

Discourse and Politics

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Edited by

Gloria Álvarez-Benito, Gabriela Fernández-Díaz
and Isabel M^a Íñigo-Mora

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P U B L I S H I N G

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It is conventional but necessary to add that the editors alone are responsible for the final form of the book and whatever shortcomings it may have.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AM:	Member of the E
APOLLO:	Analysis of Political Language and Oratory
C:	<i>Centerpartiet</i> (Swedish Center Party)
CC question:	Communicative Conflict question
CDA:	Critical Discourse Analysis
<i>cf.</i> :	<i>Confer</i> (compare)
CiU:	<i>Convergència i Unió</i> (Spanish nationalist party)
CL:	Corpus Linguistics
Con:	Conservative
DP:	Discursive Psychology
DAM:	Discourse Action Model
DUP :	Democratic Unionist Party
<i>e.g.</i> :	<i>exempli gratia</i>
EEC:	European Economic Community
ELDR:	European Liberal, Democrat and Reformist Party
EPP-ED:	European People's Party (Christian Democrats)
<i>et al.</i> :	<i>et alii</i>
E.T.A.:	<i>Euskadi Ta Askatasuna</i> (Basque Homeland and Freedom)
EU:	European Union
FP:	<i>Folkpartiet</i> (Swedish Conservative Party)
GR Corpus:	General Reference Corpus
<i>ibid.</i> :	<i>ibídem</i>
<i>i.e.</i> :	<i>id est</i>
HCI:	Human-Computer Interaction
IDF:	Ideological Discursive Formations
IE:	Interviewee
IGC:	Intergovernmental Conference
IR:	Interviewer
IRA:	Irish Republican Army
IU:	<i>Izquierda Unida</i> (Spanish left wing party)
Lab:	Labour
LDP:	Liberal Democratic Party
LSP:	Language for Specific Purposes
M:	<i>Moderaterna</i> (Swedish Conservative Party)
MEP:	Member of European Parliament

MP:	Member of Parliament
MPP:	<i>Modus Ponendo Ponens</i>
MPs:	Members of Parliaments
MTP:	<i>Modus Tollendo Ponens</i>
NI:	Northern Ireland
PDA:	Political Discourse Analysis
PES:	Party of European Socialists
PL:	Political Language
PM:	Prime Minister
PP:	<i>Partido Popular</i> (Spanish right wing party)
RUC:	Royal Ulster Constabulary
S:	<i>Socialdemokraterna</i> (Swedish Social-Democratic Party)
SDLP:	Social Democratic and Labour Party
SF:	Sinn Fein
SP Corpus:	Specialised Purpose Corpus
tr:	Translation
TV:	Television
TVE:	<i>Televisión Española</i> (a Spanish TV Channel)
UUP:	Ulster Unionist Party
V:	<i>Vänsterpartiet</i> (Swedish Left Party)
vs.:	<i>Versus</i>
WW2:	World War Two

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INTRODUCTION

DISCOURSE AND POLITICS

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“... in politics nothing is accidental. If something happens, be assured it was planned this way.”

—Franklin Delano Roosevelt

The main aim of this volume is to explore the relationship between politics and discourse from different perspectives and in different languages and cultures. It seems an outright, well-defined and straightforward goal, but the first issue which should be tackled is: how can we define politics after all?

According to Chilton (2004), there are two broad strands when considering most definitions in traditional discourse studies of politics (Chilton 2004:3):

On the one hand, politics is viewed as a struggle for power, between those who seek to assert and maintain their power and those who seek to resist it... On the other hand, politics is viewed as cooperation, as the practices and institutions that a society has for resolving clashes of interest over money influence, liberty, and the like.

The effects of political communication

The effects of the planned and deliberate communicative behaviour of most politicians can be examined “... at the *micro-level* of the individual consumer of the message, or at the *macro-level*, when individual responses

to political communication are aggregated together in the form of public opinion polls and other indices of collective political will.” (McNair 1999:29). In this sense, it is interesting to examine both “how the political process of democratic societies – their procedures and practices – has been affected by the growing importance within them of mass communication” and the rising impact of political communication on advanced societies.

As McNair (1999:45) puts it: “... political communication is too important to be ignored by those with a concern for the workings of modern democracies.” But the effects of political communication are null if the audience is not receptive. For that reason, we do not only have to take into account the content of the message, or the historical content or even the political environment but also the audience’s stance. Bettinghaus (1973) also highlights the fact that the perception of a persuasive message is not a passive process. According to Bettinghaus (1973:30) “The receiver is as active in the receiving process as is the source in the transmitting process. The attitudes and beliefs of the receiver mediate the way in which messages will be received and responded to.” During the 50s and throughout the 60s, it was widely recognised that the effects of political communication were limited or mediated just by social and cultural factors. It was not until the semiological school (Umberto Eco and others) that the potential for different decodings of a message was acknowledged. There can be as many divergent interpretations of a single message as different groups or even individuals you can find in society and it may even provoke an array of contrasting responses. Additionally, we cannot either forget that political communication is largely mediated communication and for that reason, reporters, journalists, commentators, etc. can also alter the message.

So, how can we measure the effects of a political message? How can we know to what extent a politician has been able to alter the public’s attitude or behaviour? According to McNair (1999:32), there are basically three main methods: (1) asking people how they have responded to specific messages (opinion polls); (2) observing voting behaviour (political campaigns); and (3) conducting “... experiments intended to isolate the effects of particular elements of the communication process”. Needless to say, all these data-gathering techniques have their methodological limitations.

Strategies and interaction

How could we define a strategic behaviour? When describing the main characteristics which could define strategic persuasive situations in

general, Bettinghaus (1973:12) explains that they are:

... communication situations which involve a conscious attempt by one individual to modify the attitudes, beliefs, or behavior of another individual or group of individuals through the transmission of some message. . . . Those communication situations in which two or more individuals each consciously attempt to modify the attitudes, beliefs or the behavior of each other through mutual interaction.

And a key idea underlying this explanation is that the persuasive communicator normally has a specific response which he wishes to elicit from an audience (Bettinghaus 1973:34). But this elicited response will be dependent on both the context of reception of the message (political affiliation, age, ethnicity, gender, etc.) and the type of message transmitted (a party election broadcast, a news report, a chat show interview, a live debate, etc.).

In relation to the first one (*i.e.* the context of reception of the message), it is extremely important to take into account the audience's beliefs. According to Bettinghaus (1973:60-1):

The more central the belief, the more resistant will individuals be to changes in the belief. (2) Those beliefs that are derived from more central beliefs are more resistant to change than those beliefs that exist only as peripheral beliefs. (3) The more central the belief which is changed, the more widespread will be changes in the remainder of the individual's belief structure.

Stuart Hall (1980) argues that, taking into account the audience's beliefs, there are like three possible decoding positions: (1) the dominant-hegemonic position; (2) the negotiated position; and (3) the oppositional position. Basically, the first one refers to a situation in which a message is decoded entirely within the encoder's framework of reference; the second "acknowledges the legitimacy of the hegemonic definitions to make the ground significations, while, at a more restricted, situational level, it makes its own ground rules (Hall 1980:138); and the third "the point when events which are normally signified and decoded in a negotiated way begin to be given an oppositional reading." (Hall 1980:138). For example, a Labour supporter watching a Labour Party broadcast would hold a dominant-hegemonic position; in contrast, a Conservative supporter would sustain an oppositional position watching the same programme; and the so-called "floating voter" would keep a negotiated position. In other words, the more central the political beliefs, the harder to be changed.

This is highly related to what Bettinghaus (1973) calls "the reference

group". He explains that (Bettinghaus 1973:78):

The term "reference group" is used to describe any group to which a person relates his attitudes. An understanding of reference groups is necessary to persuasion because frames of reference are built up as the result of contact with or membership in particular groups.

We have just also pointed out that the elicited response is dependent on the type of message transmitted (a party election broadcast, a news report, a chat show interview, a live debate, etc.). As McNair (1999:31) explains "... one's knowledge that a piece of communication is partisan will to a large extent predetermine one's 'reading' of it." It is not the same for an individual to watch a biased political advertisement or a neutral news report. In the first case, the effects of the political message can be in inverse proportion to the audience's knowledge of the party (Cundy 1986) and it is very likely that the new information generates no change at all in the audience's stance. On the contrary, during the broadcasting of a neutral news report, "... the audience may take the opportunity to judge abilities and policies from a more detached perspective. There will be less *interference* in the communication process, and the audience may be more open." (McNair 1999:31).

Topics covered in this volume

Discourse analysis, in general, is a vast interdisciplinary field including disciplines such as linguistics, communication studies, sociology, sociolinguistics, anthropology, psychology, among others. Similarly, political discourse analysis in particular can also be studied from different methodologies which focus on several dimensions (pragmatics, semantics, social and cognitive psychology, semiotics, etc.) in different settings (parliaments, interviews, election campaigns, speeches, etc.).

Because it is an interdisciplinary field, many different approaches and perspectives can be found in political discourse studies. It is a well-known fact in the field of political discourse that "... linguistic resources are selected in terms of their interaction with principles of human behaviour to achieve specified outcomes" (Wilson 1990:18) and for that reason it is logical to wonder why a politician chooses a specific verb or adjective or metaphor when speaking.

The chapters in this volume cover many of the areas of political discourse. **Part I** discusses the use of different strategies in political discourse.

In chapters 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5, Azuma, Dufour, Mejías-Borrero, Ilie, and

Carranza-Márquez & Rivas-Carmona try to answer this question from different perspectives. Azuma (Chapter 1) analyses how politicians use politeness strategies (Brown and Levinson 1987) in order to mitigate various face threatening acts. In his chapter, Azuma examines Japanese politicians' speech documented in the Japanese Diet records during the period of 1945-2006. The main hypothesis is that a new type of speech is emerging based on the concept of solidarity, which reduces psychological distance between the public and politicians and also improves the public image of politicians. Dufour (Chapter 2) underlines the social nature of language and draws our attention to the religious-political nature of catechisms. Specifically, he brings into focus the numerous political or "national" catechisms which were published during and shortly after the French Revolution. Mejías-Borrero (Chapter 3) studies the techniques used by American Presidents (U.S. presidential campaign in the year 2004) and highlights the key importance of metaphor and framing in analysing political language (G. Lakoff). Ilie (Chapter 4) deals with one type of discursive device ("parentheticals") which represents sentential and intersentential strategies of planning, signalling, explicating, justifying and/or evaluating the ongoing talk. She carries out a contrastive analysis of British Question Time *vs.* the Swedish Frågestund. Finally, Carranza-Márquez & Rivas-Carmona (Chapter 5) explain how direct and indirect quotations are tools which speakers in general and parliamentarians in particular use in order to achieve specific effects in particular situations (following the definition of memory offered by Discursive Psychology). This is also a contrastive study which compares British and Spanish parliamentary debates on domestic violence.

In chapters 6, 7 and 8, Fetzer, Rivas-Carmona & Carranza-Márquez, and Filardo-Llamas, focus on the most social aspects of language. They study issues such as the discursive identity of a politician or the connections between language, power and ideology. Fetzer (Chapter 6) analyses the interactional organization of the discourse genre and media event of political interview (discourse identities, discourse topics, communicative strategies, and style) from a sociopragmatic framework. She deals with the reconstruction of the discursive identity of a politician, her/his attribution to public and private domains of life, and the interactional organization of credibility and responsibility. Then, Rivas-Carmona & Carranza-Márquez (Chapter 7) select a session of the Joint Committee for European Affairs in the Spanish Parliament discussing the topic of the European Construction in order to look into the discourse *vs.* power relationship and their apparent spin-offs in the "discursive ideological formations" (Fairclough 1995). They will mainly focus on

aspects such as legitimisation *vs.* deslegitimation and consensus/polarization. Finally, Filardo-Llamas (Chapter 8) will also tackle the issue of legitimisation as one of the key functions of political discourse (Chilton 2004). Her chapter highlights that legitimisation is connected to the promotion of specific representations about a socio-political reality, which is, in turn, related to the ideological conception underlying specific instances of discourse.

Part II is concerned with the relation between verbal and nonverbal communicative devices in political interaction. In chapter 9 Íñigo-Mora and Álvarez-Benito analyse the use of speech and nonverbal signals (eye-contact and hand movements) in a Rodríguez Zapatero's interview. The chapter focuses on the study of aspects such as: 1) types of questions raised by interviewers, both according to their form and to their content; 2) relation between question type and interviewer; 3) types of replies; 4) relation between types of replies and interviewer; 5) interviewee's eye contact and possible relation with equivocation; and 6) interviewee's hand gestures and possible relation with equivocation. In this study the authors argue that both the politician and interviewer's behaviour regarding most of these aspects is not accidental but generally conscious and planned. The selection of yes-no questions, for example, is one of the interviewers' strategies to limit the interviewee's possible answers. The selection of Communicative Conflict questions (CC questions) is also an interviewer's strategy, either to seek for information or to cause some kind of tension or pressure. The fact that the interviewee replies does not mean he/she answers the question raised by the interviewer. We argue the interviewee's type of reply and his/her eye behaviour are closely connected. The interviewee generally avoids eye contact when he/she does not answer the question.

In chapter 10, Del Solar argues that the communication process is based on a sound interdependence between verbal elements and nonverbal cues. In this vein, she conducts a qualitative and quantitative analysis of the speech-gesture system of 8 members of the European Parliament (MEPs). Acknowledging that the European Parliament has evolved into an increasingly multicultural framework, the analytical section provides an empirical basis for the assessment of the verbal and nonverbal behaviours of the political actors partaking in intercultural scenarios of this kind. The author first introduces a pragmatic proposal for a coding scheme. Then, she discusses the different arguments and ideas forming the cross-cultural multi-system approach to discourse analysis that she fosters in this study. Finally, she shows the results obtained, and offers some concluding remarks regarding the MEPs' observed patterns of discourse.

Part III centres on methods of analysis of political discourse. In chapter 11, Álvarez-Benito and Del Solar present an annotation tool, called **APOLLO-1**, which aims at covering the wide range of verbal and nonverbal communicative techniques used by politicians in interviews. APOLLO-I focuses on the multimodal analysis (speech and oratory, gestures, facial expressions, body posture, etc.) of political interviews. The use of cross-modality annotation tools for this task does not have a very long tradition in mass data annotation (compared to, *e.g.*, spoken discourse analysis). The authors adopt an interdisciplinary approach to discourse and gesture analysis, thus borrowing concepts from such fields as Syntax and Semantics, Political Discourse Analysis, Speech Analysis, Interpersonal Communication, and Nonverbal Communication. They also deal with the methods used during the gathering of the information and the implementation of the scheme.

In chapter 12, Bull describes techniques devised by the author and his colleagues for analysing question-response sequences in broadcast political interviews. In this context, the pragmatic force of a question is defined as a request for information, which may or may not take interrogative syntax (Bull 1994). Questions are subdivided according to their syntactic structure (polar, interrogative word, disjunctive); these categories are important for judging what constitutes a reply. Intermediate responses are also distinguished (answers by implication, incomplete replies, interrupted replies), which lie somewhere between a full reply and a complete failure to answer the question (referred to as a “non-reply”). To further analyse non-replies and intermediate responses, an equivocation typology distinguishes between at least 35 different ways of not replying to a question (Bull & Mayer 1993; Bull 2003). To analyse factors underlying equivocation, a question typology distinguishes 19 different ways in which questions can pose threats to face (Bull, Elliott, Palmer & Walker 1996). If all the principal forms of response are considered face-threatening, the question is regarded as creating a “communicative conflict”, identified by Bavelas, Black, Chovil and Mullett (1990) as the prime situational factor creating pressures towards equivocation.

Finally, **Part IV** is concerned with how to build and exploit a corpus on political language. In chapter 13 Fernández-Díaz tries to show the reader what kind of information can be gathered just by observing the use of the language in its context. She argues a corpus can be exploited for the acquisition of a specialised language, specifically, political language (PL). By using some basic processing tools in Corpus Linguistics, she analyses PL in the context of the European Union (EU). Firstly, she shows how to compile a corpus from scratch. Secondly, she presents the two corpora she

has built for her research: a general reference corpus and a specialised corpus. The first corpus consists of approx. 500,000 words collected from the speeches of Javier Solana, EU High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy, whereas the second one consists of approx. 200,000 words on the topic of Human Rights. Thirdly, she processes the two corpora in order to examine the most distinctive features of PL vocabulary: frequency of words, key words in context, word clusters, collocations, and concordances. Samples and data are collected and presented throughout the whole chapter to support analyses and hypotheses.

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PART I:

POLITICAL DISCOURSE STRATEGIES

CHAPTER ONE

JAPAN IN TRANSITION: TALKING STYLES AMONG PRIME MINISTERS IN POST-WAR JAPAN

SHOJI AZUMA, UNIVERSITY OF UTAH, USA

Introduction

An important finding in sociolinguistics is that social identities and situational factors do not necessarily determine the way speakers use language. For example, Gumperz (1982) argues that an individual's choice of speech style has symbolic value and interpretive consequences that cannot be explained simply by correlating the incidence of linguistic variants with independently determined social or contextual categories. In other words, speakers exploit the possibility of linguistic choices in order to convey intentional meaning of a socio-pragmatic nature.

Linguistic choice is a dynamic event, and it is no longer seen as influenced only by situational factors. Scotton (1983) extends this view of linguistic choice to the concept of negotiation between speaker and addressee. According to her, the negotiation principle guides speakers to "choose the form of your conversational contribution such that it symbolizes the set of rights and obligations which you wish to be in force between speaker and addressee for the current exchange" (Scotton 1983:116).

The present study takes this view of language use as a dynamic interpersonal negotiation and examines politicians' speech in Japan from a diachronic perspective. How do politicians use language in order to gain social approval from the audience? What are their linguistic strategies to improve their public image as desirable politicians? In order to answer these questions, we will examine speech styles of Prime Ministers since WWII. The main hypothesis of the present study is that a new style of speech is emerging in Japan based on the concept of solidarity (Brown &

Gileman 1960). Solidarity encourages equal and affective relationships between speakers and listeners. This new style of speech improves the public image of politicians. Additionally, it encourages listeners/viewers to feel closer to politicians and get more involved in politics. The primary data for the present study come from the national Diet (parliament) record, in particular *Shoshin Hyoomei Enzetsu* (“General Policy Speech”) or the keynote address delivered at the opening of the Diet session when each Prime Minister took office.

Prime Ministers in Japan

Upon examination of postwar Prime Ministers, a political scientist, Hayao (1993:4), notes:

The typical Japanese Prime Minister is, by the standards of most other countries, a remarkably weak and passive figure. Prime Ministers have come and gone with more rapidity than in virtually any other country.

Indeed, the tenure of Japanese Prime Ministers is relatively short (on average it is just about two years or 752 days). Figure 1-1 below shows the tenure (*i.e.*, the number of days in office) for each Prime Minister, starting from wartime Prime Minister Tojo (1941-1944) to the most recent Prime Minister Abe (2006-2007).

There are several Prime Ministers with exceptionally long tenure. In recent years, for example, Prime Minister Koizumi (2001-2006), who was able to maintain a relatively high approval rate (on average, more than 40% throughout his tenure), served more than 5 years or 1980 days. However, on average, it is true that Japanese Prime Ministers change very often in a short amount of time. The relatively short-lived tenure as Prime Minister becomes clear when it is compared to the tenure of the U.S. Presidency. For example, Japan had seven different Prime Ministers during Bill Clinton’s administration. According to Hayao (1993), Japanese Prime Ministers were weak and passive in their role in leading the country. They were not agenda-setters who exercised strong political leadership. Instead, they dealt with issues that were already on the agenda. They became involved in the issues because of outside pressures, such as foreign demands and domestic crises and scandals. Hayao (1993) calls Japanese Prime Ministers “reactive”. They react to various foreign and domestic issues passively.

Interestingly, this nature of being “reactive” has been reflected in the way they speak. Instead of proactively using the language, they passively follow the socially prescribed “Japanese way” of speaking within the rigid,

tightly knit traditional society. Then, what is the Japanese way of speaking? One characteristic can be found in Japan's so-called "vertical" (rather than "horizontal") society (Nakane 1972), where well developed honorifics based on social hierarchy play a pivotal role. Prime Ministers, like any other Japanese speakers, follow the socially prescribed norms of speaking including the use of honorifics (Ide 1989). The following is an illustration of the prescribed linguistic system with respect to sentence final expressions.

Japanese sentence final expressions

Japanese is a language where every sentence linguistically reflects the speaker's attitude toward his/her relation to the addressee/referent. For example, English speakers may use the same linguistic form "Today is Monday" to anyone ranging from a professor, a friend, or for that matter, even to a dog. However, in Japanese there is no neutral form as such, and a Japanese speaker has to choose an appropriate verb form with respect to politeness and formality depending on to whom he/she is speaking (Matsumoto 1989). The following examples illustrate several possibilities for the expression "Today is Monday" in Japanese.

(1-1) *Kyoo wa getsuyoobi da*
 Today TOPIC Monday is
 [tr.: Today is Monday]

(1-2) *Kyoo wa getsuyoobi desu*

(1-3) *Kyoo wa getsuyoobi de arimasu*

(1-4) *Kyoo wa getsuyoobi de gozaimasu*

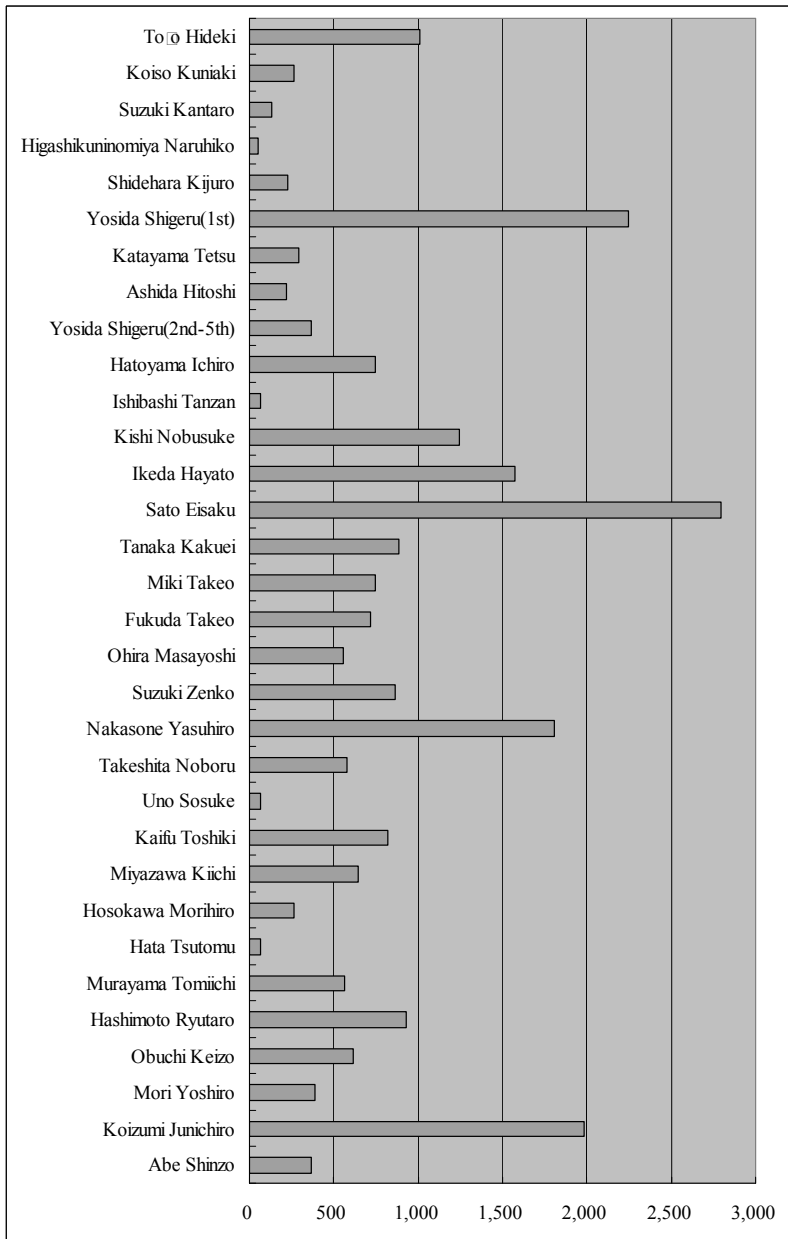


Figure 1-1. Prime Ministers: Days in Office.

