

## TRIANGULATING CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS (CDA)

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### Abstract

To study ideology is to some extent, to study the ways in which language and meaning are used in everyday forms of social interaction. This is why a theory of language and a linguistic tradition which concerns itself with ideology will be much richer than narrow approaches which concern themselves only with system of signs, fixed meanings or well formed sentences. A theory of language as a social semiotic and of language and ideology has to concern itself with language as a form of social interaction, a meaning potential in and through which subjects and the social are constructed and reproduced while cultural and human conflict are negotiated. Such an analysis depends upon an account of relations of power the potential cultural conflict and the problem of lack of consensus about systems of ideas or beliefs which characterize social systems and includes an account of the relations between action, institutions and social structures.

CDA takes particular interest in the relationship between language and power. It is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted. Critical discourse analysts, then, take explicit position and want to understand, expose, and ultimately resist social inequality.

This study attempts to push the boundaries further and to include a systematic approach to the historical and political, sociological and/or psychological dimension in the analysis and interpretation of specific texts by using the principle of triangulating CDA. This involves Gaventa's *Power Cube*, Fairclough's *Three Dimension's of Discourse* and Martin and Rose' *Appraisal System* as a conceptual framework of analysis of *blogging*, as part of social media discourses.

**Keywords:** CDA, language and ideology, social semiotics, power cube, three dimensions' of discourse, appraisal system, blogging, social media discourse

## Introduction

It is quite difficult to make consistent statements about the theoretical foundations of CDA. There is no such thing as a uniform, common theory formation of CDA; in fact there are several approaches (Meyer, 2001). However, one could argue that the plurality of theory and methodology is one of its strengths.

CDA brings a variety of theories into dialogue, especially social theories and linguistic theories, so that its' theoretical base is more of a shifting synthesis of theories. What is theorized is the mediation between the social and the linguistic-order of discourse, the social structuring of semiotic hybridity (inter-discursivity). The theoretical constructions of discourses which CDA tries to operationalize can come from various disciplines and the concept of 'operationalization' entails working in a trans-disciplinary way where the logic of one discipline (for example, sociology) can be 'put to work' in the development of another, for example, linguistics (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999).

There is the issue of developing an integrated framework capable of reconciling different (sociological and linguistic) perspectives without reducing them to one another. What is needed is the use of conceptual tools capable of connecting the level of discourse analysis with sociological positions on institutions, actions and social structures. What is sought is a continued development of tools and resources designed to help us understand the world. What Bourdieu (1997: 65) called "The ability to actively reproduce the best products of the thinkers of the past by applying the production instruments they left behind is the access requirement of really productive thinking".

The most important task of conceptual tools to integrate sociological and linguistic positions is to mediate between the text and the institution, between discourse and society. The roots of CDA lie in classical rhetoric, text-linguistics and sociolinguistics. The notion of ideology, power, hierarchy, gender and other sociological variables can be seen as relevant for an interpretation or explanation of text. The methodologies differ on account of the aims of the research.

The centrality of knowing how language is structured in social and semiotic terms is a crucial because language produces ideology and ideology produces language. Ideology is seen as operating, not so much as a coherent system of statements imposed on a population from above (political ideology), but rather through a complex series of mechanisms whereby meaning is mobilized in discursive practices of everyday life. Consequently, it is important to search for ways in which the theory of ideology can be linked with methods of the analysis of the discursive forms in which ideology is expressed (Thompson 1984).

Exploring the relationship between social meaning-making practices and language and ideology means engaging in the kind of research which involves not only a study of the socio-historical conditions in which subjects act and interact; an analysis of the conditions in which subjects are constructed as such in discourse and in which discourse is produced as received; but also a detailed discursive analysis of the text and an interpretation of that analysis. Such an analysis can then illustrate how meanings, systems of ideas and beliefs, ideologies, are constructed in discourse and function to maintain and transmit existing power relations (Threadgold et al., 1986).

CDA sees discourse as language use in speech and writing - as forms of 'social practice'. Describing discourse as social practice implies a dialectal relationship between the particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution (s) and social structure (s) which frame it. The discursive event is shaped by them, since discourse is so socially consequential; it gives rise to important issues of power. Discursive practices may have major ideological effects that can help to produce and reproduce unequal power relation through the ways in which they represent things and position people (Wodak and Fairclough, 1997).

For CDA, language is not powerful on its own but rather gains power by the use people make of it. This is one reason why CDA looks at the perspective of those who propose and oppose a particular point of view. The use of power is a central condition in social life and efforts to develop a theory of language which incorporates this as a major focus is a defining features of CDA. CDA is fundamentally interested in analyzing the veiled and transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as shown in and through language. But in order to avoid an approach to 'mediation' between discourse and society by simply politicizing instead of accurately analyzing, can be partially solved by using the principle

of 'triangulation', to work multi-methodically on the different empirical data as well as background information (Wodak and Meyer, 2001).

### Language and Power

Language is power, but not everyone who uses it has the same degree of power.

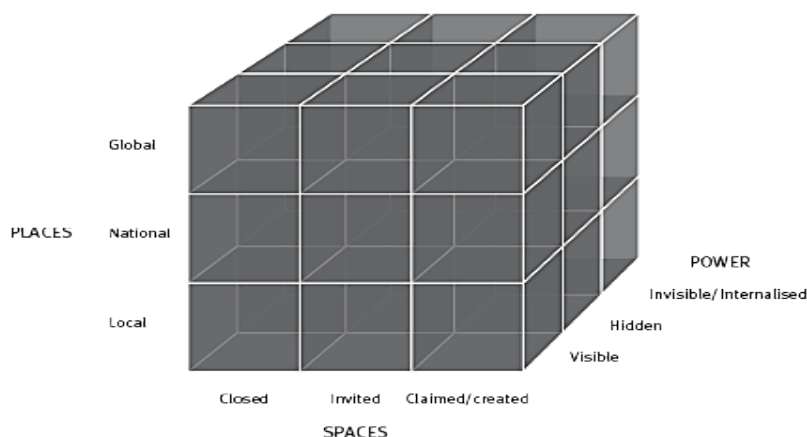
Words can be powerful or not. They can affect reality or not. Words become powerful because they can be used as tools: like a hammer or gun, they don't make changes by themselves, but through human beings use of them, skillful or clumsy...words don't change reality, people change reality...words make it possible for people to achieve the effects they seek. [Lakoff, R. 1990:15]

One of the contributors to this view is Gaventa who has written that 'changing patterns of globalization have changed the territorial or spatial relations of power, meaning that power increasingly must be understood not only at the local, the national or the global level but also their interrelationship' (Gaventa, 2007:205).

Gaventa makes clear that there are various 'forms' in which power is demonstrated such as the visible, hidden and invisible. However, there are also element of 'spaces' which signify the possible ground of opportunities for people to engage in shaping meanings, decisions or policies including closed, invited, and claimed spaces. But also there are 'levels' which denote the different level of decision-making and authority, local, national and global. As the political discussions change direction various intersecting actors, places (arenas), and networks in which power is exercised through decision making also changes Taking Lukes (2005) idea concerning the three dimensions of power (forms), Gaventa (2007) expanded the dimensions, to the levels/places and spaces where power resides. This explains the multiplicity of power and not just in a single dimension.

Power therefore is found in different 'levels' of society, different 'spaces' and within different 'forms'. Gaventa's 'Power Cube' presents a graphic understanding of how power can operate.

## The *Power Cube*: the levels, spaces and forms of power



(adapted from Gaventa, 2007)

The *Power Cube* and the differences in the dimension are summarized by Gaventa (2007) as three 'forms of power', 'spaces' and 'levels/places'.

The **forms of power** responsible for the dynamic of participation

1. *Visible* form of power involves interests that are visible in public spaces or formal decision making bodies. They are normally seen as political bodies, such as legislatures, local government bodies, local assemblies and institutions. Those who have this form of power can normally apply it in the decision making arenas of organization or social movements through collective action. Their focus is on conventional understanding of power that is negotiated through formal rules, institutions and procedures.
2. *Hidden* form of power are used by vested interests to maintain their power and privilege by creating barriers to participation, by excluding key issues from the public arena by controlling politics 'backstage'. Through hidden forms of power, alternative choices are limited, less powerful people and their concern are excluded, and the rule of the game are set to be biased against certain people and issues. They are the actual controls over decision making, and the way certain powerful people and institutions maintain their influence. Such maintenance can often exclude and devalue concerns and agendas of less powerful groups.

3. *Invisible* power goes further compare to hidden power. It involves the ways in which awareness of one's rights and interests are hidden through the adoption of dominating 'ideologies', values, and forms of behavior by relatively powerless groups themselves. Sometimes, this has been referred to as, "internalization of powerlessness" because it affects the awareness and consciousness of potential issues and conflicts. This power operates by influencing how individuals think of their place in society and why some are prevented from questioning existing power relations.

The **different spaces** in which a decision making takes place:

1. *Provided or closed* spaces are basically controlled by elite groups.
2. *Invited spaces* are produced in an attempt to increase legitimacy. Some policymakers may create 'invited' spaces for outsiders to share their opinions.
3. *Claimed Spaces* are provided for the less powerful with a chance to develop their agendas and create solidarity without control from the power-holders.

Spaces are areas for discussion where interactions can take place. These can be virtual (web based discussions) or actual physical places (constituency, consultation meetings). These are seen as "opportunities, moments and channels where citizens as social actors can potentially challenge and change policies, discourses, decisions, and relationships which affect their life and interests" (Gaventa, 2007: 213).

The **different levels and places** for engagement (Gaventa, 2007:209-218):

1. *The Global level* is formal and informal, state and non-state for participation which is influenced by levels outside the country. This includes formal institutions and meetings associated with global agreements and treaties. Globalization creates various political opportunities at the international level. There is a demand for greater transparency and accountability and participation in policy formulation and monitoring. Besides from government bodies

- responsible for different decision making, some powerful individuals can be found in this global 'invited space'.
2. *The National level* officially represents its citizen in global governmental places, which decides whether or not to implement international treaties that are important for national level's change. This can include executive bodies, and national political parties among others.
  3. *Local level* concerns critical points of leverage for holding and challenging power. Local actors may use extra-local forums as arenas for action just as effectively-or more effectively ... they can appeal to institutions of local governance.

The Power Cube helps to make the distinction between different dimensions of power and move beyond the assumption that the enforcers of rules are simply dominating through whatever means available to them. The emphasis is more on understanding the interaction between levels of power and the places of engagement. In particular the Power Cube helps to distinguish between the international, national and local levels or 'places' (see Luttrell et al., 2007).

The usefulness of such a framework in CDA is that, it lets people explore various aspects of power and how they interact with each other. The Power Cube illustrates that in every level of society different forms of power exist in different spaces. Power is not linear but multidimensional, some can be seen publicly and always the subject of criticism; others are hidden and often regarded as above suspicion. In fact, hidden power can be more powerful and impact the decision making more than the visible. The Power Cube therefore allows people to see why some individuals behave the way they do and allows people to realize that everyone is liable and contributes to the situation around them. It also allows society to have a broader dimensional view of those involved in the power struggle as well as the relationships and forces emerging for mobilization and change.

Integrating the *Power Cube* can also be useful as it deals with wider issues that can impact a person's life discourse. In addition in a cyber world people often interact in unison, various elements influencing their stances that can only be easily identified once these dimensions are incorporated

## Fairclough's Approach to CDA

Fairclough's approach to CDA has become central to CDA over the past thirty or so years. Fairclough Critical Language Study (1989) described his approach as 'a contribution to the general rising of consciousness of exploitative social relations, through focusing upon language'. CDA "brings social science and linguistics together within a single theoretical and analytical framework, setting up a dialogue between them" (Chuliaraki & Fairclough, 1999:6). The linguistic theory used is that of *Systemic Functional Linguistics* (SFL), which has been the foundation for Fairclough's analytical framework as it has been for Fowler et al., 1979; Fowler, 1991; Hodge & Kress, 1979.

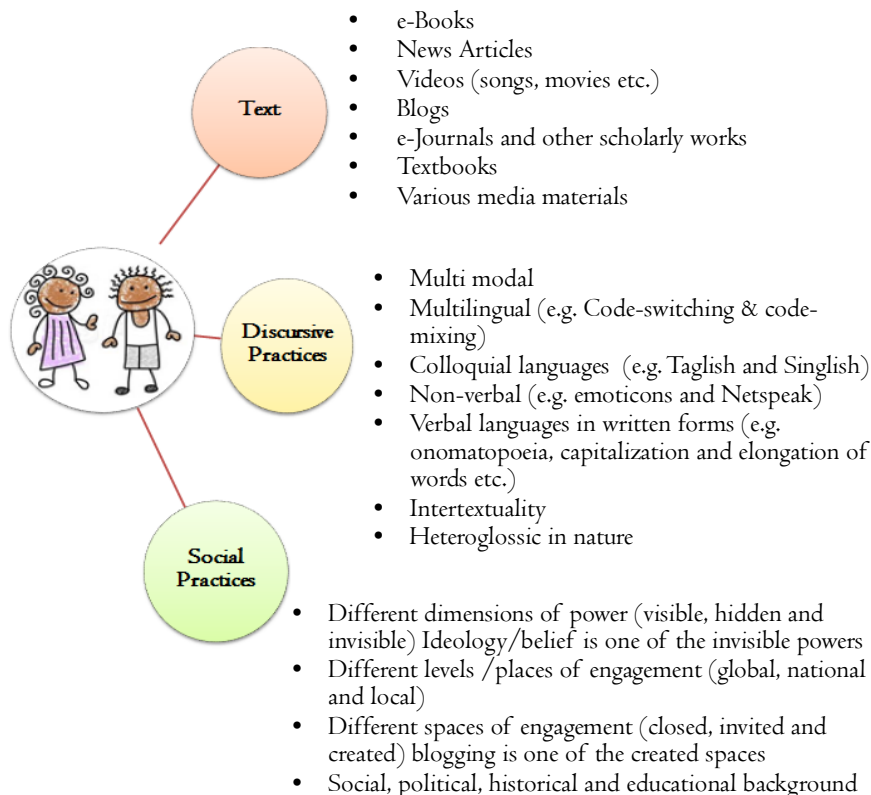
Fairclough approach has also drawn on a number of critical social theorists, such as Foucault (*orders of discourse*), Gramsci (*hegemony*), and Habermas (*colonization of discourses*) among others, (Sheyholislami, 2001).

Chuliaraki & Fairclough (1999: 30) argued that "the past two decades or so have been a period of profound economic social transformation on a global scale". They believed that although these transformations were due to particular actions by people they have been perceived as part of nature, that is such transformations have been thought of as natural and not due to people's actions.

For Chuliaraki & Fairclough (1999:4) the recent economic and social changes are to a significant degree...transformations in the language and discourse. Therefore, 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.



• Adapting Fairclough's *Three Dimension's of Discourse*



In this approach to CDA, there are three analytical focuses in analyzing any communicative event (interaction). They are *text* (media, news reports, emails, blogging), *discourse practice* (the process of production and consumption) and *sociocultural practice* (involving the social, political educational and cultural practice that give rise to the communicative event)

1. *The Textual function* involves linguistic analysis in terms of lexis, syntax, semantics, the sound system and cohesion-organization above the sentence level. Texts can be found in the internet, such as e-Books, news articles, videos, blogs, e-journals and other scholarly works.

Fairclough (1995b) viewed text from a multifunctional perspective: particular representations and recontextualizations of social practice

(*ideational function*); particular constructions of writer and reader identities, status (role aspects of identity), and the particular construction of the relationship between writer and reader (*interpersonal function*).

2. *Discourse practice*, discourse, itself, can be either formal Standard English or colloquial forms or even non-verbal forms. Verbal language can also be written language imitating sounds such as the onomatopoeia, capitalization and elongation this is particularly true in cyber discourse. Discourse practices have two forms: *institutional process* (as for example editorial procedures) and *discourse process* (changes that the text goes through in production and consumption).

For Fairclough (1995b:60) “discourse practice straddles the division between society and culture on the one hand, and discourse, language and text on the other”.

In his analytical framework, there is both the linguistic analysis at the text level, and a linguistic analysis at the discourse level that Fairclough calls *intertextual analysis*.

Fairclough (1992:84) defines intertextuality as;

[...] basically the property texts have of being full of snatches of other texts, which may be explicitly demarcated or merged in, and which text may assimilate, contradict, ironically echo, and so forth”.

For Fairclough (1992:104) there are two types of intertextuality: “manifest intertextuality” where specific other texts are overtly drawn upon within a text. This kind of intertextuality is marked by explicit signs such as quotation marks, indicating the presence of other texts. While the “constitutive intertextuality” is the constitution of texts out of other elements of discourse such as an official government report being transposed and popularized for a newspaper readership giving a particular slant on the report (quoted in Sheyholislami, 2001).

An example given by Fairclough (1992) was an analysis of an article published in a British newspaper, *The Sun* (part of the Murdoch News Corps), which reported on an official document about drug trafficking. Fairclough found two main points; the first point was that there were linguistic forms that did not explicitly represent the official document and

that there were sub-reports supposedly about the issue that were not represent in the official document at all. The second point was that there were semantic signs which indicated the merging of the voice of *The Sun* with the voice of the official document. It did not merely repeat the official document but rephrased things and expressed them in its own words and language. This example of intertextuality showed that *The Sun* report is based on a previous text. It responds to expectations of the readers, by configuring the original text into its own discourse type (Sheyholislami, 2001).

3. *Social practices*- various elements are found responsible for shaping discourse in general as well as online/cyber discourse, Fairclough identified socio-cultural, political and media. There is also a need to consider these levels and spaces in the different continuums as these might contribute to how texts are being produced, depending on an individual's view of the world.

- *Access to the media*

One of the main issues is access to the media: who has access to the media and what implications the answer to this question has regarding the place of the media in society. Fairclough's position is that there are many people who do not have equal access to the media in terms of writing, speaking or broadcasting. Media output is often under professional and institutional control and in general it is those who already have other forms of economic, political or cultural power that have best access to the media (Sheyholislami, 2001). This is still essentially true but in the cyber world, with emailing and blogging, this has allowed access to these sources of wider communication.

- *Economy of the media*

Another important property of media is "the economics of an institution which is an important determinant of its practices and its texts" (Fairclough, 1995b:40).

The media is open to the effects of commercial pressures, these effects could be important in determining what is selected as news and in what ways such news is published [Fowler, 1991:20]

This issue of the effects of the economic aspects of media, particularly advertising practices has been the focus of much discussion in critical media studies (Achbar, 1994; Hackett 1991).

- *The politics of media*

Many critics, (Chomsky, 1989; Fairclough, 1995b; Fishman, 1980; Fowler, 1991; Janks, 2010, Hackett, 1991; van Dijk, 1993), have argued that the commercial mainstream media works ideologically in the service of those in power, society's elite and the state itself. Chomsky believes that criticisms of the state or major corporations by the media are part of the doctrine of dominant elite groups to 'aggressively portray themselves as spokesmen for free speech and the general community interests (Achbar, 1994: 53). To explain this, Fairclough and others such as Hackett, following Gramsci, use the concept of hegemony or as Chomsky (1989) and van Dijk (1998a) say the power of the media in *manufacturing consent*.

Hegemony is relations of domination based upon consent rather than coercion'. In countries with a democratic constitution or base, the ruling class needs to achieve the public consent through persuasion in order to maintain domination, and the mass media is one of the essential elements in manufacturing this consent. [Chuliaraki & Fairclough [1991:24]

- *Practices of media text production and consumption*

Production involves a set of institutional routines, such as news gathering, news selection, writing and editing (Fairclough, 1995b; Fowler, 1991; van Dijk, 1993). Consumption mainly refers to the way in which readers, in the case of written text, read and comprehend text. Again here the cyber world is opening up more opportunities for wider consumption and interpretation to be possible

- *Selecting news reports is one of the important practices of text production*

Media nearly always have more material than space and not all news makes it to the newscast (Fowler, 1991). The criteria for such selection are not necessarily a characteristic of news items (Carruthers and Halliday, 2000 and Eamen, 1987). It is more often determined by the news production and institutional practices. Consequently, events become news when transformed

by the news perspective not because of their objective characteristics... news are consciously created to serve the interests of the ruling class (Eaman, 1987:51). Selection by editors or journalists also involves the sources of information. An example of this would be who gets interviewed or quoted. This heavy reliance on officials as sources of information is tied to the media's dependence on the status quo to keep their ownership and continue profitability. Sometimes as recently seen, with Murdoch's News Corps' attempted influence on the British government (The Guardian Weekly: 24.02.2012) "to establish a view of the world, manifest textually in the way in which the reporting is edited and quoted." The cyber world is changing this in that although editing and various forms of censorship are still manifest in various societies around the world more avenues of communication are opening up.

Consumption of a text (whatever form of text) has been the center for much debate in the analysis of media discourse (Boyd-Barrett, 1994; Fairclough, 1995b; Fowler, 1991; Widdowson, 1998). Discourse analysts naturally make assumptions about the how audiences (both on-line and elsewhere) read and comprehend texts. CDA practitioners agree in general that different audiences may interpret texts in different ways. This is one of the strongest arguments that critics of CDA have made against discourse analysts who base their conclusions on their own interpretations of texts and the impact of media discourse. Fairclough, 1995b acknowledges that different readers might read similar texts differently. Van Dijk (1993: 242) also states that 'media recipients [are] active, and up to a point independent information users'.

CDA practitioners argue that first of all, readers are usually not trained to be critical readers (Fowler, 1991; van Dijk, 1991) and secondly, audiences interpret texts against their background knowledge and the information they already have about the subject (van Dijk, 1993). In addition, Fairclough rejects the idea that texts have no meaning on their own, without the interpretation of readers. He writes:

It strikes me as self-evident that although readings may vary, and reading is a product of an interface between the properties of the text and the interpretative resources and practices which the interpreter brings to bear upon the text. The range of potential interpretations will be constrained and delimited according to the nature of the text. In other words CDA without a detailed linguistic examination of the text may end up being simply a commentary

without the evidence to support the commentary. [Fairclough, 1995:16]

This defense by Fairclough of CDA was identified by Halliday in his first edition of *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* 1985: xvi-xvii

A discourse analysis that is not based on grammar is not an analysis at all, but simply a running commentary on a text: either an appeal has to be made to some set of non – linguistic conventions, or some linguistic features that are trivial enough to be accessible without grammar, like the number of words per sentence...A text is a semantic unit, not a grammatical one. But meanings are realized through wordings; and without a theory of wordings- that is, grammar-there is no way of making explicit one's interpretation of the meaning of a text.

## Critical Discourse Analysis and Systemic Functional Linguistics

Consequently, any description of analysis involving language implies some theory of how 'languageing' works. As previously indicated several practitioners of CDA have used a model of language in social context that has been developed within the broad field of systemic functional linguistics (SFL). SFL researchers have been actively concerned with the semantics of discourse. Indeed SFL has evolved to manage the complexity of language in social contexts. The perspectives used in SFL can be summarized as follows:

- Levels of language such as phonology, lexis and-grammar, discourse and social context (the strata of language).
- The general functions of language in social context are to represent our experience, to enact our relationships and to organize discourse as meaningful texts (the metafunctions).

Martin and Rose (2007) explain how speakers of a language share an equal range of meaning making resources but meanings are unequally distributed. Thus, CDA brings to light a pattern of meaning encoded in a language.

CDA employs the tools of linguists to identify the role of

‘wordings’ in passages of text, and employs the tools of the social theorists to explain why they make the meanings they do. However, cultures are not just a combination of texts, and likewise texts are not just a combination of the lexis and grammar. Social activity, discourse and the lexis and grammar are different kinds of phenomena, operating at different levels of abstraction. A culture is more than a text, and the meanings that make up a text are in turn more abstract than the wordings that express them. The relation between them is described in SFL as realizations; social contexts are realized as texts which are realized as sequences of clauses with the grammatical system.

Martin and Rose (2007:4)

However, a systemic functional linguistic approach can cover an enormous area of linguistic investigation (Halliday, 1985). It is unlikely that any one account of language will be appropriate or all purposes. A theory is a means of approach, and there are many different kinds of approaches that can be taken involving language. Applications of the range of language normally might cover research applications of a theoretical nature to quite practical tasks where problems have to be solved. The test of a theory of language, in relation to any particular purpose is basically whether it helps to achieve the purpose of the research or help in solving the problem. SFL has an orientation to language as social rather than as an individual phenomenon, thus the development of the theory has tended more to the sociological rather than the psychological modes of explanation (Halliday, 1985: xxx).

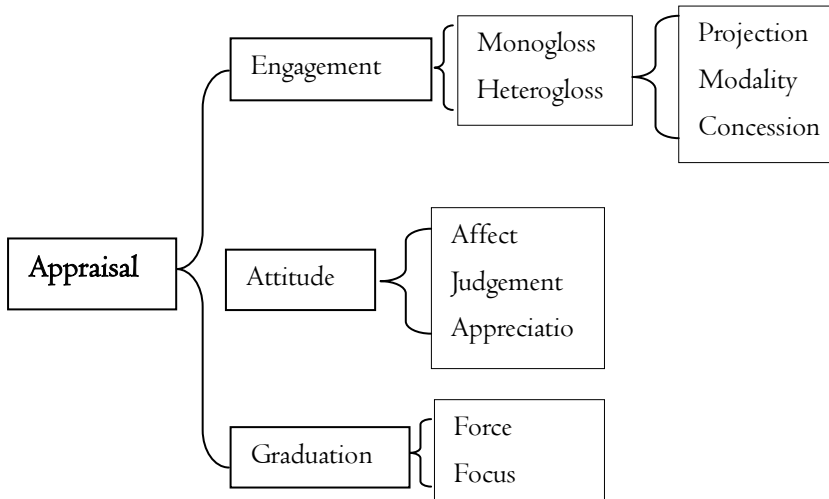
The selection of the linguistic resources to use will depend on the inter-subjective and ultimately ideological positions being assessed, for example in CDA. One such approach used by practitioners of CDA is that of the *interpersonal metafunction* of language and in particular the theory of *appraisal* as this reveals certain hidden meaning beyond discourse (Martin and Rose, 2007 and White, 2000, 2006).

### The Appraisal System

Appraisal is concerned with attitudes that are negotiated in a text, the strength of feelings involved and the ways in which values are sourced and the readers aligned. Appraisals are interpersonal kinds of meanings, which realize variations in the tenor of social interactions enacted in a text (Martin and Rose, 2007).

We use the resources of appraisal to negotiate social relationships, to telling our listeners or readers how we feel about things and people. In other words, what our *attitudes* are. Attitudes have to do with *evaluating* things, people's character and their feeling. These evaluations can be more or less intense, more or less amplified. The attitude may be the writer's own or may be attributed to some other source.

We can summarize the basic outline of the appraisal system (White, 2000; Martin and Rose 2007) as follows:



The grammar of the interpersonal metafunction is more of an accumulation of meaning or *prosody* of meanings which are spread throughout the clauses while evaluation accumulates through a text in a wide range of lexico-grammatical resources.

Appraisal is concerned with attitudes that are negotiated in a text, the strength of feelings involved and the ways in which values are sourced and the readers aligned. Appraisals are interpersonal kinds of meanings, which realize variations in the tenor of social interactions enacted in a text (Martin and Rose, 2007). Appraisal, broadly speaking, is concerned with how speakers and writers express their appreciation of the text. This includes expressing their **attitude** towards the content of their messages, **engaging** with the messages of the text in various ways and **graduation** in terms of the force and focus in our grading of meaning. By these expressions, the speaker or writer tries to subtly persuade the hearer or reader to adopt the same point



of view, i.e. the same attitude towards the content of the text.

*Affect* refers to emotional attitude of the speaker or writer towards the content of their message. It is involved with expressing either positive or negative feelings (Martin & White, 2005).

*Judgement* is concerned with how the speaker or writer evaluates people and their behaviour. Judgment can be evaluated in a positive and negative way depending on the social and cultural background of a person.

*Appreciation* expresses aesthetic assessment of objects valued by society such as works of art. It can also be categorised into three: the reaction, composition and the valuation.

*Engagement* refers to how the speakers or writers position themselves in relation to the content of their message and how they negotiate positions. Martin and Rose (2007) and Thibault (1997) see engagement of having two voices, a monoglossic, called 'bare declarative' [*Shakespeare was the author of Hamlet*] as opposed to the heteroglossic [*They say Shakespeare was the author of Hamlet*].

The use of *Appraisal* to determine different participants' attitude towards the issues can help to understand the 'culture' of a society and adapt where necessary. Appraisal as part of the structure of a language allows breadth and depth in understanding the underlying meanings being conveyed. The attitudes of the participants can be discerned as part of the overall prosody that is negative or positive attitude taken up by participants in their discourse. Such linguistic tools avoid the danger of simply commenting on what has been written without the required linguistic evidence. A language filled with emotions can evoke different responses and is often thought provoking. Knowing how to choose the right words can create positive impact that might encourage participants to see the value of the functional use of language and the way it is put together. This is where the *Appraisal* and the *three Dimensions' of Discourse* are significance in understanding the meaning making beyond discourse.

### An example:

#### S'pore has to go 'cold-turkey' on foreign workers: Tin Pei Ling



Singapore needs to go “cold-turkey” after years of opening its gates wide to large numbers of foreigners, says Member of Parliament (MP) [Tin Pei Ling](#).

In a note on her [Facebook page](#) posted on Sunday evening, Tin, who represents [Marine Parade](#) group representation constituency (GRC), said she held this view even after meeting a group of local businessmen who were struggling to find workers.

“I believe the current moves to constrain foreign labour force growth is the right long-term measure, especially so given the limited physical capacity we have,” she wrote.

“In a way, Singapore has to go into ‘cold-turkey’ after years of allowing huge inflows of foreigners. Politics should be about having the courage to make the best decision at any given point in time, and act on it,” she added.

Tin also pointed out that the country needs to acknowledge the “painful tradeoffs” it is making with the government’s new policies on foreign workers in place, referring to the impact of the policy on small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs).

To do that, she said, Singapore needs to also give more help and time for SMEs and businessmen here to adjust to “the new circumstances”.

In speaking to them, Tin said they do understand the government’s need to reduce foreigner inflows, pointing out that “they are Singaporeans too”, although she noted their belief that the anti-foreigner sentiment tells but one side of the story, pushed forward by a group of vocal individuals.

The government’s liberal immigration policy has been widely viewed as the reason for rising cost of living, housing and healthcare, as well as the source of greater competition for jobs and places in schools here for locals.

The 28-year-old MP was the [target of online criticism](#) as a greenhorn in last year’s general election, where she [stood alongside](#) emeritus Senior Minister Goh Chok Tong in the GRC against a National Solidarity Party team that included the election’s youngest candidate [Nicole Seah](#).

### Issues being debated:

- Some Singaporeans doubt the capability of Tin Pei ling (TPL)
- Singaporeans are not happy about how SMEs favored foreign workers in terms of employment
- Singaporeans are accusing foreigners as the cause of their misery contributing to unemployment and the increase in the cost of living
- Foreigners are overcrowding the place

The 'Power Cube' can be used as a tool in CDA to provide a better understanding of the social and political background of the different participants and their perception of the world around them. In addition, it can indicate how power 'manifests itself into different forms', in different spaces in different levels of society. Such power one way or another can impact the participants' judgment about the topic being discussed.

**The 'spaces' are the three different spaces where power are formed**

Types of Space	Different spaces where the interaction takes place (immigration)
Provided/closed spaces	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Parliament</li> <li>• MP for Marine Parade Constituency</li> </ul>
Invited spaces	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• McPherson Community Center the place where Ten Pie Ling visited to help and talk to some of the residence</li> <li>• <i>Yahoo! Singapore</i></li> </ul>
Claimed or created spaces	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Facebook page –</li> <li>• Online forum –</li> </ul>

**The 'power' is the three degrees of visibility found in spaces and places**

Type of power	Different players demonstrate the visibility of power influencing the decision making of immigration policy
Visible	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Emeritus Senior Minister Goh Chok Tong former Singapore Prime Minister</li> <li>• Ten Pie Ling</li> <li>• Kurt Wee- vice-president of the Association of Small and Medium Enterprises (ASME)</li> <li>• Nicole Seah- National Solidarity Party (NSP) candidate</li> <li>• Casinos</li> <li>• Laws and policy</li> </ul>
Hidden	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• SME (Association of Small and Medium Enterprises) businessmen/investors</li> <li>• Some politicians</li> </ul>
Invisible	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ideology (Meritocracy)</li> </ul>

### The 'Places' are the levels and places where power are employed

Type of place	Different places where the powerful articulated their power
Global	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• International companies doing business in Singapore</li> <li>• Different countries responsible of providing workers in Singapore</li> <li>• International conglomerates</li> </ul>
National	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Parliament</li> <li>• Local media</li> <li>• SME's (Association of Medium and Small Business Enterprises)</li> </ul>
Local	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Local Group Representation Constituency (GRC) and its responsible for their constituency</li> <li>• Local businesses operating locally</li> <li>• Local individuals</li> <li>• Foreign workers working in Singapore</li> <li>• Singaporeans</li> </ul>

Integrating the *Power Cube* is also useful as it deals with wider issues that can impact a person's life discourse as in a cyber world people often interact in unison, various elements influencing their stances that can only be easily identified once these dimensions are incorporated.

### Appraising a text

A textual evaluation is also necessary in order to make a valid assessment. The texts given below are taken from comments made by the participants from the 'Yahoo! news' article.

It contains different 'attitudinal items' when expressing opinions. The words in **bold** indicate **affect**, the underlined word, judgment, and the *italic and underlined word*, *appreciation*.

Striker • Singapore, Singapore • *I minute 24 seconds ago*

What is so complex? Just because local businesses tell you that they can't find workers makes it complex? If businesses tell you they can't pay tax, paying tax will make

them bankrupt, then taxation is very complex wan huh? Please lah, you totally don't deserve the \$15K. You don't speak from the heart, therefore you will never say the right thing.

[Gicacia](#) • [Singapore, Singapore](#) • 10 minutes ago

We **don't need** so many SME. They were created to support more foreigners, not Singaporean. If Wee thinks that SME cannot survive because of not enough FT then ask them to close shop here and move elsewhere. They are here to exploit the situation and not many Singaporean benefited from them cos they employed mostly FT/TW or Singaporean.

[Cute Guy](#) • [Singapore, Singapore](#) • 13 minutes ago

I **believe** Toby does not know the law at all.....u are innocent unless proven guilty. She is already a MP and we **should respect** that. If u do not agree with the election method of Singapore and cannot live with it, then you can move elsewhere. There is no point in having this kind of negative comment. Everyone should be given a chance to prove themselves. I **think** her view here is good.

Judgment seems to dominate the evaluations and they are mainly explicit while others are indirectly evoked or 'implicit' but the general tone or prosody is negative. However, the final comment seems to reject this negative stance for a more balanced view of the situation. Evaluation clearly depends on the lexical choices made, and often reflective of the social, cultural and ideological status of the participants.

For example, the comments of a Singapore participant who identified himself as '*Rise of the far-right*' addressed foreigners as follows:

'...we take pity on you because you have a useless government and are living in a (@#\$% hole. Your country sucks and does not have a future for you. Plus, you are here because the moronic SG government failed to keep you charlatans in check. You people cheat to study and do business and your degrees are not even worth to be toilet paper. Dont you dare demand anything from your host. I am sick of my country taking in trash like you. Do not mistake kindness as weakness. You low life good imbeciles.

The analysis of the discourse of such on-line blogging, gives some understanding on how certain groups of people use the 'cyberspace' as a channel to convey their opinions often in quite strong language on issues that can affect their life style.

By using the *Power Cube*, the *three dimensions of discourse*, and *appraisal*, to help understand the discourse produced by different individuals both on-line and in the media in general, we can have a triangulated approach to critical discourse analysis of texts.

## Conclusion

The power of anonymity often produces a feeling of security and therefore being protected, can give a degree of freedom for people to do things that might hesitate to do. One of the benefits offered by widening critical discourse analysis to the *cyberworld* is being able to 'voice' an opinion regardless of status. This is made possible because people who are engaged in this cyber 'community' have a choice on how they express themselves and not necessarily suffering the consequences. *Cyberworld* can give control over the meaning of 'the right to freedom of opinion and expression.' Anonymity allows people to convey the message to a wider audience and even the public at large, government and those who are responsible for running the country. It provides people power to question, demand and challenge the authorities. However, being anonymous does not mean 'a free for all' in terms of language or over-stepping the bounds of common sense. What is interesting, is this desire 'to connect with people' as this can be a manifestation of power by establishing different alliances and forming solidarity as one 'cyber culture', something which is not so easily discernible in some approaches to so-called critical discourse analysis where a commentary on the text(s) can often be based on individual opinion without substantial evidence from a textual analysis.

Looking at discourse in the *cyberworld* offers alternative channels of communication that helps in the understanding of the stance taken by a particular cyber community on specific issues. In a world of technology, power is not gained through direct conflict instead power can be gained through the accumulation of certain ideologies that are made manifest through the media and not just by those that have access to the traditional forms of power in society but also to 'ordinary people'. The Power Cube, Fairclough's three dimensions of discourse and analyzing the discourse using the tools of a systemic functional approach to language shows that even at the lowest echelons of this structure, 'voices' when in unison have potential to be a force for change. What on-line discourse can do is to raise the ceiling of

freedom. It blurs the boundaries of what is possible to say and what is not. In many ways, the use of social media is doing what people have always done but previously in the privacy of the home. The cyber world is just amplifying what is being said. Even if 'Power' has shifted to those controlling the internet platforms rather than simply governments, the enabling/empowering/enlightening effects of the internet may not be quite what people think, the cyber-world has still the potential for like-minded people to act as seeds to improve society.

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