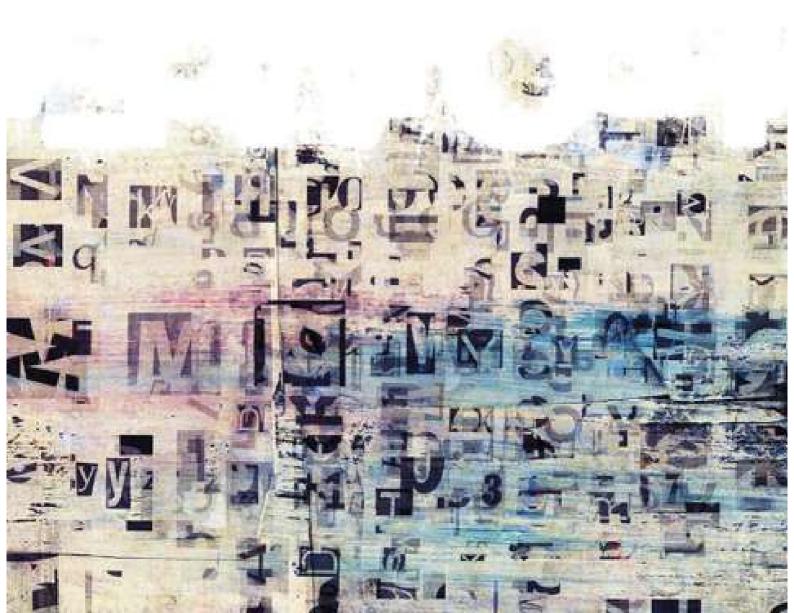
Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

- **saturation** comes from grounded theory. Charmaz (2006) said that one stops collecting data when the categories (or themes) are saturated: when gathering fresh data no longer sparks new insights or reveals new properties. This is when you have an adequate sample.
- Indicate the type or types of data to be collected. In many qualitative studies, inquirers collect multiple forms of data and spend a considerable time in the natural setting gathering information. The collection procedures in qualitative research involve four basic types and their strengths and limitations, as shown in Table 9.2.
 - A qualitative observation is when the researcher takes field notes on the behavior and activities of individuals at the research site. In these field notes, the researcher records, in an unstructured or semi-structured way (using some prior questions that the inquirer wants to know), activities at the research site. Qualitative observers may also engage in roles varying from a nonparticipant to a complete participant. Typically these observations are open-ended in that the researchers ask general questions of the participants allowing the participants to freely provide their views.
 - In qualitative interviews, the researcher conducts face-to-face interviews with participants, telephone interviews, or engages in focus group interviews with six to eight interviewees in each group. These interviews involve unstructured and generally open-ended questions that are few in number and intended to elicit views and opinions from the participants.
 - During the process of research, the investigator may collect qualitative documents. These may be public documents (e.g., newspapers, minutes of meetings, official reports) or private documents (e.g., personal journals and diaries, letters, e-mails).
 - A final category of qualitative data consists of qualitative audiovisual and digital materials (including social media materials). This data may take the form of photographs, art objects, videotapes, website main pages, e-mails, text messages, social media text, or any forms of sound. Include creative data collection procedures that fall under the category of visual ethnography (Pink, 2001) and which might include living stories, metaphorical visual narratives, and digital archives (Clandinin, 2007).



LANGUAGE, SOCIETY& POWER AN INTRODUCTION

ANNABELLE MOONEY and BETSY EVANS



Fifth edition published 2019 by Routledge 2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon, OX14 4RN and by Routledge 711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business:

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First edition published by Routledge 1999 Fourth edition published by Routledge 2015

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Mooney, Annabelle, 1974- author. | Evans, Betsy, 1966- author.

Title: Language, society and power: an introduction / Annabelle Mooney and Betsy Evans.

Description: Fifth edition. | Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon : New York, NY ::

Routledge, 2019. I includes bibliographical references.

Identifiers: LCCN 2018019738 | ISBN 9780415786225 (hbk) | ISBN 9780415786249 (pbk) | ISBN 9780429447008 (ebk)

Subjects: LCSH: Language and languages. | Sociolinguistics. |

BISAC: LANGUAGE ARTS & DISCIPLINES / Linguistics / Sociolinguistics.]

LANGUAGE ARTS & DISCIPLINES / Linguistics / General | LANGUAGE ARTS & DISCIPLINES / Communication Studies. Classification: LCC P40 J.29987 2019 | DDC 306.44—dc23 LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2018019738

ISBN: 978-0-415-78622-5 (hbk) ISBN: 978-0-415-78624-9 (pbk) ISBN: 978-0-429-44700-6 (ebk)

Typeset in Akzidenz Grotesk by Apex CoVantage, LLC

Msit the companion website: www.routledge.com/cw/mooney

14 LANGUAGE?

codes of English. In fact, there are varieties of English where this form is used. There are so many different kinds of English that some constructions might actually sound impossible to you. We'll encounter this again in Chapter 10.

1.5 POWER

Finding a full definition of power with respect to language is not straightforward. The many functions of language mean that there are different ways in which power can be exercised. While there are some examples of power being used to change language directly, the relationship is generally more subtle. We saw earlier that speaking a particular variety of English (e.g., British English) may make it possible to perform particular actions or influence particular groups of people. But even small variation in language use can bring benefits to speakers. People who speak the standard variety of British English, for example, will be thought to be more educated and more capable than others. This may give them access to better employment, institutions with power or even a better education. This is because of the attitudes that people have about language. While the speakers gain from being able to speak the standard language and so have a degree of power, it is not the case that they – as individuals – are controlling others. Rather, having competence in a prestigious language is in itself beneficial.

We noted earlier that language change is an inherent part of language, yet some people feel that language should stay the same. Some nations even have institutions which attempt to regulate the form of their language by stipulating which forms are 'correct' (the Académie Française in France, for example). There are many ways that nations seek to control what people do with language. Many countries regulate what people can say and write, or at least punishments exist for certain kinds of linguistic activity. The most common areas of 'regulation' relate to threats, encouraging others to commit crimes, protection of intellectual property and damaging someone's reputation. This kind of regulation can be understood in relation to the connec-

When discussing ideological representations in the mass media, the classic example given is that one person's 'terrorist' is another person's 'freedom fighter. The issues raised in relation to Edward Snowden's actions remind us that this example is still relevant. Research conducted by Jens Branum and Jonathan Charteris-Black (2015) demonstrates that even in a single country, the UK, there was a difference among three newspapers and how they reported on Snowden. Analysing a large corpus of newspaper reports, they found that the two most common themes (also called 'news values' see Section 4.4) in The Guardian newspaper related to 'criticism of surveillance' of the general public and 'justification of reporting' on the material that Snowden released (2015: 205). In the Daily Mail, however, the dominant themes related to 'lifestyle and personalisation' of Snowdon himself (2015: 210). Finally, the Sun focussed on 'defence of surveillance rights' in the national interest (2015: 213). Their analysis reveals that 'the same original story from the same initial source has been retold and presented in substantially different ways' (2015: 216). They continue, 'A reader with no prior knowledge of the events could get a very different perspective on the story depending on which newspaper they followed' (2015: 216). The 'reporting strategies' that the newspapers use are connected to their ideological views and those of the audience they are targeting. The Guardian takes a more liberal stance, arguing against surveillance of citizens, while The Sun and The Daily Mail seek to defend surveillance through an appeal to the security of the nation or through focussing on other aspects of the events and people involved. In short, the mass media exerts its ideological power by framing situations and people in a particular way.

It is worth considering where these ideologies and the particular representations of people come from. It is possible to argue that some choices can be connected to the ownership of the mass media (filter (a) in Section 4.2). Whether through explicit direction or something less overt, if the individual who owns a newspaper or media outlet has particular political and social views, it is not impossible that these may influence the content and perspective of the coverage in these outlets. That is, thinking about ownership of

Language and Power

SECOND EDITION



NORMAN FAIRCLOUGH

First published 1989 Second edition published 2001 by Pearson Education Limited

Published 2013 by Routledge 2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN 711 Third Avenue, New York, NY, 10017, USA

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

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British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress

of non-powerful participants. It is useful to distinguish broadly between three types of such constraints – constraints on:

- · contents, on what is said or done;
- relations, the social relations people enter into in discourse;
- subjects, or the 'subject positions' people can occupy.

'Relations' and 'subjects' are very closely connected, and all three overlap and co-occur in practice, but it is helpful to be able to distinguish them. Our example illustrates all three types of constrain. In terms of contents, the student is required to conduct an examination according to a learned routine, operating (relations) in a professional relationship to his audience and a subordinate relationship to the doctor, and occupying (subjects) the subject positions of (aspirant) doctor as well as student. These constraints imply particular linguistic forms.

But some of these constraints on the student do not appear to involve any direct control being exercised by the doctor. Notice for instance that all the directive speech acts (orders and questions) in the example come from the doctor: it appears that the doctor has the right to give orders and ask questions, whereas the students have only the obligation to comply and answer, in accordance with the subordinate relation of student to doctor. Yet the doctor is not directly controlling the student in this respect. Rather, the constraints derive from the conventions of the discourse type which is being drawn upon. However, in an indirect sense, the doctor is in control, for it is the prerogative of powerful participants to determine which discourse type(s) may be legitimately drawn upon. Thus in addition to directly constraining contributions, powerful participants can indirectly constrain them by selecting the discourse type. Notice that the latter type of constraint is also a form of self-constraint: once a discourse type has been settled upon, its conventions apply to all participants, including the powerful ones. However, that is something of a simplification, because more powerful participants may be able to treat conventions in a more cavalier way, as well as to allow or disallow varying degrees of latitude to less powerful participants.

There are obvious similarities between the text in the example above and the police interview text discussed in Chapter 2 (p. 15) in terms of the unequal power

B. Grammar

What experiential values do grammatical features have?

What types of process and participant predominate?

Is agency unclear?

Are processes what they seem?

Are nominalizations used?

Are sentences active or passive?

Are sentences positive or negative?

6. What relational values do grammatical features have?

What modes (declarative, grammatical question, imperative) are used?

Are there important features of relational modality?

Are the pronouns we and you used, and if so, how?

- 7. What expressive values do grammatical features have? Are there important features of expressive modality?
- 8. How are (simple) sentences linked together?

What logical connectors are used?

Are complex sentences characterized by coordination or subordination? What means are used for referring inside and outside the text?

C. Textual structures

9. What interactional conventions are used?

Are there ways in which one participant controls the turns of others?

10. What larger-scale structures does the text have?

Note: experiential, relational, and expressive values

I distinguish between three types of value that formal features may have: experiential, relational, and expressive. A formal feature with experiential value is a trace of and a cue to the way in which the text producer's experience of the natural or social world is represented. Experiential value is to do with contents and knowledge and beliefs, in the terms of Chapter 3. A formal feature with relational value is a trace of and a cue to the social relationships which are enacted via the text in the discourse. Relational value is (transparently!) to do with relations and social relationships. And, finally, a formal feature with expressive value is a trace of and a cue to the producer's evaluation (in the widest sense) of the bit of the reality it relates to. Expressive value is to do with subjects and social identities, though only one dimension of the latter concepts is to do with subjective values. Let me emphasize that any given formal feature may simultaneously have two or three of these values. These are shown diagrammatically in Fig. 5.1.

In addition, a formal feature may have connective value, i.e. in connecting

scription needs to be complemented with interpretation and explanation. Notice also that neither the dependence of discourse on background assumptions, nor the ideological properties of these assumptions which link them to social struggles and relations of power, are generally obvious to discourse participants. Interpretation and explanation can therefore be seen as two successively applied procedures of unveiling, or demystification.

Interpretation

I use the term *interpretation* both as the name of a stage in the procedure, and for the interpretation of texts by discourse participants. I do so to stress the essential similarity between what the analyst does and what participants do; there are also differences, which are discussed at the end of the chapter. The stage of interpretation is concerned with participants' processes of text production as well as text interpretation, but in this chapter I focus mainly upon the latter. Chapter 7 will include some discussion of production processes.

We saw in Chapter 2 that interpretations are generated through a combination of what is in the text and what is 'in' the interpreter, in the sense of the members' resources (MR) which the latter brings to interpretation. We also saw that, from the point of view of the interpreter of a text, formal features of the text are 'cues' which activate elements of interpreters' MR, and that interpretations are generated through the dialectical interplay of cues and MR. In their role of helping to generate interpretations, we may refer to MR as interpretative procedures. MR are often called background knowledge, but I think that term is unduly restrictive, missing the point I made in discussing common-sense assumptions in Chapter 4, that many of these assumptions are ideological, which makes knowledge a misleading term.

Figure 6.1 gives a summary view of the process of interpretation which I shall spend the rest of this section explaining.

In the right-hand column of the diagram, under the heading Interpreting, I have listed six major domains of interpretation. The two in the upper section of the diagram relate to the interpretation of context, while those in the lower section relate to four levels of interpretation of text. In the left-hand column (Interpretative procedures (MR)) are listed major elements of MR which function as interpretative procedures. Each element of MR is specifically associated with the level of interpretation which occurs on the same line of the diagram. The central column identifies the range of Resources which are drawn upon for each of the domains of interpretation on the right. Notice that in each case these resources include more than the interpretative procedure on the left: there are either three or four 'inputs' to each

Discourse Analysis

Second Edition



Barbara Johnstone

© 2008 by Barbara Johnstone

BLACKWELL PUBLISHING 350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148-5020, USA 9600 Garsington Road, Oxford OX4 2DQ, UK 550 Swanston Street, Carlton, Victoria 3053, Australia

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> First edition published 2002 by Blackwell Publishing Ltd Second edition published 2008 by Blackwell Publishing Ltd

> > 1 2008

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Johnstone, Barbara.

Discourse analysis / Barbara Johnstone. — 2nd ed.
p. cm. — (Introducing linguistics; 3)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-4051-4427-8 (pbk.: alk. paper) 1. Discourse analysis. I. Title.

P302.J64 2007 401.41—dc22 2006103247

A catalogue record for this title is available from the British Library.

Set in 10.5/12pt Plantin by Graphicraft Limited, Hong Kong Printed and bound in Singapore by Markono Print Media Pte Ltd

The publisher's policy is to use permanent paper from mills that operate a sustainable forestry policy, and which has been manufactured from pulp processed using acid-free and elementary chlorine-free practices. Furthermore, the publisher ensures that the text paper and cover board used have met acceptable environmental accreditation standards.



For further information on Blackwell Publishing, visit our website: www.blackwellpublishing.com

7 111021

be understood differently by different language users as well as understood differently in different contexts (van Dijk 2011).

Van Dijk provides two book length accounts of the notion of context. He argues that context is a subjective construct that accounts not only for the uniqueness of each text but also for the common ground and shared representations that language users draw on to communicate with each other (van Dijk 2008). Van Dijk (2009) argues, further, that the link between society and discourse is often indirect and depends on how language users themselves define the genre or communicative event in which they engaged. Thus, in his words, '[i]t is not the social situation that influences (or is influenced by) discourse, but the way the participants define (original emphasis)' the situation in which the discourse occurs (van Dijk 2008: x). In his view, contexts are not objective conditions but rather (inter)subjective constructs that are constantly updated by participants in their interactions with each other as members of groups or communities.

The relationship between language and context is fundamental to the work of J. R. Firth (1935, 1957a, 1957b), Michael Halliday (1971, 1989a) and John Sinclair (2004), each of whom has made important contributions to the area of discourse analysis. Firth draws on the anthropologist Malinowski's (1923, 1935) notions of context of situation and context of culture to discuss this relationship, arguing that in order to understand the meaning of what a person says or writes we need to know something about the situational and cultural context in which it is located. That is, if you don't know what the people involved in a text are doing and don't understand their culture 'then you can't make sense of their text' (Martin 2001: 151).

Halliday (1971) takes the discussion further by linking context of situation with actual texts and context of culture with potential texts and the range of possibilities that are open to language users for the creation of texts. The actual choices a person makes from the options that are available to them within the particular context of culture, thus, take place within a particular context of situation, both of which influence the use of language in the text (see Hasan 2009, Halliday 2009a, van Dijk 2011 for further discussion of the relationship between language and context). The work of J. R. Firth has been similarly influential in the area of discourse analysis. This is reflected in the concern by discourse analysts to study language within authentic instances of use (as opposed to made-up examples) - a concern with the inseparability of meaning and form and a focus on a contextual theory of meaning (Stubbs 1996). Sinclair also argues that language should be studied in naturally occurring contexts and that the analysis of meaning should be its key focus (Carter 2004).

Discourse analysis, then, is interested in 'what happens when people draw on the knowledge they have about language . . . to do things in the world' (Johnstone 2002: 3). It is, thus, the analysis of language in use. Discourse analysis considers the relationship between language and the contexts in which it is used and is concerned with the description and analysis of both engless and written interactions. Its primary purposes as Chimombo

symmetrical relationships with fellow group members. But not all members of human social groups play the same roles. Social groups are often divided into subgroups (such as "social classes," "castes," or "cliques") with differing status and differing access to economic, cultural, or political power.

In some situations, power can be seen as something one subgroup or one person "has" and others do not: power comes with social status. For example, a person who is elected President of the US thereby acquires the power to declare war; the chairperson of a committee that follows traditional rules of order has the power to adjourn the committee's meetings; some religious traditions have laws about who makes which decisions in a marriage. Power in this sense is institutionally defined.

But power is also negotiable. People compete for the ability to make things happen, even in situations in which institutionally allotted power might make such competition unequal. In US politics, the legislature can and does try to limit the President's power to declare war. Other committee members can suggest that the chair adjourn a meeting, or they can cause a de facto adjournment by simply getting up and leaving. Women's power in marriages in which men are officially in charge is often considerable. If we think of power as the electric current that makes human interaction possible at all, then it is possible to see power as constantly circulating in any situation. If there were no power, there would be no interaction, just as the lights would go out if the electric current were cut. In this sense, power is not necessarily dominance, but rather more like agency: an individual's ebbing and flowing ability to shape the activity at hand.

Institutionally conferred power and situationally negotiated power are often both in play. For example, Scott F. Kiesling (1997) studied interactions among members of a college fraternity chapter (a social club for university men). In the excerpts below, some of the men are discussing which fellow member should be chosen for the position of "Chapter Correspondent." In the first excerpt, Darter, a younger member who is relatively low in the fraternity's hierarchy of institutionally defined roles, argues for his choice, Richie. Since Darter knew Richie before the others did, as a fellow student in high school, he can claim expertise that the others lack. This gives him potential power to influence the decision. Note how he balances this situational power, based on expertise, with his lack of institutional power.

Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method

Marianne Jorgensen Louise J. Phillips



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First published 2002

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SAGE Publications Inc 2455 Teller Road Thousand Oaks, California 91320

SAGE Publications India Pvt Ltd 32, M-Block Market Greater Kailash - I New Delhi 110 048

British Library Cataloguing in Publication data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

ISBN: 0761971114

Library of Congress Control Number available

approaches, view the social field as much more rule-bound and regulative. Even though knowledge and identities are always contingent *in principle*, they are always relatively inflexible in specific situations. Specific situations place restrictions on the identities which an individual can assume and on the statements which can be accepted as meaningful. We will resume this discussion in the next chapter in relation to Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory.

The Three Approaches

The key premises of social constructionism have roots in French poststructuralist theory and its rejection of totalising and universalising theories such as Marxism and psychoanalysis. But both social constructionism and poststructuralism are disputed labels and there is no consensus about the relationship between the two. We understand social constructionism as a broader category of which poststructuralism is a subcategory. All our discourse analytical approaches draw on structuralist and poststructuralist language theory, but the approaches vary as to the extent to which the poststructuralist label applies.

Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe's discourse theory, which we present in Chapter 2, is the 'purest' poststructuralist theory in our selection. The theory has its starting point in the poststructuralist idea that discourse constructs the social world in meaning, and that, owing to the fundamental instability of language, meaning can never be permanently fixed. No discourse is a closed entity: it is, rather, constantly being transformed through contact with other discourses. So a keyword of the theory is discursive struggle. Different discourses – each of them representing

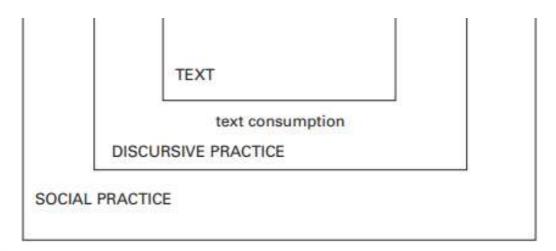


Figure 3.1 Fairclough's three-dimensional model for critical discourse analysis (1992b: 73)

Every instance of language use is a communicative event consisting of three dimensions:

- it is a text (speech, writing, visual image or a combination of these);
- it is a discursive practice which involves the production and consumption of texts; and
- it is a social practice.

Fairclough's three-dimensional model is reproduced in Figure 3.1. The model is an analytical framework for empirical research on communication and society. All three dimensions should be covered in a specific discourse analysis of a communicative event. The analysis should focus, then, on (1) the linguistic features of the text (text), (2) processes relating to the production and consumption of the text (discursive practice); and (3) the wider social practice to which the communicative event belongs (social practice).

It is important to be aware that the analysis of the linguistic features of the text inevitably will involve analysis of the discursive practice, and

1. The Character of Social and Cultural Processes and Structures is Partly Linguistic-Discursive

Discursive practices - through which texts are produced (created) and consumed (received and interpreted) - are viewed as an important form of social practice which contributes to the constitution of the social world including social identities and social relations. It is partly through discursive practices in everyday life (processes of text production and consumption) that social and cultural reproduction and change take place. It follows that some societal phenomena are not of a linguisticdiscursive character.

The aim of critical discourse analysis is to shed light on the linguisticdiscursive dimension of social and cultural phenomena and processes of change in late modernity. Research in critical discourse analysis has covered areas such as organisational analysis (e.g. Mumby and Clair 1997), pedagogy (Chouliaraki 1998), mass communication and racism, nationalism and identity (e.g. Chouliaraki 1999; van Dijk 1991; Wodak et al. 1999), mass communication and economy (Richardson 1998), the spread of market practices (Fairclough 1993) and mass communication, democracy and politics (Fairclough 1995a, 1995b, 1998, 2000).

Discourse encompasses not only written and spoken language but also visual images. It is commonly accepted that the analysis of texts containing visual images must take account of the special characteristics of visual semiotics and the relationship between language and images. However, within critical discourse analysis (as in discourse analysis in general) there is a tendency to analyse pictures as if they were linguistic texts. An exception to this is social semiotics (e.g. Hodge and Kress 1988; Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, 2001) which is an attempt to develop a theory and method for the analysis of multi-modal texts - that is, texts which make use of different semiotic systems such as written language, visual images and/or sound.

2. Discourse is Both Constitutive and Constituted

particular ways of talking about and understanding the social world – are engaged in a constant struggle with one other to achieve hegemony, that is, to fix the meanings of language in their own way. Hegemony, then, can provisionally be understood as the dominance of one particular perspective. We will elaborate on this in Chapter 2.

Critical discourse analysis, which we discuss in Chapter 3 with special focus on Norman Fairclough's approach, also places weight on the active role of discourse in constructing the social world. But, in contrast to Laclau and Mouffe, Fairclough insists that discourse is just one among many aspects of any social practice. This distinction between discourse and non-discourse represents a remnant of more traditional Marxism in Fairclough's theory, rendering critical discourse analysis less poststructuralist than Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory.

A central area of interest in Fairclough's critical discourse analysis is the investigation of *change*. Concrete language use always draws on earlier discursive structures as language users build on already established meanings. Fairclough focuses on this through the concept of *intertextuality* – that is, how an individual text draws on elements and discourses of other texts. It is by combining elements from different discourses that concrete language use can change the individual discourses and thereby, also, the social and cultural world. Through analysis of intertextuality, one can investigate both the reproduction of discourses whereby no new elements are introduced *and* discursive change through new combinations of discourse.

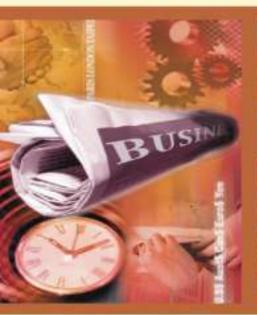
Discursive psychology, the subject of Chapter 4, shares critical discourse analysis' empirical focus on specific instances of language use in social interaction. But the aim of discursive psychologists is not so much to analyse the changes in society's 'large-scale discourses', which concrete language use can bring about, as to investigate how people use the available discourses flexibly in creating and negotiating representations of the world and identities in talk-in-interaction and to analyse the social consequences of this. Despite the choice of label for this approach – 'discursive psychology' – its main focus is not internal psychological conditions. Discursive psychology is an approach to social psychology that has devel-

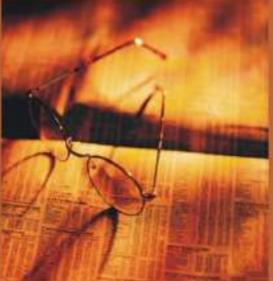
NEW AGE

Research Methodology

Methods and Techniques

(SECOND REVISED EDITION)







C.R. Kothari



NEW AGE INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS

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ISBN (13): 978-81-224-2488-1

PUBLISHING FOR ONE WORLD

NEW AGE INTERNATIONAL (P) LIMITED, PUBLISHERS 4835/24, Ansari Road, Daryaganj, New Delhi - 110002 Visit us at www.newagepublishers.com

Defining the Research Problem

In research process, the first and foremost step happens to be that of selecting and properly defining a research problem.* A researcher must find the problem and formulate it so that it becomes susceptible to research. Like a medical doctor, a researcher must examine all the symptoms (presented to him or observed by him) concerning a problem before he can diagnose correctly. To define a problem correctly, a researcher must know: what a problem is?

WHAT IS A RESEARCH PROBLEM?

A research problem, in general, refers to some difficulty which a researcher experiences in the context of either a theoretical or practical situation and wants to obtain a solution for the same. Usually we say that a research problem does exist if the following conditions are met with:

- (i) There must be an individual (or a group or an organisation), let us call it 'I,' to whom the problem can be attributed. The individual or the organisation, as the case may be, occupies an environment, say 'N', which is defined by values of the uncontrolled variables, Y.
- (ii) There must be at least two courses of action, say C₁ and C₂, to be pursued. A course of action is defined by one or more values of the controlled variables. For example, the number of items purchased at a specified time is said to be one course of action.
- (iii) There must be at least two possible outcomes, say O₁ and O₂, of the course of action, of which one should be preferable to the other. In other words, this means that there must be at least one outcome that the researcher wants, i.e., an objective.
- (iv) The courses of action available must provides some chance of obtaining the objective, but they cannot provide the same chance, otherwise the choice would not matter. Thus, if P(O₁ | I, C₁, N) represents the probability that an outcome O₂ will occur, if I select C₂ in N, then P(O₁ | I, C₁, N) ≠ P(O₁ | I, C₂, N). In simple words, we can say that the choices must have unequal efficiencies for the desired outcomes.

^{*}We talk of a research problem or hypothesis in case of descriptive or hypothesis testing research studies. Exploratory or formulative research studies do not start with a problem or hypothesis, their problem is to find a problem or the hypothesis to be tested. One should make a clear statement to this effect. This aspect has been dealt with in chapter entitled "Research Design".

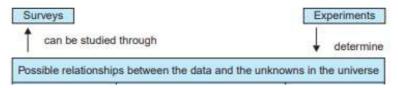
Methods of Data Collection

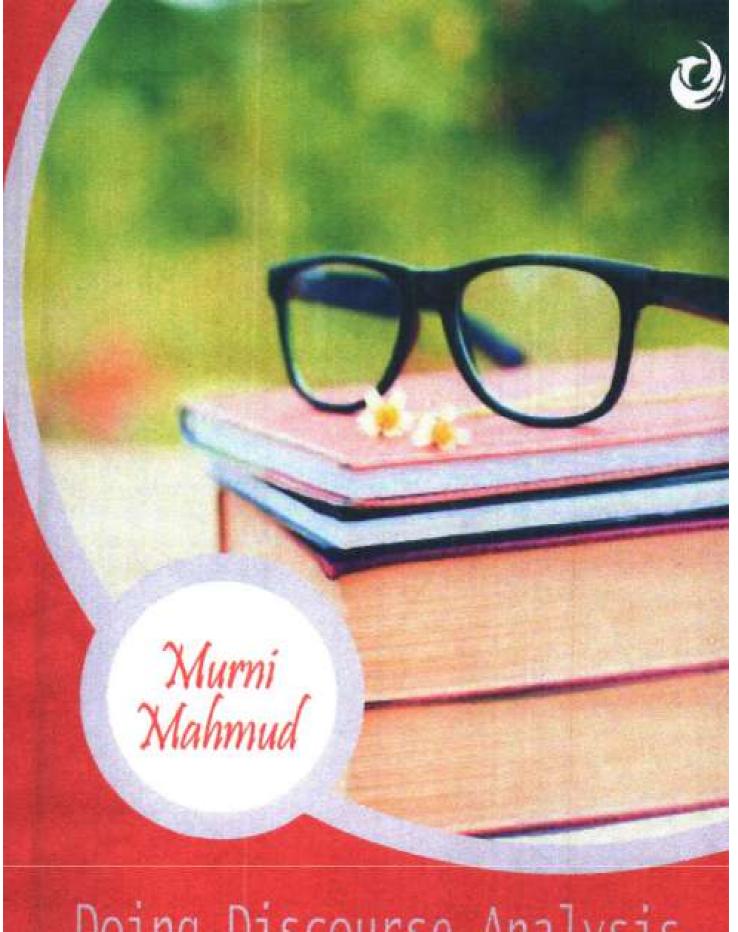
The task of data collection begins after a research problem has been defined and research design/ plan chalked out. While deciding about the method of data collection to be used for the study, the researcher should keep in mind two types of data viz., primary and secondary. The primary data are those which are collected afresh and for the first time, and thus happen to be original in character. The secondary data, on the other hand, are those which have already been collected by someone else and which have already been passed through the statistical process. The researcher would have to decide which sort of data he would be using (thus collecting) for his study and accordingly he will have to select one or the other method of data collection. The methods of collecting primary and secondary data differ since primary data are to be originally collected, while in case of secondary data the nature of data collection work is merely that of compilation. We describe the different methods of data collection, with the pros and cons of each method.

COLLECTION OF PRIMARY DATA

We collect primary data during the course of doing experiments in an experimental research but in case we do research of the descriptive type and perform surveys, whether sample surveys or census surveys, then we can obtain primary data either through observation or through direct communication with respondents in one form or another or through personal interviews.* This, in other words, means

"An experiment refers to an investigation in which a factor or variable under test is isolated and its effect(s) measured. In an experiment the investigator measures the effects of an experiment which he conducts intentionally. Survey refers to the method of securing information concerning a phenomena under study from all or a selected number of respondents of the concerned universe. In a survey, the investigator examines those phenomena which exist in the universe independent of his action. The difference between an experiment and a survey can be depicted as under:





Doing Discourse Analysis
ANDUGTON

Doing Discourse Analysis: AN INTRODUCTION

First Published, 2017 14x21 cm; xvi + 120 pages

ISBN 978-602-61718-9-4

WRITER:

Murni Mahmud

PROOFREADER:

Murni Mahmud

DESIGN COVER & LAYOUT
Wirasatriaji



Jl. Wonosari km. 7 Kalangan RT 7 No. 197 Yogyakarta 55197 Telp. 0851-0561-0052

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In addition, McCarthy states that DA is

a wide-ranging and heterogeneous discipline which finds its unity in the description of language above the sentence and an interest in the contexts and cultural influences which affect language in use (1991, p. 7).

DA is concerned with "the broad speech units comprising multiple sentences" (Fromkin, Rodman, & Hymes, 2007, pp. 199-200). In line with that, Brown and Yule (1983, p. viii) state that DA is used with

a wide range of meanings which cover a wide range of activities at the intersection of disciplines as diverse as sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, philosophical linguistics, and computational linguistics. All of them have different and specific aspects of discourse.

Therefore, it can be stated that when doing DA, higher level of thinking and analysis are needed in order to cover many aspects. Discourse analysts need comparisons between theories, methods, and conceptual elements in one unit of analysis. It is not only studying one linguistic unit but broader linguistic units. DA is multidisciplinary approach which covers various areas in linguistic study such as sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, etc. Its main concern is to analyze the use of language in a broader context in society. It is not only studying sentences but in and out of the sentences.

Dijk (2001) mentions some requirements for CDA. One of them is the focus more on social and political issues. To provide critical analysis, CDA not merely describes "discourse structures", but also explains them in terms of "properties of social interaction and especially social structure". More specifically, CDA focuses on "the ways discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of power and dominance in society" (Dijk, 2001, p. 353).

Fairclough and Wodak (1997) mention some characteristics of CDA. Some of them are namely: (1) "CDA addresses social problems", (2) "power relations are discursive", (3) "discourse constitutes society and culture", (4) "discourse does ideological work", (5) "discourse is historical", (6) "there is a link between text and society", (7) "the analysis is interpretative and explanatory", and (8) "discourse is a form of social action" (pp. 271-280).

Overall, CDA explores "the role of discourse in the production and reproduction of power relations within social structures" (Wooffitt, 2005, p. 138). In CDA, the focus is on the relation between discourse and the social structure. In the work of CDA, 'text' has a more complex meaning which can refer to a speech or spoken discourse, written documents, visual images, or some combinations of these three (Ibid).

CDA attempts to describe, interpret, and explain the relationship between the forms and function of language. It is not only studies about forms of language such as grammar, morphology, syntax, or pragmatics, but also it includes how people use language in different situations to achieve the outcome. The main focus is to explain why and how certain patterns are privileged over others (Rogers, 2004, p. 4). Rogers states that CDA studies concern "not only what is said, but what is left out, not only what is present in the text, but also what is absent" (2004, p. 7).

CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

2018







A Book by VIDYA MANDARANI, M. HUM

BUKU AJAR

CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Penulis:

Vidya Mandarani

ISBN:

978-602-5914-24-9

Editor:

Septi Budi Sartika, M.Pd

M. Tanzil Multazam , S.H., M.Kn.

Copy Editor:

Fika Megawati, S.Pd., M.Pd.

Design Sampul dan Tata Letak:

Mochamad Nashrullah, S.Pd

Penerbit:

UMSIDA Press

Redaksi:

Universitas Muhammadiyah Sidoarjo

Jl. Mojopahit No 666B

Sidoarjo, Jawa TImur

Cetakan pertama, Agustus 2018

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be understood without including the context that accompanies it. One of the most important aspects of understanding the text is to place the discourse in a particular historical context. How was the political situation then, and the atmosphere at that time.

Power

Any discourse in the form of text, conversation or anything, is not regarded as natural, natural and neutral but a form of power struggle. The concept of power is one of the key relations between discourse and society. Like power in the discourse of sexism, white power against blacks in discourses on racism, corporate power is dominated by upper-class businessmen to their subordinates, and so on. Critical discourse analysis does not limit the details of the text or discourse structure, but also connects with certain social, political, economic, and cultural forces and conditions. Power in relation to discourse, to see what is called control. Control here is not necessarily physical and direct, but

the context of the news. The news context consists of two parts. First, is the social context. This system is closely related to the social and cultural conditions of society. The second is situational context. To view this situational context, we must look at the last conditions occurring in the social, cultural, and political life that accompany the event in this event.

According to Van Dijk, there are two important things in the analysis of social context: power and access. Power is a tool for one group in society that serves to control other groups. Usually this power arises when a group has valuable resources such as status, money, and position.

In the second point, the elite group as the owner of power has the ability to access all the potentials that tend to win the discourse. They have a vast opportunity to influence public awareness and can even define themes or topics to be shared with the public.

LANGUAGE AND POWER

AN INTRODUCTION TO INSTITUTIONAL DISCOURSE ANDREA MAYR



Continuum International Publishing Group

The Tower Building 80 Maiden Lane 11 York Road Suite 704

London SE1 7NX New York NY 10038

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British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

ISBN: 978-08264-8743-8 (Hardback) 978-08264-8744-5 (Paperback)

Library of Congress Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

The Publisher has applied for CIP data.

discourse analysts argue that discourse embodies ideological assumptions, they use the term ideology in a 'critical' sense. Fairclough (1992: 87) understands ideologies to be

significations/constructions of reality (the physical world, social relations, social identities) which are built into various dimensions of the forms/meanings of discursive practices, and which contribute to the production, reproduction or transformation of relations of domination.

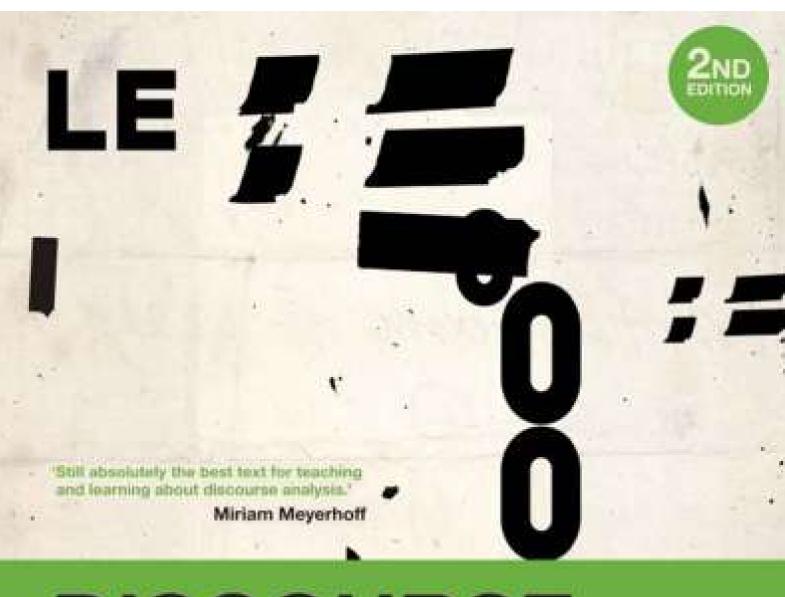
This critical conception of ideology, which is based on Gramsci's (1971) concept of hegemony (domination by consent), links it to the process of sustaining asymmetrical relations of power and inequalities – that is to the process of maintaining domination. In the words of Fairclough (1995b: 14), ideology is 'meaning in the service of power'. Critical discourse analysts see ideologies as serving the interests of certain groups with social power, ensuring that events, practices and behaviours come to be regarded as legitimate and *common-sense*. Ideologies do this subtly, because they inform the way people interpret the world around them, hence hegemony.

Social power is defined as power belonging to people who have privileged access to social resources, such as education, knowledge and wealth. However, analysts do not see power and dominance merely as imposed from above on others, but maintain that, in many situations, power is 'jointly produced', for example, when people are led to believe that dominance is legitimate in some way or other.

The question what power is, where it is located and how it can be studied in or as language has been an important question in many critical language studies. We therefore set out to provide an overview of some of the concepts of power which have informed sociological and linguistic research on institutions.

Power: key concepts

Although power is pervasive in social systems and their institutions, its conceptualization has remained a matter of disagreement (see Lukes, 1974). Scott (2001) makes a useful distinction between what he terms the 'mainstream' and 'second-stream' traditions of power research. The mainstream tradition has tended to focus on the corrective forms of the



DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Brian Paltridge

Bloomsbury Academic

An imprint of Bloomsbury Publishing Plc

 50 Bedford Square
 80 Maiden Lane

 London
 New York

 WC1B 3DP
 NY 10038

 UK
 USA

www.bloomsbury.com

First published 2012

© Brian Paltridge, 2012

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No responsibility for loss caused to any individual or organization acting on or refraining from action as a result of the material in this publication can be accepted by Bloomsbury Academic or the author.

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

EISBN: 978-1-4411-5820-8

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Paltridge, Brian.

Discourse analysis: an introduction / Brian Paltridge. - 2nd ed.

p. cm. - (Continuum discourse series)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-4411-7373-7 (alk. paper) - ISBN 978-1-4411-6762-0 (pbk. : alk. paper) -

ISBN 978-1-4411-5820-8 (eBook pdf) - ISBN 978-1-4411-3335-9 (eBook epub)

1. Discourse analysis. I. Title.

P302.P23 2012

401'.41-dc23

2012005161

be understood differently by different language users as well as understood differently in different contexts (van Dijk 2011).

Van Dijk provides two book length accounts of the notion of context. He argues that context is a subjective construct that accounts not only for the uniqueness of each text but also for the common ground and shared representations that language users draw on to communicate with each other (van Dijk 2008). Van Dijk (2009) argues, further, that the link between society and discourse is often indirect and depends on how language users themselves define the genre or communicative event in which they engaged. Thus, in his words, '[i]t is not the social situation that influences (or is influenced by) discourse, but the way the participants define (original emphasis)' the situation in which the discourse occurs (van Dijk 2008: x). In his view, contexts are not objective conditions but rather (inter)subjective constructs that are constantly updated by participants in their interactions with each other as members of groups or communities.

The relationship between language and context is fundamental to the work of J. R. Firth (1935, 1957a, 1957b), Michael Halliday (1971, 1989a) and John Sinclair (2004), each of whom has made important contributions to the area of discourse analysis. Firth draws on the anthropologist Malinowski's (1923, 1935) notions of context of situation and context of culture to discuss this relationship, arguing that in order to understand the meaning of what a person says or writes we need to know something about the situational and cultural context in which it is located. That is, if you don't know what the people involved in a text are doing and don't understand their culture 'then you can't make sense of their text' (Martin 2001: 151).

Halliday (1971) takes the discussion further by linking context of situation with actual texts and context of culture with potential texts and the range of possibilities that are open to language users for the creation of texts. The actual choices a person makes from the options that are available to them within the particular context of culture, thus, take place within a particular context of situation, both of which influence the use of language in the text (see Hasan 2009, Halliday 2009a, van Dijk 2011 for further discussion of the relationship between language and context). The work of J. R. Firth has been similarly influential in the area of discourse analysis. This is reflected in the concern by discourse analysts to study language within authentic instances of use (as opposed to made-up examples) - a concern with the inseparability of meaning and form and a focus on a contextual theory of meaning (Stubbs 1996). Sinclair also argues that language should be studied in naturally occurring contexts and that the analysis of meaning should be its key focus (Carter 2004).

Discourse analysis, then, is interested in 'what happens when people draw on the knowledge they have about language . . . to do things in the world' (Johnstone 2002: 3). It is, thus, the analysis of language in use. Discourse analysis considers the relationship between language and the contexts in which it is used and is concerned with the description and analysis of both engless and written interactions. Its primary purposes as Chimombo

Critical Discourse Analysis

The norms and values which underlie texts are often 'out of sight' rather than overtly stated. As Hyland (2005b: 4) observes, acts of meaning making (and in turn discourse) are 'always engaged in that they realize the interests, the positions, the perspectives and the values of those who enact them'. The aim of a critical approach to discourse analysis is to help reveal some of these hidden and 'often out of sight' values, positions and perspectives. As Rogers (2004: 6) puts it, discourses 'are always socially, politically, racially and economically loaded'. Critical discourse analysis examines the use of discourse in relation to social and cultural issues such as race, politics, gender and identity and asks why the discourse is used in a particular way and what the implications are of this kind of use.

Critical discourse analysis explores the connections between the use of language and the social and political contexts in which it occurs. It explores issues such as gender, ethnicity, cultural difference, ideology and identity and how these are both constructed and reflected in texts. It also investigates ways in which language constructs and is constructed by social relationships. A critical analysis may include a detailed textual analysis and move from there to an explanation and interpretation of the analysis. It might proceed from there to deconstruct and challenge the text(s) being examined. This may include tracing underlying ideologies from the linguistic features of a text, unpacking particular biases and ideological presuppositions underlying the text, and relating the text to other texts and to people's experiences and beliefs.

Critical discourse analysis starts with the assumption that language use is always social and that discourse both 'reflects and constructs the social world' (Rogers 2011: 1). A critical analysis might explore issues such as gender, ideology and identity and how these are reflected in particular texts. This might commence with an analysis of the use of discourse and move from there to an explanation and interpretation of the discourse. From here, the analysis might proceed to deconstruct and challenge the texts, tracing ideologies and

Introduction to Discourse Studies New edition

Jan Renkema Christoph Schubert

John Benjamins Publishing Company



The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of the American National Standard for Information Sciences – Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI 239.48-1984.

DOI 10.1075/2.219

Cataloging-in-Publication Data available from Library of Congress: LCCN 2018037181 (PRINT) / 2018047917 (E-BOOK)

ISBN 978 90 272 0195 9 (HB) / ISBN 978 90 272 0196 6 (PB) ISBN 978 90 272 6310 0 (E-BOOK)

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1.1 A rough definition of discourse studies

Discourse studies is the discipline devoted to the investigation of the relationship between form and function in verbal communication. This short but rough definition is the point of departure for this book. The definition prompts the following questions:

- 1. What is meant by the relationship between form and function?
- 2. Is it really necessary to have a separate discipline for the investigation of this relationship?

Answers to these two questions are given in this section. The aim and structure of this book are discussed in the next two sections.

What is meant by the relationship between form and function? Consider the following example of a fragment of verbal communication.

- A: Say, there's a good movie playing tonight.
 - B: Actually, I have to study.
 - A: Too bad.
 - B: Yes, I'm sorry.
 - A: Well, I guess I don't need to ask you if you want me to pick you up.

In this example, A's first utterance is in the form of a statement that there is a good movie playing that night. The function of this statement, however, is that of an invitation to B. B knows that A's statement is meant to be an invitation. B could have

contrast to "dark blue" (siniy). However, although languages suggest tendencies and preferences for world perception, they do not erect barriers that cannot be overcome, so that the strong, deterministic version of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis has been widely rejected (Eysenck and Keane, 2015).

From the perspective of discourse studies, the idea that language somehow reflects the way reality is perceived has incited the study of the relation between discourse and culture. Accordingly, linguistic relativity is the basis for critical approaches to language if, for example, it is assumed that the avoidance of racist discourse will result in a decrease of racist attitudes and behaviors.

15.3 Critical Discourse Analysis

The most prominent approach to discourse and culture is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), a subdicipline in which many central concepts in discourse studies play an important role (Wodak and Meyer, 2016). In this approach the aim of analysis is to detect societal problems, especially discrimination. In fact, discourse is studied from the viewpoint of linguistic relativity (see Section 15.2), with reference not to differences between language systems, but to differences in language use within one language, while the broad concept of worldview is defined as an ideological perspective (see Section 7.5 on vision). Since discourse is seen as a reflection of the power relations in society, one research focus of CDA is on control, dominance and manipulation in institutional discourse (see Chapter 14).

CDA is as old as discourse studies itself. In the first publication that contained the term discourse (Harris, 1952; see the bibliographical information in Chapter 1), an advertisement was analyzed with suggestions for two approaches: the internal cohesion relations and the correlation with society and culture. The last approach flourished in the socio-semiotic framework mentioned in Section 3.6, in which discourse is seen as a vehicle of meaning in a social context. Just as many sociologically oriented conversation analysts (see Chapter 9) analyze interactions in the hope of gaining insight into how people succeed in forming a community or society, the critical discourse analysts see discourse as an instrument to gain insight into societal problems.

The term critical in this approach means that an analysis cannot be neutral or free of values. Many researchers in this area regard pure sociological analyses as superficial and pure linguistic and stylistic analyses as low-informative. They draw consequences from the claim that discourse (in part) constitutes its context, and aim to prove by analysis that much discourse contains biased representations of reality. The aim of this kind of analysis is not only to detect manipulation and

An Introduction to

Critical Discourse Analysis in Education

Edited by Rebecca Rogers

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Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc., Publishers 10 Industrial Avenue Mahwah, New Jersey 07430

Cover design by Kathryn Houghtaling Lacey

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

An introduction to critical discourse analysis in education / edited by Rebecca Rogers.

Includes hibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-8058-4817-7 (cloth; alk. paper) — ISBN 0-8058-4818-5 (pbk.; alk. paper)

Interaction analysis in education.
 Critical discourse analysis.
 Learning.
 Rogers, Rebecca.

LB1034.149 2003 371.102°2—dc22

2009049327

CIP

Books published by Lawrence Erlbaum Associates are printed on acid-free paper, and their bindings are chosen for strength and durability.

Printed in the United States of America 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

CDA, BERNSTEIN, AND POLICY ANALYSIS IN CALIFORNIA

Fairclough and CDA

Fairclough (1992) named discourse as a mode of action—one that is socially constitutive. He identified texts, discourse practices, and social practices and how they each come together to carry constructive effects. In his framework, he adopted a Hallidaian (Halliday, 1978) definition of *text* as spoken as well as written language. Discourse practices involve the processes of text production, distribution, and consumption. Social practices represent discourse as ideology and power.

As Rogers (chap. 11, this volume) points out, local, institutional, and societal levels of interpretation necessarily take place at each of the text, discourse practice, and social levels of analysis in CDA. This makes sense because the local, institutional, and societal levels each contribute to our full

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understandings of the given phenomena at hand. What I argue here is that placing these in relation to one another as essentially envisioned through

CENTRAL CONCEPTS

Fairclough's Model:

Text—spoken as well as written language

Discourse practice-text production, distribution, and consumption

Social practice—discourse as ideology and power

Bernstein's Model:

Instructional discourse—discourse that creates specialized skills and their relations to each other

Regulative discourse—moral discourse that creates order, relations, and identity and ultimately controls instructional discourse

Pedagogic device—the relationship between regulative and instructional discourses

Political discourse provides the clearest illustration of the constitutive power of discourse: It reproduces or changes the social world by reproducing or changing people's representations of it and the principles of classification which underlie them. It also clearly shows the inseparability of ideational and interpersonal processes in discourse: it can reproduce or change the social world only in and through reproducing and changing social classes and groups—it works simultaneously on representations and classifications of people. The power of political discourse depends upon its capacity to constitute and mobilize those social forces that are capable of carrying into reality its

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The Handbook of Discourse Analysis

Edited by

Deborah Schiffrin, Deborah Tannen, and Heidi E. Hamilton

Copyright © Blackwell Publishers Ltd 2001

First published 2001

24681097531

Blackwell Publishers Inc. 350 Main Street Malden, Massachusetts 02148 USA

Blackwell Publishers Ltd 108 Cowley Road Oxford OX4 1JF UK

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

The Handbook of discourse analysis / edited by Deborah Schiffrin, Deborah Tannen, and Heidi Hamilton.

p. cm. — (Blackwell handbooks in linguistics) Includes bibliographical references and index. ISBN 0-631-20595-0 (alk. paper)

 Discourse analysis—Handbooks, manuals, etc. I. Schiffrin, Deborah. III. Tannen, Deborah. III. Hamilton, Heidi Ehernberger. IV. Series.

P302 .H344 2001 401'.41—dc21

2001018139

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A CIP catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Typeset in 9.5/12pt Palatino by Graphicraft Limited, Hong Kong Printed in Great Britain by T.J. International, Padstow, Cornwall

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

18 Critical Discourse Analysis

TEUN A. VAN DIJK

0 Introduction: What Is Critical Discourse Analysis?

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. With such dissident research, critical discourse analysts take explicit position, and thus want to understand, expose, and ultimately resist social inequality.

Some of the tenets of CDA can already be found in the critical theory of the Frankfurt School before the Second World War (Agger 1992b; Rasmussen 1996). Its current focus on language and discourse was initiated with the "critical linguistics" that emerged (mostly in the UK and Australia) at the end of the 1970s (Fowler et al. 1979; see also Mey 1985). CDA has also counterparts in "critical" developments in sociolinguistics, psychology, and the social sciences, some already dating back to the early 1970s (Birnbaum 1971; Calhoun 1995; Fay 1987; Fox and Prilleltensky 1997; Hymes 1972; Ibáñez and Iñiguez 1997; Singh 1996; Thomas 1993; Turkel 1996; Wodak 1996). As is the case in these neighboring disciplines, CDA may be seen as a reaction against the dominant formal (often "asocial" or "uncritical") paradigms of the 1960s and 1970s.

CDA is not so much a direction, school, or specialization next to the many other "approaches" in discourse studies. Rather, it aims to offer a different "mode" or "perspective" of theorizing, analysis, and application throughout the whole field. We may find a more or less critical perspective in such diverse areas as pragmatics, conversation analysis, narrative analysis, rhetoric, stylistics, sociolinguistics, ethnography, or media analysis, among others.

Crucial for critical discourse analysts is the explicit awareness of their role in society. Continuing a tradition that rejects the possibility of a "value-free" science, they argue that science, and especially scholarly discourse, are inherently part of and influenced by social structure, and produced in social interaction. Instead of denying or ignoring such a relation between scholarship and society, they plead that such relations be studied and accounted for in their own right, and that scholarly practices discourse structures are deployed in the reproduction of social dominance, whether they are part of a conversation or a news report or other genres and contexts. Thus, the typical vocabulary of many scholars in CDA will feature such notions as "power," "dominance," "hegemony," "ideology," "class," "gender," "race," "discrimination," "interests," "reproduction," "institutions," "social structure," and "social order," besides the more familiar discourse analytical notions.¹

In this section, I focus on a number of basic concepts themselves, and thus devise a theoretical framework that critically relates discourse, cognition, and society.

1.1 Macro vs. micro

Language use, discourse, verbal interaction, and communication belong to the microlevel of the social order. Power, dominance, and inequality between social groups are typically terms that belong to a macrolevel of analysis. This means that CDA has to theoretically bridge the well-known "gap" between micro and macro approaches, which is of course a distinction that is a sociological construct in its own right (Alexander et al. 1987; Knorr-Cetina and Cicourel 1981). In everyday interaction and experience the macro- and microlevel (and intermediary "mesolevels") form one unified whole. For instance, a racist speech in parliament is a discourse at the microlevel of social interaction in the specific situation of a debate, but at the same time may enact or be a constituent part of legislation or the reproduction of racism at the macrolevel.

There are several ways to analyze and bridge these levels, and thus to arrive at a unified critical analysis:

- 1 Members-groups: Language users engage in discourse as members of (several) social groups, organizations, or institutions; and conversely, groups thus may act "by" their members.
- 2 Actions-process: Social acts of individual actors are thus constituent parts of group actions and social processes, such as legislation, newsmaking, or the reproduction of racism.
- 3 Context-social structure: Situations of discursive interaction are similarly part or

(more or less) power if they are able to (more or less) control the acts and minds of (members of) other groups. This ability presupposes a *power base* of privileged access to scarce social resources, such as force, money, status, fame, knowledge, information, "culture," or indeed various forms of public discourse and communication (of the vast literature on power, see, e.g., Lukes 1986; Wrong 1979).

Different types of power may be distinguished according to the various resources employed to exercise such power: the coercive power of the military and of violent men will rather be based on force, the rich will have power because of their money, whereas the more or less persuasive power of parents, professors, or journalists may be based on knowledge, information, or authority. Note also that power is seldom absolute. Groups may more or less control other groups, or only control them in specific situations or social domains. Moreover, dominated groups may more or less resist, accept, condone, comply with, or legitimate such power, and even find it "natural."

The power of dominant groups may be integrated in laws, rules, norms, habits, and even a quite general consensus, and thus take the form of what Gramsci called "hegemony" (Gramsci 1971). Class domination, sexism, and racism are characteristic examples of such hegemony. Note also that power is not always exercised in obviously abusive acts of dominant group members, but may be enacted in the myriad of taken-for-granted actions of everyday life, as is typically the case in the many forms of everyday sexism or racism (Essed 1991). Similarly, not all members of a powerful group are always more powerful than all members of dominated groups: power is only defined here for groups as a whole.

For our analysis of the relations between discourse and power, thus, we first find that access to specific forms of discourse, e.g. those of politics, the media, or science, is itself a power resource. Secondly, as suggested earlier, action is controlled by our minds. So, if we are able to influence people's minds, e.g. their knowledge or opinions, we indirectly may control (some of) their actions, as we know from persuasion and manipulation.

Closing the discourse-power circle, finally, this means that those groups who control most influential discourse also have more chances to control the minds and actions of others.

Simplifying these very intricate relationships even further for this chapter, we can split up the issue of discursive power into two basic questions for CDA research:

- 1 How do (more) powerful groups control public discourse?
- 2 How does such discourse control mind and action of (less) powerful groups, and what are the social consequences of such control, such as social inequality?

1 Conceptual and Theoretical Frameworks

Since CDA is not a specific direction of research, it does not have a unitary theoretical framework. Within the general aims and properties mentioned above, there are many types of CDA, and these may be theoretically and analytically quite diverse. Critical analysis of conversation is very different from an analysis of news reports in the press or of lessons and teaching at school. Yet, given the common perspective and the general aims of CDA, we may also find overall conceptual frameworks that are closely related. As suggested, most kinds of CDA will ask questions about the way specific discourse structures are deployed in the reproduction of social dominance, whether they are part of a conversation or a news report or other genres and contexts. Thus, the typical vocabulary of many scholars in CDA will feature such notions as *power*, *dominance*, *hegemony*, *ideology*, *class*, *gender*, *race*, *discrimination*, *interests*, *reproduction*, *institutions*, *social structure*, and *social order*, besides the more familiar discourse analytical notions.

This section focuses on a number of basic concepts and thus devises a triangulated theoretical framework that relates discourse, cognition, and society (including history, politics, and culture) as the major dimensions of CDA and discourse studies more generally.

1.1 Macro versus micro

Language use, discourse, verbal interaction, and communication belong to the microlevel of the social order. Power, dominance, and inequality between social groups are typically terms that belong to a macro-level of analysis. This means that CDA must bridge the well-known "gap" between micro (agency, interactional) and macro (structural, institutional, organizational) approaches (Alexander et al. 1987; Huber 1991; Knorr-Cetina and Cicourel 1981; van Dijk 1980).

In everyday interaction and experience, the macro- and micro-levels (and intermediary "mesolevels") form one unified whole. For instance, a racist speech in parliament is a discourse at the interactional micro-level of social structure in the specific situation of a debate, but at the same time it may enact or be a constituent part of legislation or the reproduction of racism at the macro-level (Wodak and van

Language and Power

A resource book for students

Paul Simpson and Andrea Mayr



Routledge English Language Introductions

First published 2010 by Routledge 2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada by Routledge 711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017 (8th Floor)

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2010 Paul Sampson and Andrea Mayr

Typeset in Minion by Graphicraft Limited, Hong Kong

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British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data Simpson, Paul, 1959...

Language and power: a resource book for students / Paul Simpson and Andrea Mayr.

p. cm. — (Routledge English language introductions).

Sociolinguisties. 2. Power (Social sciences) 3. Language and languages—Political aspects.

4. Discourse analysis. I. Mayr, Andrea, 1972-11. Title.

P40.S462.2009 306.44—dc22 2009015970

ISBN 10: 0-415-46899-X (hbk) ISBN 10: 0-415-46900-7 (pbk) ISBN 10: 0-203-86770-X (ebk)

ISBN 13: 978-0-415-46899-2 (hbk) ISBN 13: 978-0-415-46900-5 (pbk) ISBN 13: 978-0-203-86770-9 (cbk) relationships has been central to the analysis of institutional discourse, particularly the asymmetrical distribution of speaker rights and obligations. But even in casual conversation, which according to Kress (1985b: 27) is the genre with 'the least or no power differential' as people speak 'on their own behalf', power is not always equally distributed but 'constantly under contestation' and is only concealed by the apparent equality of the casual context (Eggins and Slade 1997: 43).

The notion of people being able to contribute equally in talk has been expressed in Sacks et al.'s turn-taking model (1974) and in Grice's 'cooperative principle' (1975) – the latter a model that states that conversations can only happen when people tacitly agree to co-operate in talk and contribute to the interaction on an equal basis. But what if people cannot contribute on an equal basis, because they don't have equal status? Having equal status means having the same discoursal rights and obligations, such as the same right to ask questions and make requests and the same obligation to comply with these, and also the same obligation to avoid interruption or silence. However, in conversations among unequals, so-called 'unequal encounters' (Thomas 1988: 33), the rules for conversational interaction can be very different from the ones obtaining for ordinary or informal conversation. For example, in a traditional classroom setting, students take turns usually only when the teacher directs a question to the class or an individual. What they can say in the turns they take is also constrained: essentially students are limited to giving 'relevant' answers to the teachers. What is relevant or irrelevant depends on the context of course. But the teacher, or any person who has more power in an interaction such as a judge or police officer, can, as we have noted in A2, define the context and decide what is discoursally relevant.

Institutional discourse is therefore characterized by asymmetrical speaking rights and obligations which differentiate it from ordinary conversation. In CDA, these asymmetries are regarded as pre-inscribed features of the context. Thus, institutional interactions can be defined, following Thomas (1988: 33), as those taking place within social institutions such as schools, the police or the law courts which have a clearly defined



NEW AGE

Fundamental of RESEARCH METHODOLOGY and STATISTICS



Yogesh Kumar Singh



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ISBN: 978-81-224-2418-8

PUBLISHING FOR ONE WORLD

NEW AGE INTERNATIONAL (P) LIMITED, PUBLISHERS

4835/24, Ansari Road, Daryaganj, New Delhi - 110002 Visit us at www.newagepublishers.com

Chapter 15

Analysis of Data

A prime responsibility of the educational researcher is that of being able to make either a probability or logical inference covering the tenability of his testable hypothesis. The acceptance or rejection of these hypotheses will ultimately determine what contribution the study makes to the scientific' development of a particular area. This is especially tried in the analysis for interpretation of data.

The analysis and interpretation of data represent the application of deductive and inductive logic to the research process. The data are often classified by division into, subgroups, and are then analyzed and synthesized in such a way that hypothesis may be verified or rejected. The final result may be a new principle or generalization. Data are examined in terms of comparison between the more homogeneous segments within the group any by comparison with some outside criteria.

Analysis of data includes comparison of the outcomes of the various treatments upon the several groups and the making of a decision as to the achievement of the goals of research. Data relevant to each hypothesis must be assembled in quantitative form and tested to determine whether or not there is a significant difference in the results obtained from the controlled groups. Usually the analysis develops as a comparison between groups however, sometimes the type of data obtainable tends itself better to the existing differences by contrast or by summing up.

It is virtually impossible to complete a scientific analysis without using some form of statistical processing. This may involve depicting differences by complicated inferential statistics such as the analysis of variance, and analysis of covariance technique.

Each statistical method is based upon its own or specific assumptions regarding the sample, population and research conditions. Unless these factors are considered in advance the researcher may find that it is impossible to make valid comparison for purpose of inferences.

NEED FOR ANALYSIS OF DATA OR TREATMENT OF DATA

After administering and scoring research tools scripts, data collected and organized. The collected data are known as 'raw data.' The raw data are meaningless unless certain statistical treatment is given to them. Analysis of data means to make the raw data meaningful or to draw some results from the data after the proper treatment. The 'null hypotheses' are tested with the help of analysis data so to obtain some significant results. Thus, the analysis of data serves the following main functions:

- 1. To make the raw data meaningful,
- To test null hypothesis,
- 3. To obtain the significant results,
- 4. To draw some inferences or make generalization, and
- To estimate parameters.

The Handbook of Discourse Analysis

Second Edition

Volume I



Edited by

Deborah Tannen, Heidi E. Hamilton, and Deborah Schiffrin

WILEY Blackwell

This second edition first published 2015

© 2015 John Wiley & Sons, Inc. except for Chapter 16 © Bloomsbury Publishing Plc.

Edition History: Blackwell Publishers Ltd (le, 2001)

Registered Office John Wiley & Sons, Ltd., The Atrium, Southern Gate, Chichester,

West Sussex, PO19 BSQ, UK.

Editorial Offices 350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148-5020, USA

9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ, UK

The Atrium, Southern Gate, Chichester, West Sussex, PO19 8SQ, UK

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

The handbook of discourse analysis / edited by Deborah Tannen, Heidi E. Hamilton & Deborah Schiffrin. - Second edition.

Volumes em

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-470-67074-3 (cloth)

Discourse analysis-Handbooks, mamuals, etc. 1. Tanner, Deborah, editor. II. Hamilton, Heidi Ehemberger, editor. III. Schiffrin, Deborah, editor.

P302.H344.2015 401'.41-dc23

2014048413

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Cover image: Painting on canvas @ petekarici / iStock

Set in 9.5/12pt Palatino by Aptara Inc., New Delhi, India

1.2 Power as control

A central notion in most critical work on discourse is that of power, and more specifically the social power of groups or institutions (among many studies, see, e.g., Lukes 1986; Wrong 1979). Summarizing a complex philosophical and social analysis, I define social power in terms of control (van Dijk 2008b). Thus, groups have (more or less) power if they are able to (more or less) control the acts and minds of (members of) other groups. This ability presupposes a power base of privileged access to scarce social resources, such as force, money, status, fame, knowledge, information, "culture," or indeed various forms of public discourse and communication (Mayr 2008).

Different types of power may be distinguished according to the various resources employed to exercise such power: the coercive power of the military and other violent people will rather be based on force; the rich will have power because of their money; the more or less "persuasive power" of parents, professors, or journalists may be based on knowledge, information, or authority. Note also that power is seldom absolute. Groups may more or less control other groups, or only control them in specific situations or social domains. A judge controls people only in the courtroom, and a teacher only students in a classroom. Moreover, dominated groups may more or less resist, accept, condone, collude or comply with, or legitimate such power, and even find it "natural."

The power of dominant groups may be integrated in laws, rules, norms, habits, and even a quite general consensus, and thus take the form of what Gramsci called hegemony (Gramsci 1971). Note also that power is not always exercised in obviously abusive acts of dominant group members, but may be enacted in the myriad takenfor-granted actions of everyday life (Foucault 1980), as is typically the case in the many forms of everyday sexism or racism (Essed 1991). Similarly, not all members of a powerful group are always more powerful than all members of dominated groups: power is only defined here for groups as a whole.

For our analysis of the relations between discourse and power, thus, we first find that access to specific forms of discourse – for example, those of politics, the media, education, or science – is itself a power resource (van Dijk 1996). Secondly, as suggested earlier, action is controlled by our minds. So, as we shall see in more detail in Section 1.2.2,



Introduction to

Qualitative Research Methods

A Guidebook and Resource

Steven J. Taylor Robert Bogdan Marjorie L. DeVault

WILEY

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Published by John Wiley & Sons, Inc., Hoboken, New Jersey. Published simultaneously in Canada.

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Taylor, Steven L. 1949-

Introduction to qualitative research methods: a guidebook and resource / Steven J. Taylor, Robert Bogdan, Marjorie L. DeVault.—4th edition.

pugos em

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-118-76721-4 (cloth) - ISBN 978-1-118-767306 (epdf) - ISBN 978-1-118-76729-0 (epdb)

1. Social sciences-Research-Methodology 2. Sociology-Rosearch-Methodology. 3. Qualitative research.

I. Bogdan, Robert II. DeVault, Marjorie L., 1990- III. Title.

H61 T385 2016 001 4'2-dc23

2015013787

Cover design: Wiley

Cover image: USStock/urbancow

Printed in the United States of America

2004), and psychology (Camic, Rhodes, & Yardley, 2003; Fischer, 2005; Qualitative Research in Psychology) have seen the publication of edited books, texts, and journals on qualitative research methods over the past decade and a half. The American Psychological Association started publishing the journal Qualitative Psychology in 2014. Qualitative methods have been used for program evaluation and policy research (Bogdan & Taylor, 1990; Guba & Lincoln, 1989; M. Q. Patton 1987, 2008, 2010, 2014; Rist 1994). Journals and texts on qualitative research can be found in such diverse applied areas of inquiry as health care and nursing (Latimer, 2003; Munhall, 2012; Streubert & Carpenter, 2010; Qualitative Health Research), mental health, counseling, and psychotherapy (Harper & Thompson, 2011; McLeod, 2011), education (Bogdan & Biklen, 2006; International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education; Lichtman, 2010; Qualitative Research in Education), music education (Conway, 2014), public health (Ulin, Robinson, & Tolley, 2005), business (Meyers, 2013), theology (Swinton & Mowat, 2006), disability studies (Ferguson et al., 1992), human development (Daly, 2007; Jessor, Colby, & Shweder, 1996), social work (Sherman & and Reid, 1994; Qualitative Social Work), and special education (Stainback & Stainback, 1988).

One does not have to be a sociologist or to think sociologically to practice qualitative research. Although we identify with a sociological tradition, qualitative approaches can be used in a broad range of disciplines and fields.

Just as significant as the increasing interest in qualitative research methods has been the proliferation of theoretical perspectives rooted in the phenomenological tradition underlying this form of inquiry. We consider the relationship between theory and methodology more fully later in this chapter.

QUALITATIVE METHODOLOGY

The phrase qualitative methodology refers in the broadest sense to research that produces descriptive data—people's own written or spoken words and observable behavior. As Ray Rist (1977) pointed out, qualitative methodology, like quantitative methodology, is more than a set of data-gathering techniques. It is a way of approaching the empirical world. In this section we present our notion of qualitative research.

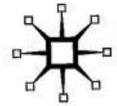
 Qualitative researchers are concerned with the meaning people attach to things in their lives. Central to the phenomenological perspective and hence qualitative research is understanding people from their own frames of reference and

Taylor's study of World War II conscientious objectors, or COs, started when a colleague showed him a monograph titled Out of Sight, Out of Mind edited by Wright (1947). The monograph contained graphic accounts of institutional abuse and neglect and was published by a group named the National Mental Health Foundation. Although Taylor had studied the history of state institutions for people with psychiatric and intellectual disabilities in America and written about public exposés of these institutions, he was only vaguely familiar with exposés of state mental hospitals and training schools in the 1940s. He had never heard of the National Mental Health Foundation, even though Out of Sight, Out of Mind listed a series of prominent national sponsors and supporters, including Eleanor Roosevelt, wife of deceased President FDR; Walter Reuther, labor leader; and Henry Luce, founder of Time magazine. The monograph only mentioned in passing that the accounts had been written by COs. Taylor was intrigued that he and colleagues knowledgeable about the history of institutions were unfamiliar with or only vaguely aware of this history.

Historical researchers distinguish between primary and secondary sources. Primary sources are documents or artifacts created during the time under study and can include reports, letters, photos, newsletters, diaries, and similar materials. Secondary sources are secondhand accounts by people attempting to analyze and interpret an activity or event. Some sociologists and others write historical accounts based solely on secondary sources, but primary sources are generally considered essential for sound historical research.

Taylor first searched for secondary sources on World War II COs. He found several books that described the Civilian Public Service, which was established to oversee nonmilitary service conducted by COs who were conscientiously opposed to participation in the military based on religious training and beliefs. Although these books had little to say about COs assigned to state institutions, they helped Taylor understand the religious backgrounds of the COs and the organizations that worked hard to convince the government to permit religious objectors to perform alternative service. Just as important, these secondary sources cited primary sources and listed repositories of archival materials on the World War II COs. Archival researchers can use the same snowball technique employed by participant observers and interviewers: study documents to identify other potentially fruitful sources. One document leads to others, which lead to others, which lead to others. Through this process, Taylor identified two other books that focused on specific aspects of the work of COs at state institutions.





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First published 2008 by PALGRAVE MACMILLAN Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS and 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10010 Companies and representatives throughout the world

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ISBN-13: 978-0-230-57408-3 hardback ISBN-10: 0-230-57408-4 hardback ISBN-13: 978-0-230-57409-0 paperback ISBN-10: 0-230-57409-2 paperback

This book is printed on paper suitable for recycling and made from fully managed and sustained forest sources. Logging, pulping and manufacturing processes are expected to conform to the environmental regulations of the country of origin.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 17 16 15 14 13 12 11 10 09 08

Printed and bound in China

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Some of the tenets of CDA can already be found in the critical theory of the Frankfurt School before the Second World War (Agger, 1992b; Rasmussen, 1996). Its current focus on language and discourse was initiated with the 'critical linguistics' that emerged (mostly in the UK and Australia) at the end of the 1970s (Fowler et al., 1979; see also Mey, 1985). CDA has also counterparts in 'critical' developments in sociolinguistics, psychology and the social sciences, some already dating back to the early 1970s (Birnbaum, 1971; Calhoun, 1995; Fay, 1987; Fox and Prilleltensky, 1997; Hymes, 1972; Ilyana and fair to the control of the c

male editors exclude women from writing economic news (van Zoonen, 1994).

Similarly, genres typically have conventional schemas consisting of various categories. Access to some of these may be prohibited or obligatory, e.g., some greetings in a conversation may only be used by speakers of a

specific social group, rank, age, or gender (Irvine, 1974).

Also vital for all discourse and communication is who controls the topics (semantic macrostructures) and topic change, as when editors decide what news topics will be covered (Gans, 1979; van Dijk, 1988a, 1988b), professors decide what topics will be dealt with in class, or men control topics and topic change in conversations with women (Palmer, 1989; Fishman, 1983; Leet-Pellegrini, 1980; Lindegren-Lerman, 1983).

Although most discourse control is contextual or global, even local details of meaning, form, or style may be controlled, e.g., the details of an answer in class or court, or choice of lexical items or jargon in courtrooms, classrooms or newsrooms (Martín Rojo, 1994). In many situations, volume may be controlled and speakers ordered to 'keep their voice down', or to 'keep quiet', women may be 'silenced' in many ways (Houston and Kramarae, 1991), and in some cultures one needs to 'mumble' as a form of respect (Albert, 1972). The public use of specific words may be banned as subversive in a dictatorship, and discursive challenges to culturally dominant groups (e.g., white, western males) by their multicultural opponents may be ridiculed in the media as 'politically correct' (Williams, 1995). And finally, action and interaction dimensions of discourse may be controlled by prescribing or proscribing specific speech acts, and by selectively distributing or interrupting turns (see also Diamond, 1996). In sum, virtually all levels and structures of context, text and talk can in principle be more or less controlled by powerful speakers, and such power may be abused at the expense of other participants. It should, however, be stressed that talk and text do not always and directly enact or embody the overall power relations between groups: it is always the context that may interfere with, reinforce, or otherwise transform such relationships.



Critical Discourse Analysis

Theory and Interdisciplinarity

Edited by Gilbert Weiss and Ruth Wodak



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First published 2003 by
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN
Houndmills, Basignstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS and
175 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10010
Companies and representatives throughout the world

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ISBN 0-333-97023-3 hardback

This book is printed on paper suitable for recycling and made from fully managed and sustained forest sources.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Critical discourse analysis: theory and interdisciplinarity/edited by Gilbert Weiss and Ruth Wodak.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-333-97023-3 (hardback)

Discourse analysis.
 Interdisciplinary approach to knowledge.
 Weiss, Gilbert.
 Wodak. Ruth.
 1950–

P302.C6858 2002

401'.41-dc21

2002030260

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 12 11 10 09 08 07 06 05 04 03

Printed and bound in Great Britain by Antony Rowe Ltd, Chippenham and Eastbourne in an organization or by a group, we often do so in terms of 'culture'. Whereas in several other disciplines the cognitive and the social dimensions of knowledge have seldom been fruitfully combined, cognitive anthropology is one of the interdisciplines where such an integration has proved to be very successful.

Similar remarks may be made for the notion of discourse, which also has philosophical, linguistic, cognitive, social and cultural dimensions – and of course historical ones (instead of providing a vast bibliography here, I may refer to the chapters contributed to van Dijk, 1997). That means that also the interface between discourse and knowledge needs to be multidisciplinary. This is not surprising when we realize that they mutually need and presuppose each other: discourse production and understanding is impossible without knowledge, and knowledge acquisition and change usually presupposes discourse. Indeed, it has been claimed that whatever is socially relevant of knowledge is usually also expressed in text or talk.

Given the obvious limitations of a single chapter, we can only examine some of the many properties of this complex interface between discourse and knowledge. Although all dimensions mentioned above are closely interrelated, I shall focus on the cognitive and semantic aspects of the discourse-knowledge interface, also because the social aspects of knowledge are much better known in CDA, as is the case for the work of Foucault, Gumperz and Bourdieu among others. It is in this interface that we are able to bridge the fundamental gap between knowledge (and hence the mind), and discourse meaning (and hence social interaction), and hence between discourse and society and discourse and culture.

Knowledge analysis and CDA

It is not the main task of this chapter to spell out extensively the relationships between what we may call 'epistemic analysis' and CDA. We first have to establish what epistemic analysis is in the first place, since in discourse analysis that is not a very common enterprise.

However, there are some obvious links between CDA and the study of the relations between knowledge and discourse structures. One of the general aims of CDA is to study the discursive reproduction of dominance (power abuse) and its consequences on social inequality (van Dijk, 1993b). Such social power relations are based on the preferential access to or control over scarce social resources by the dominant group. These resources are not only material, but also symbolic (see also Bourdieu's (1988) notion of 'symbolic capital'), and knowledge as well as access to public discourse are among the major symbolic power resources of contemporary society. In order to study power and its abuse, it is therefore crucial to understand how exactly powerful groups and institutions (such as media universities and so on) manage

critical of the present social order. van Dijk (1993) writes that the targets of Critical Discourse Analysis are power elites that sustain social inequality and injustice. Critical discourse analysts do not see themselves as conventional discourse analysts who happen to have radical or progressive views, as if social or political criticism were something additional to their academic work. Instead, Critical Discourse Analysis is seen to be a means of criticising the social order. This delineates today's critical studies from Kantian, Popperian or Piagetian critical study. Critical Discourse Analysis does not claim to be 'critical' because of a technical or methodological difference from other approaches to the study of language. It is claimed that Critical Discourse Analysis, like critical psychology or critical social policy, is critical because it is rooted in a radical critique of social relations.

Second, following from the commitment to radical critique, critical approaches position themselves as being critical of other academic approaches that are not primarily addressed to the critique of existing patterns of dominance and inequality. In particular, critical approaches contrast themselves with disciplines/paradigms/theories whose theoretical and methodological assumptions seem to exclude direct political or radical analyses. Fairclough writes that 'critical approaches differ from non-critical approaches in not just describing discursive practices, but also showing how discourse is shaped by relations of power and ideologies' (1992a, p. 12). Critical discourse analysts are likely to view the approaches of both traditional linguistics and conversation analysis as being 'non-critical', because their perspectives seem to

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ignore the connections between language and power. Both such approaches focus on technical aspects of language so that the analytic tools are devoted



SECOND EDITION



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Printed in the United States of America

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Last digit is print number: 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Yin, Robert K.

Qualitative research from start to finish / Robert K. Yin.—Second Edition. pages cm

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-4625-1797-8 (pbk.)—ISBN 978-1-4625-2134-0 (hardcover)

 Qualitative research.
 Research—Methodology.
 Social sciences— Research.
 Title.

H62.Y57 2015 001.4'2—dc23

2014047826

What Is Qualitative Research and Why Might You Consider Doing Such Research?

This chapter introduces qualitative research, initially illustrating it with a topically diverse group of published studies. Their breadth indicates the potential relevance and allure of qualitative research: Unlike other social science methods, virtually every real-world happening can become the topic of a qualitative study. The chapter then discusses five features that together define qualitative research, independent of its topical diversity.

Doing qualitative research means understanding that it is a craft, marked by the challenge of doing original research and pursuing three important objectives: transparency, methodicness, and adherence to evidence. Researchers also can bring their own belief system or worldview as the motivating force for defining and conducting research in the first place. The chapter discusses the origins and choices among worldviews, which range from positivism to constructivism and also include a rich middle ground consisting of postpositivist, critical theory, transformative, and pragmatist worldviews.

The chapter suggests that a pragmatist worldview may take best advantage of the full array of qualitative research's methods and procedures. All are covered in the remainder of the present book. The book's inductive platform, based on numerous existing research studies, shows how these methods and procedures have been successfully used in the past.

A. The Allure of Qualitative Research: A Topical Panorama of Studies

Why might you want to do qualitative research? One response is that you would like to understand how people cope in their real-world settings. Because quali-

PREVIEW-What you should learn from this section:

1. The broad variety of topics