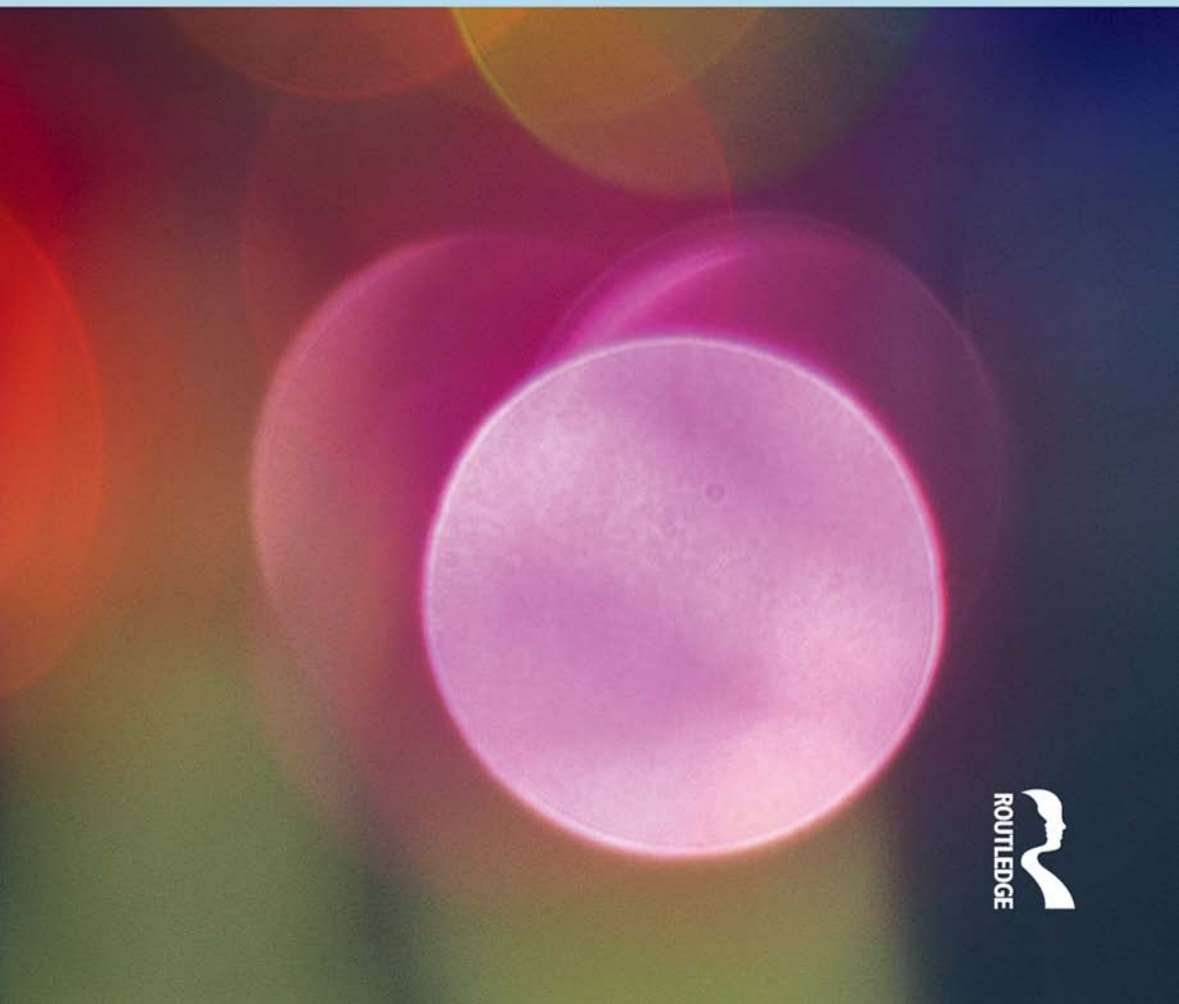
Second Edition

Critical Discourse Analysis

The Critical Study of Language

Norman Fairclough



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NORMAN FAIRCLOUGH

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Series editor's preface

Critical Discourse Analysis, in its first edition in 1995, along with its predecessor *Language in Power*, created in the world of applied linguistics and discourse analysis a way and a means of systematically approaching the relationships between language and social structure which has now not only extended across those worlds but also had its impact across social science more generally. It would be no exaggeration to say that those two books, along with Norman Fairclough's other key texts, notably *Discourse and Social Change*, and his numerous papers and edited collections, changed the face of the social analysis of language.

Critical Discourse Analysis in its first edition offered a range of students of linguistics, applied linguistics and language study, as well as communication research in professions and organisations more generally, a framework and a means of exploring the imbrications between language and social-institutional practices, and beyond these, the intimate links between language as discourse and broader social and political structures. A key innovation at that time was to critique some of the premises and the constructs underpinning mainstream studies in sociolinguistics, conversation analysis and pragmatics to demonstrate the need of these disciplines to engage with issues of power and hegemony in a dynamic and historically informed manner, while at the same time insisting on the dynamic and polysystemic description of language variation. Indeed, the focus on the dynamics of discourse has proved especially productive for students of professional discourses such as those of law, politics, social work, healthcare, language and literacy education. This is very much a consequence of his viewing critical discourse analysis as *relational* research. Indeed, making interrelations matter (whether among, and within, institutions of the social order and between them, or the social formation more generally) links

serendipitously with applied linguistic calls in recent years for just such connections. Indeed, Norman Fairclough has offered those practitioners whose work is most obviously discoursed and languaged a means whereby they, now often in collaboration with critical discourse analysts, can describe, interpret and proffer explanations how their practices are discursively accomplished, suggesting a way of clarifying the ideologically informed bases of the purposes and methods of the professions themselves. At the same time, his focus on the *dialectics* of discourse does not just provide a motivation for intellectual debate, but also directly engages the understanding of *interdiscursivity* and its relation to those semiotic modalities within and through which interdiscursivity is realised, highlighting what he calls the two-way 'flow' of discourse to and from sociological/political constructs such as hegemony and power. Here again, his formulations speak directly to applied linguists engaged in understanding the focal themes of contemporary social institutions. His discussion in this new edition of how participants, in his terms, construe their worlds, and how they reflexively seek to change aspects of such worlds, to reconstruct them, offers considerable backing to those researchers and participants intent on pursuing a reflexive and critical agenda. Workers in the fields of communication in healthcare, social work, language and literacy education, restorative justice, political agency, have come to rely on his formulations and theorising almost as a manifesto for action. I use the word 'manifesto' in its true sense; as a statement of commitment to principle but also as a blueprint for practical action. This is important if we are not to regard critical discourse analysis, as Norman Fairclough manifestly does *not*, as merely a politically inspired approach to analysing language, as it were, reading and seeking to change society 'off the page'. Nothing could be further from the truth as this new edition, greatly expanded with more recent papers and new sections, makes abundantly clear.

The papers in this collection represent a formidable treatise on critical discourse analysis from perhaps its leading exponent. To strike a personal note, they go back to the early days of the formulation of such ideas when we were colleagues at Lancaster; but now greatly enhanced both in terms of their scope, their theoretical base, and also their influence. They provide the basis for understanding the theoretical underpinnings of critical discourse analysis but also the substance and warrant of its immense influence on research practice.

What are the key elements of this new edition for applied linguists engaged with the critical exploration of discourse? Readers will discover many. For me, firstly, it is the insistence throughout on what Norman refers to as *transdisciplinary* research. This is not merely to be seen, however, as forging links between discourse study and sociology, politics, anthropology, *inter alia*, central though that is to his theme, it is also *trans-professional* in enabling discourse workers to collaborate with workers in other fields and disciplines

in a programme of exploring praxis. There are now rather many examples of just such transdisciplinary work. Secondly, it is the engagement of structure with strategy – again not necessarily at all focused on the macro contexts of the social formation, though clearly Norman's work speaks to that directly, but also in the exploration of the micro interactional order, addressing how strategic actions always are imbued with the influences of the institutional structural order, however naturalised. Here Norman Fairclough comes closest to the work of Bourdieu and of Cicourel, though with a distinctive engagement: one might venture to say this is the key trio underpinning current work in applied linguistics. Readers of the first edition of *Critical Discourse Analysis* will have found expression there, as they will do now even more substantially in this much expanded new edition, of his abiding concern for the relevance of critical discourse analytical research as an contributive agent for social change; in education, in the media, in the political order, and in respect of the economic drivers of contemporary society. It is this which has both raised hopes and stimulated action; it is also, we must acknowledge, a central focus of contention within the linguistic and applied linguistic community. Here we can emphasise a shift over time, from negative to positively motivated critique. That also derives from a broader understanding of 'critical' than has often been advanced in discussions of his work. Critical after all is not just even primarily, *criticism*, neither is it only a matter of focusing on *critical* moments in interaction (although that for many is a mainspring of engaging with discourse analysis at all); it is primarily, for me at least, a seeking of the means of explaining data in the context of social and political and institutional analysis, and in terms of *critiquing* ideologically invested modes of explaining and interpreting, but always with the sights set on positively motivated change. In this way, text analysis (however multimodal), interaction analysis (however framed), ethnographic study (however voiced) have always to be seen as each interpenetrating the other in the context of a historically and politically engaged understanding of the social order.

Such a picturing of critical discourse analysis is not as it were *sui generis*; it has its intellectual antecedents as Norman Fairclough amply displays in this new edition. More than that, however, it provides a foundation for, and a practically motivated reasoning for, the aspirations of a socially committed applied linguistics across a range of domains, sites and focal themes.

Christopher N. Candlin
Program in Communication in Professions and Organisations
Department of Linguistics
Macquarie University, Sydney
Australia

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for Our Country: A New Contract for Welfare (Green Paper on Welfare Reform); Chapter 18, pp. 469–70, extract from article 'Police prepare to make thousands of arrests at G8', *Daily Telegraph*, 12 June 2005; Chapter 18, p. 472 and Chapter 22, pp. 546–7, extracts from MacDonald, R. (1994) 'Fiddly jobs, undeclared working and something for nothing society', *Work, Employment and Society*, 8(4); Appendix 20.1 from *A Strategic Goal for the Next Decade, Lisbon Declaration* (*European Councils*), reproduced with permission from the European Communities.

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Norman Fairclough would also like to warmly thank the co-authors of papers included in this book (Eve Chiapello, Phil Graham, Bob Jessop, Simon Pardoe, Andrew Sayer, Bron Szerszynski) for the contribution which these various collaborations have made to the development of his thinking about critical discourse analysis.

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General introduction

This book is a collection of twenty-three papers in critical discourse analysis (CDA) which I have written, or in the case of four of them co-authored, over a period of 25 years, between 1983 and 2008. It is a substantial revision of the much shorter first edition of *Critical Discourse Analysis* which was published in 1995 and contained just ten papers. I have retained six of these, and added seventeen new ones. I have grouped the papers in seven sections of which three (*Language, Ideology and Power*; *Discourse and Social Change*; *Language and Education*) correspond to sections in the first edition, while the other four (*Dialectics of Discourse: Theoretical Developments*; *Methodology*; *Political Discourse*; *Globalisation and 'Transition'*) reflect ways in which my work has developed since 1995. Although these sections do I think give a reasonable sense of main elements and emphases, there are inevitably some thematic overlaps between them.

My original formulation of the broad objective of my work in CDA still holds: to develop ways of analysing language which address its involvement in the workings of contemporary capitalist societies. The focus on capitalist societies is not only because capitalism is the dominant economic system internationally as well in Britain (where I have spent most of life), but also because the character of the economic system affects all aspects of social life. I am not suggesting a mechanical 'economic determinism', but the main areas of social life are interdependent and have effects on each other, and because of the dominance of the economy in contemporary societies its effects are particularly strong and pervasive. For instance, the 'neo-liberal' version of capitalism which has been dominant for the past thirty years is widely recognised to have entailed major changes in politics, in the nature of work, education and healthcare, in social and moral values, in lifestyles, and so forth.

I am working within a tradition of critical social research which is focused on better understanding of how and why contemporary capitalism prevents or limits, as well as in certain respects facilitating, human well-being and flourishing. Such understanding may, in favourable circumstances, contribute to overcoming or at least mitigating these obstacles and limits. This possibility follows from a property of the social world which differentiates it from the natural world: the meanings and concepts through which people interpret it and the knowledge they have of it are part of the social world and can contribute to transforming the rest of it (Bhaskar 1979).

My objective in publishing this book also remains the same as for the first edition: to bring together in a single place papers which have appeared in diverse and sometimes rather inaccessible locations in order to show continuities, developments and changes in one line of work within CDA. Other books I have published are also part of this picture, and I shall indicate some of the relationships between them and the papers in this volume in separate introductions to each of the sections, which summarise the papers and identify salient themes. I have kept the title *Critical Discourse Analysis* despite being conscious that it might seem misleading (and even more so in 2009 than in 1995) to use the name of what has become a substantial and diverse international field of teaching and research as the title for a collection of papers representing one line of work and tendency within this greater whole – though I think it is true to say that it has been an influential one. So let me stress that this is no more than my own particular view, changing over the years, of the field of CDA. But of course, in choosing to take this view rather than others I am suggesting that it is preferable in certain respects to others, so it is also *no less* than my own view of what CDA should be!

Colleagues in and beyond the field of CDA have contributed a great deal to the development of my views. Some of them are present in the book as co-authors (Eve Chiapello, Phil Graham, Bob Jessop, Simon Pardoe, Andrew Sayer, Bron Szerszynski), the many others include, within the field of CDA, Lilie Chouliaraki, Romy Clark, Isabela Ieţcu-Fairclough, Roz Ivanič, Jay Lemke, Gunther Kress, Ron Scollon, Teun van Dijk, Theo van Leeuwen and Ruth Wodak, as well as my former research students and members of the Lancaster 'Language, Ideology and Power' research group over a period of some twenty years, and more recently the Bucharest 'Re-scaling Romania' research group. My considerable debts to past and present researchers in CDA and other areas of study that I have not worked with so directly are partially indicated in the references at the end of the book.

I shall begin by giving my views on *discourse* and on what critical discourse analysis should be analysis *of*, on what should count as *analysis*, and what

critical analysis should be. In doing so I shall be taking a position not only *on* CDA but also *in* CDA: in suggesting what discourse, analysis and critique are I will also be suggesting what they are not, and differentiating my position from that of others. I also suggest certain general measures to determine what research and analysis counts as CDA or does not count as CDA. I then discuss how CDA including my own work has contributed to critical social research on the 'neo-liberal' form of capitalism which has been internationally dominant over the past thirty years or so. This will lead to a 'manifesto' for CDA in the changing circumstances at the time of writing: a financial and economic crisis which promises to be severe in its effects and serious in its consequences. I shall discuss what role CDA can have, what it should be trying to achieve, and in particular how it might contribute to responses to the crisis which seek to tackle the difficulties and dangers that face us and enhance human well-being.

1 Discourse, analysis, critique

In my view CDA has these three basic properties: it is relational, it is dialectical, and it is transdisciplinary. It is a *relational* form of research in the sense that its primary focus in not on entities or individuals (in which I include both things and persons) but on social relations (see further Paper 12, pages 301–40). Social relations are very complex, and they are also 'layered' in the sense that they include 'relations between relations'. For example, 'discourse' might be seen as some sort of entity or 'object', but it is itself a complex set of relations including relations of communication between people who talk, write and in other ways communicate with each other, but also, for example, describe relations between concrete communicative events (conversations, newspaper articles etc.) and more abstract and enduring complex discursive 'objects' (with their own complex relations) like languages, discourses and genres. But there are also relations between discourse and other such complex 'objects' including objects in the physical world, persons, power relations and institutions, which are interconnected elements in social activity or praxis. The main point for present purposes is that we cannot answer the question 'what is discourse' except in terms of both its 'internal' relations and its 'external' relations with such other 'objects'. Discourse is not simply an entity we can define independently: we can only arrive at an understanding of it by analysing sets of relations. Having said that, we can say what it is in particular that discourse brings into the complex relations which constitute social life: meaning, and making meaning.

These relations are in my view *dialectical*, and it is the dialectical character of these relations that really makes it clear why simply defining 'discourse' as a

separate 'object' is not possible. Dialectical relations are relations between objects which are different from one another but not what I shall call 'discrete', not fully separate in the sense that one excludes the other. This sounds paradoxical, and indeed in a certain sense it is. Let us consider 'external' relations between discourse and other 'objects'. Think of power and discourse. The power of, for instance, the people who control a modern state (the relation of power between them and the rest of the people) is partly discursive in character. For example, it depends on sustaining the 'legitimacy' of the state and its representatives, which is largely achieved in discourse. Yet state power also includes the capacity to use physical force and violence. So power is not simply discourse, it is not reducible to discourse; 'power' and 'discourse' are different elements in the social process (or in a dialectical terminology, different 'moments'). Yet power is partly discourse, and discourse is partly power – they are different but not discrete, they 'flow into' each other; discourse can be 'internalised' in power and vice-versa; the complex realities of power relations are 'condensed' and simplified in discourses (Harvey 1996). Social activity or praxis consists in complex articulations of these and other objects as its elements or moments; its analysis is analysis of dialectical relations between them, and no one object or element (such as discourse) can be analysed other than in terms of its dialectical relations with others.

What then is CDA analysis *of*? It is *not* analysis of discourse 'in itself' as one might take it to be, but analysis of dialectical *relations between* discourse and other objects, elements or moments, as well as analysis of the 'internal relations' of discourse. And since analysis of such relations cuts across conventional boundaries between disciplines (linguistics, politics, sociology and so forth), CDA is an interdisciplinary form of analysis, or as I shall prefer to call it a *transdisciplinary* form. What this term entails is that the 'dialogues' between disciplines, theories and frameworks which take place in doing analysis and research are a source of theoretical and methodological developments within the particular disciplines, theories and frameworks in dialogue – including CDA itself (see Section D, Methodology in CDA research).

Note that this is a *realist* approach which claims that there is a real world, including the social world, which exists irrespective of whether or how well we know and understand it. More specifically it is a 'critical realist' approach (see Papers 8 and 13), which means among other things a recognition that the natural and social worlds differ in that the latter but not the former depends upon human action for its existence and is 'socially constructed'. The socially constructive effects of discourse are thus a central concern, but a distinction is drawn between *construal* and *construction*: the world is discursively construed (or represented) in many and various ways, but which construals come

to have socially constructive effects depends upon a range of conditions which include for instance power relations but also properties of whatever parts or aspects of the world are being construed. We cannot transform the world in any old way we happen to construe it; the world is such that some transformations are possible and others are not. So CDA is a 'moderate' or 'contingent' form of social constructivism.

So much for 'discourse' and what CDA is analysis of. Let me come to 'analysis'. Given that CDA should be transdisciplinary analysis, it should have a transdisciplinary methodology (see Section D and especially Paper 9). I use 'methodology' rather than 'method', because I see analysis as not just the selection and application of pre-established methods (including methods of textual analysis), but a theory-driven process of constructing *objects of research* (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992) for research topics, i.e., for research themes as they initially present themselves to us (for instance, the current financial and economic crisis). Constructing an object of research for a research topic is converting it into a 'researchable object': cogent, coherent and researchable research questions. For instance, faced with the topic of the current financial and economic crisis which I discuss further below, we have to ask: what are the best, or the right, or the primary research questions to try to answer? Objects of research are constructed in a transdisciplinary way on the basis of theorising research topics in terms of the categories and relations of not only a theory of discourse (such as that of the version of CDA I work with) but also other relevant theories. These may be, depending on the topic, political, sociological, political–economic, educational, media and/or other theories.

Objects of research constructed in this transdisciplinary way allow for various 'points of entry' for the discourse analyst, the sociologist, the political economist and so forth, which focus upon different elements or aspects of the object of research. For instance the discourse analyst will focus on discourse, but never in isolation, always in its relations with other elements, and always in ways which accord with the formulation of the common object of research. For example, one object of research for the topic of 'the crisis' could be the emergence of different and competing strategies for overcoming the crisis, and the processes through which and the conditions under which certain strategies can be implemented and can transform existing systems and structures. This formulation is based upon a theory of crisis which among other things sees crises as events which arise from the character of structures, and sees strategies and structures as in a relationship such that the effects of structures give rise to strategies oriented to changing structures. If it also sees strategies as having a partly discursive character, one 'point of entry' for research could be focused

on discursive features of strategies and how they may contribute to their success or failure. This might include for instance analysis of explanations of the crisis and attributions of blame, justifications for and legitimations of particular lines of action and policy, and value claims and assumptions in explanations, justifications and legitimations.

Bringing diverse theories or frameworks together to co-construct transdisciplinary objects of research gives rise to issues of 'translation' between the concepts, categories and relations of CDA and of other theories or frameworks. Let's take the case of theories of and frameworks for analysing relations of power. Since research will be concerned with dialectical relations between discourse and power, the challenge is to find ways of coherently connecting categories and relations such as 'discourse', 'genre', 'recontextualisation' and 'argumentation' (from discourse theory) with categories and relations such as 'power', 'hegemony', 'ideology' and 'legitimacy' (from political theory). Given a particular theory of power, how can we coherently articulate its categories and relations with those of a theory of discourse so as to analyse ways in which discourse is internalised in power and power is internalised in discourse, that is, so as to be able to analyse dialectical relations between discourse and power for the particular topic and object of research? It is not a matter of substituting discourse-analytical categories and relations for political ones, or vice-versa. It is a matter of recognising the need for them to be separate (power is not *just* discourse, discourse is not *just* power) yet avoiding incoherent eclecticism. It is a matter of the translatability or *commensurability* (Jessop and Sum 2006) of concepts, categories and relations: a concern in transdisciplinary research is to both assess how good the match is between concepts, categories and relations from different theories and frameworks, and move towards increasing it. (An example is the category of 'recontextualisation' which was developed in sociology (Bernstein 1990) but interpreted in terms of CDA categories (including 'genre') in a way that increased the commensurability between the two (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999. See further below.) In doing so we are achieving an aim of transdisciplinary research which I mentioned above – using the dialogue between different disciplines or theories as the source of the theoretical or methodological development of each.

For CDA, analysis of course includes analysis of texts. Many methods of textual analysis have been developed in linguistics (phonetics, phonology, grammar, semantics, lexicology), pragmatics, stylistics, sociolinguistics, argumentation analysis, literary criticism, anthropology, conversation analysis and so forth. In principle any such methods might be recontextualised within CDA, though note that this implies that they may need to be adapted to fit in

with CDA's principles and purposes. The particular selection of methods for a particular research project depends upon the object of research which is constructed for the research topic. But the version of CDA I work with has a general method: textual analysis has a dual character. It is firstly *interdiscursive* analysis, analysis of which discourses, genres and styles are drawn upon in a text and how they are articulated together. This mode of analysis is based on the view that texts can and generally do draw upon and articulate together multiple discourses, multiple genres, and multiple styles. And it is secondly *linguistic* analysis or, for many texts, *multimodal* analysis of the different semiotic 'modes' (including language, visual images, body language, music and sound effects) and their articulation. The level of interdiscursive analysis is a mediating 'interlevel': on the one hand, discourses, genres and styles are realised in the more concrete form of linguistic and multimodal features of texts; on the other hand, discourses, genres and styles are categories not only of textual analysis but also of analysis of orders of discourse, which are the discoursal element or moment of social practices, social organisations and social institutions. Analysis in terms of these categories therefore helps to link 'micro-analysis' of texts to various forms of social (sociological, political and so forth) analysis of practices, organisations and institutions.

Let me turn to the third question, what is critique, what is *critical* discourse analysis? Critique brings a normative element into analysis (on normative social research, see Sayer 2005). It focuses on what is wrong with a society (an institution, an organisation etc.), and how 'wrongs' might be 'righted' or mitigated, from a particular normative standpoint. Critique is grounded in values, in particular views of the 'good society' and of human well-being and flourishing, on the basis of which it evaluates existing societies and possible ways of changing them. For instance, many people (though not all) would agree that societies ought to be just or fair, ought to ensure certain freedoms, and ought to provide for certain basic needs of their members (for food, shelter, healthcare etc.). The devil of course is in the detail: people have very different ideas of justice, freedom and need, and critical social research is necessarily involved in debates over the meaning of these and other value-related concepts. The crucial point, however, is that critique assesses what exists, what might exist and what should exist on the basis of a coherent set of values. At least to some extent this is a matter of highlighting gaps between what particular societies claim to be ('fair', 'democratic', 'caring' etc.) and what they are. We can distinguish between *negative critique*, which is analysis of how societies produce and perpetuate social wrongs, and *positive critique*, which is analysis of how people seek to remedy or mitigate them, and identification of further possibilities for righting or mitigating them.

A primary focus of CDA is on the effect of power relations and inequalities in producing social wrongs, and in particular on discursive aspects of power relations and inequalities: on dialectical relations between discourse and power, and their effects on other relations within the social process and their elements. This includes questions of *ideology*, understanding ideologies to be 'meaning in the service of power' (Thompson 1984): ways of representing aspects of the world, which may be operationalised in ways of acting and interacting and in 'ways of being' or identities, that contribute to establishing or sustaining unequal relations of power (see Section A). This focuses on the function of ideologies (in serving power), but ideologies are also open to critique on the grounds that they represent or explain aspects of the world inadequately. This leads to another way of answering the question 'what is critique?' with radical implications for CDA: it identifies critique of discourse as an inherent part of *any* application of critical method in social research.

Critical analysis aims to produce interpretations and explanations of areas of social life which both identify the causes of social wrongs and produce knowledge which could (in the right conditions) contribute to righting or mitigating them. But interpretations and explanations already exist – inevitably, because a necessary part of living and acting in particular social circumstances is interpreting and explaining them. So along with and as part of the areas of social life which critical researchers research, they find interpretations and explanations of them. These interpretations and explanations moreover include not only those of the people who live and act in particular circumstances, but also of those who seek to govern or regulate the ways in which they do so, including politicians and managers. And critical researchers will almost certainly find not only these interpretations and explanations but also prior interpretations and explanations of social researchers, historians, philosophers etc. Furthermore, it is a feature of the social world that interpretations and explanations of it can have effects upon it, can transform it in various ways. A critique of some area of social life must therefore be in part a critique of interpretations and explanations of social life. And since interpretations and explanations are discourse, it must be in part a critique of discourse.

But the critical analyst, in producing different interpretations and explanations of that area of social life, is also producing discourse. On what grounds can we say that this critical discourse is superior to the discourse which its critique is partly a critique of? The only basis for claiming superiority is providing explanations which have greater explanatory power. The explanatory power of a discourse (or a theory, which is a special sort of discourse) is its ability to provide justified explanations of as many features of the area of social life in focus as possible. So we can say that it is a matter of both quantity (the

number or range of features) and quality (justification). One aspect of the matter of quantity is the extent to which existing lay and non-lay interpretations and explanations are themselves explained, as well as their effects on social life, in terms of what it is or was about this area of social life that lead to these interpretations and explanations emerging, becoming dominant and being implemented. This is where ideology comes into the picture: interpretations and explanations can be said to be ideological if they can be shown to be not just inadequate but also necessary – necessary to establish and keep in place particular relations of power. On the matter of quality (justification), explanations are better than others if they are more consistent with whatever evidence exists, including what events take place or have taken place, how people act or have acted, what the effects of their actions are, and so forth. The relative explanatory power of different explanations, discourses and theories is of course an issue which is constantly in contention. A final point is that the explanatory power of a theory and an analysis informed by it contributes to its capacity to transform aspects of social life, which brings us back to dialectical relations between discourse and other social elements with respect to the aims of critique to not merely interpret the world but contribute to changing it.

This is a complex argument, but I think it is a strong one for CDA. Let me sum up its strengths. First, it repeats from a somewhat different vantage point my emphasis earlier on dialectical relations between discourse and other elements as a necessary part of social life. Second, it claims that critical analysis of discourse is a necessary part of any critical social analysis. Third, it provides a basis for determining which discourses (interpretations, explanations) are ideological. Fourth, it presents critical analysis as itself discourse which is dialectically related to other elements of social life. On this view of critique see Paper 12, and also Bhaskar (1979) and Marsden (1999).

The approach I have summarised in this section is based on a *transformational model* of social activity which is essentially Aristotelian in nature, 'in which the paradigm is that of the sculptor at work, fashioning a product out of the material and with the tools available' (Bhaskar 1979). Social activity is a form of production or work which both depends upon and transforms the material and tools available. Or to put it in different terms: in which society is both a condition for and an outcome of social activity, and social activity is both the production (which is transformative, effects changes) and the reproduction of the conditions of production (i.e., society). Moreover as I have suggested above social activity understood in this way consists in dialectical relations between different elements or moments including discourse. The view of discourse above conforms with the transformational model in that it fashions products (texts) out of available material and tools (languages, orders

of discourse, discourses, genres, styles etc.) which are its condition of possibility and which it both transforms and reproduces. What we might call *texturing*, producing text out of available material and tools, is one moment of social activity as work or production. But what must be emphasised is its dialectical interconnection with other moments in a process of production whose character we might sum up as material-semiotic. Analysis must seek to elucidate the complex interpenetration of material and semiotic (discoursal) moments, and resist treating text and texturing as having an existence independently of these dialectical relations.

2 What is CDA, and what is not CDA

Interest in CDA has increased quite remarkably since the publication of the first edition of *Critical Discourse Analysis*. It has spread to new areas of the world, and to a great many disciplines and areas of study (Fairclough, Graham, Lemke and Wodak 2001). The proliferation of researchers who are using CDA is very pleasing and very welcome. CDA has also become more institutionalised, in the sense that there are many more academic posts and programmes of study and research, and it has become more mainstream, and certainly more 'respectable' than it was in the early days.

I have the impression that, perhaps as a consequence of these developments, work is sometimes identified as 'CDA' which is arguably not CDA. If CDA becomes too ill-defined, or the answer to the question 'what is CDA?' becomes too vague, its value in social research and its appeal to researchers may be weakened. So I think it is important to discuss the question of what counts as CDA and what doesn't. My purpose in doing so is emphatically not to advocate conformity. On the contrary, the vitality of the field depends upon people taking CDA in different and new directions, and indeed the view of transdisciplinary research as a source of theoretical and methodological development amounts to advocating a continuing process of change. But I think it is possible to draw from the discussion above of discourse, analysis and critique a few general characteristics which can differentiate CDA from other forms of research and analysis. I suggest that research and analysis counts as CDA in so far as it has all of the following characteristics.

1. It is not just analysis of discourse (or more concretely texts), it is part of some form of systematic transdisciplinary analysis of relations between discourse and other elements of the social process.
2. It is not just general commentary on discourse, it includes some form of systematic analysis of texts.

3. It is not just descriptive, it is also normative. It addresses social wrongs in their discursive aspects and possible ways of righting or mitigating them.

I have tried to make these measures for determining what is and what is not CDA tight enough to work as measures, but loose enough to encompass and allow for many different existing and new versions of CDA. They are, and are designed to be, open to various interpretations. They are not 'rules': they should not be seen or used as regulative devices; they are designed to be helpful in drawing important distinctions. I hope others will take them up as suggestions which are, of course, open to modification. They do not exclude the possibility of making use of certain CDA categories and relations (e.g., interdiscursive analysis) in work which does not itself count as CDA – on the contrary, the transdisciplinary approach to research which I have suggested entails a way of developing theory and methodology through recontextualising categories and relations from other theories and frameworks. For example, *recontextualisation* itself is a relation which originates in Bernstein's 'social of pedagogy' (Bernstein 1990) but has been 'translated' into a relation within CDA by incorporating it into the system of categories and relations of the theory of CDA (see Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) for details).

3 CDA and neo-liberal capitalism

I have presented CDA above as a form of critical research which seeks to understand how contemporary capitalism in some respects enables but in other respects prevents or limits human well-being and flourishing, with a view to overcoming or mitigating these obstacles and limits. Much recent research has centred upon the 'new capitalism' (now not so new – indeed some commentators are beginning to call it 'old') which has been internationally dominant for the past thirty years or so, a restructuring of capitalism which emerged in response to the crisis in 'Fordist' economies and 'welfare states' in the 1970s. The capitalism of what we can call the 'neo-liberal' era has been characterised by, among other things, 'free markets' (the freeing of markets from state intervention and regulation), and attempts at reducing the state's responsibility for providing social welfare. It has involved a *restructuring* of relations between the economic, political, and social domains, including the extension of markets into social domains such as education, and focusing the role of the state and government on strengthening markets and competitiveness. It has also involved the *re-scaling* of relations between different scales of social life – the global, the regional (e.g., European Union), the national, and the local – which has facilitated the emergence of global markets.

Governments formed by mainstream parties of both left and right have embraced 'neo-liberalism', a political project (and ideology) for facilitating the restructuring and re-scaling of social relations in accord with the demands of an unrestrained global capitalism (Bourdieu 1998a). It has led to radical attacks on social welfare provision and the reduction of the protections that 'welfare states' provided for people against the effects of markets. It has also led to an increasing gap in income and wealth between rich and poor, increasing economic insecurity and stress, and an intensification of the exploitation of labour. The unrestrained emphasis on 'growth' also poses major threats to the environment. It has also produced a new imperialism in which international agencies under the tutelage of the US and its rich allies have imposed restructuring ('the Washington Consensus'), and which has more recently taken an increasingly military form (notably the invasion of Iraq). But there have been positive achievements in this period: for instance, there is truth in the claim of apologists for neo-liberalism that millions of people have been pulled out of absolute poverty during the neo-liberal era, though to what extent that is due to the specifically neo-liberal features of the era is open to question.

The lifespan of CDA (though not of critical analysis of discourse *per se*, which has a much longer history – see, for instance, Paper 12) matches quite closely the lifespan of this new form of capitalism, and it has made quite a substantial contribution to critical research on neo-liberal capitalism. A number of the papers in this book are part of this contribution, as are publications by many other CDA researchers (e.g., Graham 2000, 2001, 2002, forthcoming, Lemke 1995, Language in New Capitalism website, http://www.cddc.vt.edu/host/inc/). What has been the role of and the justification for a significant focus on discourse and language in this research? I have answered the question of justification in general terms above: because the relations which constitute the social process of neo-liberal capitalism include dialectical relations between its discursive and 'extra-discursive' elements – no account of it (or any of its elements and relations) which neglects discourse can be adequate. This is self-evidently so given the argument above, but it would also be self-evidently so for any social analysis, and it is the most general case for a discourse-analytical dimension of (or a 'discourse turn' in) social research. But there are certain more particular features of the neo-liberal era which make the case for a focus on discourse especially clear.

One irony of neo-liberalism is that at the time when most of the 'doctrinaire' socialist societies were imploding and the 'end of ideology' was being confidently predicted, a restructuring of capitalism clearly driven by explicit pre-constructed doctrine – which means driven by discourse – was taking

place. There was manifestly an 'imaginary' for neo-liberalism, a discourse of neo-liberalism, before strategies to operationalise and implement this imaginary and discourse in practice started to be effective. A liberal 'counter-revolution' against broadly social-democratic and 'statist' forms of capitalism had long been imagined and prepared by Friedrich Hayek, Milton Friedman and their followers. Moreover, this imaginary, discourse and ideology of neo-liberalism has continued to be crucial in justifying and legitimising neo-liberalism in its moments of crisis (such as the East Asian crisis of the late 1990s and its spread to other regions) and in its mission to internationalise and 'globalise' this form of capitalism (to extend and in principle universalise the 'Washington Consensus' – which it has not succeeded in doing). And, to anticipate the discussion of the current crisis, now that neo-liberal capitalism has come into what may be a terminal crisis, the crisis is clearly in part a crisis of its discourse. Furthermore, the imaginary for and partial reality of a 'knowledge-based economy' which came to be closely interwoven with the imaginary and partial reality of the 'global economy' in the neo-liberal era implies a more generally heightened significance for discourse in the dialectical relations of that form of capitalism. Much is 'discourse-driven'. For instance, the proliferation of ever new theories, models, imaginaries and discourses in the management of not only private organisations but also public organisations, not only in the economy but in many other spheres of social life (government, education, healthcare, social welfare, the arts), which are selectively and more or less effectively operationalised and implemented in new practices, identities and material forms (e.g., the design of built space).

Various aspects of the dialectical relations between discursive and non-discursive elements of neo-liberal capitalism and of its 'discourse-driven' character are addressed in papers in this book. A number of papers deal with New Labour in Britain, treating the politics of New Labour as a form of neo-liberalism and its discourse as a form of neo-liberal discourse (Papers 7, 9, 11 and 14). The focus is not only on the political discourse and ideology of the 'Third Way' but also political identities and styles, and on new forms of governance which accord with shifts in the role of the state in the neo-liberal era and whose discursive moment involves changes in the genres and 'genre chains' of governing. Papers 18 and 19 deal with what has become the internationally most powerful strategy for steering globalisation and the 'global economy', which I call 'globalism', and specifically its discourse. At the core of globalism is the strategic objective of spreading neo-liberal capitalism and neo-liberal discourse to all areas of the world, including, for instance, the formerly socialist 'transitional' countries of central and eastern Europe (the focus of Paper 20), a project which is widely identified with the 'Washington

Consensus' and the activities of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. Paper 19 focuses on the increasingly military character of the strategy of globalism and its connection to the 'war on terror'. Paper 4 deals with the imposition of markets in Higher Education in Britain, focusing again on its discourse moment and the marketisation of discourses, genres and styles, which is an illustration of the wider tendency for neo-liberal capitalism to incorporate more and more areas of social life into the market economy. Paper 10 is a transdisciplinary study of the new management ideology associated with neo-liberal capitalism, bringing together CDA and the 'New Sociology of Capitalism' developed in France. Paper 12 is also oriented towards CDA research on the new form of capitalism. It suggests that Marx's analytical method includes an element of critical discourse analysis *avant la lettre*, and considers what CDA research on neo-liberal capitalism might learn from it. Finally, Paper 22 discusses the development of 'critical language awareness' in education in relation to the 'global economy'.

4 Manifesto for CDA in a time of crisis

I come now to a 'manifesto' for CDA in the time of crisis which it appears (in December 2008) that we shall be living in for some time to come. I shall give an assessment of the role, purpose and possible contribution of CDA in the financial and economic crisis and ask: what should CDA be trying to achieve; what contribution can it make? A manifesto is generally understood to be a public declaration of purposes, principles and objectives and the means for achieving them, and it is usually political in character. So: why a 'manifesto' for CDA? My argument below will be that in this time of crisis the priority for critical research including CDA should shift from critique of structures to critique of *strategies* – of attempts, in the context of the failure of existing structures, to transform them in particular directions. But the business of critical research is not just descriptive analysis of these emerging and competing strategies but also normative evaluation of them, and another relative shift of priority in the present context is from negative critique of existing structures to *positive* critique which seeks possibilities for transformations which can overcome or mitigate limits on human well-being. So I use 'manifesto' to highlight the contribution that CDA might make to the political struggle for a way out of the crisis which can transform social forms and social life in ways which advance human well-being. But this will bring us back again to the question 'what is critique?' and particularly to this issue: if critical research is 'knowledge-for-action', how does the purpose of advancing knowledge connect with the purpose of supporting action for a better world?

I am writing a few months into an acute phase of a crisis which became apparent to many in the summer of 2007, and to a few earlier than that, but took a dramatic turn in the autumn of 2008 with a series of calamities (e.g., the bankruptcy of the US investment bank Lehman Brothers) which brought the banking and credit system close to collapse. Nobody can say with certainty how the crisis will develop, how long it will go on, or where it will take us. But many economists and other commentators are predicting that it is going to be severe, and far-reaching in its effects, and the crisis may well be the primary determinant of 'the state we are in', and the primary factor shaping the agenda for CDA for some time to come. Of course, that agenda is now very diverse, and includes adopting a discourse perspective on issues as different as racism, war, European identity and organisational change, but I suspect that there are few areas of it which will not be affected or coloured by the crisis.

What does it mean to say that this is a 'crisis'? It means that the institutional structures and mechanisms which allowed the financial and economic systems to continue doing what they were designed and claimed to do – to provide credit for businesses and households, to produce 'growth', dividends and profits, to keep people in employment, to maintain certain levels of prosperity and consumption, to provide certain levels of social support and welfare, and so forth – are manifestly no longer capable of doing so. There is general recognition that the these structures and mechanisms need to be either repaired or replaced, that it will take enormous efforts and resources to do so, and that the chances of success are at present uncertain. It is also generally expected that meanwhile people in many positions and circumstances all over the world will suffer in various ways – losing their jobs, losing their savings and having to face smaller pensions than they expected, having a lower standard of living, in some cases suffering more severe effects of poverty and other forms of social deprivation, and so forth. There is general agreement that three features together differentiate this from other crises since the 1970s: it is a crisis centred in the richest and most powerful capitalist countries, especially the USA, rather than in the periphery; it is a global crisis which affects virtually all countries; and it is more severe. It began as a crisis of a financial system built upon public and private debt on a stupendous scale running into many trillions of dollars; nobody is sure at this stage how many trillions, or where much of the debt is hidden (who owes what to whom); there is a general and proliferating indeterminacy of asset values, aversion to extending credit, and contraction of expenditure and demand. The crisis in finance has extended into a general economic crisis which is accentuated by pre-existing structural weaknesses in economies which the crisis exposes (including a growing problem of

overproduction e.g., in the car industry, and major international imbalances in balance of payments, lending and borrowing etc.).

What is in crisis? Optimists tend to view it as a crisis in the particular form of the neo-liberal form of capitalism discussed above, suggesting or implying that we can get 'back to normal' after an indeterminate period of pain. At the other extreme is the view that it is a crisis of capitalism itself. The view I take, like many others, is that it seems to be a crisis not in neo-liberal capitalism but *of* neo-liberal capitalism – 'seems to be' because much is uncertain, and we are condemned to act and react (as we usually are) under conditions of uncertainty. But if this interpretation is right, as many analysts and commentators think, it means that we cannot expect to 'get back to normal', that some new form of capitalism must be sought for, some restructuring of capitalism, with the proviso that although capitalism has historically shown a remarkable capacity to remake itself out of the most extreme circumstances, there is nothing that guarantees that it will be able to this time. So alternatives to capitalism may come back onto the agenda, but at present it is not clear what these might be.

There is a great deal of public anger in the heartland of this form of capitalism, the USA, and in Britain and other countries, which is variously directed at speculators, bankers, politicians or others, and amounts to a sense of having been badly misled, mismanaged and let down. People were promised the earth – increasing prosperity without limits, an ever-expanding wealth of choice, possibility and opportunity, security and comfort in old age, and so forth – but the promises have proved to be largely hollow. Some people say we are all to blame, that we should not have believed the promises. Many realise now what was rarely publicly acknowledged: that the whole edifice was built upon bubbles (the dot.com bubble, the housing bubble etc.) that now appear finally to have burst, i.e., the possibility of simply moving on to the next bubble is now in serious doubt, as is the credibility of that 'solution' even if it were possible. There is nothing new about this sort of disillusion and outrage. Histories of the Great Depression and earlier crises (see, for instance, Galbraith 1955) show that the cycle of false hopes and promises followed by catastrophic failure and recriminations is part of the rhythm of capitalism, despite the hubristic claims of politicians and others in the neo-liberal age to have ended the cycle of 'boom and bust'.

We should be cautious about predicting the future consequences of the present crisis, but we can say with some confidence that it entails a range of risks which could extend far beyond the economy as such. There are political risks: a feature of the neo-liberal age has been consensus between the main political parties and governments of different hues in many countries over the

main directions of economic policy, which means that mainstream politicians with few exceptions are complicit in the false promises and failures, and may in the absence of a coherent progressive alternative in many countries offer openings to a resurgent extreme right. There are self-evidently social risks associated with and arising from people losing their homes, their jobs, their pensions, and for young people their prospects, but also risks that the already fragile relations between different cultural and religious groups in many countries may deteriorate further and lead to conflicts. There are risks too that the actions essential to avoid ecological disasters which have been to a large extent evaded in times of relative plenty will be further delayed in the face of supposedly more urgent problems.

I want to suggest a change in priorities for critical research generally including CDA: a partial shift in focus from structures to strategies (on structures and strategies, see Jessop 2002). While neo-liberal capitalism was relatively securely in place, the priority was a critique of established, institutionalised and partly naturalised and normalised systems, structures, logics and discourses. This is not to say that strategies were irrelevant: it was a dynamic system seeking to extend itself, and it had to face a number of lesser but still serious crises, both of which entailed the proliferation of strategies to achieve particular changes and trajectories. Nevertheless, for a time the priority for critical research and CDA was to gain greater knowledge and understanding of it as a system. To an extent that agenda is being overtaken by events. Aspects of the character, flaws, fallacies, contradictions etc. of neo-liberalism which had largely been ignored except by its critics have come to be widely recognised, and even conceded by former apologists for 'free markets', and this applies too to its discourse. For instance, the British Prime Minister Gordon Brown said in a New Year speech that 2008 would be remembered as the year in which 'the old era of unbridled free market dogma was finally ushered out' (*Guardian*, 1 January 2009), just over a year after a speech at the Mansion House in the City of London (June 2007) which was unstinting in its praise for 'free markets' and for 'the talents, innovations and achievements' of the City of London. Those 'innovations' are now acknowledged to have been at the origin of the financial crisis. The turn-about among such formerly ardent free-marketeers in the last months of 2008 has been remarkably rapid. But shifting the priority to strategies does not mean we can ignore the structures of neo-liberal capitalism: they will not disappear overnight, and they may prove to be more resilient than seems likely at present.

Two main sorts of strategy are emerging at present: strategies to deal with and try to mitigate the more immediate effects and consequences of the crisis, and strategies for the longer term repair and modification of neo-liberal