

CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS: Politics and Verbal coding

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Abstract— Political discourse comprises all forms of communication in and by political institutions or actors and all communication with reference to political matters. Political public relations, both internal and external, news, commentary, film, talk shows, citizens' everyday talk about politics etc. are all sites of political discourse. A broad field of theoretical approaches originates in French philosophy and sociology that centre around social and political functions of discursive practices (termed Discourse Analysis). The present paper tries to discuss the close affinity shown between language and politics to work out the discursive practices apparent in public political discourses. The features of such writing/speech are taken from various political domains.

Keywords— Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Discourse practice, Public language, representation

I. INTRODUCTION

The objective of the paper is to illustrate how the critical discourse analysis plays a crucial role in unlocking the myths that linger in the sphere of politics and how politicians make use of their language to ensnare people for their Political discourse comprises all forms of communication in and by political institutions or actors and all communication with reference to political matters. Political public relations, both internal and external, news, commentary, film, talk shows, citizens' everyday talk about politics etc. are all sites of political discourse. The shift from 'Fordist' economy to 'flexible accumulation' (both technological innovation in the diversification of production and flexibility of labour), transnational movement of production units, opening up of new experiences owing to information technology and media,

cultural transformation due to circulating signs liberated from fixed boundaries as represented in postmodernist theory, are in total a phase of late modernity. This phenomena encapsulates good, bad and the ugly i.e. this creates new possibilities and opportunities for many at the same time this can also cause considerable disruption and suffering. But the entire experience is communicated to be perceived as something inevitable. The relevance of CDA (Critical Discourse Analysis) is that it can expose the transformations in language and discourse favouring such trends. It can enlighten how the discourse shapes and reshapes the given reality. CDA has set out a dialectical view of the relationship between discourse and other facets of the social world.

II. A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Critical Discourse Analysis or CDA is an approach to discourse analysis in which two senses of the term discourse—the linguistic sense and the critical theorist's sense—are equally relevant. The 'critical' in CDA refers to a way of understanding the social world drawn from critical theory. Within that paradigm reality is understood as *constructed*, shaped by various social forces. These, however are frequently naturalized- in every day discourse, as opposed to critical discussions of it, reality is presented not as the outcome of social practices that might be questioned or challenged, but as simply "the way things are". Naturalization obscures the fact that 'the way things are' is not inevitable or unchangeable. It both results from particular actions and

serves particular interests. According to van Dijk, 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 to resist social inequality”[1]. The central claim of CDA is that the way certain realities get talked or written about- that is, the choices speakers and writers make in doing it-are not just random but ideologically patterned. Norman Fairclough uses discourse analysis techniques to provide a political critique of the social context- from a Marxist viewpoint. He defines what he calls critical language study thus: “Critical is used in the special sense of aiming to show up connections which may be hidden from people- such as the connections between language, power and ideology...critical language study analyses social interactions in a way which focuses upon their linguistic elements and which sets out to show up their generally hidden determinants in the system of social relationships, as well as hidden effects they may have upon that system” [2]. He is candid about his own starting point and about his own political purpose: “I write as a socialist with a genuinely low opinion of the social relationships in my society and a commitment to the emancipation of the people who are oppressed by them. This does not, I hope, mean that I am writing political propaganda. The scientific investigation of social matters is perfectly compatible with committed and ‘opinionated’ investigators (there are no others!) and being committed does not excuse you from arguing rationally or producing evidence for your statements.” (Ibid: 5) One sees “discourse” as an abstract noun denoting language in use as a social practice with particular emphasis on larger units such as paragraphs, utterances, whole texts or genres. The other identifiable meaning is “Discourse” as a countable noun denoting ‘a practice not just of representing the world, but of signifying the world, constituting and constructing the world in meaning’[3]. For some, discourse analysis is a very narrow

enterprise that concentrates on a single utterance, or at most a conversation between two people. Others see discourse as synonymous with the entire social system, in which discourses literally constitute the social and political world. As the concept of discourse has been employed in the social sciences, it has acquired greater technical and theoretical sophistication, while accruing additional meanings and connotations. Positivists and empiricists argue that discourses are best viewed as ‘frames’ or ‘cognitive schemata’ by which they mean ‘the conscious strategic efforts by groups of people to fashion shared understandings of the world and of themselves that legitimate and motivate collective action’[4]. By contrast, realist accounts of discourse place much greater emphasis on what they call the ontological dimensions of discourse theory and analysis. Discourses are regarded as particular objects with their own properties and powers, in which case it is necessary for realists ‘to focus on language as a structured system in its own right’, and the task of discourse analysis is to unravel ‘the conceptual elisions and confusions by which language enjoys its power’ [5]. Marxists stress the way in which discourses have to be explained by reference to the contradictory processes of economic production and reproduction. In this perspective, discourses are normally viewed as ideological systems of meaning that obfuscate and naturalize uneven distributions of power and resources. This means that discourse analysis has the critical task of exposing the mechanisms by which this deception operates and of proposing emancipatory alternatives (Althusser 1971; Pêcheux 1982). Giddens’s (1984) theory of society differs from positivist, realist and Marxist accounts in that he stresses the centrality of human meaning and understanding in explaining the social world. His explicitly ‘hermeneutically informed social theory’ thus places greater emphasis on the actions and reflexivity of human agents in reproducing and changing social relationships. Fairclough takes up this theme of ‘the duality of social structure and human agency’ by insisting that there is a mutually constituting relationship between discourses and the social systems in which they

function. The task of discourse analysis is thus to examine this dialectical relationship and to expose the way in which language and meaning are used by the powerful to deceive and oppress the dominated. Finally, post-structuralists and post-Marxists such as Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault, Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe put forward much more comprehensive concepts of discourse. They go further than the hermeneutical emphasis on social meaning by regarding social structures as inherently ambiguous, incomplete and contingent systems of meaning. Derrida (1982) argues for a conception of discourse as text or writing, in which all human and social experience is structured according to the logic of *différance*; while Foucault (1981, 1991) intends to show the connection between 'discursive practices' and wider sets of 'non-discursive' activities and institution. Laclau and Mouffe (1985, 1987) deconstruct the Marxist theory of ideology and draw upon post-structuralist philosophy to develop a concept of discourse that includes all practices and meanings shaping a community of social actors. In these perspectives, discourses constitute symbolic systems and social orders, and the task of discourse analysis is to examine their historical and political construction and functioning.

Some of Foucault's ideas have been very influential on the different approaches to critical discourse analysis. The central task for Michel Foucault was to write a history of expounding problems as a critique and destruction of western thinking, which had always focused on what it means to be human being instead of how it is to be a human being. Although human beings are acting in their lives, they are not the subject of these actions, but products of discursive practices. Objects are not social facts, but how subjects bring things to presence through language (objectification). Therefore a relation between power and language can be stated and subjects must be seen as social constructions, produced through social discourses which position them in a field of power relations. While critical thinking focuses on our ability to gain access to language (through knowledge), Foucault focuses on how technologies of calculation produce calculable and

empowered subjects because of their inscription into force by technology. Therefore his attack of the central importance of the subject can be seen as his major interest. Foucault defines discourses as knowledge systems that inform social and governmental technologies. These technologies constitute power in society. Power does not come from outside, but is in us, the dead subjects, who are ruled by our own creations and constructions: the technologies and techniques of power in social institutions. Thus Michel Foucault opposes the concept of ideology because it is implicated in unacceptable universal truth claims and rests on a humanist understanding of the individual subjects [6]. Foucault saw power in contrast to Marxist theorists to whom power was an instrument of class dominance originated from economic interests, as something incorporated in numerous practices and technologies and not attached to certain agents or interests. In Foucault's concept of power the word "how" is the basic key word of analysis. Discourses are expressions of power relations and refer to all that can be thought, written or said about a particular topic or thing. They draw on historically prior texts and are generated by combination of and with other discourse and texts (interdiscursivity and intertextuality). Discourse analysis is concerned with the rules (practices, technologies), which make others not at particular times, places and institutional locations. Certain rules of formations of objects, subjects, concepts and strategies are constituted in a given discursive formation and can be seen as the basic rules of discursive order. Objects and subjects of discourses are organized in relation to particular concepts, which involve social and political experiences about the modalities relating subjects and objects to each other. These modalities of relating objects, subjects and concepts, Foucault label strategies. With strategies he does not mean particular intentions of goals of the subjects, but topical choices, which interrelate subjects, objects and concepts in discourses to each other and across different discourses. The analysis of rules of formations of objects, subjects, concepts and topical choices can be seen as a fundamental approach to discourse analysis. It illuminates

which objects, subjects, concepts or topics are banned from a particular discourse and how the relations between those elements are established in this discourse. The link between practice and speaking lies in his concept of ‘power/knowledge’. In the modern age, a great deal of power and social control is exercised not by brute physical force or even by economic coercion, but by the activities of ‘experts’ who are licensed to define, describe and classify things and people. As Deborah Cameron says, “Words can be powerful: the institutional authority to categorize people is frequently inseparable from the authority to do things to them” [7]

Fairclough and Wodak (1997) analyze an extract from a radio interview with former British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, with reference to ‘eight principles of theory or method’ [8], which are:

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. The link between text and society is mediated
7. Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory
8. Discourse is a form of social action.

According to Wodak and Ludwig (1999) viewing language this way entails three things at least. First, discourse “always involves power and ideologies. No interaction exists where power relation do not prevail and where values and norms do not have a relevant role” [9]. Second, “discourse...is always historical, that is, it is connected synchronically and diachronically with other communicative events which are happening at the same time or which have happened before” [ibid]. The third feature of Wodak’s approach is that of interpretation. According to Wodak and Ludwig, “readers and listeners, depending on their background knowledge and information and their position, might have different interpretations of the same communicative event” [ibid]. Therefore, Wodak and Ludwig assert that “THE RIGHT

interpretation does not exist; a hermeneutic approach is necessary. Interpretations can be more or less plausible or adequate, but they cannot be true”[emphasis in original] (ibid). Chouliaraki and Fairclough [10] posit that CDA has a particular contribution to make. According to them, the recent economic and social changes “are to a significant degree...transformations in the language, and discourse”, thus CDA can help by theorizing transformations and creating an awareness “of what is, how it has come to be, and what it might become, on the basis of which people may be able to make and remake their lives”. In this approach of CDA, there are three analytical focuses in analyzing any communicative event (interaction). They are *text* (e.g. a news report), *discourse practice* (e.g. the process of production and consumption) and *sociocultural practice* (e.g. social and cultural structures, which give rise to the communicative event [11].

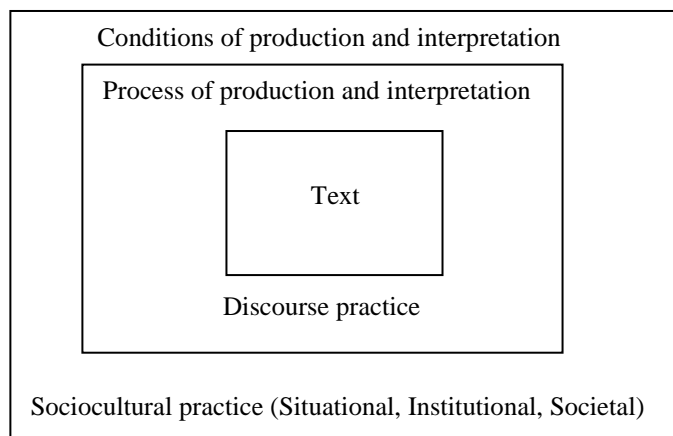


FIG. 1: COMMUNICATIVE EVENT

Fairclough has proposed a framework for analyzing a communicative event. The first analytical focus is on text. Analysis of text involves linguistic analysis in terms of vocabulary, grammar, semantics, the sound system and cohesion- organization above the sentence level. Following SFL, Fairclough also views text from a multifunctional perspective. According to him, any sentence in a text is analyzable in terms of the articulation of these functions,

which he has relabeled- *representations, relations and identities*:

- Particular representations and contextualisations of social practice (ideational function)- perhaps carrying particular ideologies.
- A particular construction of the relationship between writer and reader (as, for instance, formal or informal, close or distant)
- Particular constructions of writer and reader identities (for example, in terms of what is highlighted-whether status and role aspects of identity, or individual and personality aspects of identity) [*ibid*]

Linguists preferred to use the ‘discourse’ to refer to language in use. In studying discourse they focus on written text, on spoken utterance, and on the processes whereby individuals process texts and utterances. On the other hand, social scientists in the 1970 and 80s were influenced by the way the term ‘discourse’ is used in European literary and social criticism by writers such as the French philosopher Michel Foucault. Some linguists, as Fairclough, concerned with the critical analysis of language use in relation to politics have adopted these ideas.

Terry Locke [12] has summed up the ways in which CDA can be understood. According to him CDA:

- views a prevailing social order as historically situated and therefore relative, socially constructed and changeable.
- views a prevailing social order and social processes as constituted and sustained less by the will of individuals than by the pervasiveness of particular constructions or versions of reality-often referred to as discourses.
- views discourse as coloured by and productive of ideology (however ‘ideology’ is conceptualized)
- views power in society not so much as imposed on individual subjects as an inevitable *effect* of a way particular discursive configurations or arrangements

privilege the status and positions of some people over others.

- views human subjectivity as at least in part constructed or inscribed by discourse, and discourse as manifested in the various ways people are and enact the sorts of people they are.
- views reality as textually and intertextually mediated via verbal and non-verbal language systems and texts as sites for both the inculcation and the contestation of discourses.
- views the systematic analysis and interpretation of texts as potentially revelatory of ways in which discourses consolidate power and colonize human subjects through often covert position calls.

III. LANGUAGE AND POLITICS

The present paper tries to discuss the close affinity shown between language and politics to work out the discursive practices apparent in public political discourses. Politics is concerned with power- the power to make decisions, to control resources, to control other people’s behaviour and often to control their values. The acquisition of power, and the enforcement of ones belief systems can be achieved in a number of ways; one obvious method is through physical coercion or by indirect means of coercion through the legal system. However it is often much more effective to persuade people to act voluntarily in the way one wants, i.e., to exercise power through the manufacture of consent or at least acquiescence towards it. To achieve this an ideology needs to be established. One which make the beliefs which one wants people to hold appear to be “common sense”, thus making it difficult for them to question that dominant ideology. It was Louis Althusser who wondered how the vast majority of people had been persuaded to act against their own best interests, since they worked long hours at laborious task and lived in poverty while a very small number of people made enormous amounts of money from their labour and enjoyed lives of luxury. In order to explain why the impoverished

majority didn't just refuse to work in this system and overthrow the rich minority, Althusser reasoned that the poor had been persuaded that this state of affairs was 'natural' and nothing could be done to change it.

In the discussion that follows we consider the language of 'career' politicians who play a significant part in the political scenario of the state. The first comment that is to be made about political discourse is that it is not simply a genre, but a class of genres defined by a social domain, namely that of politics. However it is difficult to create a separation from other domains and in this case the boundaries are fuzzy. To make it simple, as a beginning, political discourse is the discourse of politicians. The range in this study has to be limited to the 'professional' realm of the activities of 'career' politicians. The activity considered must be in the public sphere and the discourse must be produced by the speaker in his / her professional role of a politician and it should be based in an institutional setting. Thus the discourse is political when it accomplishes a political act in a political institution, such as governing, legislation, electoral campaigning and so on.

Because political discourse is a broad category, studies on political language have included investigation into very different sub-genres such as electoral language, party political language, the language of diplomacy and international relations, the language of social conflict, the language of parliament and so on. Language is a means of communication, a means of presenting and shaping argument and political argument is ideological, in that it comes from a series of beliefs. Language is not something somehow separate from the ideas it contains, but the way language is used says a great deal about how the ideas have been shaped. When analyzing the language of a political text, therefore, it is important to look at the way the language reflects the ideological position of those who have created it, and how the ideological position of the readers will affect their response too.

Chilton. P. identifies two approaches viz., descriptive and critical, for dealing with this issue of politics and language. Descriptive approach relies on re-describing rhetorical

devices, the verbal behaviour of politicians and their ideology; whereas critical approaches incorporate social theories dealing with the relationship between language and power, control and dominance and orders of discourse. A detailed discussion on the above will be taken in due course. Chilton. P, while elaborating on the modern descriptive approaches, have recast the traditional rhetorical aspects like persuasive, deceptive and manipulative, in terms of phonological, syntactic, lexical, semantic, pragmatic and textual levels of description. Thus on the phonological level can be placed devices of alliteration, assonance and rhythm; on the syntactic level, the use of agent-less passive; on the lexical level, emphasis will be on 'jargon' words- that is words characteristic of some closed group of speakers, neologisms, acronyms and word formation; on the semantic level the interest is in semantic reconstruction and shifts arising from, for e.g., paraphrasing, and euphemism. On the textual and pragmatic levels, commentators have noted modes of argumentation. The descriptive strand of study tends to take an epistemological position that is close to positivism. It tends to treat the political language phenomena it is submitting to scrutiny as neutral independent facts. Whereas in a critical approach, it assumes a different conception of politics- a conception which emphasizes the importance of power from the point of view of the subject citizen and assumes connections between the macro structures of state institutions and the micro structures of everyday person to person relationships and interactions. Jurgen Habermas and Michel Foucault have been influential in the evolution of this thought. Habermas is associated with Frankfurt School 'Critical theory' and views the analysis of social practices, including linguistic ones as a rational enterprise whose purpose is emancipation. 'Distorted Communication' derives in the Habermasian view, from unequal access to the communication process, which itself is a function of the exercise of power. Linguists preferred to use the 'discourse' to refer to language in use. In studying discourse they focus on written text, on spoken utterance, and on the processes whereby individuals process texts and utterances. On the other

hand, social scientists in the 1970 and 80s were influenced by the way the term 'discourse' is used in European literary and social criticism by writers such as the French philosopher Michel Foucault. Some linguists, as Fairclough (1989), concerned with the critical analysis of language use in relation to politics have adopted these ideas. They emphasize prominently notions like;

1. The relationship between language and power: control and dominance, it is claimed, are exercised increasingly in the modern period by linguistic means.
2. The pervasiveness of power: control and dominance are everyday phenomena found in encounters of many kinds.
3. The relationship between linguistic and non-linguistic practices.
4. Orders of discourse: types of talking and writing play different parts in different institutions of a society.

Van Dijk (Ref 1) has noted that political discourse is not a genre, but a class of genres defined by a social domain, namely that of politics. Thus, government deliberations, parliamentary debates, party programmes and speeches by politicians are among the many genres that belong to the domain of politics. The discourse must be produced by the speaker in her/his professional role of a politician and in an institutional setting. While analyzing their topic and style, topics are usually about events in the public sphere and style incorporates many rhetorical features (metaphors, euphemism, hyperbole etc). It also allows inferences about the cognitive, social and especially political functions of such discourse.

The concept of ideology is crucial in political science and since ideologies are defined in terms of basic beliefs shared by the members of groups, this also means that political discourse is the site where politicians' multiple ideological identities are enacted. Political and ideological discourse analysis is usually based on individual discourses, so it will not be strange at all to find influence of various ideologies. The social identity of politicians will also be defined by such categories as membership devices, activities, aims and goals, norms and

values, relations to other groups and resources or 'capital'. Van Dijk (Ref 1) has roughly defined the ideological self-identity of politicians as professionals.

- a. Identity criterion: Election to political office.
- b. Activities: 'Doing' politics (represent citizens, legislate etc.)
- c. Aim: Govern country, state or city etc.
- d. Norms, values: Democratic values, honesty etc.
- e. Position, relation to other groups: relation with constituents etc.
- f. Resource: Political power.

Thus, if politicians regularly criticize other politicians for 'not listening to the voice of the people', as is often the case in populist political discourse, then we may assume that the basic activities and norms defining the ideology of politicians involve 'listening to the voice of the people'. If there are political ideologies, then they must specifically apply in the domain of politics, and organize political attitudes and political practices. If we focus on politicians, we shall usually have at least two ideologies as expressed in their text and talk: viz., firstly professional ideologies that underlie their functioning as politicians and secondly the socio-political ideologies they adhere to as members of political parties or social groups. Thus ideology, politics and discourse form a triangle that poses interesting theoretical and analytical questions. Defined as socially shared representations of groups, ideologies are the foundations of group attitudes and other beliefs, and thus also control the biased personal mental models that underlie the production of ideological discourse.

The point of ideological discourse analysis is not merely to discover underlying ideologies, but to systematically link structures of discourse with structures of ideologies. If ideologies are acquired, expressed, enacted and reproduced by discourse, this must happen through a number of discursive structures and strategies. In theory and depending on context, any variable structure of discourse may be ideologically 'marked'. It should be stressed that ideologies may only influence the contextually variable structures of discourse.

Obviously the obligatory, grammatical structure cannot be ideologically marked because they are the same for all speakers of the language and in that sense ideologically neutral. However, there may be some debate on whether some general grammatical rules are really ideologically innocent. Some variable structures are more ideologically 'sensitive' than others. Syntactic structures and rhetorical figures such as metaphors, hyperboles or euphemisms are used to emphasize or de-emphasize ideological meanings, but as formal structures they have no ideological meaning. A general tendency among the organization of ideological discourses is the strategy of positive self-presentation (boasting) and negative other-presentation (derogation). There are many discursive ways to enhance or mitigate our / their good / bad things, and hence to mark discourse ideologically.

The concept of "public language" [13] is significant in understanding political discourse. Public language validates established beliefs and strengthens the authority structures of the polity or organization in which it is used. It is therefore the language form supporter of regimes or organizations rely on to demonstrate to others and to themselves that they deserve support to minimize guilt, to evoke feelings in support of the guilt, to evoke feelings in support of the polity, and to engender suspicion of alternatives and of people identified as hostile. It can take many political forms. As Edelman says, "Exhortation to patriotism and to support for the leader and his/her regime" are obvious ones. Less obvious forms, according to him are;

1. Terms classifying people according to the level of their merit, competence, or authority.
 2. Terms that implicitly define an in-group whose interests conflict with those of other groups.
 3. Presentational forms that justify actions and policies.
- [14]

Jason Jones and Jean Peccei [15] have outlined some strategies employed by politicians to influence people's political and ideological views for their own advantage.

- Presupposition (background assumptions embedded within a sentence or phrase)
- Implicature (dependent more on shared knowledge between the speaker and hearer)
- Persuasive language (making use of metaphor, euphemism, three-part-statement, parallelism, pronouns for identification)

Marlene Caroselli [16] studied the language outstanding leaders use when they address their audiences and has identified the following elements.

1. Display a positive attitude toward the communication process.
2. Know how to tell a good story
3. They admit to human failures
4. Display emotion
5. Improve the status quo
6. Use challenging statements to inspire, motivate and direct energy toward the best possible outcomes
7. Use personal stories and anecdotes
8. Are forthright to declare what they stand for
9. Use parallelisms in sentence structure,
10. Use the appropriate style.

Heatherington [17] lists the sorts of language exploitation indulged by politicians.

- a. Good feelings- evocating feelings of patriotism (vote for Us is patriotic, good, while a vote for Them is non-patriotic, treacherous); direct flattering of audience ("the sensible voter"); reference to "the record" (his voting record, wisdom, skill and their benefits for his audience).
- b. Bad feelings- evocating emotions of fear, anger and scorn (against the values mooted by the opposition)
- c. Fog- use of buzz or fad words with a high fog index, that is, abstract, non-referential and often polysemous signs. This technique appears most often when a politician is in trouble and trying to justify his behaviour "to the folks back home"; the fog makes it nearly impossible to assign responsibility to anyone, least of all to the speaker.

Heatherington (*ibid*) also identifies three characteristics that often distinguish propaganda from ordinary persuasion.

1. A consistent choice of loaded language over more value-free language.
2. A heavy use of stock phrases.
3. A flavour of having the answers ready made.

IV. ANALYSIS OF ENCODING TECHNIQUES:
DISCURSIVE STRATEGIES AND PRACTICES

In this context, the word ‘practice’ requires some elaboration. All practices involve configurations of diverse elements of life and therefore diverse mechanisms. A practice can be understood both as a social action, what is done in a particular time and place, and as what has hardened into relative permanency- a practice in the sense of a habitual way of living. Chouliariki and Fairclough (Ref.10) have identified three main characteristics: “First, they are forms of production of social life, not only economic production but also in for instance, the cultural and political domain. Second, each practice is located within a network of relationship to other practices, and these ‘external’ relationships determine its ‘internal’ constitution. Third, practices always have a reflexive dimension: people always generate representations of what they do as part of what they do”. Here one has to consider the factor of power in the sense of domination at the level of particular practice, where, as Giddens (1984) and Bourdieu (1991) have pointed out, subjects are positioned in relation to others such that some are able to incorporate the agency of others into their own actions and so reduce the autonomous agentic capacity of the latter. Gramsci’s concept of hegemony is helpful in analyzing relations of power as domination. Hegemony is relations of domination based upon consent rather than force (coercion), involving the naturalization of practices and their social relations as well as relations between practices. Ideologies are constructions of practices from particular perspectives which help to level out the inner contradictions and antagonisms of practices in ways which accord with the interest and projects of domination. A

discourse is way of signifying a particular domain of social practice from a particular perspective. One can say that the discourse of one practice colonises that of another, or that the latter appropriates the former, depending on how power relations are expressed as relations between practices and discourses. So ideologies are domination-related constructions of a practice which are determined by specifically discursive relations between that practice and other practices. The figure given in Wodak and Meyer [18] gives the ‘Fields of action’ in the political area. This comprises of legislation, self-presentation, the manufacturing of public opinion, developing internal party consent, ad campaign, vote getting, governance and execution, control and expression of dissent.

Law making	Formation of public
political procedure	opinion and self presentation
laws	press releases
bills	conferences
amendments	interviews
speeches &	talk shows
contributions of MPs	lectures and
regulations	articles, books
recommendations	commemorative speeches
prescriptions	inaugural addresses
guidelines	etc
etc	

Fig: 2 Selected dimensions of discourse as social practice

FIELDS OF ACTION	
Party-internal development of an informed opinion	Political advertising, marketing and propaganda
party programmes, declarations, statements	election
speeches of principles	slogans
speeches on party	speeches in campaigns
conventions	announcements
etc	posters
	election brochure
	direct mailing
	fliers
	etc

Fig: 3 Selected dimensions of discourse as social practice

	FIELD OF CONTROL
Political executive and administration	Political executive and administration
decisions	decisions
inaugural speeches	inaugural speeches
coalition papers	coalition papers
speeches of ministers	speeches of ministers
heads	heads
governmental answers	governmental answers
p. q.	p. q.

Fig. 4 Selected dimensions of discourse as social practice

There are several discursive elements and strategies which deserve to receive special attention. They include questions such as (Ref.18);

1. How are persons named and referred to linguistically?
2. What traits, characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to them?
3. By means of what arguments and argumentation schemes do specific persons or social groups try to justify and legitimize the exclusion, discrimination, suppression and exploitation of others?
4. From what perspective or point of view are these labels, attributions and arguments expressed?
5. Are the respective utterances articulated overtly? Are they intensified or are they mitigated?

These help in identifying the positive *self* representation and negative *other* representation.

V. CONCLUSION

CDA is mainly interested in the role of discourse in the instantiation and reproduction of power and power abuse, and hence particularly interested in the detailed study of the interface between structures of discourse and the structures of power. Issues of politics and society are thus not merely

abstract systems of social inequality and dominance, but they actually ‘come’ down in the forms of everyday life, namely through the beliefs, actions and discourses of group members. CDA is specifically interested in the discursive dimensions of these abuses, and therefore must spell out the detailed conditions of the discursive violations of human rights, when newspapers publish biased accounts about the marginalized, when managers engage in or tolerate sexism in the company or organization, or when legislators enact neo-liberal policies that make the rich richer and the poor poorer.

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